A CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION:

THE CASE OF *AL-AHRAM, AL-MASRY AL-YOUM, THE TELEGRAPH AND THE WASHINGTON POST*

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**Word of Gratitude**

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ABSTRACT

The Egyptian protest movement which brought down the Egyptian regime headed by President Hosni Mubarak, not only gripped the minds and hearts of the Egyptians, but it captured the interest of the national and international media as well.

The research aims at answering questions related to the kind of frames employed in four newspapers; namely, Al-Ahram, Al-Masry Al-Youm, The Telegraph and The Washington Post, in light of the protest paradigm, in addition to the way the same four newspapers tried to explore and identify the characteristics of war and peace journalism, according to Galtung’s dichotomous model, not to mention to trace how the four newspapers in hand depicted the protesters.

To achieve this, two methods were applied in this study; notably, frame analysis, and critical discourse analysis. A sample of 60 news articles and editorial pieces was thoroughly examined and taken from the aforementioned four newspapers. The derived non-random samples were covering the events of the Egyptian Revolution from the eruption on January 25, till February 17, 2011; means one week after toppling the regime and the resignation of the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on February 11, 2011.

The study revealed that the national newspapers; Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm, were more prone to accentuate protesters’ acts of violence, albeit Al-Ahram showed a propensity toward using official sources at the expenses of voicing protesters, compared to Al-Masry Al-Youm. However, The Telegraph’s and The Washington Post’s coverage was more shifting away from the protest paradigm.

Similarly, the national newspapers in hand, were leaning more towards war-reporting; resorting to victimizing language in addition to a language of good and bad dichotomous, not to mention to abstain from exposing the untruth of all parties involved. However, The Telegraph and The Washington Post were adhering to peace-reporting; using extensively people sources and exposing the black and whites of all parties in the problem, in addition to taking the side of protesters and depicting them positively. From the findings, the study may reach a conclusion that the more a newspaper’s coverage adheres to the protest paradigm, the more it inclines to
war-reporting. On the other hand, the more a newspaper’s coverage shifting away from the protest paradigm, the more it conforms to peace journalism.

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Introduction

After the fall of the Tunisian regime in January 2011, a revolution followed the same trajectory broke out in Egypt, where inspired huge demonstrations dominated the political scene in Cairo, Alexandria and other cities in Egypt for 18 days. The Egyptian Revolution which toppled the President Hosni Mubarak not only captured worldwide attention, but it urged upon the national and international media to follow the events as well. By and large, according to Ashley and Olson (1998), news media play an important role in the life and death of social movements via whether giving the green light of covering the social protest or not, selecting the sources being used, and finally, how to frame the issue; hence, shaping the message of protestors for their intended audience (Ashley & Olson, 1998: 263).

Poignantly to newsworthiness criteria, the media usually rely on a ready-made frame template in covering social protests; namely, the “protest paradigm”. The latter paradigm revolves around trivializing, demonizing and deligitimizing the social movements and their beliefs (McLeod & Hertog, 1999). Taken in this light, this study is concerned with analyzing qualitatively the media coverage of Egypt’s protests in four newspapers; notably, Al-Ahram (state-run Egyptian), Al-Masry Al-Youm (privately-owned Egyptian), The Telegraph (British) and The Washington Post (American). Apart from pinning down the differences between the news coverage of the aforementioned four newspapers, the cardinal purpose of this qualitative research is to extract frames pertinent to the “protest paradigm”, as being the overarching theory in this study, in addition to exploring the different news coverage of the newspapers at issue in light of Galtung’s dichotomous model of peace and war journalism, bearing in mind that the “protest paradigm” could be associated to the violence-oriented characteristics of war-reporting proposed in Galtung’s model.

1.1 Background

Before discussing the news coverage of Egypt’s demonstrations in the four newspapers in question, we have to put the entire issue into its appropriate context. Put another way, the background section will give a brief glimpse into the Egyptian Revolution, before steering toward providing another brief background about the national newspapers; Al-Ahram and Al-
Masry Al-Youm, with touching upon the Egyptian media system on one hand, and about The Telegraph and The Washington Post, on the other.

1.1.1 The Egyptian protest movement

The ever-rising rates of unemployment among the Arab youth; 33% of Egypt’s youth suffer from unemployment, along with nepotism, state suppression and corruption, were contributing to make a rupture in the Arab social contract, taking into account that “young people are the fastest growing segment of Arab countries’ populations.” (Hokayem, 2011; cited in Niekerk et al, 2011).

But, the previously-mentioned feelings of resentment among the Egyptians emanated from social and economic circumstances, cannot alone explain the creation of such social movements. As Wright (2001) succinctly puts it: “Individuals only participate in collective action when they recognize their membership in the relevant collective” (Wright, 2001; cited in Lim, 2012). Taken in this light, Egypt’s protests as social movements - can be identified as networks of people gathered together for a common goal or interest - their angry protesters had to recognize first that many other individual Egyptians shared the same goals, afflictions and a common identity, in order to urge the Egyptian unemployed youth to partake in an oppositional movement against President Mubarak (Lim, 2012).

To investigate upon the previous claim, it is of paramount importance to look beyond the period of January 25, 2011, which marked as the beginning of the Egyptian Revolution, to trace the history of civil society movements in Egypt, both online and offline, and how they paved the way to January-25 Revolution. To begin with, the dawn of online activism in the country goes back to 2004 with the rise of Kefaya Movement (Lim, 2012). Kefaya which means “enough” in English is considered as the unofficial name of the Egyptian Movement for Change (El-Ghobashy, 2005). Founded in late 2004, Kefaya was “the first anti-Mubarak movement in history... (And) also the first oppositional nonpartisan coalitional movement that had neither physical headquarters nor permanent meeting place” (Lim, 2012). The oppositional group that included many intellectuals from various ideological backgrounds, called for the end of Mubarak’s rule, bearing in mind that it used online mediums, especially its website, Haraka-
Masria.org, to announce and coordinate activities. It even hosted "Egyptian Awareness", a blog in a form of digital newspaper owned by Wael Abbas, to report about “government repression, human rights abuses, and corruption, on MislDigital.com in February 2005” (Lim, 2012). Interestingly, Abbas was one of the key figures of the Egyptian Revolution.

A number of factors contributed to the decline of Kefaya, the most important of which was its failure to reach beyond a confined group of intellectuals based mainly in Cairo (Azimi, 2005; Shehab, 2005). However, some of the members of Kefaya created another important opposition group called April 6th Youth Movement.

Being the first opposition group to use Facebook as a main tool to reach supporters, April 6th Youth Movement was founded in 2007 in the wake of a revival in the Egyptian labor movement after long years of repression under the Sadat and Mubarak regimes (MIT TechTV, 2011; Wright, 2011). In 2006, a major 24,000-worker strike broke at Misr Spinning in El-Mahallah El-Kubra, triggering large-sized labor protests in different cities in Egypt, but the labor protests had been suppressed (Bassiouny & Said, 2008; Geiser, 2010). Some of April 6th Youth Movement’s founders, like Ahmed Maher, tried to “expand the labor protest into a broader popular movement, spreading the strikes and transforming them into general prodemocracy movement.” (Lim, 2012). Then, Maher and others created their Facebook anti-Mubarak movement to shore up the workers in El-Mahalla El-Kubra (Kirk, 2011), as the workers of this Egyptian industrial town were intended to strike on 6 April 2008. The anti-Mubarak movement made use of online tools, such as Facebook and Twitter, to garner support of more Egyptians (Lim, 2012).

By the same token, the Facebook group “We are all Khaled Said” created in June 2010 as a response to the death of the 28-year-old Khaled Said by the Egyptian police, brought to the fore the brutality of the Egyptian regime and quickly became “the most popular dissident Facebook group in Egypt” (Lim, 2012). The administrator of this page, later on we came to know his identity as Wael Ghonim, called for several protests against Said’s flagrant murder, and thousands of Egyptians participated, including the Nobel laureate Mohamed ElBaradei (Lim, 2012). All these movements and protests contributed to paving the way to Egypt’s 2011 protests.
Steering the background more toward the so called Arab Uprising, the Tunisian Revolution or the Jasmine Revolution started in late 2010 and grabbed media attention in January 2011 when President Ben Ali fled the country after two decades of autocratic rule. Within two weeks after toppling the Tunisian regime, Egypt was overshadowed by a series of massive anti-government protests, erupted on January 25, 2011, aiming at replicating the success of the Tunisian model. Again, the protests emanated from high unemployment, poverty, police repression, rampant corruption, and a suffocated political scene under a 30-year autocratic regime. These demonstrations were the biggest and most effective protest movement since the Egyptian army’s coup d'état in 1952 which abolished the Egyptian monarchy and turned the country into a republic (Elzoughby, 2011).

Both the Tunisian and Egyptian protest movements resorted to social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter to coordinate the protests, albeit the Egyptian authorities responded back by shutting down the Internet and mobile services, which proved to be unsuccessful as social media managed to initially spread the idea of the protest among the protestors (Niekerk et al, 2011).

On the whole, Egypt’s protests weren’t void of violence and drama, as the clashes between the police and pro-democracy protesters on one hand, and between the latter and pro-Mubarak protesters on the other, resulted in the killing and injury of many civilians. In an attempt to pacify the angry demonstrators, President Mubarak delivered three speeches where each speech carried more concessions to contain the ever-growing protest movement, albeit he showed defiance to remain Egypt’s leader (The Atlantic Wire, 2011).

On February 11, 2011, the newly-appointed Vice President Omar Suleiman announced in a televised speech the resignation of President Mubarak, and handing power to the Supreme Council of Egyptian Armed Forces (SCAF). After more than one year of Egypt’s momentous events, the ruling’s military generals still remain in power, but they vowed to hand power to an elected president by June 2012.
1.1.2 Egyptian Press: A historical glimpse

It’s of perennial interest to shed the light on Egypt’s modern mass media which witnessed various developments in the recent six decades. To expound, under the second Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser’s rule (1954-1970), the media in general were controlled by the government. The only legal political organization, the National Union, owned all media organizations in the country after Nasser’s nationalization of the Egyptian press. The third Egyptian President Anwar Al Sadat (1970-1981), removed censorship, albeit retained the government control over the media (Amin & Napoli, 1995; cited in Curran & Park, 2000). However, although President Mubarak’s rule has been pompously propagated as “the age of free press” (Pasha, 2011), numerous cases of closing media outlets and bringing journalists before courts proved the fettered position of the media ensuing from state intervention.

To put it more pointedly, examples of state violating freedom of expression and interfering in the media system in Egypt during Mubarak’s rule were undeniable; the Higher Press Council established in 1975 and headed by President Hosni Mubarak, was the only authority to issue publishing licenses. Theoretically speaking, the Higher Press Council was independent by law, but, in down-to-earth reality, it was under the grip of the defunct ruling National Democratic Party (Rugh, 1987). By the same token, each political party in the country had the right by law, to have its own newspaper.

Moreover, the journalists themselves had to work under an unhealthy environment when Mubarak was still in office; an emergency law that granted wide power to security forces had been in place for nearly 30 years (Freedom House, 2011). Additionally, there were numerous articles in the law penalising the press, starting from laws imposed on the press and on publications, to the laws related to state documents that shouldn’t be revealed publicly, as a part of banning access to official information. In the same vein, in the mid 1990s, the Egyptian parliament imposed amendments to the penal code to restrict freedom of the press. The outcome of this law was marked through heavy and prison sentences; from five to fifteen years for journalists if they published stories that may “abuse public officials”, “insult the president and his family” and “ruin the nation’s reputation”. The law could easily bring journalists before military courts, and even would lead to the closure and banning of the newspaper without “any form of due process” (Amin & Napoli, 2000; cited in Curran & Park, 2000, 164).
Even after the toppling of Mubarak, the freedom of the press got into a decline; according to a recent index on press freedom published by Reporters Without Borders, Egypt was ranked 166 out of 179 on the press freedom list; moving back 39 places compared to 2010/2011 index when Egypt was 127 on press freedom list (UPI.com, 2012). The reason for the deterioration rests on the fact that “many journalists and netizens have to answer for their work before military courts.” (Reporters without Borders, 2011).

1.1.3 Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm: A closer look

Like most of all Arab countries, Egypt has both state-owned and private newspapers, nevertheless as mentioned earlier; individuals or organizations can not issue newspapers or any kind of media outlets, before getting the much-needed official approval and license from the government (Pasha, 2011). For the aforesaid reason, the majority of the Egyptian newspapers and newspapers are state-owned. The most significant and important government-owned Egyptian dailies are *Al-Ahram* (The Pyramids) and *Al-Akhbar* (The News). Nevertheless, in the last few years, a number of independent and privately-owned newspapers had entered the game, such as *Al-Masry Al-Youm* (The Egyptian Today), *Al Shorouk* (The Sunrise), *Al Youm Al Sabea* (The 7th day) and *Al-Dostour* (The Constitution).

*Al-Ahram*, founded in 1875, is the second oldest Egyptian newspaper after *Al-Waqa‘i`Al-Masriya* (The Egyptian Events, founded 1828). Talaat Pasha (2011) in his dissertation entitled “Islamists in the Headlines: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian Newspapers”, classified *Al-Ahram* as an authoritarian type of media, when he succinctly puts it:

> “Egyptian media, including *Al-Ahram*, falls under the authoritarian type, where the ruling regime and the elites monopolize media outlets. The authoritarian type indicates that journalism is subservient to the interests of the state in maintaining social order and achieving political goals. Saying that *Al-Ahram* is under the authoritarian type implies it avoids criticism to the President, the government policies or officials, and it censors publishing any material that challenges the established order.” (Pasha, 2011).
Steering the background section more toward *Al-Masry Al-Youm* (The Egyptian Today), the Egyptian privately-owned daily newspaper was founded in late 2002, and first published in June 2004. *Al-Masry Al-Youm* tried to file objective news coverage, and after only two years of its first edition’s launch, the privately-owned Egyptian daily posed a threat to *Al-Ahram* for the status of being the national paper of record (Arab West Report, 2008). A leaked document obtained by one of the active bloggers, Ashraf Shehata, revealed the circulation numbers of the Egyptian dailies. According to the document issued by *Al-Ahram* institution, *Al-Ahram* printed 270,000 copies on February 1, 2009, while *Al-Masry Al-Youm* printed 192,000 copies on the same day (Arabic Press Society, 2009).

By and large, unlike the state-owned media’s propensity toward varnishing the government and regime, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*’s coverage was sometimes reliant on criticizing the government. This was discerned in the following description:

“Representing a ‘panorama’ of views, Al-Misrî al-Yawm, was successful because it responded to the Egyptian media market as a whole and not a single political party, like typical opposition papers, and was unafraid to take on hard-hitting topics, like governmental news outlets. Further, it harnessed the energy of young journalists, giving them incentives to produce good work.” (Arab West Report, 2008).

On the whole, the reason behind choosing *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm* not only rests on the fact that the former is a state-run and the latter is a privately-owned newspaper, but also because of their high circulation numbers which may indicate their impact on the readers who consider them as sources to derive news from.

1.1.4 The Telegraph and The Washington Post: A brief background of political affiliation

*The Washington Post*, founded in 1877, is considered to be the most widely circulated newspaper published in Washington, D.C. The newspaper is owned by The Washington Post Company, an education and media company that owns many media businesses besides *The Washington Post*. Many media critics classified *The Washington Post* as liberal; making no endorsements for political candidates. However, starting from 2000, it showed some inclinations toward endorsing Republican politicians such as Maryland Governor Robert Ehrlich (*The Washington Post*, 2006).
As for The Telegraph or The Daily Telegraph, it was founded in June 1855 and owned since 2004 by David and Frederick Barclay. The Telegraph is known as a conservative-bound newspaper. Also, it is known as “The Daily Torygraph” for its support of the Conservative Party (Slate, 2006). As for its online presence, The Daily Telegraph launched its online service for the first time in November 1994. Though this study is reliant on The Telegraph’s news articles and editorial pieces appeared online, but The Daily Telegraph used to put all its daily newspaper content online, besides it provides an index to the articles that are online that day, in addition to including all the features sections available with the print edition (Cowen, 2001).

Actually, the reason behind choosing The Washington Post lies in that it showed inclination toward endorsing President Obama (The Haffington Post, 2008), so taking into account that the Egyptian President Mubarak was an ally to the U.S. and according to some scholars like Wittebols (1996), who postulated that the American news coverage of protest groups in other countries adheres to the U.S. government’s foreign policy toward the foreign government, then The Washington Post’s coverage may show a propensity toward overlooking or demonizing Egypt’s protests. In simplified terms, there is a claim stating that if the American government supports a foreign government like the case in Egypt, the protests may be ignored, whilst if the American administration doesn’t support a foreign government, the protests may be highlighted. In this regard, it is important to probe upon the accuracy of the previous claim in light of The Washington Post’s coverage of Egypt’s protests.

Similarly, the choice of the conservative-bound British newspaper, The Telegraph, enriches this study, since the four newspapers in question have different affiliation; the Egyptian state-run Al-Ahram, the Egyptian privately-owned Al-Masry Al-Youm, vis-a-vis an American Liberal or Left-leaning The Washington Post, and finally a British conservative-bound newspaper The Telegraph.

1.2 Statement of the problem

There is a considerable amount of media studies conducted on social movements to examine the relationship between the mass media and protest movements; some were concerned with
substantiating how media coverage tried to marginalize social movements (Giltin, 1980; Shoemaker, 1984; McLeod & Hertog, 1992); others took an interest in evincing the impact of protest coverage on the audience. Jettisoning the fact that most of the studies that traced the relationship between the media and social movements were conducted in the West by Western scholars, the majority of the aforementioned studies used quantitative methods; notably, content analysis, as well.

Taking into account that Egypt’s protest movement was somehow recent; it has been almost only one year since the eruption of the demonstrations, besides it is still considered unfolding, one can say that most of the studies touched upon the Egyptian Revolution were concerned with exploring the role of social networking sites, like Facebook and Twitter, in mobilizing more supporters to join the protests.

Since the overarching and all-encompassing theory of this study is the protest paradigm which reflects the predilection of the media to resort to a ready-made frame template focusing on trivializing and demonizing the social movements and their beliefs (Ashley & Olson, 1998; Chan & Lee, 1984), only this research shared two recent studies the same field. One of those studies entitled “Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011), which was focusing on analyzing some media platforms’ coverage of the Egyptian Revolution in light of the protest paradigm. The latter content analysis study carried out by Summer Harlow and Thomas J. Johnston from University of Texas at Austin scrutinized mainly upon the news coverage of the New York Times and the materials uploaded on Global Voices and Twitter. Moreover, an equally important study entitled “Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011), explored the framing of Egypt’s protests in some Egyptian state-run, independent, and social media. Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study used also content analysis methodological approach. Although the previously-mentioned studies are somehow similar to the topic of this study with touching upon the framing of the Egyptian Revolution and the protest paradigm, but my study extends the scope of research not only to encompass the examination of four newspapers written in two distinct languages (Arabic and English) and from three different continents; namely, Al-Ahram (state-run Egyptian), Al-Masry Al-Youm (privately-owned Egyptian), The Telegraph (British) and The Washington Post (American), but to analyze the aforementioned newspapers in light of the “protest paradigm” and Galtung’s dichotomous model of peace and war journalism as
well. This study also uses qualitatively two different methods; notably, *frame analysis* and *critical discourse analysis*, to answer the research questions it raises.

The problem needs to be investigated here is the reporting on Egypt’s protests and how the media coverage may contribute to trivialize, marginalize and even demonize the protests, hence lead to escalate the tensions between the protestors and the state in general. To put it more crudely, the Egyptian Revolution witnessed a serious conflict between the protesters in one hand and the regime on the other, whereas the mass media were stuck in between; whether to support the status quo and criticize the protesters through different ways, which they usually prefer to adopt, or to take the side of protesters in their fight for democracy and freedom, and consequently, exasperating the powerful, deep-rooted police state. In simplified terms, this study predisposes to uncover the relationship between the media platforms in question and Egypt’s protests.

One of the main aims of this study is to try to trace the dichotomous language of “Us” and “Them” in each newspaper discretely. Put another way, the study investigates upon the main actors according to each newspapers, and how those actors were referred to as “Us” or “Them” pertaining to the power relations and ideological affiliation. In the same vein, the research is concerned with how the American and British newspapers tried to depict the Arabs; both as civilized and enlightened people, or as barbaric and uncivilized ones according to the Orient vs. Occident paradigm.

Methodologically speaking, two qualitative methods are employed in this study; namely, *frame analysis* and *critical discourse analysis*. According to Hall (1981), it is hard to either detect or ascertain the operation of the unconscious media bias against protest groups; “it comes through only in an intense focus on issues such as; who is or is not accorded space to articulate their views; ‘tones of voice’; and how opposing groups and their view points are described and portrayed within the media’s coverage of protest situations.” (McFarlane, 2001). Taken in this light, qualitative methodologies adopting structure as well as linguistic analyses are fruitful in this case, since the main purpose is to interpret the latent meanings not the manifest ones. Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) *frame analysis* approach will be employed to analyse the structural and lexical features of news texts, in addition to tracing the relationship between sources, journalists and audience members. Then, Fairclough’s method of *critical discourse analysis* will be adopted to pin down ideologies and expose power relationships which are frequently
hidden, not to mention to elicit results which are of practical relevance. Fairclough’s CDA method will be more leaning toward analysing linguistically the texts in hand.

1.3 Purpose

The research aims at analyzing how Egypt’s protests were represented in the four newspapers Al-Ahram, Al-Masry Al-youm, The Telegraph, and The Washington Post from the eruption of the momentous events on January 25, till February 17, 2011. The rational behind choosing this period rests on the fact that January 25 is the day that witnessed the eruption of the protests, not to mention that the tone of the national newspapers in hand, didn’t change before January 25 as the researcher had skimmed through the news coverage of the four newspapers one week before January 25, 2011. However, from skimming through some news samples after the resignation of President Mubarak on February 11, 2011, and also from examining a previous research entitled “Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011), a shift in the tone of the news coverage was ascertained. So, there was a need to trace this change by analysing the news coverage almost one week after Mubarak’s ousting on February 11, 2011.

1.4 Research Questions

There are three research questions this study tries to answer:

1- What kind of frames is employed in the newspapers at issue, in light of the protest paradigm?

2- How the four newspapers in hand identified and explored the characteristics of war and peace journalism, according to Galtung’s dichotomous model?

3- How are the protesters portrayed in the four newspapers in question?
1.5 Significance of the study

The significance of the study lies in the following:

- It is one of the rare studies that trace the relationship between the media and Egypt’s protest, in addition it is sui generis in the sense that it relies entirely on qualitative methodology.

- The study attempts to draw a link between the “protest paradigm” and Galtung’s typology of peace and war journalism, since the former’s dependency on official and elite sources, in addition to the tendency to demonize the protesters and accentuate violence are associated to the characteristics of war-reporting proffered in Galtung’s model.

- The research aims at proving the validity of Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) frame analysis as a systematic approach that employs various tools to dissect the texts not only on micro-analysis levels, but on macro-analysis levels as well.

- The study provides useful information about the ideological perspectives of the Egyptian newspapers Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm, besides shedding the light on The Telegraph’s and The Washington Post’s editorial position on foreign policy.


- The study also highlights the notion of global journalism in the four newspapers at issue, by tracing how these newspapers covered Egypt’s protests; from a global or national outlook. In other words, did the news coverage depend on putting the nation-state at the centre of things when framing Egypt’s protests (national outlook), or account on explaining how economic, political and social
practices in Egypt can affect other parts of the world or vice versa (global outlook)? Moreover, what are the obstacles that might face the concept of global journalism in this study?

1.6 Scope of the Thesis

A sample of 60 news items and editorial pieces derived from four newspapers; namely Al-Ahram, Al-Masry Al-Youm, The Telegraph and The Washington post, were thoroughly examined. The derived non-random samples covering Egypt’s protests were published during the period between January 25 and February 17, 2011. To elucidate, a sample of 15 news articles and editorial pieces from each newspapers was allocated for this qualitative study. To put it more crudely, 12 news articles and 3 editorial pieces were derived from each newspaper.

Only the samples of Al-Ahram and The Telegraph were available online for free. However, The Washington Post’s samples were only accessible for those who pay a subscription price. But, the samples of Al-Masry Al-Youm were neither available for free nor by paying a subscription price; hence, I had to negotiate with Al-Masry Al-Youm’s editorial staff to get the samples in a print version.

1.7 Limitations

Aside from the methods’ limitations which will be mentioned in the Limitations and Shortcomings of the Methods section in the Methods and Material chapter, this study has some other limitations related to the translation of Arabic materials in the Appendices, in addition to the graphic layout of the newspapers in question, my journalistic background and no reliable sources in the Middle East in general as well. In this regard, since almost half of the news items’ and editorial pieces’ samples were derived from the Egyptian newspapers; means they were all written in Arabic language, I found it very difficult to translate all the 30 news articles and editorial pieces in English and place them in the Appendices for time constraint issues. However, I managed to create several tables contain all the news items’ and editorial pieces’ titles, dates, and positions in the four newspapers at issue.
As for the other limitations, I only managed to get the PDF versions and print copies of both *Al-Ahram’s* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm’s* samples, so I could easily benefit from Fairclough’s external intertextuality feature in his *CDA*’s approach. But, unfortunately, I couldn’t trace the same feature in *The Telegraph’s* and *The Washington Post’s* samples; the former’s samples were derived from an online archive, whereas the latter’s samples were extracted from an online subscription payment section. Also, I came from a journalistic background, which could be a stumbling block or hindrance in the way of approaching this study academically. However, I tried to be as clear as possible in presenting my arguments cemented by evidences to prove these arguments. Finally, one of the obstacles that loomed large in this study was related to the fact that no reliable sources in Egypt and the Middle East in general one can depend on in relation to specific data or numbers, albeit I tried to get the same data from other sources, if possible, or put the onus of the derived data on the sources I managed to get. But, this was rarely happened like in getting the real circulation numbers of *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm* from a leaked document posted on a blog.

### 1.8 Thesis outline

The thesis is divided into five chapters. After the *Introduction* chapter, the *Theoretical Framework and Previous Research* chapter aims at presenting three different theories related to the study; namely, *framing*, *protest paradigm* and *peace journalism* theories, not to mention to explore the previous studies that touched upon the media coverage of social movements in general.

The third chapter is the *Methods and Material* one, which subsumes two subsections; each on one of the two methods used; notably, *frame analysis* and *CDA*. The same chapter also presents the material thoroughly and how they were gathered. Then, it explores the limitations and shortcoming of the methods, along with giving detailed information about generalisability, reliability and validity of the methods.

*Results and Analysis* chapter is the fourth in this thesis. It examines the findings derived from the previously-mentioned methods. Again, this chapter is divided into two main sections; one is dedicated to the results of *frame analysis* with presenting some of the putative frames relevant to the “*protest paradigm*”. The second section is assigned to the findings of *CDA*. 
The last chapter or the Conclusion sums up the entire research by not only analyzing the findings of the three methods and linking them to the theoretical framework, but by comparing the results of this study with those derived from the researches entitled “Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011) and “Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011).
2. Theoretical Framework and Previous Research

The theoretical framework and previous research chapter prudently examines the theoretical and conceptual components germane to this study on one hand, and the previous research studies within the boundaries of the field in question, on the other. In sum, this chapter sheds light on the theories of framing, protest paradigm, and peace journalism perspectives which are inextricably linked to the research questions in specific and the thesis in general. In the same vein, this chapter spotlights the previous studies of media coverage of social movements, where two recent study entitled: “Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011) and “Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011), are thoroughly explored and examined as well.

2.1 Theoretical Approaches

The theoretical approach for this study is primarily reliant on three theories or concepts, namely: framing, protest paradigm, and peace and war journalism. The chapter encompasses a general definition of each theory or approach, not to mention to draw a link between the previously-mentioned theories and concepts, cemented by the critique towards those theories, if any, with pining down the differences between peace and war journalism paradigms. Additionally, the chapter carefully explores how these conceptual and theoretical components have been intertwined and used in the research at issue. Taken in this light, the rationale for selecting those theories in specific rests on the fact that the study’s cardinal purpose is to explore framing of Egypt’s protests in light of the “protest paradigm” as being the overarching theory in this study, not to mention to identify the characteristics of war and peace journalism, according to Galtung’s dichotomous model (Galtung, 1998), in some national, British and American newspapers. Put another way, some previous studies of the news content showed that the news coverage of protests tends to focus on the protests’ violent activities rather than their social criticism, in order to “delegitimize” and “marginalize” the protest groups. This kind of coverage is known as the “protest paradigm” (Chan & Lee, 1984). The latter theory is very much akin to the violence-oriented characteristics of war journalism proffered in Galtung’s model.
2.1.1 Media Framing

Controversially enough, news media play an important role in the life and death of social movements; the news media can shape a protest message for an audience, through determining the decision of printing or broadcasting news of social protest, the choice of sources being used, and above all, how to frame the issue. (Ashley & Olson, 1998: 263). To expound, Hank Johnston and John A. Noakes (2005), in their “Frames of Protest: Social Movements and the Framing Perspective”, argue that:

“Social movements are engaged in a ‘struggle for cultural supremacy’ between themselves and other collective actors, including the state, countermovements, and the media (Tarrow 1998). For social movements this struggle consists of two separate battles: a fight for media access, and a fight for the definition and framing of the covered issue. In both battles, social movements are most of the time not fighting on even terms but are confronted with strong opponents making opposition claims.” (Johnston & Noakes, 2005: 116).

By and large, Hank Johnston and John A. Noakes (2005) postulate that social movements managed to deviate from the media’s selection bias, albeit they couldn’t “compensate for the media’s fascination for institutional and more professionalized newsmakers.” (Johnston & Noakes, 2005: 117). In other words, framing will come to the fore just after the social movements passing the news gates. This transposes us to one of the dominant theories of this study, namely, framing theory.

In sum, there is no one universal definition of framing, though its concept is not new (D’Angelo, 2002). The difficulty with defining news frames stems from their obscure and abstract nature on one hand, in addition to the fact that the frames have been discussed in relation to media coverage and people’s cognitive schemas alike, on the other (Entman, 2004).

According to Tuchman (1978), “news frame organizes everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality... (It) is an essential feature of news.” (Tuchman, 1978: 193). In the same vein, Gamson and Modigliani (1987) give definition to a media frame as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an upholding strip of events...The
frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue.” (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987: 143). In other words, frames could be identified as “interpretative packages” which give meaning to a certain issue. At the heart of this package is “a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989: 3). However, to frame, as Entman (1993), one of the prominent scholars on framing, succinctly puts it: is “to select some aspects of perceived reality to make them more salient, thus promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.” (Entaman, 1993: 52).

By the same token, Gitlin (1980) expatiates on the concept of media frame by saying that:

“Media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some degree, for us who rely on their reports.” (Gitlin, 1980: 7).

For Pan and Kosicki (1993), the frame of a news story is a tantamount to the theme of this news story. They succinctly put it:

“A theme is an idea that connects different semantic elements of a story (e.g., descriptions of an action or an actor, quotes of sources, and background information) into a coherent whole.” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 59).

However, the theme is the remnant of “meaning left with the individual after attending to the news story” (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 164).

Theoretically speaking, there is a tangible connection between agenda setting, priming and framing paradigms, albeit they don’t share a common mechanism. To put it crudely, by examining Entman’s former salience-bound definition of framing (Entamn, 1993: 52), one can say that both agenda setting and framing are similar from the first part of this definition; agenda setting assumes that the more the media cover an issue, the more salient that issue is for the public (Edy & Meirich, 2007: 120). Conversely, the second part of Entman’s previous definition differentiates it from agenda-setting. Ostensibly, framing is a second-level agenda setting, while the first-level agenda setting makes issues salient, taking into consideration that Entman’s exposition posits that, unlike the agenda setting, the salience mechanism of frames is not a product of repetition, rather; a structure of narrative (Edy & Meirich, 2007: 120). By the
same token, priming could be discerned as an outcome of agenda setting; giving some attention to some aspects of political life at the expenses of the other (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 23).

Congruent with highlighting the difference between framing and priming, T. E. Nelson, Oxley, and Clawson (1997) posit three main cognitive routes to political communication effects, by affirming that:

“Messages may change attitudes by adding information to an individual’s stockpile of considerations about the issue (belief change), by making particular consideration temporarily more accessible (priming), or by altering the weight of particular considerations (framing).” (Nelson, Oxley, and Clawson, 1997: 236).

Another eminent scholar, Iyengar (1991), expostulates that the news media have a predilection towards presenting news from an episodic perspective or frame rather than a thematic one; in lieu of providing a “historical background of a given issue and the related social, cultural, and political factors affecting the issue (thematic perspective), the news reporter is likely to focus on a recent alarming, or attention-earning event that highlights an individual’s or group’s plight through personal illustrations (episodic perspective).” (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 164). Iyengar (1991) comes up with a conclusion that the type of media framing has a consequence of how audience attribute responsibility. In other word, the public will come to believe who should held accountable for a problem, and who or what is to be responsible for remedying a situation, through the way an issue is framed. To elucidate, the propensity towards choosing thematic frames over episodic one might mean that the attribution of responsibility drifts from personal to abstract societal level (Iyengar, 1991).

From Iyengar’s former conclusion, this study will draw a link between framing theory and protest paradigm. In this, the study will trace the thematic and episodic news frames in the journalistic samples at issue, with the hypothesis that some news coverage might give primacy to episodic than thematic frames, most probably in the national newspapers, by concentrating more on the protestors’ acts of violence and attribute responsibility to them, and relinquishing the social and historical circumstances which gave rise to their movements. By so doing, the media would resort to a ready-made frame template, namely, the protest paradigm, which is concerned with trivializing and demonizing the social movements and their beliefs (Ashley & Olson 1998; Chan & Lee, 1984). A more elaboration on this part will be followed in this chapter.
2.1.2 Critique of Media Framing

Steering the debate more toward the critique of framing theory, one can say that frames are not simple, albeit they are complex and overlapping. They can be existed in the headline of a news article, following Teun Van Dijk’s (1991) proposition that the headlines are often used to frame stories. Or, they can be extracted from the entire body of news coverage. Taken in this light, frames are developed through the choices of reporters in relation to language, source selection, and finally story organization (Shah et al, 2004: 177). In the same vein, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) postulate that framing is both a macro level; deal with the journalistic norms, pressures, routines and deadlines in which news is created, and micro level constructs; deal with how the audience interprets media messages. To explicate, the journalists are “cognitive misers”, paying heed only to specific aspects of an issue, and overlooking others. Frames, in this sense, are not a deliberate process, “they may include intent, but more likely the result of unconscious motives.” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007: 583).

Elaborating more on Scheufele and Tewksbury’s macro level concept, the reporters avail themselves tendentiously of prefabricated narrative frames fit various occasions within human existence. These ready-made narrative frames are “archetypal” (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 174). In this, Bird and Dardenne (1988) mention:

“In particular terms, news values, rules, and formulas are essential for journalists to do their jobs. Reporters may have to write many stories in a week, or they may have to move to a different community and start writing about it immediately. They can comfortably do this with all the story-telling tools at their disposal, giving them a skeleton on which to hang the flesh of the news story.” (Bird & Dardenne, 1988: 73)

In this regard, one of the challenges that I may encounter in this study is to have in mind some ready-made frames and gratuitously interpolate them into my interpretation of the news stories in question. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) for example, found out from their practicum that the most common frames in news coverage are: attribution of responsibility, conflict, morality, human interest and economic consequences frames (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 93-109). To overcome this potential problem, I will use the eleven framing mechanism suggested by
Tankard (2001) to identify and measuring news frames: “headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts and concluding statements and paragraphs” (Vreese, 2005: 54). But, still, even with Tankard’s eleven framing mechanism, it’s hard to define a frame, especially when you have different frames intertwined together in the same news article. To clarify, there is a conflation of frames within the same news story, constituting what is called as “hybrid frames”. However, to mitigate this problematic issue, I will resort to Cappella’s and Jamieson’s (1997) four criteria that a frame must meet. First, a news frame has to have identifiable linguistic characteristics. Second, it should be discerned in journalistic practice and norm. Third, it has to be possible to differentiate the frame reliably from other frames. Finally, a frame has to be recognized by others, and not be engendered from a researcher’s imagination (Cappella & Jameson, 1997: 47-89). In the main, this study will be dealing with Entman’s (1993) definition of frame mentioned earlier, which was found to be the most appropriate for this study, because many relevant studies depended on Entman’s definition on one hand, and the protest paradigm as the overarching theory in this study proffered by McLeod and Hertog (1999) was reliant on the same definition of frames on the other.

Symmetrically speaking, I will adopt in this study Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) methodological approach of framing analysis which reckons on analysing the structural and lexical features of news texts, not to mention to analyse the framing devices proffered by Gamson and Lasch (1983), namely: “metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images” (Gamson & Lasch, 1983: 399). By so doing, and resorting to two different methods in this study, namely frame analysis and critical discourse analysis, I may narrow down the number of interpretations derived from the media texts at issue. A more illustration would be followed in the Methods and Material chapter.

2.1.3 Protest Paradigm

In his “News Coverage and Social Protest: How the Media’s Protest Paradigm Exacerbates Social Conflict”, Douglas M. McLeod (2007) defines the protest paradigm, the dominant theory in this study, as:

“A set of news coverage patterns that typifies mainstream media coverage. This coverage generally disparages protesters and hinders their role as vital actors on the political stage. The lack of
respect for the value of social protest inherent in such coverage has created frustration among the protesters, which has in turn contributed to dysfunctional confrontations.” (McLeod, 2007: 185).

In the same vein, according to McQuail (1993), the media act robustly in disturbed times than in normal circumstances. In other words, whenever the stability of a society is at stake by “crime, war, economic malaise or some ‘moral panic’, the mass media are given some responsibility.” (McQuail, 1993: 332-333). In line with this fact, the media is more likely to shore up the legitimacy of the state on one hand, and delegitimize the challenges of social orders, on the other (Ashley & Olson, 1998: 263). By so doing, the media not only exert all its efforts to wane the potency and effectiveness of protestors, but also exaggerate the threat they pose to the society (McLeod, 1995). The underdog team, the protest groups, unfortunately are not in a valence situation; they operate with limited resources and have difficulties regarding finding succour in the public, though the advent of Internet and social media have enabled, to some degree, the protestors from achieving their goals, like what had happened during the Egyptian Revolution for example. But, when the Egyptian authorities blocked Twitter, Facebook, followed by the entire Internet and mobile phone networks, the protesters resorted to a variety of different media to coordinate and communicate with each other (BBC, 2011).

As a result of lacking the resources needed to accomplish their mission, in addition to falling out of favour of what has been called “the news net” (Tuchman, 1978), the protest groups resort to drama to garner media attention (McLeod, 2007: 185). However, the entirely devoting to do something newsworthy such as dramatic gestures, sit-ins, demonstrations, marches and violence, would detrimentally delegitimize the protestors. In other words, the protest groups are caught between a rock and a hard place; whether ignoring the media or resorting to drama, and consequently, risking delegitimizing their efforts (McLeod, 2007: 186).

To trace the origin of the protest paradigm, McLeod (2007) writes:

“The origins of the protest paradigm are the product of the forces that shape news production including the bias of the individual reporter, the impact of news organization, the canons of the journalistic profession, the cultural and ideological blinders of the social system, and the constraints of the medium.” (McLeod, 2007: 186).
According to McLeod and Hertog (1999), the *protest paradigm* is consisting of the following characteristics:

- *News frames*
- *Reliance on official sources*
- *The invocation of public opinion*
- "*Delegitimization*"
- "*Demonization*"

In the *news frames* feature proffered by McLeod and Hertog (1999), Entman’s famous framing definition mentioned earlier was adopted. Additionally, the prominent scholars posit that the most common frames used in the coverage of protest groups are: the “crime story”, the “riot”, and the “carnival”, while the “debate” frame is rarely used. The *protest paradigm* news coverage is also characterized by its contingency on official sources. The journalists’ leaning nonchalantly towards official sources are justified as the latter conform to the standard definitions of objectivity which satisfy the journalistic norms. But, this pseudo-like objective reporting tends to be just “a mere perpetuation of the status quo, because it does not criticize the existing social order.” (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 236). Even with the ascendancy of electronic technologies, some scholars like Hansen, Ward, Conners, and Neuzil (1994), found that the reporters’ dependency on conventional/official news sources remained, or even increased (Hansen et al, 1994: 561-572).

Regarding the *invocation of public opinion* characteristic of the *protest paradigm*, McLeod and Hertog (1999) postulate that the *protest paradigm* has a tendency towards emphasizing on the fact that there are differences between protesters and the widespread society. To expound, most of protestors’ coverage “don’t contain reports of actual public opinion polls.” (McLeod, 2007: 187). Taken in this light, the protestors’ news reports make use of sources or quotes to create sweeping generalizations about public opinion, aiming at framing protestors as abandoned minority. In the same vein, a considerable space would be given to the descriptions of the appearances, behaviours and identity of the protestors, not to mention to highlight their violent clashes with the police and violation of law, in a way to accentuate their aberration from the social norms. Likewise, according to the *protest paradigm*, the reporters’ coverage of the protest groups tends to interview bystanders “who by definition do not join the protest”, to
represent the feedbacks of the citizens, and consequently, most of those bystanders would be opposed to the protestors (McLeod, 2007).

One of the fundamental components of the protest paradigm is “delegitimization”. As a direct consequence of failing to give a reason for the protest actions, the public usually perceive them as barren, pointless, inane, senseless and even “irrational”. In this, the journalists may try to delegitimize the protestors by “judging them as futile or as failures, ignoring many of the latent functions of protest groups (e.g., spreading information, generating sources, building solidarity among individuals and coalitions among like-minded groups, etc).” (McLeod, 2007: 187). Finally, according to McLeod and Hertog (1999), the protest paradigm employs a “demonization” frame of the protestors. To explicate, the media try to exaggerate the threats posed by the protest groups, through focusing attention on the negative attributes and consequences of the protests. By and large, the media coverage of protests not only gives prominence to the violent actions and the “anarchy” of a few protestors, but also ignores the peaceful actions of the majority. Emphasize on “violence, property damage, traffic congestion, and expenditure of community resources (i.e., the cost of law enforcement)” (McLeod, 2007: 187), has been adopted by the journalists in their media coverage of protest groups.

To recoup, Laura Ashley and Beth Olson (1998) in their “Constructing Reality: Print Media’s Framing of the Women’s Movement, 1966 to 1986”, summarized McLeod and Hertog’s former characteristics of the protest paradigm and drew a direct link between framing and protest paradigm theories by writing:

“News media can frame a protest group in several ways: by ignoring it; burying the article in the back section; by the description given to the protesters; reporting the event rather than the group’s goals and interests; trivializing the protest by making light of their dress, language, age, style or goals; or marginalizing viewpoints by attributing them to a social deviant.” (Ashley & Olson, 1998: 264).

Congruent with the earlier hypothesis that the media coverage of some of the journalistic samples in hand was more leaning towards episodic frames than thematic ones, by accentuating the protesters’ violent actions and ignoring the social and historical backgrounds of their claims, this study will elaborate more on and McLeod and Hertog’s five characteristics of the protest paradigm mentioned above. Taken in this light, another hypothesis for this study would
to identify a number of frames in light of the protest paradigm. Those putative frames that most probably to be found in the national newspapers in hand, are:

- Protest as being disregarded and neglected
- Protest as carnival
- Protesters’ appearance, behaviour and identity
- Protesters vs. police
- Protesters as anarchists
- Protest as economic threat
- Protest as part of conspiracy theories

Conspicuously, following in the footsteps of the state-run Egyptian TV which was broadcasting and focusing its cameras on a panoramic view of the River Nile and Cairo Tower, instead of concentrating on the protests in Tahrir Square during the very first days of the Egyptian revolution (Associated Press, 2010), Al-Ahram, a state-run newspaper which is included in the samples of this study, adopted the same strategy; the main headline of the front page on January 26, 2011, just a day after the breaking out of the upheaval protests, was: “Demonstrations and Widespread Unrests in Lebanon”. However, another news article with a considerable small space compared to the previous news piece was given to the Egyptian protests in the same front page, entitled: “Thousands Participate in Peaceful Demonstrations in Cairo, Governorates”. No other space was dedicated to the protests on that day in Al-Ahram newspaper (Al Ahram, 2011). This brings about a putative protest as being disregarded and neglected frame to the fore. Another prominent frame could be protest as carnival. This frame is a part of a theatre or performance narrative structure, aiming at depicting the protests as “performance”, whilst protesters as “actors”. The purpose of this interpretation could be to “empty the protest of its radical political content” (McFarlane, 2001). In other words, the frame diverts the attention from the reason behind being on the streets.

Likewise, another frame that may shift away the attention from the analysis of the protestors’ political perspectives and consequently failing to underwrite a legitimate meaning for their actions on the streets, will be protesters’ appearance, behaviour and identity frame. In the same vein, a more dedicated space will be given to the description of the protestors, their dress,
language, age and identity, than to their major-league political context. Similarly, the protester vs. the police frame is expected to be the most central frame in this study. In his “Communicating Deviance: The Effects of Television News Coverage of Social Protest”, Douglas M. McLeod (1995) argues:

“The news media’s focus on protest violence often transfers the protesters’ intended opposition target, typically a government or corporate agency, to the police. Thus, many protest stories adopt a ‘protesters vs. police’ news frame. The transference of protesters’ intended opposition is significant because a group that challenges government policy is political, while a group that challenges police is criminal.” (McLeod, 1995).

McLeod (1995) points out that the media usually are adamant to substitute the protesters’ intended opposition target, notably a government or corporate agency, for the police. The bias toward the protesters’ opponents, namely the police, is being employed by the use of sources. In this, the journalists resort to the police officers and other official representatives at the expense of the protesters in their coverage. The preternaturalness within protesters vs. police frame is highlighted through the depiction of which group is initiating and which group is responding to the encounter (McLeod, 1995). In the main, it’s stereotypical to frame the protesters as provokers and police as merely acting in response to restore order (McLeod & Hertog, 1992). Moreover, at the heart of the news coverage of the protesters vs. police frame, one can find actions rather than the issues of protest, are the focus of the news stories. The reason behind this lies in the deep-rooted entertainment value of action on one hand, and the canons of objectivity, on the other.

By and large, Giltin (1977) theorizes:

“The actions of protesters make for dramatic video, photos and news stories. In addition, the description of actions and the recounting of facts, such as the number of protests arrested, fit within the guidelines of objectivity. Journalists often hesitate to deal with social criticism for fear of seeming like advocates. When they are covered, issues are often trivialized and over-simplified.” (Giltin 1977; McLeod 1995).

As for protesters as anarchists frame, the protesters in Tahrir Square, specifically, could be framed with an “anarchy” narrative structure. In this, a reference was made to the protesters’
acts of violence, property destruction, setting fires in cars and governmental buildings, and the like, as if the streets of Egypt became a playing field of anarchists. This recurrent reference to violence and anarchy not only supports the status quo and portrays the protests as abandoned minority, but also helps in getting the public ratchet up against the protestors (McFarlane, 2001).

_Protest as economic threat_ narrative structure is also very common. It usually works in tandem with _Protesters as anarchists_ news frame to magnify and aggravate the economic consequences of such protests on the country. In this, the news coverage of radical protests tends to depict the frailty and delicacy of the economic conditions of the state, and sometimes portray the country as if it is on brink of bankruptcy. Again, the cardinal purpose behind this pattern is to put the public against the protesters who are appearing to be the cause of this calamity. Finally, the protests are framed as being part of conspiracy theories. In sum, the protesters are portrayed as “subscribers of conspiracy theories” (McFarlane, 2001). They are delineated as part of a grand scheme to destabilize the country. This is another illustration to the previous “supporting the status quo” narrative structure.

In the same tone, McLeod and Detenber (1999), enunciate:

“Status quo support had significant effects on viewers, leading them to be more critical of, and less likely to identify with, the protesters; less critical of the police, and less likely to support the protesters’ expressive rights. Status quo support also produced lower estimates of the protest’s effectiveness, public support, and perceptions of newsworthiness.” (McLeod and Detender, 1999: 3).

### 2.1.4 Critique of Protest Paradigm

One can find potential pitfalls in the _protest paradigm_ and its characteristics. In this vein, McLeod (2007) in his “News Coverage and Social Protest: How the Media’s Protest Paradigm Exacerbates Social Conflict”, hypothesizes that under certain conditions the journalists may deviate from the _protest paradigm_ in their coverage of the protest groups. To exemplify, McLeod analyzed the Day without Immigrants demonstrations of 2006, which was protest rallies around the United States as a direct response to “congressional debates over proposed revisions to immigration policy, some of which may restrict the flow of immigration to the United States and others that may impinge upon those who are already in the U.S. without
authorization.” (McLeod, 2007: 188). By applying the five characteristics of the protest paradigm he proposed -mentioned earlier- on a discourse study, McLeod found out that the coverage of the Los Angeles Times didn’t conform to the concept of the protest paradigm which usually used to trivialize, demonize and delegitimize the protest groups. One of his findings germane to the positive coverage of the protestors in his study was that “the size and scope of the demonstrations made them hard to ignore.” (McLeod, 2007: 191). According to McLeod (2007), the journalists have no choice except for covering the considerable large and national-scope protests even if they fell out of the newsworthiness favour such as conflict, property damage, clashes with the police and the like.

Argumentatively, it seems that McLeod’s previous finding cannot be applicable to all the cases of protest groups, especially in the so-called third countries or authoritarian regimes. In this, though Egypt’s protests that captured the public interest all over the world were huge in numbers; Al-Jazeera mentioned “up to two million” people were in Tahrir square, while New York Times and Wall Street Journal estimated their number by “hundreds of thousands” (Now Public, 2011), the state-run Egyptian television ignored the protests entirely by concentrating its cameras on the River Nile and Cairo Tower instead of airing the unfolding events in Tahrir Square (Associated Press, 2010). Likewise, the state-owned Al-Ahram newspaper tried to ignore the protests by giving them a small space on the front page on January 26, 2011, as mentioned previously (Al Ahram, 2011). By so doing, the news coverage of the state-controlled mediums may tend to adopt a protest as being disregarded and neglected news frame. Moreover, McLeod (2007) gives some recommendations for the journalists who are producing news articles about social protests based on his analysis of the Los Angeles Times coverage. One of these recommendation tips was to invest more time in writing “meaningful stories”, without falling into the trap of deadlines’ pressure. Practically speaking, McLeod failed to come up with a “real” piece of advice to overcome this potential, yet chronic problem of journalists’ deadlines!

Steering the discussion toward another debatable point in the protest paradigm, one can say that the American news coverage of social protests outside the U.S. soils differs from, at the very least, other countries’ news coverage. Taken in this light, Wittebols (1996) assumes that the news coverage of protest groups in other countries conforms to the U.S. government’s “foreign policy toward both the foreign government and protest movements.” (Wittebols, 1996: 345). In other words, if the American government shores up a foreign government, the protests
are ignored and overlooked. However, if the American government doesn’t buoy up a foreign government, the protests are accentuated and spotlighted (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 237). The way that the American media deal with the social protests in countries which threaten U.S. foreign policy interests brings to the fore the propaganda model of mass media proffered by Herman and Chomsky (1988). According to propaganda model, money and power could easily filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissention and allow the government and the elites to get their message across the masses (Herman and Chomsky, 1988: 2). One can pick up another thread into Johan Galtung’s peace and war journalism model; war journalism is propaganda-orientated (Ottosen, 2010).

To explicate, McLeod (1995) himself in his “Communicating Deviance: The Effects of Television News Coverage of Social Protest”, stayed abreast of this point, albeit he didn’t mention vividly this exception from his protest paradigm model as one of the factors that may influence the news coverage of social movements. In this, he writes:

“For social protest, this means that the democratic utility of protest is more likely to be recognized when the people of other nations are protesting (e.g., Tienanmen Square, the attempted Soviet coup) than when the protests are in the United States (e.g., the Persian Gulf War).” (McLeod, 1995).

In sum, the U.S. foreign policy interests could be another factor that militates against the news coverage of the social protests in the light of the protest paradigm.

2.1.5 Peace Journalism

The concept of peace journalism emanated in the 1970s by the Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung. According to Galtung, there are two roads to looking at a conflict; the low road that sees a conflict as a battle in sports arena and gladiator circus, where winning is everything. The latter road represents war journalism. However, the high road of peace journalism sees conflicts as challenges to the world. Whenever there is a clear danger of violence, there is also a chance or an opportunity to transform the conflict without violence (Kempf and Luostarinen, 2002: 260).

The prominent Norwegian scholar argues:
“There is no argument that violence shouldn’t be reported. But the first victim in a war is not truth. That is only the second victim. The first victim is, of course, peace.” (Kempf and Luostarinen, 2002: 260).


In sum, peace journalism centres on stories that accentuate peace initiatives; attenuate ethnic and religious differences, prevent more conflict; and buoying up conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation (Galtung, 1998). In Galtung’s point of view, peace journalism is a tantamount to health journalism; “a good health reporter describes a patient’s battle against cancer and yet informs readers about the cancer’s causes as well as the full range of cures and preventive measures.” (Lee & Maslog, 2005: 312). On the other hand, war journalism is more about sports journalism; where the main attention is on winning in a zero-sum game.

2.1.6 Peace Journalism vs. War Journalism

In consonance with Johan Galtung’s model which he introduced to differentiate between peace/conflict and war/violence journalism, one can say that peace journalism gives other options to the reader/viewer, through offering a solution orientated, people orientated and truth orientated approach. Peace journalism offers possible solutions and suggestions for peace to the parties involved in the conflict, and it is people-orientated by concentrating on the civilian victims, not to mention it is also truth-orientated by exposing the untruth on all sides or “the black and whites of all sides”. Conversely, war journalism is violence-orientated, propaganda-orientated, elite-orientated and victory-orientated. It is like a zero-sum game where the winner takes everything (Ottosen, 2010). Cardinally, peace journalism represents truth as opposed to propaganda and lies. Galtung draws a vivid link between peace journalism and “journalism of attachment”, by admitting that peace journalism is nothing but “journalism of attachment”. Taken in this light, journalists should not stand neutrally between good and evil. Rather, they should play an active role in any conflict by taking the side of the good. By doing so, media will serve as catalysts for unfettering violence, in lieu of contributing to de-escalation and constructive, nonviolent conflict transformation. On the other hand, the opponents of peace
journalism school, mainly the war journalism advocates, see that journalists shouldn’t appoint themselves as judges of who is good or evil in any conflict in the world, and should adhere to their professional rules of being just a mirror of the society (Kempf and Luostarinen, 2002: 59).

In line with the previous discourse, peace journalism is trying to remain aloof from the objectivity credo, or even, doubting its validity. In other words, the journalistic notion of being as an unjaundiced mirror of the reality is a fallacy to peace journalism advocates. In this context, Iggers (1998) points out:

“Although few journalists still defend objectivity, it remains one of the greatest obstacles to their playing a more responsible and constructive role in public life.” (Iggers, 1998: 91).

Steering the debate more towards the differences between peace and war journalism, one can say that war journalism is giving primacy to and is oriented in violence, propaganda, elite and finally victory, as previously mentioned. In this vein, there are many definitions for propaganda. Wilhelm Kempf and Heikki Luostarien in their book, “Journalism and New World Order”, proclaim that “propaganda is often connected with the simplest ‘transmission view’ of communication, where messages- in a fashion described by colourful metaphors as ‘mechanistic S-R theory’, ‘hypovemic needle theory’, ‘transmission belt theory’ or ‘magic bullet theory’- move from the brains of the sender to affect the knowledge, emotions and behaviour of the recipient.” (Kempf and Luostarinen, 2002: 18). Some scholars like Herman and Chomsky (1988) postulate that the media bulwark the interests of the power elites. In this regard, propaganda becomes connected with authoritarian governments and the so-called “brainless herd”, as a concept epitomizes the people. According to propagandists, journalists would take the sides of the state, by supporting what it is believed to be in the national interest. Sometimes, the journalists who dare to take “the wrong side” and don’t support the state policy, would be marginalized and branded (Kempf and Luostarinen, 2002: 20). Principally, war propaganda discerns everything which is “ours” as being sacred, whilst everything related to the enemy is perceived as blasphemous, filthy and immoral. In other words, one can see two dichotomous perspectives: demonizing the enemy as opposed to heroicizing our deeds (Kempf and Luostarinen, 2002: 38).

In the same vein, Philip Knightley (1975) sheds light on the depiction of “demonizing” the enemy in war-reporting. Similarly, Sam Keen (1986) describes in his book “Faces of the
Enemy” how an enemy could be discerned as a “criminal”, “death”, “rapist” or even an “enemy of God”. However, some critics and authors such as Chomsky and Ottoson examined and discussed how Washington changed its view towards Nicolae Ceausescu, the former Romanian dictator, from having its complete support as being “the favourite member of the Warsaw Pact”, to “Satan”, “Dracula” and “Hitler” (Ottoson, 1995: 104). In trawling for an analogy between the protest paradigm and the “demonization” theme in war journalism, one can say that the former used to demonize the protesters and portray them as deviants from the social norms. In other words, the demonized enemy in war-reporting is substituted for the protesters in the protest paradigm. Equally, in the protesters vs. police news frame, Hall et al. (1978) elaborates that the news media often “treat radical protesters as equivalent of criminals” (McLeod, 1995).

Congruent with the “demonization” theme, the theme of “Us” versus the “Other” is another palpable characteristic in war-reporting. Introduced for the first time by Carl Schmitt (1932), the tone of “Us” versus the “Other” loomed large in some news coverage during the 18 days of the Egyptian Revolution. In this context, there were some attempts to besmirch the protesters in Tahrir square. To elucidate, in the same day that President Mubarak stepped down, Al-Ahram in a supplement, portrayed two big opposite pictures, one from Tahrir square, captioned by “the Uprising”, and the other for the newly-appointed Vice President Suleiman who was assigned by Mubarak to conduct a negotiation with the opposition representatives, captioned by “the Legitimacy”. In other words, the government and regime wanted to deliver a message to the Egyptians, whether to be with “Us”; the civilized, rational and legitimate elite, or with “Them”; the chaotic, irrational and illegitimate, albeit patriotic group (Al-Ahram, 2011).

Concomitantly with Galtung’s typology, McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) developed the previous model into 17 good recommendations to journalists in covering wars, including concentrating on solutions, presenting long-term effects, focusing on the ordinary people, not to mention to reporting on all sides, and using accurate language. Also, Seow Ting Lee and Crispin C. Maslog (2005) expanded Galtung’s model into 13 indicators of war journalism and another 13 indicators for peace journalism in their study, “War or Peace Journalism? Asian Newspaper Coverage of Conflicts”.

Taken in this light, Lee and Maslog (2005) argue:
These indicators, used to elicit from the body text of each story which frame—war or peace journalism—dominated the narrative, comprised two themes: approach and language. The approach-based criteria included (a) reactivity, (b) visibility of effects of war, (c) elite orientation, (d) differences, (e) focus on here and now, (f) good and bad dichotomy, (g) party involvement, (h) partisanship, (i) winning orientation, and (j) continuity of reports. The language-based criteria focused on language that was (a) demonizing, (b) victimizing, and (c) emotive. For example, a story was judged if it is reactive (“Does it wait for war to break out before reporting it?”); whether it reported mainly on the visible effects of war (“Does it focus on casualties, death toll, damage to property?”); and whether it was partisan (“Is it biased for one side in the conflict?”), and so on. In this way, indexes were produced to measure war journalism and peace journalism.” (Lee & Maslog, 2005: 316).

For this study, though it doesn’t entirely fall into the war conflict category, as it’s more leaning toward and demarcated as a social or protest movement, but, still, it shares many factors with war-reporting where patriotism, censorship, propaganda and anger are intertwined together. Therewith, peace-reporting can be traced as well. In this regard and in accordance with the previous hypotheses posited earlier, notably the media coverage of the some newspaper samples at issue is more angling towards episodic than thematic frames, not to mention to identify a number of frames developed from the protest paradigm which is expected to be found in the samples in question, another hypothesis revolves around that the national newspapers, namely, Al Masry Al Youm and Al-Ahram, are leaning more towards war-reporting in their depiction and covering of the protests’ events that ended up with toppling the the President Hosni Mubarak, than the British and American coverage of the same protests in the other two newspapers: The Washington Post and The Telegraph. The latter British and American coverage is expected to conform more to the principles of peace journalism, at some extent.

To substantiate this hypothesis, the study will make use of some indicators extracted from Lee and Maslog’s (2005) model, which is, consequently, developed from Galtung’s (1998) typology. The indicators to be used in this study are:

- Visible effects of the (conflict). (Does the coverage concentrate on the casualties; dead and wounded, and property damage?)
- Elite/official sources orientation. (To what extent the coverage depends on elite or official sources? Are there any people sources in the coverage?)
Partisanship. (Does the coverage show some inclination toward one party or more at the expense of the other(s)?)

Good and bad dichotomy. (Does the coverage reflect two opposed attitudes towards the involved parties; e.g., the police are good, whilst the protesters are bad? Are there any signs of “Us” versus “Them” theme or victims and villains?)

Victimizing language. (Does the language of the reports tend to be more victimizing; e.g., tragic, defenceless, pathetic; to tell only what has been done to people or not?)

Demonizing language. (Is there any attempt to demonize or dehumanize any party (ies) in the conflict within the coverage by using words such as: vicious, cruel, barbaric, tyrant, brutal and the like?)

In this regard, the more the coverage displays visual effects of the conflict through concentrating on the casualties or property damages than invisible effects of the conflict; e.g., emotional trauma and damage to society at large, the more a newspaper shows a tendency towards war journalism. Likewise, the more the coverage relies on official and elite sources than ordinary people, the more it adheres to war journalism’s canons. Moreover, the more the coverage is biased towards one party or more at the expense of the other (s) or the more the media act as a propaganda tool, the more it conforms to war journalism. However, the more the coverage reflects the theme of “Us” versus “Them”, the more it falls into war journalism’s category. Finally, the more the coverage uses frequently victimizing and demonizing language in describing the conflict and its parties than reporting on what has been done, how the people are coping and using more accurate descriptions, the more the coverage tends towards war journalism (Lee & Maslog, 2005: 325-326).

2.1.7 Critique of Peace Journalism

One of the most problematic issues concerning Galtung’s peace journalism concept is the dilemma of objectivity. In this, the opponents of peace journalism believe that the journalist should seek objectivity; to be neutral as long as possible in his reporting and stand up against
taking sides in conflict. In this, Thomas Nagel, the New York University law and philosophy professor, argues that:

“In pursuing objectivity we alter our relation to the world, increasing the correctness of certain of our representations of it by compensating for the peculiarities of our point of view.” (Nagel, 1986: 90).

In addition to Jake Lynch’s (2007) response, one of the proponents of *peace journalism*, to this point in his “*Peace Journalism and its Discontents*”, by stating that Nagel’s definition deals with objectivity as a “pursuit, rather than a state of grace”, Samuel Peleg (2007), another advocate of *peace journalism*, believes that objectivity as being reporting what the journalist sees, is not a cardinal issue, especially when the focus of the story is often what the journalists don’t see (Ottosen, 2010). I agree with this mindset, simply because there is no such thing called “objectivism”; no one can reach the Archimedean point!

Moreover, Wilhelm Kempf, another proponent of *peace journalism*, comments on the objectivity and neutrality dilemma:

“It is not sufficient that journalists remain neutral: they have to abandon the complete framework of war and military logic… Journalists can take responsibility only if they base their work on a better understanding of conflicts and if they take into account that none of the parties in the conflict have absolute standards of truth.” (Kempf and Luostarinen, 2002: 71).

Similarly, the opponents of peace journalism see “truthfulness” as a goal of journalism to withstand falsity. However, according to Galtung (1998), truth journalism alone is not peace journalism, “truth does not come easily, given the tendency to take sides once the 'who wins' perspective has been adopted. If one side is backed by one's own country, nation, class or paper/station/channel, the low road (*war journalism*) invites untruthfulness, as witnessed in the Gulf, Somalian and Bosnian wars.” (Galtung, 1998). By the same token, Gamson (1989) argues that facts have no central meaning. They get their meaning by being lodged into a frame or storyline which “organizes them and gives them coherence, selecting certain ones to emphasize while ignoring others.” (Gamson, 1989: 157).
The most controversial part in peace journalism’s critique would be the eminent and noble aim of trying to make the world a better place than it really is, by shooting the messenger of bad news, if necessary. To Peleg (2007), reporters are like doctors, and peace journalism is “actually survival and abolition of war and destruction.” (Peleg, 2007: 3). However, David Loyn, a well-known opponent of peace journalism, raises an important question: what if military intervention was the best option, like the case of Kosovo, where NATO’s intervention was the only realistic solution to save civilians (Ottoson, 2010: 5)?

In his response to this question, Lynch argues that the opponents of peace journalism depreciate the willingness and capabilities the leaders in the West to manipulate the media, especially when it is related to mobilization to go to war and “rhetoric in favour of ‘humanitarian intervention’ such as the build-up to the war against Yugoslavia in 1999, and Iraq in 2003.” (Ottoson, 2010: 5).

Another important debatable point related to the canons of peace journalism as proffered by Galtung, could be that peace journalism is “people-orientated” while war journalism is “elite-orientated”. In other words, the dependency on official and elite sources is one of the characteristics of war-reporting, whilst the tendency towards relying on ordinary people as sources is one of the main features of peace-reporting. Loyn (2007), for his part, casts doubt on the validity of this pattern in real journalism, as this strategy may not contribute to the success of newspapers and sales figures. However, in my point of view, the excessive reliance on elite/official sources at the expense of people sources steered the news coverage to specific angles beneficial to the power elites. By so doing, the media might be laden with unreal and spurious messages, like the case in the protest paradigm mentioned earlier.

2.2 Previous Research

Studies about the Egyptian Revolution are still very rare. To expound this scarcity of researches pertinent to this revolution, one may say that it fully goes back to the recentness of the event, or even it’s still an unfolding and ongoing one, on one hand, and most of the studies conducted in this field were revolving around determining the role of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), specifically the social networks, such as Facebook and Twitter, in
mobilizing the Egyptians to participate in the protests, on the other. In the main, there are still two research study entitled: “Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011), and “Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011), which the former examines mainly the news coverage of the New York Times, in addition to the materials uploaded on Global Voices and Twitter, germane to the Egyptian Revolution in the light of the protest paradigm and framing theory. However, the latter study explores the framing of Egypt’s protests in some Egyptian state-run, independent, and social media. By and large, this chapter deals with the preceding studies which trace how media in general work in social movements, besides thoroughly examining the previously-mentioned and the very-related studies that dealt with Egypt’s protests.

2.2.1 Media’s Impact on Social Movements

It’s of paramount importance to hint to the fact that most of the studies related to tracing media’s functionality towards social movements, were conducted in the West, and by Western scholars. Interestingly enough, many, if not most, of the previous studies in the ambit of the relationship between media and social protests were resorted to quantitative methods, specifically content analysis. In the same vein, an array of literature evinced how media coverage used to marginalize social movements (Giltin, 1980; Shoemaker, 1984; McLeod & Hertog, 1992). Conversely, some other studies demonstrated the impact of protest coverage on the audience. Since our study is leaning toward the former approach, we will deal with the media coverage of the protest groups, and consequently, how it contributes to trivializing, marginalizing and even demonizing those protests.

One of the studies on the media’s impact on social movements was a research entitled: “Constructing Reality: Print Media’s Framing of the Women’s Movement, 1966 to 1986”, written by Laura Ashley and Beth Olson (1998). The study developed the characteristics of the protest paradigm mentioned earlier and linked it with framing theory. However, the content of newspapers and news magazines related to the coverage of women’s movement between 1966 and 1986, was examined for the use of framing techniques through content analysis. Two important remarks can be elicited from this study. First, it measured the importance of the news coverage to the press, through determining the “amount of coverage, story topic, section
placement and both male and female reporters cover.” (Ashley & Olson, 1998: 265). Second, the study inferred that most of the women’s movement coverage during those twenty years was negative, albeit some were “considered positive”, notably the other coverage written by feminists who were tried to present the goals and issues of the movement. This may shed light on Galtung’s perception that there is a gender difference between men and women in the light of peace journalism’s ideology; men are more interested in negative/war news, such as violence, whilst women are more interested in positive/peace news like romance and “where the female gatherer-reproducer is stirred” (Kempf and Luostarinen, 2002: 267).

Another study, named: “The Battle for Seattle: discourse, The Australian and framing representatives of the Seattle World Trade Organization Protests”, written by McFarlane (2001), earned its way to get the echelon position in the current study field. McFarlane (2001) developed the characteristics of the protest paradigm proffered by McLeod (2007) brought about earlier, and identified major five frames to disparage the protesters. Those frames are: protest as performance, protestor appearance and identity, the battle for Seattle (includes police vs. protesters and anarchy themes), links to the past and finally protestor ignorance and stupidity (McFarlane, 2001). Taken in this light, some of this study’s frames are borrowed from McFarlane’s research.

In this, McFarlane (2001) writes:

“Narrative structures concentrating on superficial issues of protestors’ appearances and identities, their clashes with police, their street performances and their links to the past focused attention away from the inseparable political context of the protests.” (McFarlane, 2001).

Nevertheless, one of the most important studies within the boundaries of social movements, would be Douglas M. McLeod’s (2007) “News Coverage and Social Protest: How the Media’s Protest Paradigm Exacerbates Social Conflict”, in which he defined the protest paradigm and the characteristics of this theory, in addition to applying his approach to a content analysis research on the Day without Immigrants Demonstration of 2006. Not only this research is very significant for introducing the canons of the protest paradigm, but also it shows that some news coverage may deviate from the protest paradigm. McLeod postulates that the positive coverage of the protest may be emanated from some factors, as following:
“(1) The size and scope of the demonstrations made them hard to ignore; (2) the goals of the protest were consistent with the interests of readers and the power structure; (3) the tactics of the protest were relatively peaceful making it difficult for the media to find fault; and (4) the large percentage of immigrants, Latinos, and non-resident workers in the Los Angeles community insulated the movement from severe criticism.” (McLeod, 2007: 191).

In this vein, I refuted earlier the first point related to the size and scope of the demonstrations that made them hard to be ignored by the media, by positing a protest as being disregarded and neglected news frame. Similarly, the third point pertinent to the concept that a peaceful demonstration makes it difficult for the media to find a fault is another difference between the Western democracies and the so-called third countries or authoritarian regimes. To exemplify, this study demonstrates how propaganda was a tool in the hands of the Egyptian government and their state-run mediums to quell and snuff out the peaceful demonstrations. A more elaboration on this would be followed in the analysis chapter.

2.2.2 Covering the Egyptian Revolution

A very recent study done in late 2011 was carried out by Summer Harlow and Thomas J. Johnson from University of Texas at Austin. The study entitled “Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011), reflects the relationship between the media and protest groups in the light of the protest paradigm. Jettisoning the impact of the social media coverage on the Egyptian Revolution in this study, specifically the coverage of Egypt’s protests in NYT reporter Nick Kristof’s Twitter feed and the Global Voices blog, the focus would be on the traditional media outlets, namely, the New York Times.

Harlow’s and Johnson’s study resorted to some media frames proffered by other scholars. In this, the news media may utilize “injustice” frames; means to accredit blame and stress on moral violations and emphasizing injustices being done. Or, may invoke “sympathy” by supporting the protesters, employ “legitimizing” or “de-legitimizing” frames by recognizing the protesters’ claims or simply discrediting them. Also, there could be “accountability” frames; a general agreement of discerning an issue as being wrong and demands police or government interference. Additionally, one can extract “spectacle” frames by relying on accentuating the number of protesters, drama, violence, and deviance among the protesters.
Finally, one can discern “contextual” frames, by giving background and detailed history (Harlow & Johnson, 2011: 1364).

Away from ascertaining the major frames employed in the *New York Times* by using content analysis, the study reflects how the coverage portrayed the protesters. In other words, was there a positive depiction revolved around struggling for their freedom and democracy, and the like? Or, was there a negative depiction by showing the protesters as deviants, demons, hooligans, irrational and the like? Or, was there a neutral portrayal; no one to be blamed? Or, finally, were there mixed depictions; protesters, the government, police and military, each one of them has to be blamed. The researchers traced the sources being cited as well, to know whether the journalists/reporters used official, citizen voices or both sources together (Harlow & Johnson, 2011: 1364).

The result ensuing from the *New York Times*’s coverage, showed the hegemony of the “spectacle” frame over “injustice”, “sympathy” or “legitimizing” frames. This indicates that “the excitement, fever, and even volatility of the protests were more newsworthy, and thus important, than the underlying causes of the protests or the plight of the protesters.” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011: 1367). However, the portrayal of the protesters was positive approximately half of the time, which, in return, reflects that NYT was adhering to the objectivity credo, even if there is a consensus that the protesters are fighting for their freedom. Moreover, NYT’s propensity towards including in-depth background about the aims and causes of the protests in “slightly less than a third of articles” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011: 1367), again illustrates NYT’s sticking to the journalistic norms. The study also makes perfectly clear that the NYT was more inclined to the protest paradigm than other alternative social media it examined.

In this, Harlow and Johnson (2011) conclude:

“The NYT, in general, falls short in its protest coverage. Rather than adequately explaining why there is a problem that has driven citizens to protest, the NYT falls back on routine and formulaic reporting, highlighting the drama, violence, and spectacle of the protests and reducing protesters’ grievances to one or two sentences about Mubarak’s autocratic 30-year reign. Although many articles made it clear that the protesters were fighting for democracy—theoretically a good thing—in several cases, such as those stories about the economy, protesters were portrayed negatively, blamed for travel delays or rising oil prices. Also, despite having reporters on the ground in Cairo, and despite thousands
of citizens demonstrating in Tahrir Square, seemingly readily accessible for interviews, the NYT still privileged official sources over citizen sources. As such, it does not appear that mainstream media’s protest coverage has changed much since the U.S. sit-in movement of the 1950s and 60s.” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011: 1369).

From the previous conclusion, one can say that there are many similarities between Harlow and Johnson’s research and my study, in relation to the fact that some newspapers in question are abiding by the canons of protest paradigm, and consequently, the war-reporting characteristics in Galtung’s model, in their coverage of Egypt’s protests.

The other study entitled “Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011), is an equally important study of Harlow and Johnson’s (2011). Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study published by late 2011, explored the framing of Egypt’s 2011 protests in some government-owned and independent newspapers, along with some social media postings, all from Egyptian media platforms and written in Arabic language. The study made use of quantitative content analysis and collected its samples from a period between January 25 and February 12, 2011. To put it more pointedly, a sample of 800 news stories, opinion columns and editorials were taken from those semiofficial newspapers: Al-Ahram, Al-Akhbar, Al-Messa and Al-Jomhorya. Moreover, another sample of 800 documents extracted from the independent newspapers Al-Shorouk and Al-Youm-Al-Sabee (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011).

Jettisoning the findings of the social media coverage pertained to Egypt’s protests in this research, Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study adopted the ready-made frames proffered by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000); namely, attribution of responsibility, conflict, morality, human interest and economic consequences frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 93-109).

The results of Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study showed how the protests framed by each medium. In the same vein, the dominant frame in the semiofficial newspapers was conflict frame, with 480 articles or 60% of the samples gathered were highlighting the conflict. Other frames like economic consequences; to magnify the threats of the protests on the country’s economy, and human interest; to sympathize with the 82-year President aging Mubarak, were dominated as well in the semiofficial newspapers’ coverage. However, responsibility frame; blaming the protesters for the violence and anarchy was limited to only 40 articles or 5% of the
samples taken from the government-owned newspapers (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 200). The semiofficial newspapers also defined the protests as mainly conspiracy, chaos, unrest and just protests, bearing in mind that none of the state-run newspapers defined Egypt’s protests as a revolution (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 202).

In this regard, Hamdy and Gomaa (2011) illustrated:

“Protestors in these newspapers were systematically portrayed as incapable, misguided youth who were helpless to resist foreign influence or to formulate a strategy. They were also characterized as hooligans who are unable to use any form of struggle but disorder to communicate their illegitimate message.” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 199).

Furthermore, one of the interesting findings of Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study was that the semi official newspapers put the onus of the problem on Muslim Brotherhood and Salafi groups; the most common scenario adopted by many semiofficial newspapers was that Muslim Brotherhood group members were infiltrated among the protesters, thereby turned the peaceful protests into violence and anarchy (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 204).

As for the independent newspapers, conflict frame was also dominant in their coverage in 320 articles or 40%. Nevertheless, they employed human interest frame more than the semiofficial newspapers, along with the responsibility frame; blaming the government, police and the media for escalating the situation, whereas economic consequences frame adopted in 120 articles or 15% of the samples (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 200). Also, the independent newspapers defined the protests as uprising, revolution, protest movement and unrests. By the same token, the independent newspapers “shied away from giving absolute solutions for the problem.” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 205).

By and large, Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study proved to be useful in this research to trace how the national newspapers framed Egypt’s protests and to compare the results of their study to mine.
2.3 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, the theoretical framework and previous research approach have been thoroughly scoped. Theories of framing, protest paradigm, and peace journalism perspectives were proved to be from the same pedigree, at the very least in relation to the research at issue. To explicate, since the essential purpose of this study to explore the framing extracted from some national, British and American newspapers covering the Egyptian Revolution, this study traces first the thematic and episodic news frames in the news samples in hand, giving the hypothesis that the news coverage may steer toward episodic than thematic frames, by accentuating the protesters’ acts of violence and ascribe blame or guilt to them, and, at the same time, abnegating the historical and social contexts of their movement.

Then, by so doing, the study will ascertain that some newspapers may resort to a ready-made frame template, notably, the protest paradigm, in an attempt to trivialize, marginalize and demonize the protests. In this, I will identify a number of frames evolved from McLeod and Hertog’s (2007) five characteristics of the protest paradigm, in the newspapers at hand. Those putative frames are: protest as being disregarded and neglected, protest as carnival, protesters’ appearance, behaviour and identity, protesters vs. police, protesters as anarchists, and finally protest as economic threat.

To substantiate the hypothesis that the national newspapers in question may be adhering to war-reporting in covering Egypt’s protests, than the British and American coverage of the same protests, to some extent, I will make use of Lee and Maslog’s (2005) model, which is, consequently, developed from Galtung’s (1998) typology. In this, I will examine the visible effects of the protests’ clashes with the police and, later on, with the army, the use of elite/official and people sources, the bias, if any, towards any party (ies), the signs of good and bad dichotomy or “Us” vs. “Them”, and the resort to victimizing and demonizing language.

Finally, I will trace how the newspapers in question depicted the protesters either in positive, negative, neutral or mixed ways, according to the messages each one of them wanted to deliver and convey.
In the main, one can say that the frames and the depiction of the protesters lie on the boundary of either war or peace journalism paradigms. To recoup, if the coverage of the news items takes the side of the “little men in the streets” by means of giving the voice to the voiceless, or deep delve into the roots of the conflict to know what is it about or who is working to prevent violence, if any, then this may fit with the perspective of peace journalism, according to Galtung’s model. On the other hand, if the coverage gives primacy to dramatize the events by depicting only the violence without suggesting solutions, or orientated towards propaganda, elites or victories; being like a zero-sum game where the winner takes everything (Ottosen, 2010: 2), then the coverage could follow the war journalism paradigm.

In conclusion, the theoretical framework by intertwining together the theories of framing, protest paradigm, and peace and war journalism, proved to be appropriate and congruent with this study.
3. Methods and Material

In the former *Theoretical Framework and Previous Research Study* chapter, the main theories of this study were carefully examined; namely, *framing, protest paradigm* and *peace journalism*, taking into account that the protest paradigm is the overarching theory in this study. Those theories proved to be linked together, specifically the *protest paradigm* with its reliance on highlighting the protesters’ acts of violence and citing official sources at the expenses of voicing the protesters, which goes in consonance with the characteristics of *war-reporting*, proffered in Galtung’s dichotomous model of *peace and war journalism*. Moreover, the theoretical framework of this study aims at answering the main research questions pertained to the kind of frames employed in the newspapers at issue in light of the *protest paradigm*, and the way the same four newspapers tried to explore and identify the characteristics of *war* and *peace journalism*, not to mention to trace how the four newspapers in question depicted the protesters.

The *Methods and Material* chapter designates two methods to be used in this study: *frame analysis* and *critical discourse analysis (CDA)*. Poignantly to the research questions in hand, the previously-mentioned methods give primacy to interpret latent meanings rather than only the manifest ones. To put it more pointedly, Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) method of *frame analysis* is applied first, then Fairclough’s method of *critical discourse analysis* comes to the fore.

A sample of 60 news items and editorial articles were thoroughly analysed and derived from four national, British and American newspapers: *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm* from Egypt, in addition to *The Washington Post* and *The Telegraph* from the U.S. and UK, respectively. The derived *non-random* samples were covering the events of the Egyptian Revolution from its “eruption” on January 25, till February 17, 2011.

### 3.1 Material and sampling approach

The materials for this qualitative study are confined to news articles and editorial pieces. The national, written-in-Arabic-language samples were taken from two national newspapers: *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. The rationale for choosing those newspapers rests on the fact that they are one of the biggest newspapers in Egypt and the Arab world, regarding circulation
and readership. In this, the state-owned *Al Ahram’s* circulation is around 270,000 copies daily, compared to around 190,000 copies daily to the privately-owned *Al-Masry Al-Youm* (Arabic Press Society, 2009).

However, the British and American samples -written in English language- were gathered from two newspapers: *The Washington Post* and *The Telegraph*. Again, the reason behind choosing the aforementioned British and American newspapers centres on the fact that the political affiliation of *The Washington Post* could be described as a Liberal or sometimes Left-leaning (*The Huffington Post*, 2008), while *The Telegraph* is more conservative-bound (Slate, 2006), thereby enriching the scope of the study by analysing materials and samples from different perspectives and ideologies. To be more accurate in describing the selectivity of the materials, I relied on the paper editions of *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, and *The Washington Post* samples, though the latter samples were derived from an online subscription payment section, albeit they were taken from the paper editions as well. Only the samples of *The Telegraph* were derived from the online platform of the British newspaper.

Steering the discussion toward the sampling strategy, the study applies *non-probability, non-random or strategic sampling*. In simplified terms, the news and editorial articles may comply with *critical-case sampling* which Lindolf defines as “a person, event, activity, setting, or (less often) time period that displays the credible, dramatic properties of a ‘test case’... A critical case should demonstrate a claim so strikingly that it will have implications for other, less unusual, cases” (Deacon, 2007: 59).

As for the timeline, the intention is to choose the 18 days of Egypt’s momentous events, notably; from January 25, 2011, till the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak on February 11, 2011, not to mention to cover another week after the fall of his regime to outline and delineate the changes that might happen in the media coverage of the newspapers at issue; more precisely, till February 17, 2011. Moreover, some of the news articles taken from these media outlets can be found online, specially that are related to *Al-Ahram*, *The Telegraph*, and *The Washington Post*, albeit the samples taken from the latter newspaper are only accessible for those who pay a subscription price. In the same vein, all *Al-Masry Al-Youm* archive samples are not available online, but I have printed copies from all the samples in question during the previously-mentioned period.
3.1.1 Selecting news materials

It is of perennial interest in any research study to pin down the materials upon which the research is based on. Stepwise, regarding the news articles selected for this study, I chose twelve news items from each newspaper mentioned earlier, among the large pool of articles that covered Egypt’s Revolution during January 25 and February 17, 2011. In other words, 48 news articles were assigned for this stage.

Under the overarching topic of Egypt’s Revolution, the selectivity process of the news articles samples was contingent on a simple, yet quasi systematic approach. Briefly summarized, the 24-day period following January 25, 2011, was subdivided into rather short periods each of which was pinpointed by a special sub-event. In this regard, the first mini-period is between January 25 and January 28, that marked the beginning of the dramatic events by the “Day of Revolt” up to the “Friday of Rage”; a day which the President Hosni Mubarak gave his first speech and sacked the cabinet. The subsequent period lasts five days: from January 29 to February 2. The latter two days of the previous period witnessed Mubarak’s second televised speech to the nation and the incident called the “Battle of the Camel” took place, respectively. In this “battle”, a violent clash between Mubarak’s supporters and pro-democracy demonstrators occurred in Tahrir Square.

The third period is the longest one, from February 3 till Mubarak’s resignation and ceding his powers to the Supreme Council of Egyptian Armed Forces, on February 11. This period manifested Mubarak’s last attempt to cling to power by assigning Suleiman, the newly appointed vice president, to open a dialogue with opposition groups. Finally, the last period is from February 12 up to February 17; one week after the resignation of the Egyptian President by the protests, and the first week of Egypt under military leadership (Al-Jazeera English, 2011).

First and foremost, the news articles of each of the aforementioned four periods relevant to the superior theme of Egypt’s protests and their particulars, the research questions at issue, and the discursive, yet denotative events upon which the periods had been subdivided, were examined. Moreover, I took into account the frequency of certain sub-themes and the sections in which the news items appeared in the newspapers. On the whole, I had to scrutinize upon the surface of
the texts in question, by going through the headlines, subheadings, and other themes addressed by the articles. By so doing, I could select the news materials relevant to my study and research questions. Furthermore, I explored the graphic layout of stories in *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm* only. The reason behind not examining *The Telegraph*’s and *The Washington Post*’s graphic layouts is pertained to the accessibility as mentioned before; *The Telegraph*’s samples were derived from an online archive, whilst *The Washington Post*’s samples were taken from a subscription payment section which gives only information about the placement of the news article or the editorial piece on a page, and consequently, no information about the graphic layout of stories could be even elicited.

- *Al-Ahram*’s articles are described in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1: Story sources, dates, titles and positions of *Al-Ahram*’s news stories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thousands Participate in Peaceful Demonstrations in Cairo, Governorates</td>
<td><strong>Source</strong>: <em>Al-Ahram</em>  <strong>Date</strong>: Jan 26, 2011  <strong>Section</strong>: Front page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of 4, 118 Citizens and 162 Police Officers Injured, and 100 Arrested in Cairo, Governorates</td>
<td><strong>Source</strong>: <em>Al-Ahram</em>  <strong>Date</strong>: Jan 27, 2011  <strong>Section</strong>: Front page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock Market Loses LE40.25 Billion, the Pound’s Fall Continues</td>
<td><strong>Source</strong>: <em>Al-Ahram</em>  <strong>Date</strong>: Jan 28, 2011  <strong>Section</strong>: Front page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omar Suleiman Named Vice President, Ahmed Shafik as Prime Minister</td>
<td><strong>Source</strong>: <em>Al-Ahram</em>  <strong>Date</strong>: Jan 30, 2011  <strong>Section</strong>: Front page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Is this) Happening in Cairo?! Violent Acts, Vandalism, and Intimidating Citizens in Streets</td>
<td><strong>Source</strong>: <em>Al-Ahram</em>  <strong>Date</strong>: Jan 30, 2011  <strong>Section</strong>: page 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millions Come Out to Support Mubarak: March of a Million for the President’s...</td>
<td><strong>Source</strong>: <em>Al-Ahram</em>  <strong>Date</strong>: Jan 30, 2011  <strong>Section</strong>: page 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: Al-Ahram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Clashes Between Supporters and Opponents in Tahrir Square: Ceasing Egyptians’ Bloodshed Top Priority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: Al-Ahram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>(Tahrir) Square Protesters Refuse to Leave, Thousands Gather in the Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: Al-Ahram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Suleiman: Egypt has Two Choices… “The Dialogue” or “The Coup”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: Al-Ahram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>People Brought Down the Regime: The Egyptians Celebrate the Fall of the Regime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: Al-Ahram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>“Cleaning” Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: Al-Ahram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>No Returning Back to Pre-January 25 Era: Tough Economic Situations, Ongoing Losses May Lead to Collapse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: Al-Ahram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Al-Masry Al-Youm’s news items are defined in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Story sources, dates, titles and positions of Al-Masry Al-Youm’s news stories

| Title | Early Rehearsal for “Day of Rage” |

---

1 Mostafa Mahmoud Square is located in Mohandiseen district of Elagouza neighbourhood, Giza City, Giza Governorate, Egypt.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Jan 25, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Front page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Warning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Jan 26, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Front page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>The Ultimatum: Save Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Jan 29, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Front page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Conspiracy by “Security” to Support the Scenario of Chaos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Jan 30, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Front page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>The Horror Night in Egypt: Thugs Besieging Streets, Nation-Wide Lootings to “Banks, Companies, Posts, and Hotels”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Jan 30, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Page 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Human Scenes in the Heart of Tahrir Protests</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Feb 1, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Page 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Crisis Follow-Ups: “Transportation” (Sectors) Daily Losses LE15 Million, Remittances Ceased... Stock Market, Banks Remain Closed for the Fifth Day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Feb 3, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Page 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Marches Support the President in Governorates... Thousands Chant: “‘Oh Mubarak the Pilot, Don't Leave It (Egypt) Burning’”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Feb 3, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Page 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Wedding Ceremony in Tahrir Square on the Rhythm: “Down with the Regime”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Feb 7, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Front Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Rebels’ Signs and Posters: Hardboards, Cloth and Umbrellas...Flag’s Colours, Martyrs’ Pictures Fill the Square</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
<th>Date: Feb 11, 2011</th>
<th>Section: Page 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Military: Workers’ Strikes Threaten Egypt

- *The Telegraph*’s news pieces are illustrated in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.3: Story sources, dates, titles and positions of *The Telegraph*’s news stories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian Police Fire Tear Gas at Demonstrators in Cairo on “Day of Wrath”</td>
<td>Source: <em>The Telegraph</em>  Date: Jan 25, 2011  Section: Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt Protests: Q and A ... Why Are Egyptians Protesting? Who is Behind the Protests? Will Egypt Be the Next Tunisia?</td>
<td>Source: <em>The Telegraph</em>  Date: Jan 27, 2011  Section: Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt Protests: Troops and Tanks Ordered out in Bid to Quell Protests</td>
<td>Source: <em>The Telegraph</em>  Date: Jan 28, 2011  Section: Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests Force Egypt Bank and Market Shutdown</td>
<td>Source: <em>The Telegraph</em>  Date: Jan 29, 2011  Section: Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt in Crisis: Vigilantes and Prisoners on the Streets</td>
<td>Source: <em>The Telegraph</em>  Date: Jan 30, 2011  Section: Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt Crisis: Muslim Brotherhood Blames America for the Unrest</td>
<td>Source: <em>The Telegraph</em>  Date: Jan 31, 2011  Section: Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt Protests: Camel and Horse Riders Who Invaded Tahrir Square Say They Are</td>
<td>Source: <em>The Telegraph</em>  Date: Jan 31, 2011  Section: Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Good Men”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title Egypt Crisis: Hosni Mubarak Loses Control of State Media</td>
<td>Source: The Telegraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title Egypt: Thousands Flood Cairo Square Galvanised by Google Activist</td>
<td>Source: The Telegraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title Egypt: Cairo Protesters Tell of Their Fight for Freedom</td>
<td>Source: The Telegraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title Egypt: Army Clearing Protesters from Tahrir Square</td>
<td>Source: The Telegraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title Egypt: US Reporter Sexually Assaulted in Tahrir Square</td>
<td>Source: The Telegraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title Egypt: US Reporter Sexually Assaulted in Tahrir Square</td>
<td>Source: The Telegraph</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The Washington Post’s news stories are explicated in Table 3.4.

**Table 3.4: Story sources, dates, titles and positions of The Washington Post’s news stories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protests Spread Against Mubarak</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date: Jan 26, 2011</td>
<td>Section: Front Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Stock Market Falls As Egypt Unrest Continues</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date: Jan 29, 2011</td>
<td>Section: Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo Falls into Near-Anarchy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>In Cairo’s Gas and Bread Lines, Divergent Outlooks</td>
<td>Jan 29, 2011</td>
<td>Front Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Mubarak Pledges to Cede Power</td>
<td>Feb 1, 2011</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Coptic Christians Fear Persecution If Extremists Take Power in Egypt</td>
<td>Feb 2, 2011</td>
<td>Front Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Tahrir Becomes Central Battelfield of a Revolution</td>
<td>Feb 4, 2011</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Egypt’s Military Feints, Jabs with Protesters</td>
<td>Feb 5, 2011</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>State-Run Media Changing Tune</td>
<td>Feb 7, 2011</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Mubarak Steps Down, Prompting Jubilation in Cairo Streets</td>
<td>Feb 10, 2011</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Much Faith in Military, But Many Questions</td>
<td>Feb 12, 2011</td>
<td>Front Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>CBC News’s Lara Logan Attacked in Cairo</td>
<td>Feb 12, 2011</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: The Washington Post</td>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Section:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td></td>
<td>Feb 16, 2011</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.2 Selecting Editorial Pieces

Equally important to news articles is to unpack the meaning from editorial pieces. Though they are different from the traditional structure of the news articles as they are not sources of new information, editorials are not “merely idle statements of senior writers’ opinions; often they express the broader ideological stance of the newspaper’s owners and managers.” (Henry & Tator, 2002). Three editorial pieces from each newspaper had been used in this research, bearing in mind that some of those editorial pieces were signed by senior editorial staff, albeit some others were not signed like in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and *The Telegraph*.

- The editorial pieces of the four newspapers at issue are described in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Sources, dates and titles of the four newspapers’ editorials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Signed by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 January Events... Meaning and Significance</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Al-Ahram</em></td>
<td>Jan 28, 2011</td>
<td>Osama Saraya(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Revolution...!</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Al-Ahram</em></td>
<td>Feb 5, 2011</td>
<td>Abdel Monem Saeed(^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding the Egyptian “Google”!</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Al-Ahram</em></td>
<td>Feb 12, 2011</td>
<td>Abdel Monem Saeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Appeal to Tahrir’s Heroes: Maintain Your Victory</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Al-Masry Al-Youm</em></td>
<td>Feb 2, 2011</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Appeal to Whoever Loves Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Al-Masry Al-Youm</em></td>
<td>Feb 3, 2011</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Beginning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\) Osama Saraya is the editor-in-chief of *Al-Ahram*.

\(^3\) Dr. Abdel Monem Saeed is the Chairman of the Board of *Al-Ahram* Newspaper and Publishing House.
3.2 Methods and Eclecticism

Needless to say, researchers, as human beings, are not infallible, especially when they are trying to bring to light the latent meanings rather than the manifest ones. To put it crudely, in accordance with Max Horkheimer’s beliefs, the German philosopher and one of the proponents of “Frankfurt School” of social research, that “no single method of research could produce final and reliable results about any given object of inquiry, that to take only one approach to a given question was to risk gaining a distorted picture.” (Wodak, 2001; cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 10), this study adheres to two methods to supplement one another, notably: Frame

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4 Fred Hiatt is the editorial page editor of The Post.
5 Jackson Diehl is deputy editorial page editor of The Post.
Analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA). All of the two preceding methods are pertinent to the research questions at issue. Frame analysis is applied first to help in understanding what the issue of Egypt’s protests is about and bring about new insights to the news coverage of the newspapers in hand. Moreover, frame analysis was an analytical tool regularly used in empirical studies on social movements, which will be helpful in this study, inasmuch its main domain revolves around the media coverage of Egypt’s demonstrations.

On the other hand, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is applied in a later stage. CDA in specific is applied to explicate and “demystify” discourses by illuminating ideologies. Put another way, language use may be ideological, and to elicit this, it is of paramount importance to analyse texts to investigate their “interpretation, reception, and social effects.” (Richardson, 2007: 26). Furthermore, I have found that Fairclough’s CDA method is more appropriate to this research, with his proposition that media institutions’ adherence to neutrality is nothing but a fallacy; the language of mass media may not only prove to be a site of power of struggle, but one can extrapolate that it is transparent as well (Wodak, 2001; cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 6).

3.2.1 Frame Analysis

As mentioned earlier, this study conforms to Entman’s (1993) definition of a frame that is “to select some aspects of perceived reality to make them more salient, thus promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.” (Entamn, 1993: 52). However, as for media frames, I sincerely believe in Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) description of news media frames as:

“A cognitive device used in information encoding, interpreting, and retrieving; it is communicable; and it is related to journalistic professional routines and conventions. Framing, therefore, may be studied as a strategy of constructing and processing news discourse or as a characteristic of the discourse itself.” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 57).

This means that frames function as an “internal structures of the mind” and “devices embedded in political discourse” (Kinder & Sanders, 1990: 74) as well. If we applied this on Richardson’s (2007) model in figure 2 in CDA Phases section later on, we will find that frames may be discerned as tools the journalists use in constructing news discourse via choosing one story or
word over another and/or foregrounding, emphasizing and excluding one view over another. And, at the same time, frames are psychological stimuli for consumers or readers to guess the meaning of the news stories (Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 59).

But, the question in this stage will be: Why using frame analysis in general in this study? The answer of this question is in the following lines.

3.2.2 Why Frame Analysis?

1. The significance of resorting to frame analysis, as the main method used in this study, rests not only on the fact that frames are manifestations and outcomes of power as it implies the interests of political and economic elites, but also it is constructionist in the sense that we “grant participants, such as journalists, some professional autonomy and take them seriously, using frames as ‘interpretive packages’ in creating understandings of the social world.” (Reese, 2009; cited in D’Angelo & Kuypers, 2009: 19). In other words, and as stated earlier in the Theoretical Framework and Previous Research chapter, frames are a result of journalists’ choices, germane to language, source selection and story organization (Shah, 2004: 177). Taken in this light, frame analysis can be used to bring into the open the fact that the way the journalists cover the news is not based on the events themselves; rather, it could be the outcome of their choices. The justification for using frames, inadvertently, by the journalists could bank on their unfamiliarity with alternatives (Van Gorp, 2009; cited in D’Angelo & Kuypers, 2009: 104). Put another way, the importance of media framing lies in it provides an alternative to the old objectivity and bias credos (Tankard, 2001).

2. According to Van Gorp (2009), each frame offers a view point, which can help in understanding issues. In this, the intent of frame analysis should always depend on identifying a pluralistic repertoire of alternative frames. He concludes that:
“People require a clear explanation why things happen, partly because they want to have the feeling that they can control their environment. Frames can help to fulfil this need.” (Van Gorp, 2009; cited in D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2009: 104).

3. Frame analysis not only tries to answer the main research questions in the current study, such as how the news media framed Egypt’s protests in light of the protest paradigm, but it offers also insights about the ideology. In other words, frames are clear-cut agents of ideological processes (Reese, 2009; cited in D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2009: 19). Through determining who is responsible or affected in the story, the ideological perspectives of the news media or institutions could be revealed.

3.2.3 Frame Analysis Phases

Unlike Johnston’s (1995) methodological approach of jettisoning macro-discourse frame analysis for micro-discourse frame analysis, I reached a conclusion that is very much akin to Fisher’s (1997). To elucidate, Fisher postulates that frames cannot be identified by “counting the appearance of keywords and phrases, or by specific argumentative structures. Instead, one must look for storylines about what is to be comprehended.” (Fisher, 1997). Methodologically speaking, this study uses Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) methodological approach of frame analysis which reckons on analysing the structural and lexical features of news texts, with taking into account the sociological and cognitive creation of the frame concept proffered by Pan and Kosicki (1993), in addition to tracing the relationship between sources, journalists and audience members. Gamson and Lasch (1983) first introduce the term framing devices to identify the signifying elements in the frames which help in identifying the intended meaning of news stories. But, they confine the framing devices to “metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images” (Gamson & Lasch, 1983: 399), however, Pan and Kosicki (1993) classified framing devices in news discourse into four categories: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetoric structure (Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 59).

In accordance with Pan and Kosicki’s method of framing analysis, the following stages were found proper to this study’s fame analysis.
Stage 1: Syntactical structure:

In this stage, the patterns of the arrangement of words or phrases into sentences were examined. It’s what Van Dijk (1988) defines as the “macrosyntax” level of analysis, which relates to the inverted pyramid structure; by scrutinizing upon the headline, lead, episodes, background, and closure, not to mention to examine the rules of source attributions. The latter element of the syntactical structure is related to how journalists use sources to express their so-called “objectivity”, or to seek balance and impartiality. According to Pan and Kosicki (1993), sources may be used aptly as framing devices in three ways: “claiming empirical validity or facticity by quoting experts or citing empirical data, linking certain points of view to authority by quoting official sources, and marginalizing certain points of view by relating a quote or point of view to a social deviant.” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 60). In this regard, I will try to pay heed to the using of official and protesters’ sources in the news texts in hand, and trace if they are balancing against each other in the same news text or not.

Stage 2: Script structure:

Here, this stage is concerned with exploring the familiar five Ws and one H questions; namely: who, what, when, where, why, and how. Usually, it is not of paramount importance to find answers of all these six questions in every single story, but in this study, it’s substantial to examine the answers of a number of putative questions, like: who is to be blamed in the news stories, if any, and/or why some parties involved in the coverage doing so, such as the protesters for example? All are valid questions, and shed the light on the framing techniques applied by the news makers to manipulate stories.

Stage 3: Thematic structure:

On the face of this stage, it is important to delve deep into the multilayer hierarchy of news stories, with a central theme which connects with other subthemes. However, on a more deep-seated level, not all news stories are consisted of actions and events; some stories may carry certain hypothesis-testing features, which Pan and Kosicki (1993) succinctly put it: “events are cited, sources are quotes, and propositions are pronounced; all function as logical support for the hypothesis.” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 60). So, I will try to scrutinize upon if a theme is implied in a news story, and cemented by an evidence of journalists’ observations or
by using a quotation of a source to support the intended hypothesis, not to mention to go through the lines of reasoning and causal connections.

**Stage 4: Rhetorical structure:**

In this stage, I will trace the use of Gamson and Lasch’s (1983) five framing devices; namely: “metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images” (Gamson & Lasch, 1983: 399), as stylistic choices in the coverage of the news stories at issue. It’s patently obvious that journalists resort to these rhetoric devices to highlight the salience of their viewpoint, or/and maximise the distinctness of their reports. Congruent with the research questions in hand, I posit another rhetorical device in this study which could be helpful in discerning how the protesters were depicted and portrayed. This rhetorical device is quantitative terms like the number of protesters gathered in Tahrir Square and the like.

Concomitantly with the Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) four stages of frame analysis, it’s of perennial interest to pay heed to the lexical choices along with the previous structural rules.

*Figure 1* demonstrates the aforementioned Pan and Kosicki’s four stages of frame analysis

- **Figure 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactical Structure</th>
<th>Script Structure</th>
<th>Thematic Structure</th>
<th>Rhetorical Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Inverted pyramid structure)</td>
<td>(Five Ws and H questions)</td>
<td>(Themes, sub-themes)</td>
<td>(Metaphors)</td>
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<td>(Source attributions)</td>
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<td>(Exemplars)</td>
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<td>(Visual images)</td>
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<td>(Quantifications)</td>
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3.2.4 Arriving at frames

As explicitly presented in the *Theoretical Framework and Previous Research* chapter, I made use of Ashley’s and Olson’s (1998) conclusion of how news media used to frame protest groups, as they succinctly put it:

“The news media can frame a protest group in several ways: by ignoring it; burying the article in the back section; by the description given to the protesters; reporting the event rather than the group’s goals and interests; trivializing the protest by making light of their dress, language, age, style or goals; or marginalizing viewpoints by attributing them to a social deviant.” (Ashley & Olson, 1998: 264).

In the same vein, this study arrived at some frames in the news articles and editorial pieces at issue, such as *protest as being disregarded and neglected, protesters vs. police, protest as economic threat, protesters as anarchists* and *counter protest* frames. To extract those frames, I combined the theoretical components of the *protest paradigm* with Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) four stages of *frame analysis* mentioned above. In other words, I tried to trace who started the violence, besides who is responsible for the violence, in addition to exploring any attempt to ignore covering the protests or burying the news articles in the back sections of the newspapers, if possible. Moreover, I tried to examine who are the good ones and who are the bad ones depicted in the coverage, if any. Additionally, I traced as well the sources cited or quoted in the new coverage; is there any bias toward using official representatives or ordinary people sources, and the like. Notwithstanding, in order not to infuse imperiously any ready-made frames in my mind into the texts I am analysing, and in an attempt to water down any indictment of subjectivity, I tried to substantiate those frames via using another method; notably, *CDA* which proved to be very helpful in covering the shortcomings of frame analysis through features like intertextuality, social and discursive practices. This will be illustrated later.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis
Congruent with Galtung’s model of *peace journalism* and “*journalism of attachment*”, *critical discourse analysis* is contingent on identifying a social problem, leaning towards those who suffer the most and critically analyses those who hold the means of power, those who are responsible, and those who have the favourable circumstances to solve such problems. Meanwhile, the research which takes an impartial stance towards iniquitous social injustice doesn’t solve the problem; rather, it could contribute to the permanence of such iniquity (Van Dijk, 1996, cited in Richardson, 2007: 2). In simplified terms, *critical discourse analysis* postulates a critical approach to the problems, forasmuch as it pays heed to making explicit power relationships which are frequently hidden, and consequently elicits results which are of practical pertinence. However, for *critical discourse analysis*, language is not powerful on its own; rather, it gains its effectiveness by the use powerful people make of it. In this way, ideology is discerned as an important aspect of constituting and retaining unmatched power relationships (Wodak, 2001; cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 10-15).

In accordance with the definition of the discourse as a “particular unit of language, specifically, as a unit of language ‘above’ (larger or more extended than) the sentence.” (Schiffrin, 1994, cited in Richardson, 2007: 22), along with taking into account the social aspect of the language understanding: the audience surmise the discourses, mainly unconsciously, based on their social knowledge, one can reach a conclusion that the meaning of the written language in journalism is perpetually attached to the context. Taken in this light, discourses are “institutionalized and regulated because they are linked to actions” (Wodak, 2001; cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 34). In this regard, this study conforms to Fairclough’s method of *critical discourse analysis*.

For Fairclough, every social practice has a semiotic element. Put another way, he discerns *CDA* as “the analysis of the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices. His approach to *CDA* oscillates between a focus on structure and a focus on action.” (Wodak, 2001; cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 22).

As for collecting the material for *critical discourse analysis*, I used the news articles and editorial pieces samples mentioned earlier, taking into account the fact that *CDA* by its attachment to hermeneutics, thereby there is no typical *CDA* method of gathering data. To explicate, the data collection process is not a specific phase that has to be done before conducting the analysis; it’s “never completely excluded and new questions always arise which
can only be dealt with if new data are collected or earlier data are re-examines (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 24). But, in an attempt to seek a semi-systematic way of the theoretical representativeness of the material analysed, I conducted first a structure analysis, which Siegfried Jäger defines as a more content-tied analysis, related to wrapping up the main general themes addressed by the newspapers in hand with a view to the discursive events mentioned earlier in the Selecting News Materials section, not to mention to scrutinizing upon the graphic layouts, headings and subheadings of the news samples in specific as well. On the whole, I was able to select the materials for the CDA phase and discard irrelevant ones.

3.3.1 CDA Phases

This qualitative study is concerned with critical discourse analysis as a main method to interpret the meanings of the texts of news stories at issue, with situating what is written in the context in which it occurs, bearing in mind that the textual meaning is built up through an interaction between producer, text and consumer, as opposite to other quantitative methods (Richardson, 2007: 15).

In sum, Fairclough’s method of CDA is grounded on:

“Discourse is a circular process in which social practices influence texts, via shaping the context and mode in which they are produced, and in turn texts help influence society via shaping the viewpoints of those who read or otherwise consume them.” (Richardson, 2007: 37).

In fact, Fairclough develops and goes beyond Hall’s (1980) model of the encoding and decoding of media texts; the meaning in media texts is encoded by their producer(s), the journalist(s) for example, while the reader decodes a meaning from the crossway between the text itself and the context in which it is occurred. He reaches a conclusion that “the meanings encoded/decoded in texts are the result not only of producer intentions, but also of the outcome of specific professional practices and techniques, which could be and can be quite different with quite different results. (Fairclough, 1995a, cited in Richardson, 2007: 38). To make things more convoluted, there is a two-way relationship between the producer and the text; the producer and mode of production not only encode meaning into the text by the process of selecting stories over another, choosing words over another, or even foregrounding one view rather than another -like framing which we explained extensively in Frame Analysis section-
but also the text can militate against the producer, via shaping the way that information is gathered and presented due to the conventions of the incomplete text-genre. (Richardson, 2007: 38). Equally, there is another two-way relationship between the consumer, or the reader, and social practices, since the reader decodes the meaning of the text by using his background knowledge, beliefs, and perspectives of the world, which may be different from the encoded message in the text. In other words, the text should be intelligible, understood and clear to fend off any potential misunderstanding from the reader. And, in return, the text acts on these same reader’s knowledge and beliefs through either transformation or reproduction techniques (Richardson, 2007: 45).

To illustrate the previously-mentioned two-way relationships, I borrowed figure 2 from Richardson (2007), with suggesting some amendments to his model figure.

- **Figure 2**

  (Choosing one word over another)
  (Choosing one story over another)
  (Foregounding one view over another)

  ![Figure 2 Diagram](image)

  **Producer:** Newspaper  
  **Text**  
  **Consumer:** Reader  
  **Encoding**  
  **Shaping belief**

  Conventions of genre  
  (News reports are not like editorials)  
  Reading/Decoding  
  (He may resist or misunderstand the meaning)

  In consonance with (figure 3.2) and Fairclough’s method of CDA, the following stages were found appropriate to this study’s *critical discourse analysis*.

  **Stage 1: Textual analysis:**

  In this stage, two sub-stages were applied: a micro-textual analysis and macro-textual one. In the micro-textual level, words and phrases that suggest bias or jaundiced attitude were examined. Furthermore, the naming and references of the people in the events at issue, syntax and transitivity, presupposition (the hidden and presupposed meaning in the text), and
rhetorical tropes such as hyperboles, metaphors, metonyms and neologism, were extensively scrutinized. In the same vein, Aristotle’s three argumentative techniques were taken into account, especially in analysing editorial pieces. However, the macro-textual level of analysis subsumed the narrative and rhetoric; the thematic structure and discourse schemas.

Stage 2: Discursive practices:

Here, a question like: Why specific stories were given that space they were allocated in the newspapers in hand? was prudently examined. This question is related to intertextuality, which is inextricably linked to Fairclough’s CDA method. He differentiates between internal intertextualities (prior texts locate in present texts) and external intertextualities which refer to the fact that texts’ meaning can be “read” only in relation to other texts (Richardson, 2007: 100). Both modes of intertextuality were scoped. Additionally, I tried to pay heed to the stylistic choices of the newspapers at issue. In other words, did they try to employ a linguistic style that is familiar or more formal, in their coverage?

Stage 3: Social practices:

In this final stage, I tried to go outside the text to probe how much power and social influence may impact the news stories. In simplified terms, I tried to go through some questions like: who benefited or who lost from that coverage? What was the relation between the text and systems such as markets and government or regimes? Was anyone “Othered” by the reporting, and who were “Us” and “They” in the texts? (Richardson, 2007: 222).

3.4 Limitations and Shortcomings of the Methods

Some methodological problems were generally recognised. In fact, there are legitimate questions like: what is the concrete definition of a frame? Where does a frame reside (in text, culture, or in the minds of receivers)? What is the unit of frame analysis or the elements that may evoke the frame on the part of the receivers?! On the whole, Entman (1993) suggests a mechanism of examining and identifying frames in the news through “the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements” (Entman, 1993: 52). But,
still, even with Tankard’s (2001) eleven framing mechanism and with Cappella and Jamieson’s (1997) four criteria of identifying frames, stated earlier in *Theoretical Framework and Previous Research* chapter, I found out that there is hardly a concrete definition of a frame. Nevertheless, I avowedly believe in Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) constructivist approach to define a frame as a point of convergence between sociological and cognitive conceptions (Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 69). By so doing, frames function as an “internal structures of the mind” and “devices embedded in political discourse” (Kinder & Sanders, 1990: 74).

Though Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) approach which partly relies on Minsky’s (1975) cognitive definition of frames and Moscovici’s (1984) study of social representations, was criticized of the difficulty to separate the presence and analysis of frames in news discourse from the interpreting individual (Van Gorp, 2009; cited in D’Angelo & Kuypers, 2009: 89), I contend that it’s the same problem of *CDA* as well, since the latter method depends on the receiver’s ability to decode the meaning of the text through using his background knowledge, beliefs, and perspectives of the world, which may be different from the encoded message in the text. In other words, I postulate that the individual’s cognitive resources are part and parcel of interpreting the different media messages in any qualitative methodology, since they relate to how the human brains function by making unabated analogies between the images and ideas stored in them and objects or experiences people encounter in their life, thereby making the unfamiliar familiar. Similarly, how those media messages can evoke or activate mental frame is an important issue and that is the reason behind not only resorting to linguistic and lexical features to analyse the text, but to bog down into the structure of the text as well. At the same time, the latter proposition may indicate that it would be hard to derive frames within the texts by scanning the manifest content; rather, they have to be interpreted in a more deep-rooted level of analysis by examining the latent content. Put another way, *frame analysis* is more inclined to qualitative methodology. Nevertheless, though Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) *frame analysis* method proved to be useful in this study, I postulate to add some formatting devices such as the layout of the text, the placement of new items on a page, number of words and photographs assigned to the news articles, to the backbone of Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) *frame analysis* approach. The only flaw or imperfection in the aforesaid methodology, in my point of view, is confined to cultural frames; the frames that are part of the “memory of language users” (Fisher, 1997). Put another way, if a culture frame mentioned just once in the text, it might be difficult for those who don’t share the same cultural or social background to interpret the frame.
But, if a frame, even a cultural one, is persistent and reiterated throughout the text, the audience’s receptivity to pay heed to it increases.

Symmetrically, the shortcomings engendered from *CDA*. In this regard, though some scholars were trying to venerate and extol *critical discourse analysis* as about to become “an intellectual orthodoxy” (Billig 2002: 44), still, few shortcomings loomed large. First, concomitantly with the fact that one shouldn’t resort only to the linguistic analyses of the media texts; rather, the researcher has to deal with the text as a whole, not as mere sentences or words taken in isolation. In other words, the social and ideological dimensions have to be taken into consideration as well. But, I agree with Deacon (2007) that “it’s difficult, in practice, to sustain the presumption that every linguistic form has a specific ideological consequence which can be isolated and pinned down” (Deacon, 2007: 188). Arguably, this was the reason behind the fact that many prominent scholars like Widdowson (1995) and Schegloff (1998) labelled *CDA* as an “ideological interpretation” instead of a methodological analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 17). Nevertheless, one possible solution was to resort to more than one method to analyse the text, as it is the case with this study which tackles two methods instead of one, albeit there would be no guarantee for evading the ideology-language interpretation problems.

Another more convoluted and complicated shortcoming germane to *CDA* could be identified as a language barrier. To expound, there are an assortment of literatures dealing with the linguistic tools of the English language, but there are very few literatures, if any, dealing with how to analyse texts in Arabic language, since the two languages are different in their structure, origin and linguistic characteristics, bearing in mind that this study dealt with media texts written together in English and Arabic languages. And, at the same time, there was a risk of deviating from the systematic application of the theoretical model, by taking from theory “whatever feature comes usefully to hand” (Widdowson, 1998: 136). Put another way, I was stuck between a hammer and a hard place; to find linguistic features transcend the English language ambit, and, at the same time, they have to be wide enough to provide somehow meaningful results with ideological slants. One possible solution was to reach a conclusion that I don't have to apply a fixed, designated set of analytical tools in order to do *critical discourse analysis*; rather, to believe that language-specific realisations of strategies and schemes are an essential part of *CDA*. Additionally, some analytical tools could be used and attended “pragmatically” as well, bearing in mind the social and linguistic norms of a language.
3.5 Generalisability, Validity and Reliability

Steering the chapter more towards the criteria of reliability and validity which are borrowed from quantitative research studies, I didn’t resort to reliability in this sense. To clarify, according to Stenbacka (2001), reliability is irrelevant in the judgement of qualitative studies, and, by using it, the “consequences is rather that the study is no good” (Stenbacka, 2001: 552). However, I found succour in internal validity, or credibility. The latter term was proffered by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as a substitution for internal validity in qualitative studies (Bryman 2008: 34). To expound, being defined as to generate a “good match between researchers’ observations and the theoretical ideas they develop” (Bryman 2001: 271), internal validity could be used to reach a high level of coherence between concepts and observations. In other words, I asked myself relentlessly in the process of developing his study, whether the methods and the news articles in question are relevant to the research questions or not. On the other hand, it was difficult to use external validity or transferability which means “findings can be generalized across social settings” (Bryman 2001: 272). The reason behind not resorting to external validity in this study lies in its bias to employ case studies and small samples; Hammersley (2009) argues that it is categorically impossible to reach absolute certainty about the truth of any account, as we do have only indirect access of reality. Arguably, he posits that “there is no method or starting point that can guarantee truth.” (Hammersley, 2009: 4).

Likewise, one of the main problems of this qualitative study could be being too impressionistic and subjective (lacking scientific rigour) which could be mitigated by discarding the notion of “objectivity” as there is no such thing called “objectivism”; no one can reach the Archimedean Point! Nevertheless, the researcher would utilize two methods in this study to alleviate the number of interpretations that could be derived from the media texts in hand.

As for the problem of generalisation, it is of paramount importance to discern that the news articles taken from the newspapers at issue are not been meant to be representative of a population, rather; they meant to “generalize to theory rather than to populations” (Bryman 2001: 283). And, additionally, I used a wider range of data to be sampled in this study; 60 news
articles and editorial pieces were sampled with a wider range of photographs allocated to the news articles was analyzed as well.

Finally, one of the problems also could be the lack of transparency in arriving at the conclusion. In this, I tried to inform the reader how I chose these articles from newspapers and try to be as transparent as possible in relation to the sources, samples and other data, not to mention to make all the data available for the public to dispute and criticize the study’s results.
4. Results and Analysis

In the previous Methods and Material chapter, I tried to present the two methods adopted in this research study; namely, Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) method of frame analysis and Fairclough’s method of critical discourse analysis.

The Results and Analysis chapter is divided into two sections; the first one prudently examines the findings of frame analysis with analysing some important frames derived from the four newspapers’ samples, in an attempt to engender new insights about the different news coverage of Egypt’s protests. To be more precise, this section explores the hypothesis raised earlier in the Theoretical Framework and Previous Research germane to that some mass media are leaning toward episodic than thematic frames in their coverage, in addition to tackling another hypothesis pertained to identifying a number of putative frames evolved from McLeod and Hertog’s five characteristics of the protest paradigm, which I posited earlier to be found in the national newspapers in specific. The second division presents the results of the critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is aimed at finding the ideological predilections of the newspapers in hand, thence scrutinizing upon the findings in light of Galtung’s typology of peace and war journalism.

In short, frame analysis’ findings in the first section will try to answer the research question related to what kind of frames is employed in the newspapers at issue in light of the overarching theory of this study, the protest paradigm. However, the second research question of how those newspapers tried to identify and explore the characteristics of war and peace journalism in line with Galtung’s dichotomous model will be answered through both CDA’s findings and frame analysis’ results as well. Finally, the last research question of how the protesters were depicted in the four newspapers’ coverage will be answered through the CDA’s results in the second section of this chapter.

4.1 Frame Analysis: Condemning or praising protests?
In consonance with the fundamental purpose of this study; to explore frames of the protest paradigm and identifying the characteristics of peace and war journalism paradigm, during the Egyptian Revolution in some national, British and American newspapers, along with tracing the way the four newspapers in hand depicted the protesters, frame analysis tried to bring about new insights into discursive choices, not to mention to shed the light on the cultural, institutional, ideological and political alignments administering the choices made. In simplified terms, by resorting to Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) method of frame analysis, which has been broadly discussed in the Methods and Material chapter, I am trying in this section to test the hypotheses raised earlier in the Theoretical Framework and Previous Research chapter, notably, those in light of the protest paradigm. Put another way, in early stage, I posited that some of the media coverage of the news items and editorial pieces in question, were more gravitating toward episodic than thematic frames; reporting the events rather than the protesters’ goals and interests, in addition to overlooking the social and historical backgrounds of their political context. In the same vein, I offered some putative frames, most likely to be found in the national newspapers in question, aiming at maligning and tarnishing the protesters. In the main, this section is aiming at answering the first research question pertained to the kind of frames employed in the newspapers at issue in light of the main theory of this study; the protest paradigm.

Before extracting the frames from the news articles and editorial pieces at issue, there is an exigency to understand the political context in which the previously-mentioned stories were published. In this, a timeline of Egypt’s protests is being provided first, before presenting the frame analysis’ findings. The importance of this timeline here lies in that it is hard to follow the analysis of the news coverage without knowing the sequence of events within the initial 18 days of protesting and after the resignation of President Mubarak as well.

4.1.1 Egypt’s Protests: A timeline of “unfinished revolution”

In an attempt to replicate the success of the Tunisian revolution resulting in ousting the President Ben Ali in January 2011, a number of Egyptian opposition groups called for marches on January 25, 2011, which was coinciding with the National Police Day, through using social...
networking sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, to garner support (*The Washington Post*, 2011).

On January 25, 2011, thousands of Egyptians took over the streets of Cairo, Alexandria and some major cities in Egypt, inspired by a successful revolution in Tunisia, to protest poverty, rampant corruption, serious unemployment, police repression, and above all, a despotic governance of the President Hosni Mubarak, who had ruled the country for the past thirty years. These were the first demonstrations on such a large scale to be seen in Egypt since the 1970s (*The Huffington Post*, 2011). Although the protesters were generally non-violent, there were some reports of clashes between civilians and police service officers. Police fired tear gas and made use of water cannons against the protesters in Cairo's main Tahrir Square (*Al-Jazeera English*, 2011). The government replied by blocking Twitter, followed soon by Facebook, which the organizers used to coordinate protests.

On January 28, 2011, after Friday prayer, hundreds of thousands rallied in Cairo and other Egyptian cities. Mohammed ElBaradei, Nobel Laureate and the former head of the International Atomic Energy Association, arrived in Cairo to participate. The government escalated the situation by blocking all Internet services, mobile networks, and SMS, across the country (*CBS News*, 2011). The number of protesters got killed or injured was unclear.

Then, there was a “sudden withdrawal of security forces across Egypt at 5pm on 28 January, when prisons were opened allowing thousands to escape, leaving the public prey to looting, violence and ever more terrifying rumours” (*Al-Ahram Weekly*, 2011). In the same day, President Mubarak delivered a speech to the nation for the first time after four days of ongoing protests and sacked the cabinet. Mubarak called the military to take over security and imposed a curfew, allowing tanks and armoured fighting vehicles to roll into the streets of Cairo.

In the ascendancy of the demonstrations, Mubarak delivered another speech on February 1, 2011, offering more concessions to the Egyptians, enunciating that he wouldn’t run for another term in the September 2011 elections, albeit he would stay till the end of his current term in office, to ensure a “peaceful transition”. On February 2, 2011, many of Mubarak supporters poured into Tahrir (Liberation) square, some rode horses and camels “wielding whips and chains”, and attacked the anti-Mubarak protesters. Bloody clashes between the two sides
erupted (New York Post, 2011). According to AFP, Mubarak allies were dropping concrete blocks from high buildings onto the demonstrators. The live streaming throughout the day showed the two camps “hurling missiles at each other and swinging metal bars during running street battles” (New York Post, 2011).

On February 5, while the demonstrations kept going, Egyptian Christians held Sunday Mass in Tahrir Square, protected by a ring of Muslims (Al-Ahram, 2011). Also, negotiations started between the Egyptian Vice President Omar Suleiman and opposition representatives. On February 10, though many semi-official rumours confirmed that the Egyptian president would step down that day, Mubarak delivered his last speech in office at night, stating that he would pass his authority to Suleiman, but he will remain in Egypt as its head of state. A wave of anger and disappointment spreads among the masses, and as a result, demonstrations began to escalate in number all over Egypt.

On February 11, 2011, Vice President Omar Suleiman announced that Mubarak steps down as a president and hands power to the Supreme Council of Egyptian Armed Forces (SCAF). Afterwards, the military dissolved the parliament and suspended the constitution, not to mention that it announced that it will rule the country for six months until elections could be held. Citing Egypt's Health Ministry, at least 365 people were killed in the 18 days of anti-government protests (The Global and Mail, 2011).

To date, the SCAF didn’t hand power to an elected civilian authority, albeit the military had promised to relinquish power in June 2012 after a president is elected. However, the revolutionaries who once supported the military during the first 18 days of the revolution turned against the SCAF and organized several marches throughout the previous and current year, expressing their dissatisfaction with “the pace of reforms following last year's revolution.” (UPI.com, 2012).

4.1.2 Covering the Spark of Events

Although the demonstrations on January 25, 2011, were known to the Egyptian police before they occurred, when some opposition groups called for and organized marches on that day via

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6 The six-month period had been extended afterwards when other challenges loomed large.
7 The time of submitting this thesis was in May 2012.
using social networking sites, both *The Telegraph*\(^8\) and *The Washington Post* didn’t file a report about the event, at least on January 24-25, 2011. *Al-Ahram*, the second oldest Egyptian newspaper which was established in 1875, didn’t actually follow in the footsteps of the aforementioned American and British newspapers, but it mentioned the pre-organized 25-January rally only in a few lines of a long interview with the ex-Minister of Interior, Habib Al-Adly, published on the front page of the first edition on January 25, 2011.

In this ephemeral context, Habib Al-Adly said:

> “They are a group of unaware youth with no effect. The security (apparatus) is capable of deterrent any unlawful attempt or actions that may threaten citizens’ security. It (the security apparatus) will never hesitate to take action in case of vandalism and rioting. But, the police will protect them, as long as these protests are for expressing opinions.” (*Al-Ahram*, 2011)

Conversely, the privately-owned Egyptian daily *Al-Masry Al-Youm* was keen to report on the same day protests on January 25, 2011, taking into account that *Al-Masry Al-Youm’s* news report which entitled “Early Rehearsal for ‘Day of Rage’” came first on its front page. The size of the news item, along with the typeface of the headline and its different colour compared to its counterparts on the same front page, may indicate the significance of such marches as being newsworthy, at the very least for *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and its editorial policy.

Elicited from *Al-Masry Al-youm’s* early news story, the potential actors in January 25 demonstrations were some of the opposition groups, including April 6 Youth Movement\(^9\), Free Front for Peaceful Change\(^10\), and Muslim Brotherhood\(^11\). The aforesaid opposition groups expressed their intention to partake in the early protests, but most of the Muslim Brotherhood members joined later; not in the first days of the revolution. We will come to this part later during the analysis process. From the derived samples at issue and the different coverage of Egypt’s protests, the main actors could be confined to the following: Anti-Mubarak and pro-

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\(^8\) I mean here the paper edition of *The Telegraph*, not the online edition which I derived my samples from in this study, as the online edition used to update its website with the current events around the clock.

\(^9\) Since its foundation in spring 2008, the opposition Egyptian Facebook group attracted many young and education members. Their overriding concerns are freedom of speech, nepotism (in government), and Egypt’s sluggish economy.

\(^10\) Another opposition group

\(^11\) The most organized and influential opposition group in Egypt was founded in 1928. Under the rule of Mubarak, it was referred to as a banned and restricted group. However, in the wake of Egypt’s Revolution, it was legalized and their members secured a stable parliamentary majority.
democracy protesters, the police, President Mubarak, pro-Mubarak supporters, the military, Vice President Omar Suleiman, and Muslim Brotherhood.

- In the following lines, I will try to present and spout off on some frames derived from the media samples in hand, related to the protest paradigm

4.1.3 Protest as being disregarded and neglected

According to Ashley and Olson’s (1998), news media can frame any protest group “by ignoring it (or) burying the article in the back section” (Ashley & Olson, 1998: 264). However, McLeod (2007) posits that the journalists have to cover the large-sized protests even if they fell out of the newsworthiness favour; notably, not resorting to violence, evading any clashes with the police, and the like (McLeod, 2007: 191). But, the previously-mentioned claim may not be applicable to all cases of protest groups. In the same vein, Al-Ahram covered the events of the “day of rage” in a considerable small place on its front page on January 26, 2011. The coverage of the story’s title “Thousands Participate in Peaceful Demonstrations in Cairo, Governorates” tried to imbue the events with a sense of naturalness. In other words, “ephemeral” demonstrations inspired by the Tunisian Revolution are doomed to fade out. To clarify, the news item depicts the demonstrators in a semi-mechanical way; first they chanted slogans call for generating job opportunities, curbing price rise, and more freedom and democracy. Then, they were “walking around” some Cairo downtown streets before hurling rocks on security forces, which responded with water cannons and firing tear gas. One can elicit that nothing happened out of the ordinary, or different from other demonstrations in the past. The intransitive verb of “walking around” Cairo downtown streets may also connotes their aimless, thoughtless, and desultory nature. Ironically enough, the main story on the same front page was titled: “Widespread Protests in Lebanon”. Ignoring or neglecting the Egyptian protests here doesn’t mean to overlook covering the event entirely, albeit trivializing the impact of the protests as being unimportant or insignificant, compared to the protests in Lebanon which had been given primacy on the same front page.

To cement the aforementioned viewpoint, The Washington Post published a news item titled: “State-Run Media Changing Tune” on February 10, 2011, in an attempt to highlight the changing course in the government-owned mediums – from the vilification of the protestors...
and their “chaotic uprising” to acknowledging the demands of the pro-democracy demonstrators and criticizing the government. This drastic shift in *Al-Ahram*’s coverage happened during the course of unfolding events. We will return to this point later. To illustrate:

“State-run television and newspaper such as the iconic *al-Ahram* initially dismissed the mass demonstration against President Hosni Mubarak as nonevents. As the crisis has unfolded since Jan. 25, most people have relied on Arabic satellite channels such as *al-Jazeera* and news accounts from independent Egyptian dailies and social networking sites such as Twitter and Facebook to keep up with the events.” (*The Washington Post*, 2011)

4.1.4 Who started the violence? Who is to blame? (Protesters vs. Police)

One of the most frequently reiterated frames in the journalistic samples at issue was *protesters vs. police*. The aforesaid frame is mainly reliant on portraying the demonstrators as generally involved in violent clashes with the police, rather than their intended opposition, such as the government or the regime headed by the President Hosni Mubarak. The deviance within *protesters vs. police* frame is spotlighted through shedding the light on which group is initiating violence, and which group is merely responding to the confrontations, in addition to relying on official and elite representatives, like police officers, to the disadvantage of the protesters (McLeod & Hertog, 1992).

*Al-Ahram* in the previously mentioned story, titled “*Thousands Participate in Peaceful Demonstrations in Cairo, Governorates*”, the writer noted that the protesters started the violence by hurling rocks on security forces, whereas the latter responded back by unleashing water cannons and firing tear gas to disperse the protesters. The same news item that published on January 26 resorted to unnamed security sources which accused some Muslim Brotherhood elements of trying to instigate the protesters against the police.

By the same token, in another story of *Al-Ahram*, entitled “*Death of 4, 118 Citizens and 162 Police Officers Injured, and 100 arrested in Cairo, Governorates*”, and published on January 27, the police not only tried to respond to “*troublemakers*” by hurling rocks on them and set fire on tires, but they also got injured as well. In other words, the police officers were victims of the “radical protesters”. All sources in this news article were confined to security and official representatives, with overlooking the voice of protesters.
Furthermore, in a news story for *Al-Ahram* entitled “*(Is this) Happening in Cairo?! Violent Acts, Vandalism, and Intimidating Citizens in Streets*”, protesters vs. police and protesters as anarchists frames were entwined together. To put it more pointedly, the metaphor that “the peaceful marches turned into unfortunate riot events adopted by criminals and targeted *Egyptian police troops and stations*”, not only reflects the aberration of the peaceful demonstrations into tumultuous and shambolic unrests, but it depicts the brutality of the protesters, or at the very least, the “hired infiltrators” from Muslim Brotherhood and some opposition groups as well. To expatiate, the Egyptian police troops fall prey to target killing and violence. The animal imagery and metaphor of the hunt extended in the subhead “*Moment of Security Target*” in the same news article to portray the police as being victims to some dangerous and bellicose elements, whether they are the protesters themselves or some hired infiltrators among them. Moreover, the overall tone of the news article was vividly anti-rally and against Muslim Brotherhood group. The story radiated an aura of fear and consternation. Other negative attributes emanated from the use of loaded verbs and phrases such as “burning out”, “Molotov cocktails”, “raiding”, “thieves and criminal uprising”, “stealing weapons” and “breakouts from jails”. Again, the employing of unnamed security sources and visual photographs showing only armoured police vehicles set on fire, cement protesters vs. police frame, not to mention to marginalise and delegitimize protestors’ actions by shifting any focus on protestors’ political injustice and the reasons behind getting them out on the streets.

Steering the discussion more toward *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, it used sometimes protesters vs. police frame, as this ready-made narrative approach was pictorial in news items such as that entitled “*The Ultimatum: Save Egypt*” which was published on January 29, 2011, on the front page. In this news article, the violent clashes between the police who unleashed tear gases, used rubber bullets and fired live bullets in the air, on one hand, and the protesters on the other, resulted in killing 26 and injuring 1700 all over the country. However, no further explanation was given about how those victims were killed and injured, despite the fact that the previously mentioned way the police dealt with the demonstrations shouldn’t be fatal. Likewise, the confrontation between the police and thousands of protesters in Suez\(^{12}\) resulted in the killing of a citizen by a bullet in his head. Then, the angry protesters took over the city and set afame to the main police station there. Moreover, in Cairo, things got more convoluted as following:

\[^{12}\] Suez is one of the governorates of Egypt and it is the city that ignited the January 25 Revolution. During the course of the Revolution’s 18 days, more than 25 protesters were killed in Suez alone.
“The major squares turned into something like guerrilla war. The sound of bullets was salient in Cairo. Smoke columns of the tear gases rose everywhere. The protesters responded by set fire to police cars in some areas, including Shubra, in addition to setting fire to some police stations in Cairo and governorates.”

Though the police was the initiator of the events according to *Al-Masry Al-Youm*’s coverage, but it unleashed only tear gas, whereas the protesters responded back by burning out police vehicle and police stations. In other words, the reaction of the protesters wasn’t equal to the preceding action of the police. As for the sources in this news item, a statement of the President Mubarak was quoted, in addition to eye witnesses. None of the protesters was sourced in this news article. To substantiate the previous claim, an expressive photograph of a police conscript was assigned to the news story. The conscript was weeping and leaning on a stick, while the caption of the photograph was: “A conscript in a moment of withdrawal after the protesters took over Alexandria”. Again, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* in this specific story tried to renounce any consistent form of contextualization for protesters actions. Additionally, as in the above-mentioned news story of *Al-Ahram*, in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*’s coverage both protesters vs. police and protesters as anarchists frames were interwoven.

On the other hand, a story from *The Telegraph*, entitled “*Egyptian Police Fire Tear Gas at Demonstrators in Cairo on ‘Day of Wrath’*”, published on January 25, 2011, mentioned that thousands of protesters started hurling rocks on police forces and “climbing on top of an armoured police truck”, while the latter responded back with water cannons and tear gas. Remarkably, most if not all of the sources were from the protesters. Even one of the sources said:

“I am not protesting the police...They are citizens like me. I am protesting corruption, unemployment and high prices. We are just asking for the smallest dreams.”

Moreover, a good background about the reason behind the protesters’ grievances and a link between the Tunisian Revolution and the Egyptian upheaval was provided clearly in this news item. However, another story for *The Telegraph*, entitled “*Egypt Protests: troops and tanks ordered out in bid to quell protests*” published on January 28, the writer adopted a different approach. It’s difficult from the coverage to ascertain which party initiated violence first – the
police or the protesters – albeit the first paragraph tried to depict the injurious effects of protesting. The demonstrators set fire to tires, police cars and the ruling party’s headquarters, not to mention to attempt to “storm the state TV building and Foreign Ministry, while looting broke out in some areas.” Furthermore, the metaphor of “darkness fell over Cairo” seems to extend over the text, creating a sense of helplessness and devastation. Regarding the sources in the text, there was a certain bias towards the official sources, including government, authority figures and experts. In this, the journalist mentioned unnamed analysts, senior ruling party figures, a chairman of the Egyptian parliament’s foreign affairs committee and the US Secretary of State. On the other hand, there were very few citizens voiced; namely, unnamed witnesses and a protester in Cairo.

The Washington Post’s news story “Protests Spread against Mubarak” which published on January 26, on the front page, not only tried to cover the clashes between the protesters and police, where the former began the violence by “throwing rocks and bringing down a police kiosk before backing away with appeals for nonviolence”, but it tried to imbue the coverage with a sense of naturalness to support the status quo in Egypt as well. Put another way, through mentioning the countries whose citizens tried to replicate the Tunisian Revolution, and quoting Hillary Clinton, Secretary of State, who expressed the same viewpoint, the American reader may elicit that what is going on in Egypt is just an attempt to replicate a successful protest movement, and most probably will doom to failure. Even the only source of protesters or organizers quoted, apart from a slogan the demonstrators used to chant during the rallies, confines the demands of the protesters to a mere emulation to the Tunisian popular revolt.

In the same vein, Clinton said:

“(Egypt), like many countries in the region”, has been experiencing demonstrations. “Our assessment is that the Egyptian government is stable and is looking for ways to respond to the legitimate needs and interests of the Egyptian people.”

After three days, to be more precisely, on January 29, the tone of The Washington Post has dramatically changed. In a news story, entitled “Cairo Falls into Near-Anarchy” which appeared on the front page, the protesters didn’t initiate the violence; rather, they were mere respondents to the units of police troops that “fired hundreds of tear gas shells, shot unarmed protesters and beat them with clubs.” In an act of response, the protesters “began” -
presupposes that they didn’t resort to this before - to set fire to police vehicles and government buildings. Unlike *Al-Masry Al-Youm*’s news story mentioned earlier, entitled “The Ultimatum: Save Egypt”, in *The Washington Post*’s story the reaction is proportionate and equal to the first action. Death can be connoted and insinuated from the meaning of the phrase “shot unarmed protesters”. Then, to avenge death of their comrades, the protesters turned to violence. The following passage enunciates the previous viewpoint:

> “Until then, the protesters had largely refrained from initiating violence, choosing instead to chant slogans and wave the Egyptian flag. When tear gas canisters sailed toward them, protesters swooped in and tried to whether throw them back or to cast them into the waters of the Nile.”

From the prior passage, one can infer that the jingoistic protesters whom “had largely refrained from initiating violence”, their only act of response was either passive; by flinging tear gas canisters into the Nile, or semi-equal through casting them back to the soldiers, bearing in mind that, most probably, the riot police forces would be wearing gas masks. Besides, most of the sources quoted, if not all, were from the protesters, with the exception of President Obama, who also urged the Egyptian President to “take concrete steps to advance the rights of the Egyptian people.”

### 4.1.5 Protesters as anarchists

As mentioned earlier, the *protesters as anarchists* frame is usually concurrent with *protesters vs. police* frame. The anterior narrative structure is contingent on the focus on the protesters’ acts of violence, property destruction, lawlessness and chaotic behaviours.

In *Al-Ahram*’s story, entitled “Omar Suleiman Named Vice President, Ahmed Shafiq as Prime Minister”, which appeared on the front page on January 30, 2011, it isn’t hard to extrapolate how protests and their follow-ups plunged the entire country into chaos. Though it wasn’t spelled out that the protests resulted in the shambolic aura and all the lawless acts depicted in the story, but most of the insinuations, cohesive ties and even metaphors, leave the readers’ conjecture to connect the dots and blame the protests for the disorder. The subhead “Continuance of Protests, Chaos all over the Country and Looting in the Absence of Security” draws a link between the protests and the chaotic atmosphere spreading throughout the country. Apart from the excessive use of words and adjectives laden with negative attributes such as
“bloody protests”, “violent and chaotic events”, “vandals”, “thugs”, “prevailing chaos” and “tragic picture”, the writer in this story resorted to an exemplar to visualize the impact of the tumultuous and anarchic demonstrations, in the following description:

“The Egyptian cities and the capital Cairo, witnessed the worst looting acts the country has passed through, since the Cairo Fire13 more than half a century ago.”

On the whole, this exemplar not only points out the flagrancy of the harrowing situation where the streets of Egypt became a playground of anarchists, but also it cements the ideology and viewpoint of Al-Ahram toward the protests, and consequently, reinforces protesters as anarchists frame. To expound, there are some denominators between Cairo Fire and Egypt’s protests in 2011. Both events witnessed “unexplained absence of security forces” and both were accompanied by looting, vandalism, and burning out buildings. However, those lawless acts were in a large scale half a century ago as more than 700 buildings set aflame during Cairo Fire (Al-Ahram, 2010). Conversely, most of the limited arsons and property damages during the Egyptian Revolution were confined to the ruling party headquarters, police stations and police trucks, not to mention that there were massive breakouts from jails during January-25 Revolution (Al-Jazeera English, 2011). Nevertheless, despite the fact that the perpetrators of Cairo Fire remain unknown, eyewitneses and official sources accused some organized elements of infiltrating among the crowds and igniting the fires. This was inferred from the speed and precision of setting the egregious fires. Interestingly enough, Muslim Brotherhood group appeared in the long accusation list of those who were responsible for the Cairo fires, but with no concrete evidence (Al-Ahram, 2010). Likewise, Al-Ahram adopted the same trajectory after almost 50 years; it accused the “restricted” Muslim Brotherhood group of jumping on Egypt’s protests and tried to instigate the demonstrators against the police. More elaboration on this part will be followed later.

By and large, the same news story tried to depict how Egypt was fallen victim to scenes of scattered violence, in addition to highlight a scene of “shattered peace” in order to demonize

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13 Cairo Fire was an array of riots took place on January 26, 1952, marked by the burning and looting of some 750 buildings, including cinemas, hotel, restaurants, theatres, hotels and Egypt’s Opera House. The spark that ignited the events was the killing of 50 Egyptian auxiliary policemen in the city of Ismailia, by the British occupation troops, in a one-sided confrontation a day earlier. As a result, anti-British protests broke out, albeit some organized elements infiltrated the crowd and burned large areas of Cairo in the midst of unexplained absence of security forces. To date, the miscreants of Cairo Fire remain unknown (Al-Ahram Weekly, 2002)
protesters and portray them as isolated minority, by turning public opinion stridently against them (McFarlane, 2001). This was patently obvious in the following description:

“In Al-Minya14, the protesters set fire to the ruling party’s building in centre Samalot, and destroyed everything inside. Also, some people got killed in North Sinai governorate as a result of the confrontations between citizens and security forces after some armed groups attacked a police station in El-Risa district in northern Al-Arish city. They were shooting excessively, thence resulted in the killing of 4 police officers; in addition, two personnel working in the state security investigation bureau in Rafah got killed, as the bureau has been stormed and set ablaze by the protesters.”

Interestingly, no source had been quoted in this news story, which may put the veracity and credibility of this story at stake.

Angling the analysis toward Al-Masry Al-Youm, a news story entitled “The Horror Night in Egypt: Thugs Besieging Streets, Nation-Wide Lootings to ‘Banks, Companies, Posts, and Hotels’”, tried to visualize how Egypt fell prey to marauding acts. The chaotic atmosphere was prevailing throughout the coverage, either by using negatively loaded words, adjectives and verbs such as “nation-wide lootings”, “hours of horror”, “ransacking”, “spoils”, “melees”, “thugs”, “burning-out”, “bandits”, “vandals”, “troublemakers”, “besieging”,...etc, or by resorting to metaphors like “Egypt has lived a horror night” which extended all over the news item. The writers ascribed blame to the protesters for the horrendous events more than once throughout the coverage. This was discerned in the following passage:

“Some protesters ransacked housing units located up to a shopping mall... some commercial banks witnessed looting attempts, after they had been stormed by protesters whom were able to loot ATM machines and tried to broke into the Egyptian Museum, albeit the military forces deterred them.”

Aside from portraying melees which broke out among the protesters over looted “spoils”, the writers resorted to scare quotes like in “‘Thugs’ and outlaws took over many separate areas in Cairo” either to disavow from the usage of this word as being misnomer used by the sources, or to show that the use of this word is potentially ironic. The same scare quote reiteratated in “the ‘thugs’ tightened their grip on the Ring Road”, which may indicate that the usage of this scare quote wasn’t haphazardly chosen. However, eyewitnesses from protesters, security source, one

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14 Al-Minya is the capital of Minya Governorate in Upper Egypt.
of the governmental employees, and Egypt deputy central bank governor, were all cited. Although there was a balance in using official sources and those from protesters, the photographs assigned for this news articles were focusing on visualizing the anarchic atmosphere, as two photographs tried to reflect the tragedy emanated from the destruction properties. Those two photographs were captioned with “gas station has been destroyed in downtown Cairo”, and “an ATM machine has been snatched completely”.

On the other hand, a story from The Telegraph entitled “Egypt in Crisis: Vigilantes and Prisoners on the Streets”, published on January 30, 2011, didn’t resort to a clear-cut technique of putting the protests in bad light or blaming them for the violence and the prevailing anarchy. To put it more pointedly, the editors substituted the compound noun “Egypt Protests” or sometimes “Egypt Crisis”, followed by a colon which appeared in the headlines of many samples of the British newspaper at issue, for the phrase “Egypt in Crisis”. The significance of using the preposition “in” may accentuate how Egypt was descended into darkness and disorder. Similarly, the lead “Egypt’s anti government uprising showed signs of fraying into lawlessness on Sunday as a series of mass jail breaks saw thousands of prisoners released on to the streets”, may convey the same meaning. By the same token, the writers relied on verbs like “claimed” more than once after the sources quoted; in addition to adjectives like in “alleged looters”, which again may cast a doubt on the credibility of the information derived from these sources. Also, the phrase “most Egyptians were at pains to dissociate the protests from any criminal acts” entails that although there are no links between the protests and lawlessness, but, still, without incontrovertible evidences. Notwithstanding, most of the sources were taking the side of the protesters, with no single official source quoted.

Interestingly, in The Washington Post’s samples at issue, the protesters as anarchists frame wasn’t pictorial, though it resorted, as mentioned earlier, to the protesters vs. police frame once before.

4.1.6 Protest as economic threat

Protest as economic threat narrative frame was very common in the samples in hand, and to be more precise, it was the most recurrent frame which appeared in all the four newspapers without exception, either discretely or interchangeably with other frames. The essential purpose
of this narrative structure was to amplify and heighten the risks of such protests on Egypt’s fragile economy, and consequently, instigating the public against the protesters and blaming them for the disorder, in an attempt to support the status quo.

*Al-Ahram’s* story “Stock Market Loses LE40.25 Billion, the Pound’s Fall Continues”, which published on the front page on January 28, 2011, was dominated by *protest as economic threat* frame. Along with the negative adjectives such as “the lowest” point and verbs like “lost” and “declined” which were attributed to Egypt’s stock market that “lost on Wednesday (27 January) and Thursday (26 January) around LE70 Billion”, the writer used an exemplar to depict the frailty of Egypt’s economic conditions as following:

“Stock Market fell to its lowest point in 18 months, during the trading yesterday, in a worst wave of decline since the Black Tuesday\(^{15}\) on October 7, 2008.”

To those who usually trade in the Egyptian Stock Market, conjuring up the memory of the “Black Tuesday” means an economic crisis is underway, whereas metaphors like “a worst wave of decline” and “Euro leaped against the Egyptian Pound” helped in creating a scene of “shattered economy”. Besides, the only source cited in this news item was Reuters.

In another story for *Al-Ahram*, entitled “No Returning Back to Pre-January 25 Era: Tough Economic Situations, Ongoing Losses May lead to Collapse”, which published on the front page on February 16, 2011, one can easily discern *protest as economic threat* frame. The writer of this news article, Osama Saraya, who is the editor-in-chief of *Al-Ahram*, cited the members of the Supreme Council of Egyptian Armed Forces (SCAF) - being the only source throughout the news article. Although at that time President Mubarak resigned and ceded power to the SCAF, but it seems that no radical change had been noticed in the Egyptian hierarchical state of power. To elucidate, the same strategy of supporting the status quo had been applied by the SCAF; the members of Egypt’s ruling military warned against the perpetuation of sit-ins as being a major threat to the economy. The following passage conveys this meaning:

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\(^{15}\) Egypt’s Stock Market fell to its lowest point on October 7, 2008, after its main index recorded a decline by 16.4 at closing. Egyptian officials intervened to stop trading on more than 30 company stocks, after exceeding the limits of permitted drop (*Al-Ahram Weekly*, 2006).
“They (SCAF) said that the economic situation is tough, and the daily losses from paralyzing business and sit-ins, dissipate our energy. And, their continuance will lead to an economic collapse. Hence, we will be unable to fulfil people’s demands which they consider their own rights.”

The subhead “Sit-ins Create a State of Chaos...And Make Us Unable to Fulfil Protesters’ Demands”, conjointly with adjectives like “tough” and loaded words such as “daily losses”, “paralyzing business” and “economic collapse”, were aiming at intensifying the deviance of the protesters, not to mention to portray them as an “isolated minority”, by directing the public opinion strongly against them (McFarlane, 2001). Even the caption of the photograph allocated to the same news article “Life Returns Back to Tahrir Square”, subsumes a metaphor which suggests that Tahrir Square was “lifeless” during the 18-day protests, but now after ousting President Mubarak and the departure of the pro-democracy demonstrators, life returns back to normalcy in it; now we can see cars driving through Tahrir Square for the first time since the beginning of the events.

By the same token, the protest as economic threat frame can be vividly ascertained in other stories for Al-Ahram, such as the one entitled “(Is this) Happening in Cairo?! Violent Acts, Vandalism, and Intimidating Citizens in Streets”. This was happened through the use of the catchphrase “we moved one democratic step ahead and receded 1000 economic steps back”, though it was intermixed with another frame; notably, protesters vs. police frame.

As for Al-Masry Al-Youm, a story entitled “Crisis Follow-Ups: ‘Transportation’ (Sectors) Daily Losses LE15 Million, Remittances Ceased...Stock Market, Banks Remain Closed for the Fifth Day”, which published on February 3, 2011, followed in the footsteps of Al-Ahram’s preceding stories. The writers of this story used many negative loaded words such as “crisis”, “daily losses” and “repercussions”, along with transitive verbs such as “warned”, “deprive” and “halt”, to depict the harrowing economic situation. Even the compound noun “crisis follow-ups” insinuates that there is an ongoing sequence of repercussions related to Egypt’s protests. Moreover, all the sources cited were either official representatives from the government or economists who tried to describe how the country was plunging into a serious economic crisis. To elaborate:
“The repercussions on the national economy continued as the Swiss companies ‘APS’ and ‘Nestle’, with 3000 working for them, announced the suspension of their activities in Egypt, under the current situations.”

Furthermore, there is no big difference between Al-Ahram’s story analyzed earlier, entitled “No Returning Back to Pre-January 25 Era: Tough Economic Situations, Ongoing Losses May lead to Collapse”, and Al-Masry Al-Youm’s story “The Military: Workers’ Strikes Threaten Egypt”, published on the front page on February 15, 2011. In the latter story, the SCAF warned against the continuance of workers’ strikes and sit-ins on the national economy, citing SCAF’s 5th communiqué posted on the military's official Facebook page. In this news item, a subhead entitled “Calm Returns to Tahrir (Square)... SCAF: Sectors in State Paralyze Wheel of Production”, reiterates the threat of protests on the country’s economy. This can be discerned through the choice of the negative verb “paralyze”, along with the metaphor “calm returns to Tahrir square” after the departure of anti-Mubarak protesters, which presupposes that restlessness and turbulence dominated Tahrir Square during the 18 days of protests. Moreover, a long list of phrases such as “the risk of growing sit-ins and strikes on the national economy”, “repercussions”, “ruin the country’s security”, “destabilization of the country’s organizations” and “paralyzing people’s interests”, may contribute to highlighting the threat of protests on the economy in general.

For The Telegraph, a news item entitled “Protests Force Egypt Bank and Market Shutdown”, published on January 29, 2011, blended protests as economic threat frame with protesters as anarchists one together. The writer resorted to verbs laden with negative meanings, such as “spook”, “force”, “scramble”, “close”, tumbled” and “fell”, though the chosen sources were balancing each other; the deputy central bank governor was quoted to support a governmental viewpoint that could be summarized in: everything is under control. On the other hand, an economist at Banque Saudi Fransi-Credit Agricole had been cited to convey a complete different viewpoint condensed in the phrase “there is a near paralysis”. However, the background given backs up the latter trend, which had been illustrated in the following description:

“Egypt’s stock market, which tumbled 16pc in two days after the unrest erupted, will also be closed on Sunday. The Egyptian pound fell to six-year lows.”
The photograph attached to the news article with some protesters and a tractor set ablaze, was captioned with a phrase extracted from the text itself. The caption “Egypt has endured five days of often violent protests with people on the streets calling for the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak”, along with the photograph cement the protesters as anarchists frame.

The predilection toward delineating Egypt’s protests as posing an economic threat to the country and its citizens was pictorial in some of The Washington Post’s stories. In the news story entitled “U.S. Stock Market Falls as Egypt Unrest Continues”, which published on January 29, 2011, the writer managed to show how Egypt’s “unrests” militated against the U.S. stock market in specific. Phrases like “violent clashes in Egypt injected a jolt of anxiety into global financial markets”, “investors increased their purchases of U.S. Treasuries”, “Dow was on the verge of closing above 12,000 for the first time since June 2008”, and “returning to its pre-recession level”, married with verbs such as “declined”, “slid” and “fell”, may help in nourishing a state of panic among the international investors. Even the catchphrase “the mentality is just take the profits that you’ve got and sell”, may subliminally designate to the only way out for the U.S. investors from the daunting economic situation, especially when it came from an expert like a chief executive of one of the U.S. stock market companies. Needless to say, most of the sources quoted in this news item were economists and experts, with the exception of President Obama.

Notwithstanding, The Post tried to probe upon the impact of Egypt’s protests from an economic perspective on the Egyptians themselves. In the story entitled “In Cairo’s Gas and Bread lines, Divergent Outlooks”, which published on February 1, 2011, the reporter investigated upon the shortages in everyday staples ensuing from Egypt’s protests. He interviewed Egyptians who used to queue in Cairo’s gas and bread lines. Surprisingly enough, the poorer classes which used to wait at bakeries for government-subsidized bread, expressed their sympathy and support for the Egyptian President, whereas the middle-class Egyptians, who suffered from gasoline shortages and used to stay in gas lines for “an hour” to fill up their cars, blamed the government, Interior Ministry and Mubarak for the current crisis.

Jettisoning the dilemma of who is to be blamed for plunging the country into trouble, this story is different from the above stories. In the same vein, one can elicit from the coverage that there was a serious economic problem in Egypt. This was evidently portrayed in the following passage:
“But with the banks closed and the Internet shut down after a week of demonstrations, Egypt is also a country where business is beginning to shutter a bit.”

Moreover, other phrases like “there were no lines because there was no gas”, “our source of livelihood has been cut off”, and “(a market) hasn’t had any chicken for a week”, accentuate the seriousness of the fragile economy after one week of protesting, but the coverage didn’t blame the protests for causing the ongoing trouble; unlike the many sources who ascribed blame to the regime in general, the very few pro-Mubarak sources quoted in the news item didn’t avowedly put the onus of the “disaster” on the protesters. Even the conclusion tried to sum up the approach as if it was a summer cloud and will be passed soon, in the following description:

“There’s no problem,” said Mohamed Maharan. “But people are worried.”

4.1.7 Protest as Carnival

Usually, the mass media resort to frame protest groups as a part of a theatre or performance narrative structure, in order to “empty the protest of its radical political content” (McFarlane, 2001). Put another way, by portraying the protests as mere “performance” and protesters as “actors”, the frame distracts readers’ attention away from the reason behind why the protesters taking over the streets of Egypt. Conspicuously, the protest as carnival frame merges with protesters’ appearance, behaviour and identity frame. Again, the latter frame turns a blind eye on the protesters’ foremost political context, via pinning down the description of the demonstrators, their dress, language, age and identity.

In the same vein, Al-Ahram’s story entitled “People Brought Down the Regime: The Egyptians Celebrate the Fall of the Regime”, which published on February 12, 2011, tried to depict the “overwhelming jubilation” that reigned throughout Egypt after ousting President Mubarak. Although the tone of the coverage was taking the side of the protesters, but veneers of exultation and celebration were vividly pictorial by using of words, adjectives and verbs like “celebrate”, “waving”, “chanting”, “overwhelming jubilation”, “happiness”, and “celebration demonstration”. Similarly, the protest as carnival frame was disguised in a culture frame suit, as in the following description:
“Alexandrian women were keen to take part in the celebrations. Zaghareet (ululations) heard clearly from balconies as women stood waving Egypt’s flags in a way to salute the protesters.”

Zaghareet (ululations) which are veneers of celebration for the women in the Arab world may imbue the story with an act of performance. Al-Ahram’s editors chose to assign a photograph to this news article of a woman performing Zaghareet by her mouth and right hand gesture, which again may point out the protest as carnival frame. Only the people from Middle East or those who have a considerable knowledge of the Arab culture are able to decode the meaning of this photograph.

Nevertheless, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s story “Wedding Ceremony in Tahrir Square on the Rhythm: “Down with the Regime”, published on the front page on February 7, 2011, tried to record another moment of happiness and celebration, where a couple held their wedding amidst protesters in Tahrir Square. However, although the couple and protesters “chanted”, “cheered”, and “ululated”, but without overlooking their main demand for protesting; namely, to overthrow President Mubarak and his regime. In this, the protesters and the couple chanted “Down with the Regime” as an indication of one of their major-league demands; in addition the sources for the news item were the newly-married couple and protesters only.

By the same token, in another story of Al-Masry Al-Youm, entitled “Rebels’ Signs and Posters: Hardboards, Cloth and Umbrellas...Flag’s Colours, Martyrs’ Pictures Fill the Square”, published on February 11, 2011, the focus was mainly on the signs and posters the protesters used to garner support of the media and other Egyptians, as if they acting in a theatrical performance to invoke a “carnival atmosphere”. However, this trend didn’t ignore, oversimplify or bury the protesters’ demands in the background, and consequently, divert the attention of the readers from the analysis of the demonstrators’ political context; rather, the protesters used the posters and signs as messages to express their demands and the reason behind their rallies. This was patently obvious in the following description:

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16 Zaghareet or ululations are commonly used in the Arab world by women to express celebration, specifically in weddings. An ululation is a high-pitched vocal sound, which is produced by a rapid movement of the tongue from left to right relentlessly in the mouth while getting out the sharp sound.
“The signs not only aimed at expressing the demands of the protesters, but also some of the demonstrators were keen to carry them to reflect the down-to-earth reality of the Egyptians that pushed the latter to revolt. A sign was carried by a child seating on his father’s shoulder, these words were written on it: “9 Million Egyptians Suffer from Hepatitis C in Egypt.”

Also, the simile “Tahrir’s signs were like stimulus remind them, even when they are at rest, with the reason they came to”, reinforces the fact that the theatrical performance frame to confine the protestors actions to mere “acting” in order to urge the readers to discern “protesters’ objectives as akin to dressing up, some fun and a good day out” (McFarlane, 2001), wasn’t applicable here. In other words, the writer instantiated the fact that describing the “performance” mode of the protesters, their way of dressing-up, personal life and having fun, can work in tandem with highlighting their legitimate political context and the reason of being on the streets of Egypt.

Steering the discussion toward The Washington Post’s stories, a news article entitled “Mubarak Steps Down, Prompting Jubilation in Cairo Streets”, tried to trace the moment of happiness and celebration the Egyptians enjoyed after the resignation of President Mubarak. Although the news article that published on February 12, 2011, used many verbs reflect the mode of celebrations such as “celebrated”, “jumped up and down”, “pumped their fists”, “hugged” and “cried”. Also, this was discerned in the following phrase: “Egyptians celebrated with fireworks, a cacophony of horns and a sea of red-white-and-black national flags”. Nevertheless, the writer adopted the same trajectory of Al-Masry Al-Youm’s previously-mentioned story; mixing celebration mode with a legitimate political context of the protesters and their demands. This was pictorial in reiterating phrases like “for the moment”, “for at least one day”, and “If the people were nervous about their nation’s uncertain future, they submerged their anxieties for the moment.” All the previously-mentioned phrases were focusing on the fact that the Egyptians were celebrating mainly for the moment or for one day, as their demands hadn’t been fulfilled yet. Still, it is the beginning for the Egyptians, not an end; Egypt has a long way to go before achieving a real democracy. By the same token, the writer questioned the role of the military in the “new” Egypt and the situation of the toppled President Mubarak and his “notorious brutal security services”. The reiteration of the adjective “unclear” completes the state of doubtfulness, vagueness and obscurity that interrupt the mode of celebrating the event.
Another news article of *The Telegraph* followed in the footsteps of the previous news item of *The Washington Post*. The news article, entitled “Egypt: Cairo Protesters Tell of their Fight for Freedom” – published on February 12, 2011 – depicted the euphoric feelings of the Egyptians at this moment. An amalgam of verbs like “whooped”, “chanted”, “crushed” and “celebrate” along with adjectives like “jubilant”, “happy”, and “positive”, in addition to adverbs like “incredibly” and “euphorically”, contributed to the celebration mood. But, the reason behind the protesters’ taking over the streets wasn’t overlooked or ignored in the coverage. This was pictorial through the sources from the protesters themselves like in the following citation: “Yesterday Miss Esmat said the people’s revolution was just the beginning.” Similarly, another phrase highlights the next step some protesters have to make on the path toward genuine democracy in Egypt, as follows: “some protesters were determined to stay, to put pressure on the army which is now in power until real democracy can take root”. In other words, the juxtaposing of celebration mode and the political context of the protesters may attenuate the carnival frame, since the latter depends mainly on emptying the demonstrations of their political content (McFarlane, 2001).

4.1.8 Missing or providing the context? (Episodic vs. Thematic)

In the *Theoretical Framework and Previous Research* chapter, I raised a hypothetical claim that the news sample in hand, most probably that derived from the national newspapers, may have a propensity toward presenting news from an *episodic* perspective rather than *thematic* one; instead of presenting the social and historical backgrounds of Egypt’s protests, there is a more focus on protesters’ acts of violence and attributing responsibility to them. In other words, putative questions like, who organized the protests, what impact may they have, and what was the motive (s) behind the rallies, may be left out.

By and large, the stories of the state-run *Al-Ahram* were concerned with, at the very least in the first days of the revolution, accentuating the confrontations between the police and protesters, then between the pro-democracy protesters and Mubarak’s supporters, instead of highlighting the motives behind the rallies. Even when there was a “tactical” shift in their coverage as the protests gained ascendancy over the regime, the journalists weren’t able to spell out the main demand of the demonstrators; namely, the abdication of President Mubarak. This was the case in all government-owned media, not only in *Al-Ahram*. *The Washington Post*’s story “State-
Run Media Changing Tune”, highlighted this trend through citing one of the anchorwomen who resigned as a result of the “shameful” coverage of the national TV.

“She had not been allowed to portray the protests honestly and could not tell her viewers that the demonstrators’ top demand was the resignation of Mubarak.”

Additionally, Al-Ahram’s coverage extensively made use of official sources like unnamed security sources, the military and governmental representatives in its coverage, to ascribe guilt to the “troublemakers”, vandals, “restricted Muslim Brotherhood group”, and even the pro-democracy protesters, of leading to deaths and injuries of both citizens and police officers alike. Interestingly enough, some stories were written without quoting or citing any source at all, which again may cast a doubt on the credibility of the stories in the first place. Information about the organizers of the rallies were given only to “demonize” them, such as in the case of Muslim Brotherhood group which had been accused of turning the “peaceful protests” into “bloody” and “violent” rallies to “destabilize” and “destroy” the country. Besides, a considerable background could be given only to officials and governmental representatives. To put it more crudely, in the story “Omar Suleiman Named Vice President, Ahmed Shafiq as Prime Minister”, a general background information was given to the newly-appointed Vice President Omar Suleiman in the top of the story, at the expense of the protesters’ demands, social and historical backgrounds.

Contrariwise, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage was prone to present the reasons behind Egypt’s protests from the beginning. In the story “Warning” published on January 26, 2011, the subhead “Thousands Protest Poverty, Unemployment, Rising Prices, Corruption... And Demand Sacking the Government”, summarized the motives behind the rallies. The same news article disclosed the organizers of the demonstrations as in the following:

“The call for ‘Day of Rage’ started with an initiative by some of the opposition groups after the Tunisian Revolution. The organizers chose ‘January 25’ day which coincided with the National Police Day, to express their anger from the deteriorating of economic and political situations in Egypt. Muslim Brotherhood group, Kefaya movement, April 6 Youth Movement, Revolutionary Socialists organization, and some of the parties, reacted to the initiative.”
Notwithstanding, the same news articles of *Al-Masry Al-Youm* which confined the demands of the protesters to mainly sack the government, didn’t mention anything about the departure of President Mubarak from the political scene, which contrasts with other news articles of the same day derived from *The Telegraph*, for example. The latter newspaper mentioned that the protesters demanded the abdication of Mubarak. This was discerned in the news item, entitled “*Egyptian Police Fire Tear Gas at Demonstrators in Cairo on ‘Day of Wrath’*”, through the choice of sources. Some sources “sprayed graffiti reading ‘Down with Hosni Mubarak’”, others expressed their wish to have a change “just like in Tunisia”; an insinuation of getting rid of Mubarak by fleeing to Saudi Arabia, the same as the Tunisian President did few days before.

Similarly, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*’s article, entitled “*Human Scenes in the Heart of Tahrir Protests*” was dedicated entirely to probe the reasons behind Egypt’s protests, with quoting only protesters to shed the light on the demonstrators’ legitimate demands and their social backgrounds. In other words, the detailed information about the protesters’ work, salaries, and the motives behind their rallies is an acknowledgement from the privately-owned newspaper of the protesters’ political legitimacy. To expound, the subhead “‘Romani’ Gets LE.700 Monthly, Cuts LE.300 for his Rent Payment... ‘Gaffar’ Company Owner, but Living Destitute... ‘Ali’ Threatens to Set Himself and Family on Fire”, sums up some examples of Egyptians that are suffering from many social ills, such as poverty, unemployment, corruption, rising price, and the like. Some of those sources were living destitute because of their insufficient salaries. This was vivid through the choice of adjectives in phrases like “he is miserable because of his salary”, “incapable of paying the expenses of 8 of his family members after the death of his father”, and “can’t have a decent life like all the Egyptians”. Even the synecdoche in the latter phrase “all the Egyptians” may elicit that a large sector of the Egyptians can’t have a decent life because of the rampant poverty, ever-rising rates of unemployment and insufficient salaries. The amalgam of all those social ills may be one of the reasons behind protesting as the news coverage of *Al-Masry Al-Youm* tries to depict through their sources.

Equivalently, *The Telegraph*’s coverage of Egypt’s Revolution paid heed to provide the context. In the same vein, the news article entitled “*Egypt Protests: Q and A ... Why are Egyptians Protesting? Who is Behind the Protests? Will Egypt be the Next Tunisia?*” tried to give background information about the context of Egypt’s demonstrations. Again, this untraditional news item in terms of the structure as it is adopted a question and answer design, not only summed up the reasons of protesting and the main actors behind Egypt’s protests, but
it tackled the role of the military as well. To elucidate, according to the British newspaper, the Egyptians protested because of the following:

“(They protested) mainly for financial reasons... But, there is also anger at political repression, suspected rigging in recent elections and at possible plans by Hosni Mubarak to have his son Gamal succeed him later this year.”

The confining of the main actor behind the protesting to only the April 6 Youth Movement entails that this is a “Facebook Revolution” according to The Telegraph, since April 6 Youth Movement uses mainly Facebook and Twitter to attract young and educated members opposing to President Mubarak.

Even in The Telegraph’s editorial “Egypt Needs Reform, But not Revolution”, published on January 27, 2011, protesters’ legitimate concerns were avowedly addressed in the following passage:

“High unemployment, rising food prices and mounting resentment at Mr Mubarak’s repressive rule are among the many grievances that have seen thousands of Egyptians take to the streets to vent their anger. Many of those responsible for organising the protests are young, educated, middle-class and frustrated at the lack of opportunities available to them in a country that has been run under a state of emergency since 1981, when former president Anwar Sadat was assassinated by Islamic fanatics for signing a peace treaty with Israel.”

Again, from the previous passage, The Telegraph reiterates that the organizers of Egypt’s protests were young, educated and from the middle-class. This conclusion goes in consonance with the preceding news article of The Telegraph analyzed earlier.

The Washington Post’s coverage followed in the footsteps of Al-Masry Al-Youm’s and The Telegraph’s. Emphasis on the dreadful circumstances that lead to “Egyptians’ anger”, such as the ever-yawning gap between the poor and small elite, police state, “repressive regime, food prices and an emergency law”, had been given to investigate upon the reasons behind the protests. This was discerned in the news article, entitled “Protests Spread Against Mubarak”, as follows:
“Similar discontent has long pervaded Egypt, a country of about 86 million, where a small, wealthy elite has thrived under the autocratic government headed by Mubarak since 1981, but where nearly half the population lives at or under the U.N. poverty line”

The same news article that published on January 26, 2011, enunciated the main demand of the protesters, namely, “Mubarak’s immediate abdication of power”.

Nevertheless, the inclination toward quoting the pro-democracy protesters, at the expense to the official sources, was in the interest of the demonstrators, though it affects the neutrality of the stories.

4.1.9 Counter-protest

One of the traditional techniques used to trivialize and marginalize a protest group is to emphasize on a counter protest to create a sense of polarization. Usually, mass media apply this frame to voice opposition to the objectives of the main protest, thence create a sense of obfuscation on the matter and to ward off more citizens from paying heed to the original protest.

In the very first days of Egypt’s tragic events, Al-Ahram applied the counter-protest frame by over-counting the number of pro-Mubarak supporters. To put it more pointedly, in Al-Ahram’s story entitled “March of a Million for the President’s Love in Mohandiseen and Mostafa Mahmoud Square”, the headline mentioned “march of a million” of pro-Mubarak protesters who took over the streets of Egypt as a token of love, gratitude and appreciation for President Mubarak. However, the text of the same story was void of any references to the “millions” of supporters, if any. Instead, there was only a reference to “hundreds of thousands”; neither millions nor even an insinuation of reaching one million protesters information was provided, as follows:

“Hundreds of thousands of Citizens rallied in no time. Nobody ever imagined reaching that number without prior organization or using ways of communication through Internet, as they came out spontaneously to support the president Mubarak and to refuse the wide-spread chaos plunged Egypt into disorder by those who infiltrated among the protesters in Tahrir Square”.
Congruent with catchphrases like “Yes for Stability, No for Vandalism”, which bring about *protesters as anarchists* frame to the fore, the writers tried to depict how Egyptian key figures and celebrities like well-known and respected football players, in addition to some Coptic priests support Mubarak. This may be an indication that a broad spectrum of Egyptians shores up the 82-year president.

*Al-Masry Al-Youm* covered the same counter-protests, but from a different perspective. In the news story “*Marches Support the President in Governorates... Thousands Chant: ‘Oh Mubarak the Pilot, Don’t Leave it (Egypt) Burning’*”, there was only a reference to some “thousands” of pro-Mubarak supporters. Meanwhile, the writer started counting the number of protesters in each and every rally in the following manner:

“In Beni Sweif, around 5000 participated in protests supporting Mubarak... In Asyut, thousands came out from different cities, along with leaders and members of the ruling party... In Gharbia, approximately 7000 workers from Ghazl Al Mahala Company came out... In Alexandria; tens came out in marches... In Qalyubia, hundreds joined... In Ismailia, hundreds partook in... In Damietta, the numbers of pro-Mubarak protesters was amounted to 8000... In Qena, around 8000 protesters came out... In Dakahlia, thousands came out... In Kafr el-Sheikh, 7000 protesters ... In Sohag, thousands took part... In Red Sea, hundreds supported... In Luxor, around 1000 engaged... In Beheira, around 50 came out...”

One can extrapolate from counting these numbers that the overall number of pro-Mubarak supporters will not exceed one hundred thousand, which may rebut *Al-Ahram*’s previous claim.

Likewise, *The Washington Post*’s story “*State-Run Media Changing Tune*” also tackled how *Al-Ahram* exaggerated the number of Mubarak’s supporters in the following description:

“*Al-Ahram* reported on its front page that millions of government supporters had flooded the streets, grossly exaggerating their numbers.”

In simplified terms, *Al-Ahram*’s coverage of counter-protests was mainly a part of propaganda to buoy up a regime which it used to be, for a long time, its mouthpiece. On the other hand, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*’s coverage was more neutral by trying objectively to report on the event from a less one-sided perspective.
4.1.10 Summary and Discussion of the findings

Some findings were ensuing from the frame analysis and could be summarized as follows:

1. **Finding:** *Al-Ahram* was the only newspaper that applied *protest as being disregarded and neglected*, and *counter-protest* frames, where its coverage gave primacy to protests in Lebanon, and relatively ignored the spark of events as being unimportant or insignificant. Similarly, it tried to over-count the numbers of pro-Mubarak protests to voice opposition to the objectives of the main pro-democracy protests.

2. **Finding:** All the four newspapers at issue resorted to the *protesters vs. police* frame, at least once. However, *Al-Ahram* showed a tendency to frame its stories more through this narrative structure, compared to *Al-Masry Al-Youm, The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post*. This was clear through focusing on the violent clashes between the police and protesters, rather than the latter intended opposition, such as the government or the regime. Also, this frame highlights which group is initiating violence and which group is merely responding to it.

3. **Finding:** The two national newspapers *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm* showed a propensity toward accentuating the protesters’ acts of violence, property destruction and chaotic behaviours, through adopting *protesters as anarchists* frame, more than *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post*.

4. **Finding:** *Protest as economic threat* frame was the most recurrent one in all the four newspapers without any exception. The cardinal purpose of this narrative structure is to magnify the risks of Egypt’s protests on the national economy, and sometimes on the global economy.

5. **Finding:** *Protest as carnival* narrative frame which meant to portray the protesters as actors in a theatrical performance, and consequently, turn a blind eye on the reason behind the protesters’ rallies and their political context,
wasn’t vividly applied by the samples in hand. The rational for this finding rests on the fact that there was an inextricable link between celebration modes and highlighting the legitimate political context of the protesters.

6. **Finding:** In accordance with the hypothetical claim raised earlier in the *Theory Framework and Previous Research* chapter, only *Al-Ahram* missed the context of who organized the protests and the reason behind the rallies, in its coverage, and tended more toward *episodic* than *thematic* frames in lieu of presenting the social and historical backgrounds of Egypt’s protests. The other newspapers were keen to emphasis on the social and political circumstances that lead to Egypt’s revolt, means to lean toward *thematic* frames. However, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, in its very first days of coverage, didn’t mention the main demand of the protesters, mainly the abdication of Mubarak, and substituted it for sacking the government.

7. **Finding:** *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post* were keen to voicing the protests more than the official sources and representatives, unlike *Al-Ahram* which used extensively official and elite sources, at the expenses of voicing protesters. Surprisingly enough, in some articles of *Al-Ahram* there was no sign of any source quoted throughout the texts. *Al-Masry Al-Youm*’s coverage was trying to be neutral in using both sources.

4.2 **CDA: Ideological slants of national, British and American news coverage**

Extensively summarized in the *Methods and Material* chapter, this study makes use of Fairclough’s *critical discourse analysis (CDA)* method to pin down the ideological tendencies of the national, British and American newspapers at issue via analysing texts to examine their “interpretations, reception, and social effects.” (Richardson, 2007: 26). In other words, I am trying to highlight how “texts” are used to uphold and foster particular ideologies to maintain power. Moreover, by using *CDA*, I intend to test the hypothesis introduced earlier in the *Theoretical Framework and Previous Research* chapter that the national newspapers in hand may adhere to *war-reporting* in covering Egypt’s protests, more than the British and American
newspapers, in light of Galtung’s typology of *peace* and *war journalism*. To do so, I will bog down onto examining the signs of good and bad dichotomy or the theme of “Us” vs. “Them”, besides tracing indications of demonization language, and the bias toward any party (s) involved in the samples at issue, not to mention to trace how the four newspapers in question tried to depict the protesters, according to their ideology and affiliation.

4.2.1 To What Degree Egypt’s Protests Deemed Newsworthy?

In this section, I made use of the discursive practices feature in Fairclough’s *critical discourse analysis (CDA)* method, in trawling for the reasons behind why specific stories were given that space they are allocated in the newspapers at issue.

As mentioned earlier in protest as being disregarded and neglected section, *Al-Ahram* started its coverage of the events through publishing a small article on the front page on January 26, whereas the masthead of the issue was “Widespread Protests in Lebanon”. First, *Al-Ahram*, as a mouthpiece of the regime, was trying to support the status quo by ignoring the vehemence of the protests and confining the coverage to a rather small article on the front page, whilst the main attention was given to the protests in Lebanon.

Exponentially, *Al-Ahram’s* coverage gained in-depth, yet one-sided perspective, at the very least in the first days of the protests. The unfolding events forced *Al-Ahram’s* editorial staff to dedicate all the space on front page to the coverage of Egypt’s protests and their follow-ups. It was quite often during the first 18 days of Egypt’s protests to find only one page in *Al-Ahram*, related to some special pages17 in the entire issue that veering off onto another topic other than the unfolding events. This happened, for example, on February 12.

As for *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, since the “eruption” of the revolution, it consecrated all its efforts to allot most of its newspaper’s spaces to the revolution. Sometimes, for example, on January 26, the main headline on the front page was one word: “*Warning*”, with special, yet huge typeface, which topped a photograph, occupying half of the page, showed thousands of protesters rallying in Tahrir Square. Similarly, on February 12, the entire front page was dedicated to one

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17 The special page was for the Television and Radio guide.
headline: “People Demanded and Brought Down the Regime” along with a photograph extended to fill more than half of the page. Again, it was about Tahrir Square which crammed with demonstrators celebrating the fall of Mubarak.

By the same token, the coverage of The Telegraph was in-depth and showed an intense interest in covering the unfolding events form the very first days. For example, on January 25, 2011, a story entitled “Egyptian Police Fire Tear Gas at Demonstrators in Cairo on ‘Day of Wrath’”, tried to describe the spark of the events not only from protesters vs. police frame, but also with presenting the demands of those demonstrators and relying on non-official sources; notably, the protesters themselves. Another story, entitled “Egypt Protests: Q and A ...Why Are Egyptians Protesting? Who is Behind the Protests? Will Egypt Be the Next Tunisia?” which published on January 27, 2011, tried to bog down into the rationale behind Egypt’s protests, the main actors in the events, and the link between the Tunisian Revolution and the Egyptian demonstrations.

The significance of the colon after the compound noun “Egypt Protests” which appeared in many samples of the British newspaper in question, rests on giving a hint to the reader that The Telegraph started a series of articles about Egypt’s events and their follow-ups, so the reader could infer automatically from seeing “Egypt’s Protests:” in the headline, that this article is just another one talking about Egypt’s events.

The Washington Post’s coverage wasn’t less flippantly. Many news articles about Egypt’s protests published on the front page of The Washington Post. A 1261-word story entitled “Mubarak Pledges to Cede Power” appeared on the front page on February 2, 2011; a day after Mubarak delivered a televised speech to his people promising to relinquish power after the presupposed elections in September 2011. Likewise, another 1210-word story published on the front page on February 12, 2011. The news item, entitled “Mubarak Steps Down, Prompting Jubilation in Cairo Streets” reflects the historical moment when Mubarak succumbed to the will of the protesters and stepped down after 30 years of autocratic rule.

Even the editorial pieces which represent the point of views of both The Telegraph and The Washington Post, paid heed to Egypt’s events. The Telegraph’s editorial pieces entitled: “Egypt Needs Reform, But not Revolution” and “Egypt Protests: Hosni Mubarak Must Step Aside to Save Egypt”, were trying to diminish the unwarranted claims that radical Islamists may hijack Egypt’s Revolution. The Washington Post’s editorial pieces such as “A Tougher Line on Dictators?”, “Warnings Obama Ignored”, and “Rewards to Reap in Egypt”, not only
tried to attenuate such previous claims, but also harshly criticized Obama’s administration policy of “coddling” President Mubarak, under the alibi that Egypt’s status quo was mainly in the interests of the U.S. and Israel. A more elaboration on this claim will be followed later.

4.2.2 Venerating “Us” and Denigrating “Them” (Us vs. Them)

With the help of the social practices feature in Fairclough’s CDA method, I managed to trace the relationship between the actors and social-practice dimensions. To explicate, I made use of Teun Van Dijk’s “ideological square” which he developed as a conceptual tool to trace a Positive Self-Presentation and a Negative Other-Presentation in the main actors of the samples at issue (Richardson, 2007: 51).

For Al-Ahram, the main actors in Egypt’s events were Muslim Brotherhood, the anti-government protesters, pro-Mubarak demonstrators, the police, government and the military. However, “Us” in Al-Ahram’s coverage were confined to the police and pro-Mubarak protesters, whereas “Them” were referred to as Muslim Brotherhood and anti-Mubarak demonstrators. This trend highlights the power relation as Al-Ahram is considered to be the mouthpiece of the regime. In other words, Al-Ahram was keen from the beginning to foreground the regime’s positive characteristics and background the negative ones. Conversely, it was eager to foreground the negative characteristics of Muslim Brotherhood, the pro-democracy protesters, and whoever or whatever may support Egypt’s protests, and at the same time, it backgrounds their positive attributes.

To expatiate, in the story entitled “(Is this) Happening in Cairo?! Violent Acts, Vandalism, and Intimidating Citizens in Streets”, and apart from the relentless ways of “demonizing” Muslim Brotherhood’s members from the beginning till the end of the news item -we will return to this point later on - the writer created a set of dichotomous, yet opposite depictions. In this regard, the police forces “never” resort to using weapons against “rioters” in protests, even after the death of one officer and 8 conscripts, in addition to the injury of 250 officers and 50 conscripts of the Central Security Forces (CSF). Moreover, when the Muslim Brotherhood’s members used women and children in “their” acts of vandalism, the police forces found themselves
“embarrassed” to use violent against such vulnerable creatures. Contrarily, the “restricted group” didn’t hesitate to use violence as follows:

“They throw Molotov cocktails on police stations targeting the small forces inside, which didn’t exceed the 10 officers and conscripts, inasmuch most of the usual forces are concerned with dispersing the protesters in the main streets and squares.”

Another news story of Al-Ahram published on February 3, 2011, entitled: “March of a Million for the President’s Love in Mohandiseen and Mostafa Mahmoud Square” followed suit. In the news article, hundreds of thousands of Egyptians gathered in no time, without prior organization or using ways of communication through Internet, as they came out spontaneously to support President Mubarak. The previous insinuation presupposes and conjures up the opposite model of the pro-democracy demonstrators who used social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter to call for their early marches on January 25, 2011. According to the same news story, the majority of the anti-government protesters left Tahrir Square, as an epicentre of their revolution, after being “reassured” by “Mubarak’s recent decisions and his important steps towards reform”. But, a very small group showed defiance and insisted on staying in Tahrir Square. The metaphor of depicting those pro-democracy protesters as being unaware of the fact that “their” sound of reason must vanquish their thoughts at the end, deepens the portrayal of Mubarak’s supporters as rational, spontaneous, loyal and keen to stability as opposite to chaos. On the other hand, those few anti-Mubarak supporters in Tahrir Square were irrational, rioters and lacking the spontaneity in gathering and marching. The same metaphor reiterated verbatim when some of pro-Mubarak supporters tried to attack Al-Jazeera’s female reporter, but some “wise” persons “saved her”, to confirm that:

“They don’t want anything to ruin their protest. And, even if Al-Jazeera used to spit its venom out among the citizens, but, at the end, the sound of reason would prevail.”

Furthermore, in an editorial piece for Al-Ahram, entitled “One Revolution...!” and bylined by Abdel Monem Saeed, the Chairman of the Board of Al-Ahram Newspaper and Publishing House, the writer was talking about “two revolutions” at the same time: the first revolution or the “police national day revolution” erupted on January 25 by the Egyptian youth. But, because of their inexperience and “incapability to set an organizational framework enables them to turn their revolutionary ideas into reality”, some other opposition groups with different agendas
had to jump on their revolution to make use of the youth and the benefits of the revolution. As a result, a second revolution was born on February 2, 2011, by Mubarak’s supporters in Mostafa Mahmoud Square to show corroboration to the “full democracy” and “complete legitimacy”. In other words, the editorial piece which appeared on the front page on February 5, 2011, tried to show that the supporters of the second revolution were keen to believe in “the peaceful transition of power according to clear-cut constitutional rules” as Mr. Mubarak promised in a televised statement that he will not renew his current presidential term and will hand over power by September 2011. Jettisoning the fact that there was no “march of millions” to support the ex-President as Al-Ahram claimed to be, the writer tries to stratify the Egyptians into two camps or two revolutions: the pro-democracy protesters who were behind 25-January Revolution, albeit they lack experience and organization, in addition to the fact that they were naive enough to let their revolution be hijacked by opportunists from different opposition groups. On the contrary, the “other” revolution backed by pro-Mubarak protesters, proved to be a revolution of rationality; they see that complete legitimacy is part and parcel of full democracy. At the end, the Egyptians have to choose the revolution they want to join in.

Then the writer aired his opinion as follows:

“Now, we have a golden opportunity to make the two revolutions become one by combining both democracy and legitimacy, otherwise divisions and huge rifts will prevail for many decades to come. It has never happened before to find the choice as clear to Egyptians as it’s the case today: between a great opportunity of democratic transition and implement all-encompassing progress which underwrites democracy in a legitimate frame, or choosing different path which may lead to chaos or pave the way to different kinds of fascism or dictatorships. This is the whole matter.”

Actually, this trend is not unexpected from Al-Ahram’s senior editors, editors-in-chief and its board members. It’s a state-owned, government-funded institution, and above all, “the board of the al-Ahram, as well as of many other papers in Egypt, is appointed by the editors-in-chief who, in return, are directly appointed by the Egyptian President.” (Pasha, 2011: 65).

Steering the debate more toward Al-Masry Al-Youm, one can say that the privately-owned newspaper was leaning toward some powerful actors in Egypt’s events; namely the military. In other words, unlike Al-Ahram, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage ascribed blame to the police for the “security vacuum” that hit the country. “Them” for Al-Masry Al-youm were the police,
sometimes anti-Mubarak protesters, Muslim Brotherhood, and some opposition groups, whereas “Us” were mainly the military and ordinary citizens. There was a blurring line between the pro-democracy protesters and ordinary citizens in Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage.

To put it more pointedly, in a news article, entitled “The Horror Night in Egypt: Thugs Besieging Streets, Nation-Wide Lootings to ‘Banks, Companies, Posts, and Hotels’”, sometimes the protesters were tarnished by putting the onus of the chaos on them, by using verbs with negative connotations like in “protesters ransacked housing units” and then the writers shifted into ascribing guilt or blame to the ordinary citizens like in “a huge group of citizens ransacked and looted a mall”. But the question here to the writers: how could they differentiate between the ordinary citizens and the protesters? Anyway, the protesters more than once were “othered” in this news article, along with the security forces whose absence from the streets created a “security vacuum”. On the other hand, the military was there to protect the citizens. This was discerned through the choice of photographs, such as the one showed a stick and a police beret hanging on it whereas in the background there were army tanks and military soldiers. This photograph assigned to the news article was captioned by: “Police absence created a security vacuum.”

Moreover, in another news article for Al-Masry Al-Youm, entitled “Conspiracy by “Security” to Support the Scenario of Chaos”, the dichotomous language of “Us” vs. “Them” was pictorial. Police and security officers were “othered” in this news item and were portrayed negatively through the choice of words like “conspiracy”, “chaos scenario”, “suspicious withdrawal”, “security chaos”, and “vengeance spirit”. Here, there was a clear demarcation between the ordinary citizens and the demonstrators. This was discerned when the writer used the word “protesters” to refer to the gathered demonstrators in Tahrir Square, whilst using the word “citizens” to refer to the people who created the so-called "Citizens' Committees". The catchphrase “People and Army One Hand”, along with the main photograph assigned to this news article; showing an army officer who preferred to join the protesters; hence carried by them as a hero in Tahrir Square, may exemplify the approach of Al-Masry Al-Youm toward venerating the military, and at the same time, despising the police.

Also, Muslim Brotherhood and opposition groups were “othered” in a denigrated way in an editorial piece of Al-Masry Al-Youm, entitled “An Appeal to Whoever Loves Egypt”. In this editorial piece, the writer described the “restricted” group and the opposition parties as follows:
“You Muslim Brotherhood don’t jump on the youth’s victory... This is not the time of settling old scores. You cartoonist parties, shut up... Don’t jump on the youth’s achievement and don’t search for benefits you didn’t have a right for claiming them.”

On the other hand, another editorial of *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, entitled “The Beginning”, tried to venerate the role of the military vividly by mentioning that:

“*Al-Masry Al-Youm* salutes the position of the military institution which proves every day that it is the most trustworthy to fulfil people’s dreams... Long live our army and long live our people’s struggle.”

The dichotomous language of venerating the military and referring to them as “Us”, while denigrating some of the main actors in Egypt’s protests like Muslim Brotherhood and opposition parties as being “Them”, were pictorial in the previously-mentioned examples through the choice of loaded words and adjectives.

As for *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post*, they were addressing the pro-democracy protesters as “Us”, while the military, government, President Mubarak, pro-Mubarak protesters, and sometimes the Muslim Brotherhood group as “Them”. To elucidate, in a news article for *The Telegraph*, entitled: “Egypt: Cairo Protesters Tell of their Fight for Freedom”, the writer tried to choose words to glorify the protests as being “heroes”, “fighters for freedom”, and “sacrificing their lives for freedom”. On the other hands, there were “regime thugs”, “(Mubarak) the dictator who had misruled their nation for thirty years”, “Islamic extremists”, and “the (military) generals who may be tempted to become new dictators themselves”. Only the pro-democracy protesters were extolled, while the other main actors were “othered”. The image of the protesters’ “victory” was vivid in this coverage through the reiteration of words of “victory” and verbs like “won” to show how the protesters won their struggle for freedom.

Similarly, in *The Washington Post’s* article, entitled: “Mubarak Steps Down, Prompting Jubilation in Cairo Streets”, the image of “victory” was presented through the use of verbs like “triumph” and surrender” in the phrase: “Egypt triumphed Friday as President Hosni Mubarak surrendered to the will of a leaderless movement”. The image of “victory” showed how Mubarak “succumbed” to the will of the “leaderless revolution” and “his people’s powerful thirst for freedom”. In this news piece, the protesters were introduced again as fighters for their freedom. However, the comparison between what had happened in Egypt on one hand, and “the
fall of Berlin wall and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe”, on the other, evinces not only the fact that the protesters were glorified and venerated, but also shows how the writer tried to say that there was no difference between Egypt’s protests and the past revolutions in the West. The barriers between the East and the West seem to be dissolved in this news article. The Eastern people are no more depicted as barbaric or uncivilized according to the Orient vs. Occident paradigm, but they are more like “Us”; the civilized and enlightened people of the West.

4.2.3 Worthy and Unworthy Victims

In consonance with Herman and Chomsky’s (1988) propaganda model, some news coverage of conflicts may lean toward constructing dichotomized choices in relation to victims. In other words, there would be worthy, humanized victims that will receive detailed attention throughout the news coverage to generate reader interest and sympathy. On the other hand, there would be unworthy, unknown, unseen, and nameless victims that will receive only slight detail and context in story construction (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

In this part, I found succour in analysing lexical choices, in addition to tracing the role of nominalization in dissecting ideologies in the samples at issue.

Taken in this light, in Al-Ahram’s story “Death of 4, 118 Citizens and 162 Police Officers Injured, and 100 arrested in Cairo, Governorates”, which published on January 27, the resorting to nominalization and the noun “death” instead of “killing”, grabs the reader’s attention away from asking: who killed those people? And how did they get killed? The same news article not only counts the number of police officers among the victims, but it mentions their ranks as well:

“In the clashes that resulted from dispersing the demonstration, 85 police officers and 18 conscripts were injured. Later on, one of the conscripts died of his injury. However, in Alexandria, 28 police officers were injured, among them deputy head of security and 10 conscripts. In Suez, security forces arrested 21 rioters after violent clashes between protesters and the police. As a result, there were 134 injuries of protesters and police, among them 4 major generals and investigation director in Suez.”
Moreover, in another story for *Al-Ahram*, entitled “Clashes between Supporters and Opponents in Tahrir Square: Ceasing Egyptians’ Bloodshed Top Priority,” published on February 3, 2011, the writer again resorted to nominalization in the subhead “Death of 3 Including Conscript, Injury of 639 in Clashes between Supporters and Opponents”. Additionally, the full name of the military conscript who got killed was given in the text, with a description of the way he was killed by “falling over October 6 Bridge into the ground”. Contrarily, the other two victims from ordinary citizens were nameless without giving any slight detail and context throughout the story, except for they got killed.

As for *Al-Masry Al-Youm’s* coverage, it resorted to this approach once in a story entitled “Warning” published on January 26, 2011. In this news item, detailed information of the killing of one conscript was given in the text, in addition to unveiling his full name. On the other hand, no information was given about the “death” of other two citizens in clashes between protesters and police. The writer even resorted to nominalization and the noun “death” in lieu of “killing” in describing the two dead victims, whereas using the passive voice with the conscript who “was killed” to make the readers start wondering who killed the conscript, and at the same time, turn a blind eye on how the other two dead victims fell prey of violence and who was (were) behind their dreadful endings. This was palpable as follows:

> “Clinical Head of Emergency Department at Suez Hospital, dr. Hazem Shawqi, confirmed the death of two citizens and the injury of other 200 citizens in Suez city during clashes with police forces yesterday. A conscript called Ahmed Aziz was killed in Cairo, after he had been hit by a rock on his head, besides the injury of other 36 conscripts, according to security source.”

### 4.2.4 Demonizing the Islamists (Muslim Brotherhood)

One of the perennial interests of Galtung’s dichotomous model of *peace* and *war journalism paradigm* is to scrutinize upon attempts to demonize or dehumanize any party (ies) in the conflict within the coverage at issue. In other words, *demonizing the enemy* theme is pictorial in *war-reporting* and conjures up another nexus between *war journalism* and *protest paradigm* as shown in the *Theoretical Framework and Previous Research* chapter, where the latter used to demonize the protesters and depict them as “deviants” from social norms.
Again, in this section, I tried to dissect the relationship between actors and social-practice dimensions proffered in Fairclough’s *CDA* method, in addition to referential, nomination, metaphors, presupposition and hyperboles in the textual analysis level.

Before analyzing this part, it is of paramount importance to highlight the findings of a recent dissertation entitled “Islamists in the Headlines: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Presentations of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian Newspapers”, which lead to a conclusion that the Egyptian regime adopted a systematic strategy of “exclusionary nature towards the Muslim Brotherhood” (Pasha, 2011). This expulsion used through by meanings of precipitate, sheer power and soft power as well. The soft power has been practiced through the media negative portrayal.

Poignantly to the aforementioned conclusion, *Al-Ahram* tried from the very beginning to demonize and give a detrimental portrayal to the Muslim Brotherhood group, as one of the parties involved in Egypt’s protests. In its first article published on January 26, 2011, entitled “Thousands Participate in Peaceful Demonstrations in Cairo, Governorates”, the Islamist group members were portrayed as opportunist who tried to seize the moment of unrests and instigate protesters against the police, according to a security source cited in the story.

Exponentially, *Al-Ahram*’s negative coverage of Muslim Brotherhood group reached its crescendo on January 30, 2011, through an article entitled “*(Is this) Happening in Cairo?! Violent Acts, Vandalism, and Intimidating Citizens in Streets*”. In this news item, names and references were given to Muslim Brotherhood aiming at depicting them in a bad light such as “the restricted group”, “dissolved Muslim Brotherhood”, and “Brotherhood elements”. Adverb like “as usual” in the below-mentioned phrase presupposes that the Islamist group resorted to this demonic behaviour before in the past, as follows:

“As usual, the restricted group invested the magnitude of security forces to face the troublemakers from protesters, for its benefit by setting fire to police stations, stealing weapons and documents, and preventing fire-fighters from putting their fires out.”

Also, the writer tried to stress on that the protests began peacefully, till the Islamist group decided to interfere in “specific time”, to turn the protests into chaos, anarchy and lawlessness. Hyperboles and metaphors such as “*the fall of Egypt’s interior armour to take over the*
“Egyptian streets”, and “for occupying Egypt with its ideas and policies after it had succeeded in other countries”, were introduced to exaggerate the risks of such groups, and consequently, supporting the status quo. Furthermore, members from Muslim Brotherhood group were depicted as perverts who were trying to distribute food and drinks among the protesters as bribes to help their comrades escape from jails. This was patently explicated through the following description:

“Muslim Brotherhood elements wanted to benefit from the protesters’ spirit; hence they distributed juice cans and snacks among the youth in Tahrir Square to colonize Tahrir Square, in order to help their comrades escape from jails yesterday morning. Then, the group will re-organize for occupying Egypt with its ideas and policies after it had succeeded in other countries”

The fierce attack on Muslim Brotherhood group was systematic also through Al-Ahram’s editorials. In an editorial piece entitled “25 January Events... Meaning and Significance” appeared on January 28, 2011, the writer Osama Saraya, the editor-in-chief, tried to demonize Muslim Brotherhood group by many ways. In the same vein, he named the Islamist group indirectly as “restricted religious groups”, and then he elaborated how these groups which were “lacking the ingredients of success” and “captured by outdated ideas and values” tried to turn youths’ opinions into “vengeance”. Words and phrases like “idea thieves” “ideological perspectives”, “old faces”, “hope and dream thieves and “jumpers” (on the benefits of Egypt’s protests) were used to depict the Islamist group negatively.

Concomitantly with the “demonization” theme, there were also signs of exaggerating the fear of Islamists some samples at issue tried to highlight. In this regard, The Washington Post’s story “Coptic Christians Fear Persecutions If Extremists Take Power in Egypt”, published on February 4, 2011, brought attention to the fear from Islamic extremists among Egyptian Coptic Christians and Copt leaders in the U.S. during the ongoing “populist uprising in Egypt”. To elucidate, transitive verbs like “fear”, “take power”, “persecute”, and “terrified”, along with words such as “persecution”, “extremists”, and “trepidation” may lead to the fear of Islamists theme. Even one of the Copts quoted expected “extreme persecution” and “genocides” against Christians if this “uprising” managed to overthrow Mubarak. Moreover, the background information presented the findings of a survey conducted by the non-profit “Pew Forum”, which included Egypt as one of the world’s least tolerant countries. The bias toward the use of sources that showed signs of pessimism and fear from Islamic take over was palpable in the
story, besides the use of words, adjectives and verbs. The following exemplar cements the putative theme in this description:

“So far, the protests have focused on jobs, free speech and democratic elections, not religion, so it is unclear what the end of Mubarak’s rule would mean for religious minorities. But in recent years, Iraq has lost about half its historical Christian population because of persecution, and Christians have been leaving Iran and Lebanon in lesser numbers.”

However, The Washington Post’s editorial “Rewards to Reap in Egypt”, published on February 14, 2011, tried to debilitate the previous claim by conjuring up many examples of countries like “Brazil”, “Indonesia”, “South Korea” and “Turkey” which shifted from dictatorships to follow the democratic path, and most probably Egypt will follow suit. The writer attenuated also the notion that Egypt will follow the Iranian course, so the U.S. administration shouldn’t be worry about the future of Egypt. This was discerned through the following:

“Some in Washington worry that Egypt will follow the course of revolutionary Iran. There is some chance of that; sometimes revolutions are hijacked. Regression to authoritarianism is possible, too: witness Ukraine seven years after its Orange Revolution. But the history of the Middle East, and the world, suggests that the tide will run the other way; democratic Egypt will sooner or later transform its region-and the United States will be a beneficiary.”

In trawling for the real role of Muslim Brotherhood group in Egypt’s protests, many sources quoted in the news samples at issue confirmed that the Muslim Brotherhood group joined the “angry” crowds later, albeit some of their members participated in the very first days of Egypt’s momentous events individually without given the green light from the groups’ leaders. The hypothetical claim was supported in the following passage taken from The Washington Post’s “Mubarak Pledges to Cede Power” article:

“Fears of Islamist takeover of Egypt, the protesters say, are vastly overblown, and demonstrators have emphasized that the nation’s minority Christian community has been heavily involved in their movement. Although members of the Muslim Brotherhood- the nation’s best-organized opposition group- have turned up at the protests in great numbers in recent days, the group is hardly driving the demonstrations.”
Likewise, an article from *The Telegraph*, entitled “*Egypt Crisis: Muslim Brotherhood Blames America for the Unrest*”, which published on January 31, 2011, showed how Muslim Brotherhood dethroned as the best-organized opposition group in the country, by the pro-democracy protests. This was patently obvious through the phrase:

“The Brotherhood, which seeks to rebuild Egypt’s government on Islamic lines and has until this month presented the best-organized opposition to Mr. Mubarak, says it doesn’t want to take leadership position in any interim government.”

The conjunction “until” presupposes that its antecedence of being the best-organized opposition group in Egypt had been changed since the “eruption” of Egypt’s protests.

### 4.2.5 Depicting the protesters

One of the research questions of this study is pertinent to how the newspapers in hand depicted the protesters, congruent with their ideological perspectives and affiliation. In the same vein, I tried to trace how the journalists provided names and references for the protesters in Egypt’s events; bearing in mind the fact the naming process always involves choice. In other words, I used mainly in this section the referential and nomination features derived from Fairclough’s *CDA* method.

In *Al-Ahram*, the protesters were referred in the very beginning of Egypt’s events as “peaceful demonstrators”, specifically on January 26. Then, they had been shifted to be part of “violent and riot events”, “bloody protests”, “unfortunate events” and “thieves uprising” where Egypt was plunged into “overwhelming chaos”. In other words, from January 26 till February 11, the protesters were portrayed in negative terms. However, the negativity approach was applied most of the time indirectly. After the fall of President Mubarak, there was a complete change in depicting the protesters and the revolution in general positively.

To exemplify, on the face of it, *Al-Ahram* didn’t enunciate that the protesters were behind this lawlessness and chaos; rather, some “infiltrated elements” from Muslim Brotherhood mainly along with some opposition groups made use of the spark of events for their benefits. But, subliminally, the reader can elicit links between Egypt’s protests and the events came later.
This was discerned through the juxtaposing of protests and chaos like in the subhead “Continuance of Protests, Chaos all over the Country and Looting in the Absence of Security” – extensively analyzed in the protesters as anarchists section in frame analysis. Moreover, the use of the transitive verb “spoil” in sentences like “spoiled the civilized youth protest” and “spoiling the democratic scene” put the blame of violence mainly on some groups. But, in Al-Ahram’s story “March of a Million for the President’s Love in Mohandiseen and Mostafa Mahmoud Square”, there was an insinuation to protesters’ idiocy and stupidity in the following description:

“The practical reality affirms that the majority of them (pro-democracy protesters) have left Tahrir Square, after being reassured by President Mubarak’s recent decisions and his important steps towards reform... But a few group insisted on staying in Tahrir Square as they are unaware of the fact that their sound of reason must vanquish their thoughts at the end”

The pro-democracy protesters were depicted negatively in the previous example as being irrational and lacking the cogency to think properly.

Another complete shift in depicting the protesters happened in a story, entitled: “(Tahrir) Square Protesters Refuse to Leave, Thousands Gather in the Area”, published on February 3, 2011. There was a more inclination toward portraying the protesters positively, by depicting how they were exhorting each other not to resort to violence with their captives from the thugs. On the whole, one can say that Al-Ahram tried to depict the protesters in the samples at issue.

Notwithstanding, once President Mubarak was ousted, there was a tangible change in the course. Naming and references such as “popular revolution”, “martyrs of the revolution”, “youth revolution”, “Egypt’s honest youth”, and “sons of 25-January revolution” were clearly spelled out. In the same vein, in Al-Ahram’s story “‘cleaning’ Egypt”, published on the first page on February 13, 2011, a large photograph of a disabled girl in a wheel chair trying to paint what appears to be a pavement, was extended in the front page. The news item related to this photograph depicted the protesters positively; they were keen to volunteer to clean Tahrir Square from the garage. The catchphrases “proud to clean Egypt” and “raise your head high, you are Egyptian”, along with sourcing only protesters expressing their happiness by overthrowing a dictator, were for the benefit of the protesters.
Steering the discussion toward *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, one can say that in many times it used to appreciate and acclaim the protesters, except for sometimes it used to depict the protesters negatively.

To expound, in some articles such as “The Ultimatum: Save Egypt” and “The Horror Night in Egypt: Thugs Besieging Streets, Nation-Wide Lootings to ‘Banks, Companies, Posts, and Hotels’”, where *Al-Masry Al-Youm* ascribed the guilt of chaos and vandalism to the protesters. Overall, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*’s depiction of protesters was more neutral with a tendency of positivity sometimes. Again, this neutrality turned to be a complete positivity on February 11, 2011, the same day that Mubarak announced his resignation, by publishing a supplement titled “Here Tahrir Square”, glorifying the protesters through naming and references such as “Tahrir’s heroes”, and metaphors like “chants vanquish bullets, tear gas canisters and armoured vehicles”. Then, on February 12, 2011, the same trend continued through phrases like “great revolutionists’ victory”, “white revolution” and the like.

Both *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post* leaned toward depicting the protesters positively. This approach not only applied through the extensive use of sources from protesters and presenting clearly their legitimate demands, but with naming and references given to the demonstrators and protests as well. Nevertheless, *The Telegraph*’s coverage showed also some signs of neutrality compared to *The Washington Post*. The propensity toward positivity was discerned through *The Telegraph*’s following examples: “pro-democracy activists”, “protesters defied bullets, curfew and tanks”, “April 6 Movement, a pro-democracy youth group helped orchestrate last week’s protests via social networking” and “Egypt’s popular revolution”. Furthermore, *The Washington Post* usually referred to the demonstrators as “pro-democracy protesters”, contrarily to its depiction to pro-Mubarak protesters as “pro-Mubarak mobs” and “pro-Mubarak forces”. To elucidate, in the story entitled “Tahrir Becomes Central Battlefield of a Revolution”, the writer tried to highlight how the pro-democracy demonstrators showed “a measure of empathy for their captives”. Even when pro-Mubarak thugs attacked the anti-government protesters, the latter’s “weapons” were described as follows:

“They have chipped away at the sidewalks, dislodging bits of concrete that they can hurl toward the pro-Mubarak crowd whenever a brawl breaks out. Scraps of metal have become shields, and cardboard boxes are turned into makeshift helmets.”
4.2.6 Exposing the untruth of all parties

According to Galtung’s dichotomous model to differentiate between peace/conflict and war/violence journalism, peace journalism has a tendency toward offering possible solutions for peace to the parties involved in a conflict, in addition to it is people-orientated by bringing attention to civilian victims and not relying heavily on official or elite sources, and finally it is truth-orientated by exposing the untruth of all sides or accentuating “the black and whites of all parties”. Regarding the case of Egypt’s protests, the relation between the army and protesters along with the attack of the female reporter Lara Logan amidst celebrations held on February 11, 2011, were left out in the national newspapers at issue.

In this part, I investigated upon the lexical choices to pin down the ideologies of the newspapers in hand, besides using some rhetorical tropes in the textual analysis stage of Fairclough’s CDA method.

On February 16, 2011, a news article, entitled “Egypt: US Reporter Sexually Assaulted in Tahrir Square”, appeared on The Telegraph. The coverage of the story tackled how CBS News correspondent Lara Logan was attacked in Tahrir Square on Friday, February 11, after President Mubarak had stepped down, where she and her team “were surrounded by a dangerous element amidst the celebration”. Although there was no direct link between the pro-democracy protesters and the attack done by “a mob of more than 200 people,” background information was given to indicate that Lara Logan’s sexual attack wasn’t a discrete incident, but one of a series of attacks against females “in the final days of the anti-Mubarak protests.”, besides the Committee to Protect Journalists organization was cited to point out that Lara’s attack was “one of at least 140 others suffered by reporters covering the unrest in Egypt since Jan. 30”. Some loaded words like “tumultuous events”, “unrest”, “beating”, “violent pack” and “rowdy crowds” were bringing back to the fore the chaotic atmosphere prevailed the early days of the revolution.

The same story was covered by The Washington Post on the same day in a news item entitled “CBS News’s Lara Logan Attacked in Cairo”, but from a different angle. An unnamed knowledgeable source was quoted and expressed the difficulty to know the perpetrators of such an attack, as follows: “I doubt if we’ll ever find out who her attackers were”. Moreover, some
CBS personnel were cited to draw a link between what had happened to Lara Logan and the “wilding” that occurred in “New York’s Central Park in 2000, when at least seven women were attacked and some were sexually abused by a wild, cheering mob after a parade.” The coverage also tried to directly draw a relationship between the attacks of reporters during the revolution and Mubarak’s regime in the following description:

“International reporters came under attack during the protests in Egypt by assailants apparently aligned with the Mubarak regime, but the assaults appeared to diminish with Mubarak’s departure from power Friday.”

Apart from the differences in covering the same event by the British and American newspapers, the national newspapers Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm (Arabic editions) didn’t cover Lara Logan’s sexual attack, either negatively or neutrally, until months after the horrendous attack. Above all, an opinion piece of The Atlantic Wire, titled “There Is Very Little in Arabic Media about Lara Logan's Assault” posted on April 28, 2011, claimed that most of the pan-Arab dailies hadn’t mentioned the incident in the first place, including Al-Ahram’s Arabic edition (The Atlantic Wire, 2011). This claim may bring about a conclusion that the national newspapers weren’t adhere to Galtung’s truth-orientated feature of peace journalism.

By the same token, the relation between the military and pro-democracy protesters during the 18-day revolution and a week after Egypt’s events was portrayed as “honeymoon relationship” in the national newspapers in hand. However, The Telegraph and The Washington Post started to probe upon the reality of this relationship. In the same vein, The Washington Post’s story “Much Faith in Military, but many questions”, published on February 12, 2011, tried to question the role of the military and its loyalty toward Mubarak. This was discerned through the passage:

“The military leaders said they would soon outline details of their transition plan, but many questions remained unanswered Friday. It was not clear how long the military will remain in charge or what measures it would take to restore order after a bloody and tumultuous popular uprising.”

The amalgam of verbs, adjectives and words like “hope”, “unanswered”, “express” and “concerns”, along with the background of Mubarak’s military affiliation leave out the reader thinking negatively on how Egypt would be under the military rule. Even during the 18 days of
revolt, *The Washington Post* published an article, entitled “Egypt’s Military Feints, Jabs with Protesters”, depicting clashes between the army and the protesters with raising concerns over the former inclination toward violence. Adjectives and verbs like “impassive”, “stopped” and “giving way to”, used to shed a bad light on the army. This was summarized as follows:

“Early hopes that soldiers were sympathetic to the demonstrators and take their side, given way to increasing signs that the army just want the people to go home.”

Likewise, *The Telegraph*’s article “Egypt: Army Clearing protesters from Tahrir Square”, published on February 13, depicted the military’s violence toward the protesters through using verbs like “clearing”, “shove”, “force”, “lashed out” and “remove”. This was also highlighted through the following phrase:

“The army has taken a largely neutral role, but has detained some protesters and journalists, often briefly.”

On the other hand, the national newspapers in question, especially *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, tried to realign its compass toward the military after the absence of the police from the political scene. The national newspapers at issue not only abstained from criticizing the military junta ruling, but they were glorifying and heroizing Egypt's Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) as well. To make a comparison between the two different ideologies and affiliation of *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and *The Telegraph*, each wrote an editorial piece after the fall of President Mubarak carried the almost the same name, but with two different approaches. To exemplify, *The Telegraph’s* editorial piece, entitled “Egypt’s New Dawn”, hailed the resignation of Mubarak, but raised many doubts about the role of the SCAF in post-revolution Egypt. This was discerned through the following passage:

“In Egypt itself, there are hopes that President Mubarak’s resignation will lead to a smooth transition to democracy – but even if it is smooth, it will not necessarily be speedy. Be in doubt: what is being hailed as a triumph of people power is, in essence, a military takeover. In the absence of an opposition with any legitimacy, the High Council of the Armed Forces, as the new government is called, represents the only institution able to fill the vacuum. Indeed, yesterday’s events may mark the beginning of the country’s crisis, not its end.”
Words like “takeover”, “absence” and “crisis”, the writer used them to depict what the country is about to face, and, it is not an optimistic view. Moreover, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s editorial, entitled “The Beginning”, tried to venerate the army not only through the choice of words like “long live the army”, but also by using metaphors such as “in January-25 revolution, the country became a trust in the hands of the courageous people’s army, as it always was”. The stark difference between the approaches of the two newspapers was discerned through this phrase of Al-Masry Al-Youm’s editorial: “January-25 revolution didn’t end by Mubarak’s fall, but it has just begun”. The latter phrase contrasts with another phrase mentioned earlier in The Telegraph’s editorial, namely: “yesterday’s events may mark the beginning of the country’s crisis, not its end”.

4.2.7 Summary and Discussion of the findings

CDA has yielded some findings which could be summarized as follows:

1. **Finding:** All the four newspapers considered Egypt’s protests as newsworthy, albeit Al-Ahram on January 26 gave primacy to the protests in Lebanon than Egypt’s spark of events. However, with the ascendency of the protests, Al-Ahram followed in the footsteps of the other newspapers.

2. **Finding:** Al-Ahram as a mouthpiece of the government was keen from the beginning of the events to foreground the regime’s positive characteristics and background the negative ones. However, at the same time, it was eager to foreground the negative characteristics of the pro-democracy protesters and Muslim Brotherhood group, in addition to background “their” positive ones. Similarly, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage was leaning toward the military and the ordinary citizens by referring to them as “Us”, while the “Them” were the police, Muslim Brotherhood group and sometimes the pro-democracy protesters. As for The Telegraph and The Washington Post, they were addressing the pro-democracy protesters as “Us”, while the military, government, President Mubarak, pro-Mubarak protesters, and sometimes the Muslim Brotherhood group as “Them”.

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3. **Finding:** *Al-Ahram* and to certain extent *Al-Masry Al-Youm* gave detailed information about the police’s victims as worthy victims, while the civilians’ victims were given slight detail and context in the stories construction.

4. **Finding:** *Al-Ahram* tried to demonize Muslim Brotherhood group and put the onus of the violence on their members. Similarly, *The Washington Post*, tried at least once to accentuate the fear from an Islamist takeover.

5. **Finding:** *Al-Ahram’s* coverage during the 18 days of the revolution, tried to depict the protesters in a negative way. However, after Mubarak’s fall, *Al-Ahram* changed its tone drastically toward venerating the protesters. On the other hand, *Al-Masry Al-Youm’s* depiction of the protesters was more neutral with a tendency of positivity sometimes. Nevertheless, both *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post* were prone to depict the demonstrators positively.

6. **Finding:** Only *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post* tried to expose the black and whites of all parties involved in Egypt’s events. This happened by covering the sexual attack of Lara Logan and probing the nature of relationship between the army and protesters, which were left out in the national newspapers in hand.

7. **Finding:** Regarding the ideological dimension, *Al-Ahram* as a state-funded, government-owned newspaper, gave tendentiously a full corroboration to the regime since the spark of Egypt’s momentous events. In other words, *Al-Ahram’s* inclination toward setting a dichotomous model of bad protesters or opposition actors, and a good regime or government, in addition to relying extensively on elite and official sources, not only proved its ideological slant, but categorized its coverage as war-reporting. As for *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, although there were signs of neutrality stemmed from the coverage of the privately-owned newspaper, but there were other undeniable signs of visualizing the effects of the protests and tucking away the black and whites of all parties as well, which in turn, make its coverage falls into the category of war-reporting to some extent. However, both *The Telegraph’s* and *The Washington Post’s* coverage showed that they were prone to take the side of
protesters by depicting them positively as people fighting for the democracy other Westerns cherish. Interestingly, although The Telegraph was conservative-bound, but its coverage showed sympathy to the pro-democracy protesters. Nevertheless, both The Telegraph and The Washington Post were keen to expose the untruths of all parties, which again may tell about their predilection toward peace-reporting.

4.4 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter, I tried to answer the research questions of this study. However, the question pertained to the kind of frames employed in the newspapers at issue in light of the protest paradigm, was answered through Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) frame analysis method, whereas the question of exploring the characteristics of war and peace journalism according to Galtung’s dichotomous model was answered by CDA, and has been cross-validated through frame analysis. Finally, the question about the portrayal of protesters was answered through CDA.

4.4.1 National newspapers prone to protest paradigm and war-reporting

To put it more pointedly, the findings emanated from the two methods used in this study showed that Al-Ahram tried to avowedly support the status quo of the state in general and the regime in specific. To expound, frame analysis method showed that Al-Ahram’s coverage was trying to accentuate protesters’ acts of violence and putting the onus of the current “crisis” on them. This trend has been adopted through employing frames such as protesters vs. police and protesters as anarchists. In other words, Al-Ahram’s coverage was keen to shed the light on that the protesters were the group initiated the violence, whereas the police officers and troops were just responding to it. Moreover, Al-Ahram tried to ignore the protests in the very beginning by employing protest as being disregarded and neglected frame, through burying the coverage and confining it to just a small news article, whilst protests in Lebanon, for example, were given primacy on the front page. Under the ascendancy of Egypt’s events, Al-Ahram adopted another strategy which was mainly reliant on emphasizing counter protests to create a sense of polarization, not to mention to rely heavily on official and elite sources at the expenses of voicing protesters.
Similarly, Fairclough’s CDA method proved that Al-Ahram’s coverage was depending on a language of bad and good dichotomy; foregrounding the regime’s positive characteristics and backgrounding their negative ones, and at the same times, demonizing or foregrounding the positive merits of some of the major actors in Egypt’s demonstrators, such as Muslim Brotherhood and the pro-democracy protesters themselves, and backgrounding their negative characteristics. By the same token, a language of worthy and unworthy victims was applied by Al-Ahram, in addition to abstaining from exposing the untruth of all parties involved in the problem or conflict. In simplified terms, Al-Ahram’s coverage was more into war-reporting. Put another way, Al-Ahram’s coverage was more elite-orientated, violence-orientated, and even propaganda-orientated. The latter characteristic of war-reporting in Galtung’s model was substantiated through the employing of counter-protest frame; Al-Ahram resorted to lie and exaggerate the number of pro-Mubarak protesters. Furthermore, Al-Ahram at the beginning of Egypt’s events tried to depict the protesters negatively then it shifted its tone after the fall of President Mubarak to positively depicting the protesters.

To spout off, the putative frames derived from Al-Ahram’s coverage corroborated the findings derived from CDA, concerning Al-Ahram’s propensity towards war-reporting. In sum, all methodological approaches applied in this study lead to the fact that Al-Ahram’s coverage, at the very least in the 18-day revolution, was ideologically biased and slanted.

Likewise, although ideology is playing a pivotal role in shaping the policies of the state-run mediums like Al-Ahram for example, but independent, privately-owned newspapers like Al-Masry Al-Youm were not immune to bias. In the same vein, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage was employing some frames in light of the protest paradigm like protesters vs. police and protesters as anarchists, aiming at highlighting violence, hooliganism and lawlessness. In other words, Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) frame analysis method showed that Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage was sometimes reliant on showing that the protesters were to be blamed for the anarchy ensuing from Egypt’s events, and they posed a threat to the nation’s economy. However, although Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage was leaning toward providing the context of the Egyptian Revolution through answering questions pertained to the organizers of the protests and the motives behind the rallies, the privately-owned newspaper, in the very first days of covering the revolution, didn’t mention the main demand of the protesters, mainly the abdication of Mubarak, and substituted it for sacking the government. In other words, Al-Masry
Al-Youm employed thematic frames, unlike Al-Ahram which missed the context and applied episodic frames. But, still, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage resorted to tuck away some of the important motives behind the rallies, which may spotlight how either self-censorship by the senior editors of the newspaper or the censorship imposed by the state, was dominant in the very first days of the revolution. Moreover, Al-Masry Al-Youm tried to be neutral somehow in using both official and protesters’ sources.

On the other hand, CDA method found that Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage was leaning toward using victimized language and relied to some extent on the trend of worthy and unworthy victims. Additionally, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage was applying the dichotomous language of good and bad or “Us” vs. “Them”. This was discerned through its leaning toward the military and addressing them as “Us”. At the same time, Al-Masry Al-Youm referred to the police, sometimes anti-Mubarak protesters, Muslim Brotherhood, and some opposition groups, as “Them”. In the same vein, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage was refrained from exposing the untruth of all parties involved in Egypt’s protests, regarding the incident of Lara Logan’s sexual attack and criticizing the military in specific. This makes the independent newspaper’s coverage angling more toward war-reporting, compared to The Telegraph and The Washington Post. However, its efforts to file neutral and objective reports about Egypt’s events were not successful most of the times. Nevertheless, it tried to depict the pro-democracy protesters neutrally, with a tendency towards positivity. Again, the use of CDA and frame analysis in specific was proved helpful to reach this conclusion.

4.4.1 The Telegraph and The Washington Post: peace-reporting

On the contrary, The Telegraph’s and The Washington Post’s coverage was shifting away from the protest paradigm. Put another way, the extensive reliance on people sources, acknowledging the legal demands of the protesters, and above all, providing the social, political and historical background of Egypt’s events, may substantiate the previous finding. Notwithstanding, there were some incidents that the American and British newspapers tried to highlight the risks of the Egyptian economy through employing protest as economic threat frame, and in very few incidents, The Telegraph specifically, tried to apply protesters vs. police and protesters as anarchists frames. But, again, this was applied rarely in the samples at issue. Frame analysis found that the previously-mentioned newspapers resorted mainly to thematic
frames, than episodic ones. In other words, the political contexts of Egypt’s protests, along with the social and historical backgrounds were provided by *The Telegraph* and *The Washington Post*.

Likewise, *CDA* evinced that the American and British newspapers were prone to *peace-reporting*, not only through depicting the protesters positively and voicing the protesters at the expenses of elite sources, but also through exposing the black and whites of all parties involved. The latter approach was depicted through reporting on the incident of Lara Logan, and trying to criticize Egypt’s ruling military council. Moreover, the two international newspapers were addressing the pro-democracy protesters as “Us”, whilst the military, government, President Mubarak, pro-Mubarak protesters, and rarely the Muslim Brotherhood group as “Them”.

In sum, the American and British newspapers were adhering to the *people-orientated* and *truth-orientated* characteristics of *peace-reporting* proffered by Galtung. This conclusion was first substantiated by *CDA* and then cross-validated by *frame analysis*’ results.
5. Conclusion

In simplified terms, this study tried to answer the questions of the research raised in the Introduction chapter, through two methods; namely, frame analysis and critical discourse analysis. To elucidate, the question of the putative frames reliant on the protest paradigm was answered by frame analysis. However, the question pertaining to the examination of the characteristics of war and peace journalism in light of Galtung’s dichotomous model was answered by CDA, and has been cross-validated by frame analysis. The question of the protesters’ portrayal in the four newspapers in hand was answered by CDA.

The Conclusion chapter attempts to draw a link between the answers derived from the findings and the theoretical framework, not to mention to compare this research’s result with the findings of two relevant studies, entitled: “Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011) and “Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011). This chapter also offers some recommendations for potential research in the future.

5.1 Framing Egypt’s protests

According to Hank Johnston and John A. Noakes, in their “Frames of Protest: Social Movements and the Framing Perspective”, mass media cannot be seen as “movement’s ally” or “fellow traveller” in normal conditions, as media always have their own agenda. (Johnston & Noakes, 2005). In this regard, media play an important role in the life or death of social movements, not only through determining whether to print or broadcast news about the protests, but also through the use of sources and the ways they frame the issue (Ashley & Olson, 1998: 263).

Taken in this light, the news coverage of social movements is usually leaning toward a ready-made frame template called “protest paradigm” aiming at trivializing, marginalizing and demonizing social movement activities and beliefs. The study which depended mainly on the overarching theory of protest paradigm, found that this propensity towards accentuating protesters’ acts of violence, attributing responsibility to them, delegitimizing demonstrators’
political context, and the reliance on official sources at the expense of voicing protesters, were more presented in the national newspapers’ samples in hand than the American and British ones. Nevertheless, *Al-Ahram* showed a more systematic approach toward applying the *protest paradigm*, compared to *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. By and large, the study found those putative frames in light of the *protest paradigm*: protest as being disregarded and neglected, protesters vs. police, protesters as anarchists, protest as economic threat and counter-protest frames.

Concomitantly with the *protest paradigm*, only *Al-Ahram*’s coverage was angling more towards *episodic* than *thematic* frames through missing the context of who organized the protests and the reasons behind the rallies, in addition to overlooking the social and historical backgrounds of Egypt’s protests. However, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*’s coverage tried, at the beginning, to overlook the main demand behind the protests, mainly the abdication of President Mubarak and substituted it for sacking the government.

To pin down and extract the previously-mentioned frames, the study resorted to Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) *frame analysis* constructivist methodological approach which is contingent on analyzing the structural and lexical features of news texts. This *frame analysis* qualitative approach proved to be successful and fruitful in this study. The rationale behind choosing this methodological approach rests mainly on the fact that frames cannot be identified by “counting the appearance of keywords and phrases, or by specific argumentative structures. Instead, one must look for storylines about what is to be comprehended.” (Fisher, 1997). In other words, by making the unit of analysis the paragraph not the sentence, Pan and Kosicki’s (1993) *frame analysis* method helped in exploring the latent meanings not only the manifest ones. This approach, for example, helped me to evade miss-framing or misinterpreting *protest as carnival* frame in the news coverage at issue, since the newspapers in hand tried to mix the celebration mode without emptied the protests of their political content (McFarlane, 2001).

Steering the discussion toward the results of the recent study entitled “Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011), and apart from the social media’s results presented in the same study, the researchers found out that the *New York Times*’ coverage was more inclined to the *protest paradigm* than the alternative social media. The study postulated frames such as “*injustice*”; means to ascribe blame and stress on moral violations and accentuating injustice being done, “*sympathy*”; supporting the protesters, “*legitimizing*”; recognizing protesters’
claims, “de-legitimizing”; discrediting protesters’ political claims, “accountability”; a consensus of discerning an issue as being wrong and demands police or government interference, “contextual”; giving background and detailed history of Egypt’s protests, and finally “spectacle” frames; the reliance on highlighting the number of protesters, drama, violence and deviance among the protesters (Harlow & Johnson, 2011: 1364).

The same study showed a preponderance of “spectacle” over “injustice”, “sympathy” and “legitimizing” frames; indicating that “the excitement, fever, and even volatility of the protests were more newsworthy, and thus important, than the underlying causes of the protests or the plight of the protesters.” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011: 1367). As for “accountability” frame, it had been used slightly more than half of the time, which means it wasn’t dominated in NYT’s coverage, reflecting that NYT was trying to adhere to the objectivity, fairness and balance perspectives that traditional newspapers always aspire for.

Cataclysmically, my study posited that The Washington Post’s coverage, another American newspaper, was more contingent on framing Egypt’s protests positively, hence leaning away from the protest paradigm. To put it more pointedly, my study showed that The Washington Post’s coverage was inclined to voice protesters more than the official sources; in addition it did resort to frames such as protesters vs. police and protest as economic threat, but it didn’t adopt a systematic way of emphasizing violence, drama and deviance among protesters. I speculate that the differences of The Washington Post’s and NYT’s coverage rest on the following:

1- The differences of the scope and methodologies between the current study which relied on qualitative methodological approaches, and Harlow’s and Johnson’s study that resorted to quantitative content analysis methodology. This means the current research dealt with 15 news articles and editorial pieces from The Washington Post, where the latter study tackled 66 news articles from NYT. In other words, generalisability problems may loom large in my study, but at the same time, the predilection toward misinterpreting the frame, since the content analysis methodology deals with the concurrence of words or analyzes only the lexical features of news texts, may come to the fore as well in Harlow’s and Johnson’s study. Moreover, it wasn’t spelled out clearly in the journal entitled “Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter
Covered the Egyptian Revolution”, the methodological approach of Harlow’s and Johnson’s study; was it manual-holistic, manual-clustering, or a computer-assisted frame analysis approach?

2- Both newspapers have different ideology and affiliation, though they are from the same country. The same applies to Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm.

3- I made it clear in the Critique of Protest Paradigm section in the Theoretical Framework and Previous Research chapter that the American news coverage of social protests outside the U.S. differs from other countries’ news coverage. In other words, if the American government supports a foreign counterpart, the protests are ignored or demonized -like the case in Egypt as one of the strongest U.S. allies in the region after Israel- but if the American government doesn’t shore up a foreign government, the protests are spotlighted and accentuated as a part of a fight for democracy (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 237). Although The Washington Post’s coverage didn’t follow this model, but this doesn’t mean that other newspapers’ coverage has to follow the same trajectory.

Equally, it is of paramount importance to refer to another recent study, entitled “Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011). Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study explored the framing of Egypt’s protests in some Egyptian semiofficial and independent newspapers, in addition to some social media postings. Aside from presenting the results of the social media postings, Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) found that the dominant frame in the semiofficial newspapers, including Al-Ahram, regarding the protests was conflict frame - 480 articles or 60% of the 800 samples gathered were highlighting the conflict and violence. Other less dominant frames were economic consequences; aggravating the threats of the protests on the country’s economy, and human interest; sympathizing with the aging President Mubarak. Nevertheless, responsibility frame; blaming the protesters for the violence and anarchy was limited to only 40 articles or 5% of the samples taken from the state-run newspapers (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 200).

However, the semiofficial newspapers also ascribed blame to the Muslim Brotherhood and Salafi groups of the current “crisis”, as the most common scenario adopted by many semiofficial newspapers was that Muslim Brotherhood group members were infiltrated among
the protesters, mainly to turn the peaceful protests into violence (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 204). Actually, this result is very much akin to my study’s findings, as _Al-Ahram_ used to “demonize” Muslim Brotherhood group by adopting the same scenario of infiltration and turning the “peaceful protests” into “violent events”. Although my current study didn’t deal with a huge number of samples, compared to Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study, but both researches reached almost to the same results. In other words, _conflict_ frame is similar to _protesters vs. police, protesters as anarchists_, and _episodic_ frames which were found in _Al-Ahram’s_ coverage. By the same token, _economic consequences_ frame is like _protest as economic threat_ frame. However, the reason behind the scarcity of _responsibility_ frame in Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study may be justified as I mentioned earlier in the _Results and Analysis_ chapter that _Al-Ahram_ used to refer to the protesters negatively most of the time in an indirect way, by using cohesive ties and insinuations, which would be difficult to extract through using a quantitative content analysis method. This shows another reason why my studies resorted to qualitative methodological approach to pin down frames by interpreting the latent not the manifest meanings.

Steering the results toward the independent newspapers, Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study found that _conflict_ frame was also dominant in 320 articles or 40% of the 800 samples. Also, they employed _human interest_ frame more than the semiofficial newspapers, along with the _responsibility_ frame. But, unlike blaming the protesters in the semiofficial newspapers, the independent ones used to blame the government, police and the media for escalating the situation. Also, _economic consequences_ frame adopted in 120 articles or 15% of the samples chosen (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 200). Again, these results go in consonance with my study’s findings, although Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study didn’t take any samples from _Al-Masry Al-Youm_. In this regard, _Al-Masry Al-Youm_’s coverage employed _protesters vs. police, protest as anarchists_, and _protest as economic threat_ frames. Moreover, _responsibility_ frame of blaming the government and police was ascertained in my study as well through the dichotomous language of “Us” vs. “Them”; where “Them” here were mainly addressing the police officers for creating a “security vacuum”.

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5.2 Entwining war journalism with protest paradigm

For the first time, this study drew a link between Galtung’s dichotomous model of peace and war journalism, and the protest paradigm. Put another way, the protest paradigm as being the overarching theory in this study, was focusing attention on protesters’ acts of violence, demonizing, and trivializing their political claims, in addition to the reliance on official sources, all share commonalities with war-reporting characteristics proffered by Galtung. In other words, some features like demonizing the enemy in war-reporting, were substituted for the protesters in the protest paradigm. Equally, war journalism is violence-orientated, propaganda-orientated, elite-orientated and victory-orientated (Ottosen, 2010). Apart from the victory-orientated, there are denominators between war journalism’s violence-orientated, elite-orientated and propaganda-orientated features, and the protest paradigm.

The study found that Al-Ahram’s, and to some extent, Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage was inclined more to accentuate protesters vs. police and protesters as anarchists frames, albeit Al-Ahram used extensively official and elite sources at the expenses of voicing protesters. By the same token, both Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm resorted to bad and good dichotomy, and a language of worthy and unworthy victims, which are all features of war-reporting.

Contrarily, the study found that The Telegraph’s and The Washington Post’s coverage, though resorting at least once to protesters vs. police and protest as economic threat frames, was more angling away from the protest paradigm through utilizing more sources from protesters, acknowledging the political demands of the protesters, and presenting information about the social and political background of Egypt’s protests. Similarly, the study found that The Telegraph’s and The Washington Post’s coverage was adhering more to the peace-reporting model. This was done through, again, the extensive use of people sources and exposing the black and whites of all parties involved in Egypt’s protests; by covering the sexual attack of the female reporter Lara Logan, whereas Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm abstained from covering anything about the incident. Moreover, unlike the national newspapers that refrained from criticizing the military, The Telegraph and The Washington Post raised doubts about the role of Egypt’s ruling military council in the post-revolution Egypt.
The conflation of both war and peace journalism typology and the protest paradigm not only delineated through the commonalities of their characteristics, but also evinced through the findings of this study which can be summarized in the following: the more a newspaper’s coverage conforms to the protest paradigm, the more it inclines to war-reporting. On the contrary, the more a newspaper’s coverage angling away from the protest paradigm, the more it adheres to peace journalism.

In accordance with Galtung’s model of peace journalism and “journalism of attachment”, this study made use of critical discourse analysis to identify the social problem of Egypt’s protests, not through taking an impartial stance toward iniquitous social injustice, but by leaning toward those who suffer the most and critically analyses those who hold the means of power, those who are responsible, and those who have the favourable circumstances to solve such problems (Van Dijk, 1996, cited in Richardson, 2007: 2). I used critical discourse analysis to expose the power relationships which are frequently hidden; hence eliciting results which are of practical relevance. In other words, critical discourse analysis was useful to pin down the ideological slants and affiliations of the four newspapers at issue, and thereby answering questions related to exploring the characteristics of war and peace journalism in the newspapers in hand with the help of frame analysis, not to mention to answer the question of how those newspapers portrayed the protesters in their coverage.

5.3 Portraying the protesters

Regarding the portrayal of protesters, the study found that Al-Ahram’s coverage during the 18-day revolution was depicting the protesters negatively; most of the time indirectly through drawing a link between the continuation of the protests and the prevailing of the shambolic and chaotic atmosphere. However, after the resignation of President Mubarak, Al-Ahram changed its tone toward extolling the protesters and the revolution in general. As for Al-Masry Al-Youm’s coverage, it was tried more to adhere to the objectivity credo, by depicting the protesters in a neutral way, albeit with a tendency toward positively depicting them sometimes. Steering the discussion toward The Telegraph’s and The Washington Post’s coverage, the study found it more leaning toward portraying the demonstrators positively.
Angling the discussion toward the *New York Times*’ coverage in the study titled “*Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution*” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011), the research found that the protesters were portraying positively only about half of the time, and even it coded the protesters as worthy victims less than half of the time (Harlow & Johnson, 2011: 1367). Then, by comparing, for example, my study’s results related to *The Washington Post* and *NYT*’s findings in Harlow and Johnson study, there would be a slight difference. To expound, as stated before, my qualitative study didn’t deal with percentages, but in *The Washington Post*’s samples at issue, most of the news articles and editorial pieces were depicting protesters positively. Also, this is related to the position of *The Washington Post* in general towards Egypt’s protests as vividly mentioned before; through overthrowing the protest paradigm and adhering to peace-reporting. On the other hand, Harlow and Johnson (2011) in their study suggest that *NYT* was supporting the “objectivity” notion, “even when there is a consensus that the protesters were fighting for something worthwhile.” (Harlow & Johnson, 2011: 1367). Again, this contrasts with *The Washington Post*’s coverage which was more inclined to the “voiceless” protesters in their fight for democracy and freedom.

As for Hamdy and Gomaa’s (2011) study, it found that the protestors in the semiofficial newspapers were portrayed as “incapable, misguided youth who were helpless to resist foreign influence or to formulate a strategy”, and sometimes they were depicted as hooligans “who are unable to use any form of struggle but disorder to communicate their illegitimate message.” (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2011: 199). Again, this result goes in consonance with my study’s findings. In other words, this research found that *Al-Ahram* tried to depict the pro-democracy negatively through showing their idiocy and helplessness to resist the infiltrated members of Muslim Brotherhood who tried to make use of Tahrir Square’s protesters to their own benefits, and even bribing them to conform to their “demonic schemes”.

### 5.4 Global Journalism and Egypt’s protests

Since this study deals with four newspapers from three different continents, so there is an exigency to discuss the notion of global journalism in light of the findings and results. To begin with, it is of paramount importance to distinguish between the global outlook and the national
outlook as indicated in Peter Berglez’s (2008) article entitled “What is Global Journalism? Theoretical and Empirical Conceptualisation”. In this regard, Berglez succinctly puts it:

“The national outlook puts the nation-state at the centre of things when framing social reality, while the global outlook instead seeks to understand and explain how economic, political, social and ecological practices, processes and problems in different parts of the world affect each other, are interlocked, or share commonalities.” (Berglez, 2008).

Taken in this light, sometimes The Washington Post’s coverage was leaning toward reflecting a national outlook. This happened, for example, in a news article entitled “U.S. Stock Market Falls as Egypt Unrest Continues”, where the writer tries to trace the impact of Egypt’s protests on the national U.S. stock market. By the same token, the study may suggest that when there is an opportunity on the horizon for reflecting upon a foreign issue from a global outlook, ideologies come to the fore to obliterate and ruin the chance. This happened in the national newspapers’ coverage at issue, when the female reporter Lara Logan sexually attacked in Cairo; the national newspapers didn’t cover the story in the first place even from a national perspective.

Generally speaking, ideology could be one of the obstacles and hindrances that might face global journalism. Ideology also pertinent to the media systems and the general atmosphere journalists have to work in. Taking Egypt’s media system as an example, and as previously indicated in the Introduction chapter, the curtailment of freedom of the press by prejudicial laws imposed on journalists, have a say in the latter’s coverage of events, not to mention the numerous ways the state used to interfere in the profession; either directly by putting journalists behind bars, or indirectly by intimidating them for opposing the regime. Another obstacle that may loom large against the spread of global journalism’s notion is journalists’ education. In this regard, many faculty members at the Egyptian universities argued that the number of practical courses taught at schools of journalism exceeded the number of practical courses. In other words, the fresh graduate students from journalism departments lack important skills in their profession; computer usage, Arabic and foreign language, general knowledge, and even writing and reporting, among the skills they simply don’t have (Kamal & Alabbasi, 1997). To put it simply, if the potential journalists don’t have the previously much-needed skills in journalism, how come they will file reports that reflect global outlooks?
5.5 Final words

This study opens a door to possible future studies try to combine frame analysis and CDA methodologies on one hand, and to blend the protest paradigm and Galtung’s war and peace journalism model together, on the other. Other potential research questions could be: What is the impact of the newspapers’ coverage on the audience, related to Egypt’s protests? Or, how other media platforms, like the Egyptian national television, BBC and CNN, covered the events, in light of the protest paradigm and Galtung’s dichotomous model of war and peace journalism? All the aforementioned questions can be explored thoroughly in future studies.
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الآلاف يشاركون في مظاهرات سلمية بالقاهرة والمحافظات

شارك عدد الآلاف في مظاهرات سلمية أمس في القاهرة وعدة محافظات وردت تظاهرات، التي تطالب بتوفير فرص العمل ومكافحة البطالة، والسيطرة على خلاف الاعتراف والنزاع المزدوج في الحقوق القانونية والسياسي، وسط حالة من التوترات في مختلف المناطق، بعد تهديدات المتظاهرين للمستقبل، وتعود إلى عودة المتظاهرين في القاهرة، طالب عدد الآلاف من المتظاهرين رفع الإجراءات، وروميسي و26 يوليو، وفي ميدان التحرير أقيمت بعض الردود والاحتجاج على قوات الأمن، التي وردت بتلقيق فراغات المياه وأعمال السلامة للترويع للتدريبات و الداخلة في القلائد، ونظام الأمن، إמלחية، والبيئة الكشركة، وتطلقات، وذكرت وكالة الأنباء الفرنسية أن عدد المتظاهرين يصل إلى نحو 15 ألف متظاهر، غير أنه لم يتسنى التفكك في الرقم، في حين ذكرت وكالة رويترز أن عدد الآلاف أيضًا نظمت مظاهرات متالتة في مدن الإسكندرية، المنستورية، والسويس، والرقاف، ومديا، ولبيوم، والمحلة الكبرى، وطنطا، وذكر شؤون الأمن وكالة رويترز أنه لم تفع استجابات بين المتظاهرين وقوات الأمن.

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وفاة 4 واصابة 118 مواطناً و62 شرطة ورفيق على 100 بالقاهرة والمحافظات

 أسفرت حملة المواجهات وأحداث العنف والسبح - التي انطلقت خلال الساعات التالية والأيام الماضية بجانب قوات الأمن المتظاهرين بالقاهرة، وعدة من المحافظات - عن وفاة 4 بينهم جندي واصابة 162 شرطا، و188 مواطناً، بينما تم إنقاذ الطفل من مادة شخص أمس، حاولوا تنظيم مظاهرات احتجاجية من جديد بالقاهرة والمحافظات، في غضون ليلة، الذي أصدرت الداخلية أمس بحذر أي مظاهرات أو تحركات إرادية أو تجمعات احتجاجية أو سيرات حساب ما يسمى بالتحذير، أفادت وكالة الشرة أن عدد المتظاهرين، يضم من ذوي الجنسية، في مظاهرة بالعزة ودعا إلى إغلاق، بينما تزعم التظاهرة يتبين توزيع قوات الشرطة وطياتها بالالتماس، كانت مظاهرات أمس الأول أن أسفرت عن قتلى ثلاثة ضحايا بين السويس، والمحافظة، ولكن مجهد مصرع، بالقاهرة في أي من النظم المظاهرة بين الشرطة، وربط نية الإسكندرية تهم التحذير، والمقاومة السلطات، والتجمعات العامة، والمحافظة الأول للسوري، وأمر المحامي العام للدلال كفر الشيخ بصيغة تطبيقovalات الجبهة الأمني ، يجري العمل على تحرير الجبهة الأمني، وكان ذلك قوات الأمن قد استخدمت الرصاص والغاز المسيل للدموع للفحص، بين الحادث، بعد قمع الشرطة، وعشرة شرطة، وأجدد المواجهات التي صاحب لها مظاهرة 85 شرطا، و18 ضابطا، ويدخل في وقت لاحق أحد المجندات متزودا بهذاء، كما أصيب بالانتشارية 28 ضابطا، بينهم نائب مدير الأمن، و нельзя مدني، وفي السويس، ألقت جبهة الأمن القبض على 21 من مئتي شرط، بعد مصادمات عنيفة بين المتظاهرين وقوات الشرطة، وبلغت حصيلة الاشتباكات في السويس 134 مصابا من الشرطة والمتظاهرين، بينهم أربعة

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Appendix I

Al-Ahram’s Samples:

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<th>Title</th>
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Vista de la página 144
واضحت. ومجدي راضي المتحدث باسم مجلس الوزراء أن الحكومة أعلنت عن أسئلة استفادة ضاحية من المواطنين ورجال الشرطة الذين قدوه.

ومع ذلك يرى أن الإدارة ختمتب البورصة. قد تأثر بما يحدث من احتياجات شهدتها مصر يوم الثلاثاء، كما أكذب استقرار الحكومة.

للشراء، و5 يوم 78 جنيهًا لليبيوب، وقرر البورصة 8 جنود مقرية من حديث 8 جنود وهما للشراء، و8-14 جنيه للبيع.

ومع ذلك يرى أن الإدارة ختمتب البورصة. قد تأثر بما يحدث من احتياجات شهدتها مصر يوم الثلاثاء، كما أكذب استقرار الحكومة.

ولواد، ومؤفيد مشاهد السيس. وقد أكدت الحكومة أمرًا لا توجد أي قواعد على خروج على الشرطة، ولكن دون الاستماع أو الإخلال بالأمن العام، أو

وارشد. ومجدي راضي المتحدث باسم مجلس الوزراء أن الحكومة أعلنت عن أسئلة استفادة ضاحية من المواطنين ورجال الشرطة الذين قدوه.

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وهي الإسكترينة، مما تتم دراسة مستوحى السياسية بنطرية بيرونت هي في مساحة 22 فذان، واستعمله المخططون على نحو 15 رو كان دورة المجهذة في متغير نوعا ما، حيث استندت إلى زمنها تحوكت 30
مليون جيب. وردت الاستثمارات بالإسكترينة إلى مصلحة 28 مستخدم، وفي النهاية، أسلأقع غير Algorithms نهج ذو القوة الوحيد. ومع ذلك، متضمنة عدد القوط الجباب الخفيف، أو مواد نتائج في الواقع ليست نيجيريا، كما سكن غرب الجواب، في إمكانيات شمل شاهب بين المواطنين وسائل المتظاهرين عند مواجهات بين
الأمن بعد أن هاجم عدد من المواطنين نقطة شرطة شارع برفقة، وأطلقوا النار بشكل فتاك، مما أدى إلى مقتل أربعة من رجال الشرطة، كما قتل شاب من العمال بكتاب، ما يُثير الانتقادات للشرطة، وهو أن هجماته الثلاثي عصرت تشغيل الشرطة، ودمار في المساجد، والثريا، والعدالة، والMENU OOD.
منطقة المطرية والزاوية الحمراء، وعن شمس، وظهرت مجموعات أخرى بسرعة القليعة، ووسط المدينة لم يتجاوز عدد المتظاهرين السياسيين والمصرفيين فيهما إلا نسبة 10% منهم، وتزايدت عناصر المظاهرة في ساعة الثنية منتصف فجر الحد الأدنى لقتال قوات الشرطة في مظاهرة أطلق عليها السلمية والмирاثية مقتل ضابط، وبدء دخول الامكانيات في قناة الامكانيات، وبدء التشييع بعد وقت قصير. كما تولت عناصر الميدان دائرات الشرطة، وحرقت كرودون الأمان الرمزي وصليتها، وقامت عمليات إزالة الحواجز في نفس الوقت، التي أشارت خلالها عناصر أخرى إلى قذائف المثير للحيرة، وفي المرافق الجوية، تمتراشات الأشخاص بإقامة الجلادات الحمراء على أساس الشرطة واستهداف القوات البائعة التي تتراشات، وهي التي لم تتجاوز مرة واحدة من النتائج، وقاطع الجزيرة من بداية وقت المظاهرة على إعداد العناصر المهبزة للمتظاهرين التي عملت على حظر المواطنين والإمارة بسياسة القتال في تبني فكر قادة المظاهرات وخطاب ملاحم الوجه السبب لها لا تؤثر عليها.

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<th>Millions Come Out to Support Mubarak: March of a Million for the President's Love in Mohandiseen and Mostafa Mahmoud Square</th>
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الملاحين يخرجون تأديا لموارد

عقب خطاب الرئيس مبارك أمس الأول وأعفاه بتعديل المادة76 و77 من الدستور. ودعت التظاهرات مرة ثانية على إلهامه وحريته على الوطن، وتحلياق الشعبيات ملمحة للحظة حادة. ذُكرت مجموعات جماعية من جميع المراحل على عرض صور مبارك في ضغوط انتتصاله على هذه الحركة مظاهر بسلاسة، وتحملت هناك أولئك الذين حملوا الهوى في إعلانه لمساواة في الدفاعية العربية والجزوية. وكتابات والمراحل الذين جعلوا من الحدود مادة مركزية في المشاركات في بعض المظاهرات، والمواقف العربية والمرشدية. وكتبت قافلة الجزيرة من بداية وقت المظاهرة على إعداد العناصر المهربة للمتظاهرين التي عملت على حظر المواطنين، وسياجها بسياسة القتال في تبني فكر قادة المظاهرات وخطاب ملاحم الوجه السبب لها لا تؤثر عليها.

25 يناير باتهمهم غيرما مرة مهمة في تاريخ مصر. ولكن الواقع العملي يؤكد أن الغالبية العظمى منهم بدأوا بتقديم الاعتداءات على مبارك. ووصلت أعداد المتظاهرين إلى مئات آلاف من المواطنين. احتجوا في وقت قليل لم يضيع البعض أن يحمل هذا العدد دون تنظيم طبقي أو منظم عبر الإنترنت، بل أعلن البعض عن بناءهم وهيئتهم في حفلات، معبر عنها وتأيدها للرسالة الديمقراطية، حيث أن التاريخ سيسجل

لحظات الميدان، ودعاوَّل سائرين على الوجوه طريق مدنية، وبدأوا في التظاهر، وبدأت جهود توفير المأوى، وإنشاء محكمة دعوى لاستمرار التظاهر في ميدان التحرير بعد أن تدخلت بعض المنظمات بوضحية وقادة. وانطبعت هذه المرة الخبرية التي تركز بها البلاء.

18 Mostafa Mahmoud Square is located in Mohandiseen district of Elagouza neighbourhood, Giza City, Giza Governorate, Egypt.
**Title**

Clashes Between Supporters and Opponents in Tahrir Square: Ceasing Egyptians’ Bloodshed

**Top Priority**

**Details**

| Date: Feb 3, 2011 | Source: Al-Ahram | Section: Front page/page 3 |

**Clashes Between Supporters and Opponents in Tahrir Square: Ceasing Egyptians’ Bloodshed**

**Date:** Feb 3, 2011

**Source:** Al-Ahram

**Section:** Front page/page 3

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كان رئيس الجمهورية قد أصدر القرار الجمهوري رقم 51 لسنة 2011 لتشكيل لجنة دستورية برئاسة رئيسي محاكمة النقض، وبعضية شرقي من مسؤولي الحزب الوطني الحاكم. وتضمنت هذه اللجنة عملها اليوم رفع السفاح في أيدي الرئيس محمد مرسي وآخرين، بالإضافة إلى تشكيل لجنة لتقديم النصائح في قانون أهمية الأفراد الأساسي التي تأثر بجهيتي 11 مفاهيم، وأصائب الأداء غيرهم بجوهر وصحر المستشار سرى وثيقة محاكمة النقض ورئيس لجنة تحديد الدستور بأمر خاصة وجوباً على اليوم بأن يقرراً قانونهم
وسياسي التعديلات الدستورية الموافقة على المواد 37ـ76 والدستور، إلى جانب مواد أخرى بما يكفي تحقيق الإصلاح السياسي والدائمي المشروعة.
وصرح الدكتور خوسيم الفقيلة الدستوري رئيس اللجنة بأن المادة 93 من الدستور تأتي في مقدمة المواد التي ستخدم للتعديل، حيث تنص في صياغاتها الحالية على أن مجلس الشعب هو الهيئة المتولى بها في صحة العضوية بالبلد. وُضح أنه تسترحو صياغاتها بما يضمن النص على أحكام الأمان وإصدار وتسريع كل المطالب والمفاوضات.
وقال سليمان: إن أماكننا في اليمن والأردن، كما الحوار والتفاهم أو الإبادة، وأوصي أن لتوجيه لغة ثوابت المفاهيم الثقافية والممارسات والمواطنين، ولن تستثمر في تطوير كل القطاعات المختلفة، وهذه تحت عن حميات الأقليات وإلى الفوضى، ولن نستثمر في تطوير كل القطاعات المختلفة، وهذه تحت عن حميات الأقليات وإلى الفوضى، ولن نستثمر في تطوير كل القطاعات المختلفة. وقائل سليمان: إن اليمن تترك بلد، وهو في مصر، وسيديم خريطة طريق لإصلاح حماقات من داخل البلد، إلى اليمن.
وقد نشرت السيدة ميركل، فالريس بحجة جيدة، ولا يحتاج إلى علاج، وتعتبر ما قال الآن بينما أتقال إلى شوكة مصر الداخلية، لكننا نشرناها على أي حال. وهذا يتعلق بالإخوان المسلمين، قال سليمان: إنهم تم سياسية في البلد، يجب أن تكون لهم تشكيلة في خلي للأزمة لأن هذا ينشأ جمعياً. ولننسى ذلك أي مصافحة. وبكلامه، سأل الرئيس المقال، أوضح نائب رئيس الجمهورية أنه كلمة «العلاج» ضد أقاليم، جمهور، الأحزاب، النائبين، رئيس الجمهور، مبارك، وهو أيضًأ أحد أبطال حرائق، والعملية العسكرية حريصة على أبطال الكرى.
وحل أول استقرار موجود حالياً، قال سليمان: إن الحياة ستغدو بالتنمية والدولة حريصة على متطلبات المصريين، وأناบางคน حتى أن الأصول والصور لم يزالوا لمن إلحات الشعوب، ونحن نريد لمصر أن تتخلع إلى ألم.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>People Brought Down the Regime: The Egyptians Celebrate the Fall of the Regime</th>
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<td>Details</td>
<td>Source: Al-Ahram</td>
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<td>Feb 12, 2011</td>
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الشئون الأساسية
بعد ثماني عشرة يوماً من انطلاق ثورة 25 يناير التي فجرتها شعوب مصر الشارقة، تجلب الرئيس خسراً مبارك أمس عن منصب رئيس الجمهورية، وأعلن السيد عبد مرسي يسار الرئيس الجمهوري. في بيان مقاضيته، أشار الرئيس إلى ان مبارك أكل إدارة شوكة البلاد.
وقد أعلن ن악 تحتيج مبارك الفوز بالإخوان المسلمين في مفاوضات البلدية، وحرصوا في جميع المحاولات إلى الشروع والتبنيين. واتطاعت صورة المفاوضات في ميدان التحرير والشوارع القريبة، حيث افتقدت الأساليب الشارقة، خاطئة وأعثت علاقة مصر، لمدة سنوات من معارك الشارع، وهي شرعية، واستمرت هذه العملية التاريخية، فلم تكن العلاقة بين مبارك، ومصر.
ومددين شعارات الانتصار وسط الميدان الذي أصبح رمزًا ثورة الشباب الذين نجحوا في إيقاف النظام والانتصار للإرادة الشعب.

ولم ينض من المحتفلين سفاح شعور التفاؤل والفرح طالماً بأولويتهم في سبيل الحياة والكوارث، فقد أعلل الميدان حاملين صورهم، موظفين أن كانوا يذكرون شهيد شيد قامة، في الميدان الذي المستقل به رمز ثورة المصرية، ورفع الساحة بجدران متكون مبارك بالإسكندرية.
عن في القاهرة، وتالف المحافظات، فقد شهدت الاستثنائية أكبر تظاهرات احتجاجية في التاريخ، حيث اندلعت الجموع الغفيرة في أطول مسيرة

اًبتدأت في ميدان التحرير وانتقلت إلى الشوارع والأحياء، حيث شهدت بالتعاون مع الجمعيات الشعبية والهيئة والعديد من الشوارع.

وقد رحبت جمهور المصريين بتعييني المبعوث العام للقوات المسلحة، إنجازاً على المسار، وشجعًا على الجهود المستمرة في تحقيق السلام.

وأخيراً، أتمنى أن تكون هذه النهاية الدأتل بداية للعمل الجاد في تحسين الأوضاع، وبناء دولة مصر.sin
لا علاقة لأوضاع ما قبل 25 يناير

طالب المجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة برئاسة المشير حسن طنطسورية برئاسة المستشار طارق البشري بسرعة الاتصاف من مهنة تطوير النصاع خلال عشرة أيام، فبعد مقاربته إلى البلاد، وعندما طلبت من النصاع أن يعمل على تسييم السلطة العربية لرئيس منتخب قبل انتهاء فترة النصاع.

وأشاروا إلى أن هذه الخطوة تتحقيق تحتاج إلى هادي، لأن أجزاء القلق، والأعمال، والبحث والدراسات لا تساعد على الوصول إلى هذه النمط وهي نسبة. كما أشاروا إلى أن خطر الشباب كانت نظيفة، وانتشار كل مطالبه طبيعية، في حين أن الموقف الأول في أي مكان كثيرة أن كل شتات بحث نحسه نحسه، نحسه نحسه.

وأضاف أعضاء المجلس أنه يحق لأي فئة أن تطالب بما تراها حقة لها، ولكن هذا ليس هو الوضع المناسب لذلك، بل غير جد annoy من المطالبة. وانشاءوا الشعب المصري أن يحافظ على البيئة الأساسية للبلد وعلى الاقتصاد. ونشدوا بكل قطاع وحاس على ما هو في 25 يناير لا يبعد.

أوضح أن الواقع الاقتصادي صعب، وأن الخسائر الاقتصادية نتيجة تعطل الأعمال، والأعمال، والبحث والدراسات تبدد طالقنا، وانشاءوا إعادة إيهام، وذلك لتمكين من قلبي طباع المطالبين التي بحثوا بها مهن. ووضعهم في الوضع النقدي ليس هو وقت صعبنا. وأخيرا، أن الدعم الذي يشكل الظروف الاقتصادية، والوقت ماهما، حتى تلك، نقص، نقص، نقص، نقص.

المطالبة بوقف تعطل العمل، أو إطلاق الآلات والمعدات والجهات. وأكره أية استنكار بإمكانية بالنهاية على إيجاد صورة تقدم لكسب صورة مجتمع، ونحن في مرحلة دقيقة نحتاج إليها מבعدة على روح الشعب.

وكشفنا عن هناك ضوابط مشددة لتكشف الطائرات الخاطئة، وضوابط تميز تطوير الأومال. وقالوا إننا لم نتمكن عصا سحرية للقضاء على الغرام، ولكننا لن نتبهج بسائد، وأصبحنا أن 9% من يمكن حلا على الأسلحة في النظام السابق حاليا وغير صحيحة. 

وأكدوا أن الديمقراطية تعني أن تكون كل الآراء، ولكن يجب أن يتم تغيير م入れة ملحة على كل تعبير. وعندما طلبت من النصاع أن يعمل على تسييم السلطة العربية لرئيس منتخب قبل انتهاء فترة النصاع.

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Appendix II

The Telegraph’s Samples:

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<td>Egyptian Police Fire Tear Gas at Demonstrators in Cairo on “Day of Wrath”</td>
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Egyptian Police Fire Tear Gas at Demonstrators in Cairo on “Day of Wrath”

Thousands of anti-government protesters, some hurling rocks and climbing on top of an armoured police truck, clashed with riot police on Tuesday in the centre of Cairo in a Tunisia-inspired demonstration to demand the end of Hosni Mubarak's nearly 30 years in power.

Police responded with blasts from water cannons and set upon crowds with batons and acrid clouds of tear gas to clear demonstrators crying out "Down with Mubarak" and demanding an end to Egypt's grinding poverty, corruption, unemployment and police abuses. Tuesday's demonstration, the largest Egypt has seen for years, began peacefully, with police showing unusual restraint in what appeared to be a calculated strategy by the government to avoid further sullying the image of a security apparatus widely seen as little more than corrupt thugs in uniforms.

As crowds carrying Egyptian and Tunisian flags filled downtown Cairo's main Tahrir square, however, security personnel changed tactics and the protest turned violent. The scenes had particular resonance because Tuesday was also a national holiday honouring the much-feared police. Demonstrators attacked a water cannon truck, opening the driver's door and ordering the man out of the vehicle. Some hurled rocks and dragged metal barricades. Officers beat back protesters with batons as they tried to break cordons to join the main group of demonstrators downtown. Protesters emerged stumbling from white clouds of tear gas, coughing and covering their faces with scarves.

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<td>Egypt Protests: Q and A ... Why Are Egyptians Protesting? Who is Behind the Protests? Will Egypt Be the Next Tunisia?</td>
<td>Source: The Telegraph, Date: Jan 27, 2011, Section: Unknown</td>
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Egypt protests: Q and A

Why are Egyptians protesting? Who is behind the protests? Will Egypt be the next Tunisia?

Why are Egyptians protesting?

Mainly for financial reasons. Many Egyptians complain of poor living conditions, economic stagnation and widespread unemployment. But there is also anger at political repression, suspected rigging in recent elections and at possible plans by Hosni Mubarak to have his son Gamal succeed him later this year.

Who is behind the protests?

They are being driven by the April 6 Youth Movement, a group on Facebook that has attracted mainly young and education members opposed to Mr Mubarak. But the protests have attracted a cross-section of society, one of the reasons the regime is so nervous.

Will Egypt be the next Tunisia?

Quite possibly. There is a sense that the protests are gaining momentum, not least because the security forces failed to crush them at the outset. This has emboldened many Egyptians, traditionally passive, to take to the streets. A growing number of analysts think it will be touch for Mubarak to survive.

So is his fall inevitable then?
Not necessarily. Egypt’s national security apparatus is stronger, more disciplined and more loyal to its political masters than Tunisia’s. Some also say the protests are doomed because they lack a genuine political leader - but then neither did Tunisia’s Jasmine Revolt.

Will the army stick with Mubarak?

For the moment, yes. But that could change if troops are brought out onto the streets and ordered to fire on protesters. The army wants to be popular and if generals sense discontent in the ranks, they may tell Mubarak to go.

Will Mohamed ElBaradei emerge as Egypt’s next president?

He would dearly love to but it is far from clear that he has the support of the protesters. Many see him as an outsider who has lived abroad too long and regard his declaration to join the protests as an act of opportunism.

Are other Arab regimes in danger?

Yes. Many Arab states have plenty in common: ageing dictators who have ruled for decades and economic hardship. Since Tunisia, there have been copycat demonstrations in Yemen, Jordan and Algeria. Arab leaders are very worried.

Egypt’s military has deployed troops and tanks to enforce curfew in the country’s cities, as protests demanding the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak reached a crescendo. Flames were rising up from burning tires and police cars as darkness fell over Cairo, and ruling party’s headquarters was ablaze. Protesters also attempted to storm the state TV building and Foreign Ministry, while looting broke out in some areas. For the first time, the sound of shots could be heard in the centre of the city. Tanks arrived on the streets of the eastern Egyptian city of Suez, witnesses said, and deployed in front of the charred remains of a police station set alight the night before. There were unconfirmed reports that some protesters who tried to climb on to the tanks to talk to troops were fired on.

Desperate to defeat by far the most serious challenge to Mr Mubarak in his 30 years as president, the authorities shut down access to the internet and heavily restricted mobile telephone usage in an effort to disrupt the co-ordination of the protests. Mohamed ElBaradei, the Nobel laureate and dissident who returned to Egypt on Thursday, was placed under house arrest. Hundreds of others were detained, among them leaders of the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood, the powerful opposition group that belatedly threw its support behind a campaign that had, till then, been overwhelmingly secular.

In a major gamble, the armed forces were ordered to enforce the curfew. Analysts have warned that army generals, previously unquestioning in their support of the regime, could begin to turn against Mr Mubarak if their soldiers are forced to kill unarmed protesters. The president, who has not been seen in public since the protests began on Tuesday, announced that he would address the nation. With their hold on power visibly tottering as protesters attacked government buildings, senior ruling party figures acknowledged for the first time that they were facing a potential revolution and called on Mr Mubarak to institute "unprecedented reforms".

"Nowhere in the world can the security forces put an end to revolution," Mustafa al-Fekki, chairman of the Egyptian parliament’s foreign affairs committee, told Al Jazeera. "The security option alone is not sufficient and the president is the only one who can put an end to these events."

Mr Mubarak, who is 82, cut an even more isolated figure as international criticism at his handling of the protests, during which at least eight people have been killed, one of them yesterday. More than 400 people have been injured, several with bullet wounds. Hillary Clinton, the US secretary of state, used Washington's strongest language yet as she demanded that the Egyptian government reverse its communications blackout and restrain its security forces. After Israel, Egypt is the world's largest recipient of US aid and is seen as a vital American ally in the Middle East. But there was little sign that Egypt was listening. Riot police fired endless of salvos of tear gas and rubber bullet fire over the course of the day. Plainclothes secret policemen dragged protesters out of the crowd, kicking and beating them as they were loaded into lorries and driven away.

Yet no matter how hard they tried, the crowds kept coming. In one of many astonishing scenes on the streets, thousands of anti-government protesters wielding rocks, glass and sticks chased hundreds of riot police away from the main square in downtown Cairo. Several of the policemen stripped off their uniforms and badges and joined the demonstrators.

"I've been here for hours and gassed and keep going forward, and they keep gassing us, and I will keep going forward, said Ahmad Salah, a protester in Cairo. "This is a cowardly government and it has to fall. We're going to make sure of it."
Egypt's banks will be closed on Sunday, the first day of the country's business week, the deputy central bank governor said, a move analysts said could spook investors looking to trade after unprecedented countrywide protests. In a week which has seen nervous investors scramble into gold, a traditional bolt-hole in uncertain times, Hisham Ramez also told Reuters the central bank's reserves were strong at $36bn, banks were liquid and any capital flight by foreign investor "hot money" would be short-lived. Egypt has endured five days of often violent protests with people on the streets calling for the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak, who imposed a dusk to dawn curfew and ordered tanks onto the streets to restore order.

Ramez said banks would close on Sunday, adding: "It is just a precaution until banks are ready to start work on Monday." He did not comment on the unrest. Egypt's stock market, which tumbled 16pc in two days after the unrest erupted, will also be closed on Sunday. The Egyptian pound fell to six-year lows.

"Obviously the central bank is worried about a run on the banks which is significant and foretelling about what they are expecting to happen in the next few days. There is a near paralysis," said John Sfakianakis, an economist at Banque Saudi Fransi-Credit Agricole. Ramez said that, while there could be some short-lived capital flight, the central bank and other Egyptian banks were in a strong position and he was comfortable with reserves. "All the accounts are safe. The liquidity is there. The banks are liquid. The customer accounts are safe. Everything is in order. We have no problem," he said. "We are ready. Our reserves are very strong," he said, adding the bank had not intervened in the currency market in the past week.

"We are very comfortable" with reserves, he said.

Asked about possible capital flight risk, he said: "Maybe for a short time, for the foreign investors, for the 'hot money', yes. I think things will be back in order soon."

Egypt's anti government uprising showed signs of fraying into lawlessness on Sunday as a series of mass jail breaks saw thousands of prisoners released on to the streets. Nmates escaped from at least four jails across Egypt, including suspected Muslim extremists and members of the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamist. In one jailbreak at the Abu Zaabal prison on the outskirts of Cairo locals told The Daily Telegraph that 18 people had been killed after gangs of gunmen fought a six-hour battle with guards to free jailed associates. Meanwhile as darkness fell last night, groups of club-wielding "Citizens' Committees" manned checkpoints at road junctions across Cairo and other cities in a bid to stop looters. Egyptian police have been absent from the streets since Friday night, when they lost control of vast demonstrations demanding the end of President Hosni Mubarak's 30-year rule.

The army has been on the streets since then, but is largely restricted to static guard duty in tanks and APCs. On Sunday many Egyptians claimed that the jailbreaks and looting were deliberately orchestrated by Mr Mubarak in order to convince them that an end to his rule would simply lead to chaos. "Egyptian state television has been showing the pictures of looting all day," said one man. "This is designed to get protesters to leave the streets and go back to guard their homes."

At the Abu Zaabal jail on Sunday, bullet marks could be seen on the perimeter walls and prison trucks lay ditched in a nearby river. Locals claimed that thousands of prisoners had escaped after posses of Bedouin tribesmen from Sinai – an area near the Israeli border notorious for smuggling and banditry – came to spring jailed fellow clansmen from the facility on Saturday evening.

"The Bedouin came just before sunset in cars and trucks," said one eyewitness from a nearby town.

"At first they just fired randomly into the air, but then they started shooting at the prison guards, who fired back. Eventually the guards could not keep control and they left the jail. Thousands of people escaped, and Bedouins took their friends off with them in trucks." He said the escaped prisoners included members of the Muslim Brotherhood, a movement that contests elections in Egypt and aspires to be one of the power brokers in any post-Mubarak government.

On Sunday the area around the prison was still lawless, with groups of youths wandering around with clubs and gangs of looters stripping the jail of food supplies and furnishers. There appeared to be no inmates still left in the jail, although a small number, who had only months left to serve in their sentences, surrendered themselves to a nearby mosque in the hope of not jeopardising their parole. At the same mosque 18 bodies from the jail battle were also taken, and later removed by ambulance. "Why didn't the army protect us?" asked one resident. "We are scared now that the town is full of criminals." As night fell large groups of men and youths formed check points all over Cairo, some also armed with knives and pistols. On the route back from Abu Zaabal back into the city centre, The Telegraph encountered checkpoints almost every 50 yards in some areas.
"We are protecting ourselves and the people," said Mohamed Kamal, 21, wielding a large black baton. "Last night we arrested 12 criminals and handed them to the army, and today we caught another three. We support the demonstrations here but not any kind of destruction." At a nearby police station that was attacked and burned out on Friday night, rap sheets bearing suspects' mugshots littered the streets, with locals claiming that weapons had also been stolen from the armoury. 

Overall, though, apart from a currency exchange store that had been broken into, The Telegraph saw little evidence that the looting of private property had been particularly widespread. Most Egyptians were at pains to dissociate the protests from any criminal acts.

"Please tell the world that we are law-abiding people, not thugs or thieves," said Ahmed Ghazi, 45, an engineer, as he saw The Daily Telegraph outside the burned out police station.

Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood yesterday asserted itself in anti-government protests, blaming America for the unrest because of its support for President Hosni Mubarak. Esam al-Erian, a senior member of the executive council, said the West's fears for Egypt's future were due to America's "foolish policies".

"America's alliances are being exposed, one by one," he told The Daily Telegraph on Monday. "You can take in the view from Tunisia to Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen and even Palestine to see what has happened." Mr Erian was one of 34 Muslim Brotherhood leaders arrested in advance of last Friday's demonstrations but released when prisons were emptied on Saturday night. He arrived in Tahrir Square on Sunday evening to a hero's welcome, and told the crowds they would hold fast "however many martyrs there are". The Brotherhood, which seeks to rebuild Egypt's government on Islamic lines and has until this month presented the best-organised opposition to Mr Mubarak, says it does not want to take a leadership position in any interim government. But it has given its backing to attempts to form a government of national unity by Mohammed ElBaradei, the former United Nations nuclear agency head who has become an opposition figurehead.

That is likely to be a sop to western sentiments and governments who do not want to see the Brotherhood playing a role in government and potentially disrupting Egypt's role as a peacemaker in relations between Israel and the Arab world. Mohsin Rahdy, a former MP who was also among those released, refused to say whether the Brotherhood would allow a future government to stick to Egypt's Camp David peace treaty with Israel. But he said the party would "respect international treaties and regulations". The movement was caught unawares by the strength of last week's demonstrations, observers say, and may have been split in its response. The protests were initially organised online by students and bloggers, and Brotherhood members have not been prominent. Prayer times though have been observed often to dramatic effect by the demonstrators, with thousands prostrating themselves on the square and before police and army lines.

Mr Rahdy said he was accused of organising the demonstrations by police who arrested him. "It would be an honour to have organised this but anybody who claims that the Brotherhood are behind this is a liar," he said.
"I didn't know we were heading towards Tahrir Square," said Waly, lying on his bed in his home, a makeshift brick-built hovel. His head was bruised and bloodied still, a large bandage covering half his face. Neighbours said few in the area knew the city centre, being unable to afford to go there. "There was a crowd of peoplestoning us," Waly said. "We didn't have any way out except to run for it. I didn't know where we were going - but we were going into the square." He was pulled from his horse and people started beating him. "They punched me on the ground, and banged my head, and then they tied me to a tree. They said they were going to throw me in the Nile, but a sheikh (imam) came and said I was only a kid and they should hand me to the army."He was luckier than his colleagues. Neighbours of the camel-driver said he was inside his house and unwilling to talk to journalists, though other reports said he had been arrested. The other three men have not been seen since they were dragged away."Where is my son?" wailed Sallia Abdul al-Ali, the mother of one of them, Sameh Abdulsalam Hafez, 27. She said he had left on Wednesday morning without saying where he was going.

"My three other sons and I all rely on him for money," she said. "My husband is dead and I am sick. We just don't know where he is." The family had one horse, costing more than £600, also now missing, and were reliant on Sameh's income. Mr Yusri said the world should view such people more favourably than the protesters who have brought Egypt to a standstill.

"Look at us here - we are poor, we have horses and camels to feed, we have no money," he said. "But we are good people. You don't see houses and shops burned or with their windows broken here."

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**Title**: Egypt Crisis: Hosni Mubarak Loses Control of State Media

**Details**: Source: The Telegraph  Date: Feb 7, 2011  Section: Unknown

**Egypt crisis: Hosni Mubarak loses control of state media**

Hosni Mubarak's control of Egypt's state media, a vital linchpin of his 30-year presidency, has started to slip as the country's largest-circulation newspaper declared its support for the uprising against him. Hoping to sap the momentum from street protests demanding his overthrow, the president has instructed his deputy to launch potentially protracted negotiations with secular and Islamist opposition parties. The talks continued for a second day on Monday without yielding a significant breakthrough.

But Mr Mubarak was dealt a significant setback as the state-controlled Al-Ahram, Egypt's second oldest newspaper and one of the most famous media publications in the Middle East, abandoned its long-standing position of slavish support for the regime. In a front-page leader, the newspaper's editor-in-chief, Osama Saraya hailed the "nobility" of what he described as a "revolution" and demanded that the government embark of irreversible constitutional and legislative changes. "The state and all its denizens, the older generation, the politicians and all other powers on the political stage must humble themselves and rein themselves in to understand the ambitions of the young and the dreams of this nation," he wrote. There was no call on the president to resign and while it may yet prove that Al Ahram's editorial shift may be tactical rather than genuine, opposition supporters expressed astonishment at the development. Mr Saraya built his reputation as a dependable apologist for the president. Last year, he became the subject of opposition mockery after Al-Ahram doctored a photo to show Mr Mubarak striding in front of President Barack Obama and other world leaders at the White House, when in fact he was at the rear. Caught out, Mr Saraya defended the deception as legitimate "expressionism". Mr Saraya's change of heart comes amid growing anger among state journalists following the killing of Ahmed Mohamed Mahmoud, a reporter for an affiliate of Al-Ahram, which was founded in 1875.

Mr Mahmoud, who died last Friday, was shot dead, allegedly by a secret policeman, as he filmed opposition protests from the window of his office with his mobile telephone. On Monday over 200 Egyptian journalists, many from state controlled publications, marched through Cairo's streets chanting anti-Mubarak slogans and holding aloft a model coffin. Highlighting the depth of the rebellion, the reporters had earlier surrounded Makram Mohamed Ahmed, the powerful head of Egypt's press syndicate and an ardent regime loyalist, chanting: "killer! killer!" and "down with the mouthpiece of the regime". Like Al Ahram, which initially dismissed the protests as a non-event, state television has also been forced to modify its coverage of the uprising after a senior anchorwoman and a leading reporter resigned in protest. Having repeatedly insisted that the demonstrations had drawn no more than 5,000 people, most of them in the pay of foreign media outlets, government broadcasters have for the first time acknowledged a major presence in Cairo's Tahrir Square. But even as the protesters express their determination to remain in the square until Mr Mubarak goes, the president remains defiant.

A senior Israeli politician with deep ties to Egypt said on Monday that he had spoken to Mr Mubarak four nights ago and that the president remained as determined as ever to stay on. Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, who very recently quit as trade minister in Benjamin Netanyahu's government, told The Daily Telegraph that Mr Mubarak had told him: "This is not Beirut and this is not Tunis. I am sure that things are under control and don't worry." But Mr Ben-Eliezer added that he thought Mr Mubarak would still leave if a way was found for him to exit with dignity. He said the army was still backing the battered president.

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**Title**: Egypt: Thousands Flood Cairo Square Galvanised by Google Activist

**Details**: Source: The Telegraph  Date: Feb 8, 2011  Section: Unknown

**Egypt: thousands flood Cairo square galvanised by Google activist**

Thousands of protesters flooded Cairo's Tahrir Square on Tuesday, galvanised by the release of a pro-democracy cyber activist.
Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian president, took a step earlier on Tuesday towards democratic reform, authorising a committee to pursue constitutional change, a gesture that failed to appease the crowds who noisily demanded his immediate ouster. “We are going in to support the people inside the square. They are the first line of defence,” said 26-year-old Mahmoud el-Naggar, who came from Fayyoum, south of the capital, with a group of friends and made for the square. “We’ve heard there will be a million-strong demonstration today.”

Protesters who arrived in the square, past a cordon of troops and tanks that searched them for weapons but made no attempt to halt the demonstration, were greeted by huge new posters of the “martyrs” of their revolt. Many also carried the symbols of the internet social networks Facebook and Twitter, which have become vital mobilising tools for the opposition thanks to online campaigners like Google executive Wael Ghonim. Mr Ghonim has himself become a hero to many in the movement, having started one of its most popular Facebook sites and been detained by the regime following a former day of protest on January 27. Freed late on Monday, he gave an emotional interview to Egypt’s Dream 2, weeping as he remembered those killed in two weeks of protests.

“I was blindfolded for 12 days, I couldn’t hear anything, I didn’t know what was happening,” he said, in an appearance that has motivated the protests and been spread far and wide by his internet fans.

“I’m not a hero, I slept for 12 days,” Mr Ghonim said. “The heroes, they’re the ones who were in the street, who took part in the demonstrations, sacrificed their lives, were beaten, arrested and exposed to danger.” Mr Ghonim announced that he was on his way to the square in a Tweet to his followers, saying: “Egyptians are making history.” For its part, the regime issued a decree forming a committee to oversee constitutional changes ahead of elections later this year.

“The president welcomed the national consensus, confirming we are on the right path to getting out of the current crisis,” said Vice President Omar Suleiman, whom many now see as the effective power behind the throne. “A clear road map has been put in place with a set timetable to realise a peaceful and organised transfer of power,” he promised, in a televised address.

The vice president has begun meeting representatives of some opposition parties – including the powerful Muslim Brotherhood, but not some of the street protest groups – to draw up plans for a democratic transition. Mr Mubarak has promised not to stand for re-election in September, but opposition groups say any vote to replace the 82-year-old strongman would not be fair under Egypt’s current constitution.

As Egyptians tidy up after celebrating the resignation of Hosni Mubarak, Nick Mee in Cairo heard the stories of five protesters who slept for night after night beside the tracks of the tanks in Tahrir Square.

Suzanne Esmat walked into Tahrir Square a free woman for the first time in her life yesterday, and returned to the place near the entrance where she had prepared herself to die. In normal times Miss Esmat, 44, is a guide who takes parties of British tourists down the Nile and around Egypt’s antiquities. But these are not normal times, and for the past three weeks she has been a human shield, spending 24 hours a day in front of a 60-ton M1 Abrams tank parked at the entrance to the square.

Every night she slept on the ground next to it in a bundle of blankets, prepared to be crushed under the tank tracks with fellow protesters if the army tried to enter to put down their revolution.

“We have to be ready to sacrifice our lives for freedom,” she said on Thursday night. “I will be here until he goes. Mubarak and his regime are thieves and liars. We have had enough of them.” The past week has been without doubt the most exciting of Miss Esmat’s life, and one of the hardest. It was also cold, dirty, and frightening. Around 400 of her fellow protesters were killed by the security forces, including young men shot down in front of her. Regime thugs threatened to kill her and hurled rocks to try to make her move. If the revolution had failed — and there were times when it looked as if it could - her comfortable life with a well-paid, enjoyable job would have ended, and instead she would have been sacked, jailed and perhaps tortured in one of ex-President Mubarak’s prisons. But the people lost their fear, and then the protesters won. It took real courage, but in less than three weeks they brought down the dictator who had muzzled their nation for thirty years. Yesterday Miss Esmat said the people’s revolution was just the beginning.

“We are very, very happy that he has gone. I was at the party in the square until 5am, and now I am so full of hope — not only for Egypt, but for the whole region,” she said. “You saw the start of it yesterday, with people dancing in the streets in Morocco and Baghdad. All the Arabs wanted to share their happiness with us. We have started something that will change the world.”

Her joy was shared by millions of Egyptians, who flooded into the streets after President Mubarak unexpectedly stepped down on Friday night, 24 hours after he vowed to them that he would stay in power. Men whooped and chanted and women handed out sweets to celebrate and told their children to remember how they felt because history was being made; it felt as if Cairo’s entire 20 million population was crushed into Tahrir Square. On Saturday morning protesters organised themselves into teams to clear away the mountains of rubbish that had been left behind and cranes started dragging off wrecked vehicles. Some protesters were determined to stay, to put pressure on the army which is now in power until real democracy can take root. They were waking up to a very different world. The state newspapers — Mubarak’s mouthpieces for decades — were yesterday pouring venom on their old master, and praising the protesters who they had condemned as traitors in Friday’s editions. The pace of events was so fast that few Egyptians seem to have thought much about what freedom will be like without a president to decide everything for them, and Egypt has dangerous problems ahead. Power is now in the hands of generals who may be tempted to become new dictators themselves, and Islamic extremists are poised to succeed in parliamentary elections, whenever they are held.

After weeks of paralysis the economy is in a terrible mess; poverty and overpopulation are terrible problems, and expectations for the future have been raised dangerously high; the temptation to take revenge against regime figures could yet spark violence; and the revolution was so rapid that there is no leadership to offer a vision of a secure political future. But the mood on Cairo’s streets was incredibly, euphorically
positive; hardly anyone seemed to be thinking of the trials ahead. Dina Sadek, 21, a student protester, was jubilant, and a little stunned, at Mubarak’s fall.

“We did it, and we did it in just 17 days,” she said with a huge smile. “A month ago people were too scared to criticise him in public. Now we have won our freedom and we are proud to be Egyptian.” She is part of a generation which can hope to enjoy a life of freedom from tyrants - something few people anywhere in the Arab world have ever experienced.”

“All through our revolution the older generation have been apologising to us for not doing this 20 years ago,” she said. “But nobody had more to celebrate than the human shields — the heroes of Tahrir Square who were celebrities by the end of the protests. Visitors to the square used their mobile phones to take photos of them huddling next to the tank tracks. Some even slept on top of the tracks. They were united by their opposition to Mubarak. But they had different visions of the Egypt they wanted to see after him.

Saif Al Deen, 29, was a humble English teacher in an obscure village 400 miles south of Cairo seven days ago. Then he decided to get on a bus to join the protesters. “Last week I was teaching children,” he said with a shy smile. “I hate Mubarak. He has killed our brothers and sisters and he steals our money.”

The moment he knew that the revolution was going to succeed was when a busload of friends from his village arrived in Cairo last week to join it. “We feel different now,” he said. “We used to feel shame all the time. Egypt was a big prison for us. Now we feel free and we feel proud of our country. We have a good future. We just want peace and democracy.”

But some of his fellow human shields had a very different vision of the Egypt they wanted to see. Ayman Abdelmotall Abdelatay, 43, an IT consultant and father of two sons, said he wanted Sharia, Islamic law, and didn’t like alcohol being served in Egypt: “But what we really want is justice and equality,” he said. “If the people chose Sharia I would be happy but if they chose another way, I would agree with that. The struggle is not only against Mubarak but also against the West and America. We want Egypt to be a democracy. The West doesn’t care about anything except the peace agreement with Israel — they don’t care how the Egyptian people live.”

The youngest of the human shields was Mohammed, a boy who had run away from home in his village north of Cairo to join the protests on Tuesday. He said he was 15 but he looked much younger.

“I came here because the government is killing the people,” he said with a grin. Atef Abd El Sattar, 50, said he became a human shield because he had been jailed and tortured by the regime. Mr Sattar, a devout Muslim, was ordered by the boss at his pharmacy company to shave off his beard ten years ago, but refused and was jailed for 38 days. “In jail they beat me, gave me electric shocks, and tied my hands until I lost feeling,” he said. “They played screams to me on a tape recorder and pretended it was my wife, that they were torturing her. That is what Egypt has been like for 30 years.”

On Saturday, in the warm haze of victory, the past seemed like a bad dream and the future seemed bright. With the confidence that Egypt has now found no problem seemed too big to be solved.

An hour after the dictator stepped down, a man on a side street was talking into his mobile phone in English to a friend abroad as cheering crowds waved flags and set off fireworks. “Yes it is over now,” he was saying. “Everybody is optimistic.”

Hundreds of Egyptian soldiers shoved pro-democracy protesters aside to force a path for traffic to start flowing through central Cairo's Tahrir Square for the first time in more than two weeks. Protesters chanted "Peacefully, peacefully" as the soldiers and military police in red berets moved in to disperse them. Scaffolds broke down and some soldiers lashed out with sticks. The military police chief told protesters to clear tents from the square and not to disrupt traffic. "We do not want any protesters to sit in the square after today", Mohamed Ibrahim Moustafa Ali, the head of military police, told protesters and reporters, as soldiers removed tents from the square. The army has said it respects the demands of protesters, whose mass action drove Hosni Mubarak from power. But it has also called on them to go home and let normal life resume. Protests erupted on January 25 and traffic stopped flowing through Tahrir after January 28. The square became the epicentre of nationwide demonstrations, with many protesters camping there. The early morning violence did not last long, but the army action, backed by dozens of military police, split demonstrators who had previously controlled the square into smaller groups.

"In the square, in the square, we demand our rights in the square", some chanted as soldiers corralled the crowd. About 2,000 demonstrators remained in the square and some tents were still pitched in the grassy central area. Although Mubarak's resignation on Saturday met the key demand of protesters, many said they planned to stay in the square to ensure the military council now in charge of Egypt made way for civilian rule and democracy as it had promised.

Protesters demand the abolition of emergency law that has been used to stifle dissent for three decades, the release of all political prisoners, and free and fair elections. "The army is the backbone of Egypt. The solution is not to remove us from the square. They must respond to our demands", said a protester over loudspeakers. Protesters said soldiers had detained some of their leaders and that more than 30 people had been taken to an army holding area around the Egyptian Museum, next to the square. Troops were ordered onto the streets on January 28 after police fought street battles to try to contain protests but lost control. The army has taken a largely neutral role, but has detained some protesters and journalists, often briefly.

"There is no enmity between the people and armed forces ... We ask you not to attack our sons. This is not the [behaviour] of the armed forces. This is a peaceful protest", one protester said on loudspeakers. "We demand that the armed forces release all our sons that have been arrested in Tahrir." Some passersby felt the time for protests was over.

"Haven't they got what they want? Can someone explain to me what is left of their demands?" asked one bystander. But Jihad Laban, an accountant, said much work remained to make sure the revolution did not squander what it had gained.
"We stood by the army in their revolution", he said, alluding to the 1952 coup that toppled the British-backed king. "They need to stand with us in ours. "The goal was never just to get rid of Mubarak. The system is totally corrupt and we won't go until we see some real reforms. I am going to be buried in Tahrir, I am here for my children. Egypt is too precious to walk away now". A 38-year-old industrial worker who gave his name only as Mohamed, said he had changed his mind about going home. "I was going to leave today, but after what the military has done, the millions will be back again. The corrupt system still stands. It has gone back to using the only thing it understands - force. If we leave, they won't respond to our demands".

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Egypt: US reporter sexually assaulted in Tahrir Square

A female CBS News correspondent is recovering from a sexual attack and beating she suffered while reporting on the tumultuous events in Egypt last week.

Lara Logan, who has also worked for GMTV, was in the Cairo's Tahrir Square on Friday after Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak stepped down when she, her team and their security "were surrounded by a dangerous element amidst the celebration," CBS said in a statement. The network described a mob of more than 200 people "whipped into a frenzy." Separated from her crew in the crush of the violent pack, she suffered what CBS called "a brutal and sustained sexual assault and beating." She was rescued by a group of women and an estimated 20 Egyptian soldiers, the network said. Logan returned to the US on Saturday and is recovering at home. According to friends she had vowed to return to work "within weeks".

The scene last Friday in Tahrir Square - ground zero of 18 days of protests that brought down Mr Mubarak - was primarily one of celebration - people wept, jumped for joy, cheered and hugged one another. Some soldiers stationed at the square ran into the crowd, and the protesters lifted them onto their shoulders. Other troops stayed at their posts, watching in awe. There were fireworks, the sound of car horns and even some shots fired in the air. However, in the final days of the anti-Mubarak protests, women said there had been an increase in sexual assaults in the square. On the day Mr Mubarak fell, several women reported being groped by the rowdy crowds. One witness saw a woman slap a man after he touched her. The man was then passed down a line of people who all slapped him and reprimanded him. The attack on Logan, CBS News' chief foreign affairs correspondent, was one of at least 140 others suffered by reporters covering the unrest in Egypt since Jan. 30, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists. An Egyptian reporter died from gunshot wounds he received during the protests.

A week before Friday's attack, Logan was detained by the Egyptian military for a day, along with a CBS producer and cameraman. They returned to the US after their release, and Logan went back to Cairo shortly before Mr Mubarak left. Logan joined CBS News in 2002. She regularly reports for the "CBS Evening News" as well as "60 Minutes," where she has been a correspondent since 2006. She has reported widely from Iraq and Afghanistan, and other global trouble spots.
Appendix III

The Washington Post’s Samples:

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Protests spread against Mubarak

CAIRO - In the largest protest in Egypt in years, thousands of anti-government demonstrators called Tuesday for the end of President Hosni Mubarak's 30-year rule, a cry inspired by the fall of an Arab dictator in Tunisia.

By late Tuesday, about 15,000 protesters were encamped in Cairo's Tahrir Square, saying they had no plans to leave, as supporters brought blankets, food and water to sustain them. Among their demands, posted online and circulated by activists on Twitter, was a call for Mubarak's immediate "abdication of power."

According to the Associated Press, a large security force moved in about 1 a.m. Wednesday, arresting people, beating some, chasing others into side streets and filling the square with clouds of tear gas in an effort to clear it of protesters.

Many of the demonstrators said they were publicly denouncing Mubarak's rule for the first time, inspired by the images of young people in Tunisia effecting change in a region where most Arab countries are led by autocratic rulers and freedom of speech is limited.

"Freedom, O freedom; Mubarak's regime is standing between us and you," the demonstrators chanted in downtown Cairo.

The day's protests began downtown and spread to the port city of Alexandria and on to the northeastern city of Suez, where violent clashes with police left two demonstrators dead. A police officer was killed in Cairo, where Arabic satellite news channels broadcast images of police dragging demonstrators through the streets. For much of the day, Egyptian authorities had demonstrated unusual tolerance in allowing the demonstrations to take place. Organizers said they were seeking to emulate the events in Tunisia, where a popular revolt over unemployment, lack of opportunity and hopelessness in young people ended the rule of Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali. Similar discontent has long pervaded Egypt, a country of about 80 million, where a small, wealthy elite has thrived under the autocratic government headed by Mubarak since 1981, but where nearly half the population lives at or under the U.N. poverty line. The mood turned sour in Cairo late Tuesday when demonstrators clashed with police outside the Egyptian Museum, throwing rocks and bringing down a police kiosk before backing away with appeals for nonviolence. Later, police attacked the crowd with water cannons and tear gas and, in some cases, beat protesters after demonstrators hurled stones, the Associated Press reported.

Apart from Mubarak's ouster, the demonstrators called for the removal of the government headed by Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif and the disbanding of Egypt's parliament. In Washington, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said Egypt's government, a key U.S. ally in the Middle East, is stable despite the protests. She urged the government and protesters to avoid violence. Egyptian security authorities have a reputation for heavy-handedness that is a source of simmering anger among Egyptians. It was not clear Tuesday night whether the authorities would permit the demonstrators to remain in Tahrir Square, a large downtown plaza whose name means "liberation" in Arabic.

The protest started off small in downtown Cairo with a few hundred activists who had heard about it through social-networking sites. "Down with Mubarak," they yelled outside the Cassation Courthouse as thousands of riot police stood at the foot of the steps, preventing demonstrators from flowing onto the streets. In the upper-class district of Mohandeseen, about 100 demonstrators marched through Battal Ahmed Abdel Aziz Street and gathered momentum as passersby joined them. They continued on to Al Tahrir Street, and more joined them, and in Tahrir Square, people came from every direction until they numbered 15,000, outnumbering the riot police.

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The protests in Egypt are the latest and largest in the Arab world to follow the fall of Tunisia's government. Other protests have occurred in Algeria, Yemen and Jordan, and they have included repeated cases in which demonstrators set themselves afire, as a protest in Tunisia had done. In her public appearance in Washington on Tuesday, Clinton acknowledged that Egypt, "like many countries in the region," has been experiencing demonstrations.
"We support the fundamental right of expression and assembly for all people, and we urge that all parties exercise restraint and refrain from violence," she said. "But our assessment is that the Egyptian government is stable and is looking for ways to respond to the legitimate needs and interests of the Egyptian people." Bayoumi is a special correspondent in Cairo. Fadel reported from Beirut.

U.S. stock market falls as Egypt unrest continues

U.S. stocks declined sharply Friday as violent clashes in Egypt injected a jolt of anxiety into global financial markets. The Standard & Poor's 500-stock index fell 1.8 percent to close at 1276.34, while the Dow Jones industrial average slid 1.4 percent to 11,823.70. The declines on Wall Street followed comparable losses in Asian and European markets. Scenes of demonstrators challenging the government of Egypt, a strategic ally of the United States in the volatile Middle East, helped send oil prices 4.3 percent higher. In a flight to safety, investors increased their purchases of U.S. Treasurys, pushing the yield on 10-year bonds down to 3.33 percent from 3.38 percent a day earlier. The price of bonds rises as the yield falls. The stock market's retreat came as the Dow was on the verge of closing above 12,000 for the first time since June 2008. The Dow traded repeatedly above 12,000 earlier in the week only to fall short at the closing bell.

Egypt is central to U.S. interests in the Middle East as a moderate state and a key player in both counterterrorism operations and regional peace negotiations, said Helima L. Croft, a geopolitical analyst at Barclays Capital. If street protests were to end President Hosni Mubarak's nearly 30-year hold on power, "I think there would be a fear that you could see radicalism sweeping across the Middle East," Croft said, adding that the fear might be unfounded. Beyond its political significance, Egypt controls the Suez Canal, an important shipping lane.

Overseas, London's FTSE 100-stock index fell 1.4 percent Friday and Germany's DAX index fell 0.7 percent. Daniel J. Cook, chief executive of IG Markets, said the stock market was gripped with uncertainty about the Egyptian upheaval, and often under such circumstances "the mentality is just take the profits that you've got" and sell. Weeks ago, a flare-up of tensions on the Korean Peninsula caused a similar market shock, but that quickly faded, Cook noted. New information about the U.S. economy also gave investors pause Friday. Economic growth sped up in the last three months of 2010, returning to its pre-recession level, the Commerce Department reported. But the 3.2 percent annual growth rate fell short of Wall Street expectations; analysts surveyed by Bloomberg had expected the economy to have grown at a rate of 3.5 percent. Meanwhile, Ford reported an unexpectedly sharp decline in earnings during the last three months of 2010, sending its stock down 13.4 percent to close at $16.27.

Ford lost money in Europe, illustrating "cracks in the seams as it relates to the future growth prospects of some major markets," said Joseph Battipaglia, a market strategist at Stifel Nicolaus. Even before the upheaval in Egypt, some investors and analysts thought the stock market was due for a downward correction. Earnings updates from big companies had helped push the Dow to the brink of the 12,000 milestone. Companies such as IBM, Apple, Netflix and Caterpillar fueled the momentum with encouraging year-end reports or upbeat financial forecasts.

"Two years after the worst recession most of us have ever known, the stock market has come roaring back," President Obama was able to boast in his State of the Union Address on Tuesday. The Dow, an index of 30 major U.S. companies, is still up more than 80 percent in less than two years, but it remains well below its pre-crisis peak.

Cairo falls into near-anarchy

CAIRO - The Egyptian capital descended into near-anarchy Friday night, as the government sent riot police, and then the army, to quell protests by tens of thousands of demonstrators determined to push President Hosni Mubarak from office.

By the end of the day-long battle, the protesters were still standing and the police were nowhere to be seen. Mubarak - who had not spoken publicly since the protests began Tuesday - made a televised speech after midnight, announcing that he had asked his cabinet to resign. The move fell far short of protesters' demands and seemed likely to ensure that the anti-government demonstrations that have erupted here would continue. President Obama had short a time later that he had talked with the Egyptian president after his speech and pressed Mubarak to make long-promised reforms. "What is needed are concrete steps to advance the rights of the Egyptian people," Obama said. It remained unclear late Friday what role the Egyptian military might play. Mubarak, a former air force officer, draws much of his strength from the military, and any decision by the armed forces to withdraw support would mean the certain end of his rule.

But unlike the police, which unleashed an arsenal of weapons against the demonstrators, the military did not take any immediate action, and protesters gleefully welcomed the soldiers' arrival in a thundering of personnel carriers. Protesters were honking their horns in celebration and roaming freely through central parts of the city late in the evening, in defiance of a strict curfew. The night air was thick with black smoke, and the sounds of explosions, gunshots, sirens, cries and occasional cheers echoed through the darkness. The protests, which were launched in cities nationwide but were largest in Cairo, were the most serious in Egypt's modern history. Protesters have called for Mubarak, who at 82 has ruled this country with an iron fist for 30 years, to give up his position, leave the country and allow fresh elections.

Success in ousting Mubarak would be a remarkable achievement for a group of demonstrators who have no charismatic leaders, little organization, and few clear objectives beyond removing this nation's autocratic president and other members of his ruling clique. Before this week, few thought a mass anti-government movement was possible in Egypt, a country that has little experience with democracy. But after Friday's protests, the campaign to oust Mubarak only seems to be gathering strength.
Egyptian demonstrators are hoping to replicate the success of pro-democracy advocates in Tunisia, who this month ousted their autocratic president and sparked a wave of imitators across the region. Because Egypt has long been seen as the political center of the Arab world, the end of Mubarak's rule would reverberate particularly deeply.

The government had worked assiduously to keep the protests from even happening. It took extraordinary measures to block communications, cutting all Internet connections and mobile phone networks. Overnight Thursday, dozens of opposition leaders were rounded up and arrested. At dawn Friday, thousands of riot police filled the streets of Cairo. Mohamed ElBaradei, a political reform advocate and Nobel Peace Prize laureate who returned to Egypt from abroad to participate, was soaked with a water cannon and later placed under house arrest, the Associated Press reported. ElBaradei, the former chief of the International Atomic Energy Agency, has said he wants to lead Egypt in a peaceful transition to democratic government.

The protests were launched after midday prayers. They started small, with police moving in immediately to try to suppress them. But the gatherings soon swelled, and the police tactics escalated. Throughout the afternoon and evening, security services fired hundreds of tear gas shells, shot unarmed protesters and beat them with clubs. Despite those efforts, the protesters continued to surge toward downtown Cairo and, after dark, began setting fire to police vehicles and government buildings, as well as the headquarters of the ruling National Democratic Party.

Until then, the protesters had largely refrained from initiating violence, choosing instead to chant slogans and wave the Egyptian flag. When tear gas canisters sailed toward them, protesters swooped in and tried to either throw them back or to cast them into the waters of the Nile. Protesters vowed to continue their demonstrations until Mubarak leaves office. "This is no longer a time of fear. It's a time of change," said Mohammed Nabil, a 35-year-old doctor who, like many, said he was participating in his first protest. "We want Mubarak to leave and end 30 years of oppression." Despite calls by Egypt's main opposition party, the Muslim Brotherhood, for members to join the movement, this week's protests have been decidedly secular. Demonstrators, most of whom appear to be members of the nation's middle class, said their campaign has little to do with religion.

"We need a just government. It doesn't matter whether it's Islamic or secular. The issue is justice," said Mustafa Reda, a 22-year-old whose eyes were bloodshot and throat raw from choking on tear gas. Reda said he took to the streets only after friends were killed earlier in the week in demonstrations in the northeastern city of Suez. Protesters there, in Alexandria and in cities across Egypt continued Friday.

It was unclear how many protesters were killed or injured during Friday's mayhem. At one point in Cairo, an armored personnel carrier steered directly into a swarm of demonstrators. A police officer firing from a hatch in the roof shot at least two men. When fellow protesters tried to drive the wounded men away, police stopped their vehicle, forced all able-bodied occupants out and relentlessly beat them in the middle of the street.

Throughout the afternoon, protesters and police waged pitched battles from either side of three majestic bridges that span the Nile. Police would send tear gas canisters soaring from one end of the bridge to the other and temporarily force the protesters to flee. But each time, the protesters surged back, and just after dusk, they forced the police into a full retreat across one of the spans. Many journalists who attempted to report on the demonstrations were attacked by plainclothes security officers who smashed cameras and bloodied the face of at least one BBC reporter. The journalist later went on the air to report the assault.

Many of those injured in the protests said they would not go to hospitals for fear of being arrested, and instead went home or simply stayed in the street. The ranks of the protesters included a significant number of government employees, who used their day off from work to call for their president to go. "All the Egyptian people are oppressed, and their time has come. Enough is enough," said a man who identified himself as a diplomat with the nation's Foreign Ministry but would give only his first name, Ahmed. "I know Egyptians, and they will not stop until Mubarak is gone." Special correspondent Sherine Bayoumi contributed to this report.

In Cairo's Gas and Bread Lines, Divergent Outlooks

CAIRO - As Cairo residents cope with developing shortages for everyday staples, the opinions in the gas lines are vastly different from those in the bread lines - showing both the middle-class roots of the current unrest and a perhaps surprising residue of support for the current government among Egypt's poorest. Motorists who manage to find an open station have to join chaotic scrambles that can last an hour. It's the government's fault, they say. In contrast, the people waiting at bakeries for government-subsidized bread could take solace in the fact that there was still bread to be had - kept affordable, at a penny a loaf, by large government purchases of imported wheat.

Sure, they'd rather be able to buy a bit more, buy bread on the open market and avoid the longer lines and the stigma of the government shops. But what they say they are angry about is Egypt being portrayed as a poor and unstable country, and they defend President Hosni Mubarak as a regional champion. "Hosni Mubarak is the champion of war and the champion of peace and the protector of Egypt," said one man a few steps from Tahrir Square, where the demonstrations against Mubarak's regime continued Monday. Across town, a similar sentiment was conveyed by a buyer who was waiting with hundreds of others to purchase bread, and who wouldn't give his name because he said he stood for all Egyptians. "Write this," the man said. "Egypt is a very great country." But with the banks closed and the Internet shut down after a week of demonstrations, Egypt is also a country where business is beginning to stutter a bit.

Lines are often long at the government-subsidized bread stores - a well-accepted fact of life for those who depend on the round, flat loaves for their subsistence. But now other staples - and especially fuel - are starting to become scarce, with what may be a greater effect on a middle class that is more dependent on their cars than the poor and more likely to have a job affected by a collapse in the local economy. Gasoline shortages and rumors of worse to come are causing car owners to fill up even when they don't need to, leading to even tighter supplies. "I blame everyone who has caused this disaster. I mean the people in the government," Ahmad Haroun said as he jockeyed his Toyota closer to the pumps at a Misr gas station in the comfortable neighborhood of Mohandiseen. He'd been there for an hour. "They're going to face a big problem if they can't get gas distributed in the next few days," he said.
At another station nearby, there were no lines because there was no gas. The last delivery was on Friday, and the pumps ran dry at 1 p.m. on Sunday. "Our source of livelihood has been cut off," said manager Sabri Saqer. "The truck driver was scared to come. Now I'm told a truck is on its way. But as soon as we open, we'll be jammed with cars, because people are afraid."

Saqer said he doesn't fault the protests for plunging the country into trouble. "The Interior Ministry is to blame," he said. "The demonstrators are not the ones who cut off the Internet." Stores up and down his street had been smashed by looters over the weekend; all were closed. One resident said the marijuana had found a stash of liquor in one store and downed it all. Residents said they believed it was the police, or their hired guns, who had done it. Hassan Hegazy, chairman of an import company called Master Trading, as well as the director of the Egyptian-American Business Council, said Monday that Egyptian companies so far were working around the bank closure, managing their cash closely.

The relatively few retailers that are open, mostly on the peripheries of Cairo, told him Monday that they have so far been able to replenish their supplies. But Hegazy added that deliveries in the week ahead could be jeopardized by fuel shortages. "I don't know how they're going to solve that in the next few days," he said. He has heard, he said, that fuel companies may start to send out their trucks after curfew, when in theory the streets should be safer.

The New Market, in Mohandiseen, hasn't had any chickens for a week. The manager, who asked not to be identified, that in the next few days, "he said. He has heard, he said, that fuel companies may start to send out their trucks after curfew, when in theory the streets should be safer. The New Market, in Mohandiseen, hasn't had any chickens for a week. The manager, who asked not to be identified, said he normally sells 50 to 100 a day. "People are angry. They're angry because things aren't coming," he said. "Mubarak is responsible."

Even in the bread lines, where support for Mubarak was strong, people acknowledged that they were starting to hoard supplies in case the situation deteriorates. "There's no problem," said Mohamed Maharan. "But people are worried."

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**Mubarak pledges to cede power**

A continuing cry: Protesters refuse to settle for less than immediate departure. CAIRO - Under pressure as never before, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt promised Tuesday that he would relinquish power after elections this fall, his most significant concession yet to an extraordinary public uprising that has upended the old order in the Arab world's most populous country. But the gesture failed to quiet demands from Egyptian opposition leaders and pro-democracy demonstrators that Mubarak step down immediately, while President Obama insisted that a transition to democracy in Egypt "must begin now."

On a day when popular protests reached a new pitch, Mubarak's announcement left no doubt that time was running out on his three-decade reign as Egypt's president, a post in which he has served as a critical ally of the United States. Mubarak said he would not be a candidate for a sixth term and promised "a peaceful transfer of power." There was no sign, however, that the hundreds of thousands of protesters who turned out in downtown Cairo would surrender what they believe is an unstoppable momentum toward toppling one of the Arab world's most durable leaders.

"He needs to leave right now. We've already waited 30 years, and we don't want to wait any more," said Amy Hashem, 23, who was among the thousands of demonstrators who have vowed to occupy Tahrir Square, Cairo's central plaza, until Mubarak leaves office.

"It would have been better for him to say, 'I love my people and I'm leaving,' " opposition leader Mohamed Elkabir said in interview after Mubarak's speech. "Unfortunately, this will just extend the period of instability." A revolutionary spirit has seized Egypt over eight days of mounting protests, and there were signs Tuesday that the sentiment was spreading. In Jordan, King Abdullah II fired his prime minister and cabinet after days of unrest over price increases.

But there were also indications that Mubarak's move might mollify some critics. Amr Moussa, a former Egyptian foreign minister who is considered likely to seek the presidency, called the announcement "a very important step" that "should be considered carefully." Under growing pressure at home and abroad, Mubarak had been left with very little room to maneuver. His announcement will set off jockeying among potential successors, including Elkabir and Moussa, who is now secretary general of the Arab League, as well as other candidates from a broad array of opposition factions, from liberal technocrats to more conservative Islamists.

With 80 million people, Egypt is the largest country in the Arab world, and developments here are being followed minute by minute by anxious leaders across the region. On Tuesday, leaders could not have liked what they saw. The demonstration in Egypt was by far the largest since the protests began on Tuesday of last week, and the jubilant mood reflected a confidence among the crowds that Mubarak would soon be gone. The 82-year-old has long maintained his grip here through fear, but there was none in evidence Tuesday, with soldiers smiling as protesters peacefully filled Tahrir Square and surged beyond into downtown streets. Protest organizers had vowed to bring a million people to the streets of Egypt, and while reliable crowd estimates were impossible to come by, the turnout was unquestionably impressive. The protests also attracted record crowds in cities across the country, and organizers said a nationwide strike would continue until Mubarak steps down.

In Tahrir, which means liberation in Arabic, flag-waving demonstrators held handwritten signs reading "checkmate." Groups of protesters furiously chanted against the president, their words reverberating across the city: "The pharaoh is finished!" Among demonstrators, Mubarak's departure had seemed an impossibility a month ago, and became a whispered hope just last week. But on Tuesday, protesters spoke of it as inevitable and said they are in no mood to compromise. "The game is over. He can't save himself anymore," said Mohammed Hussein, 27, a physician.

The government's approach to the demonstrations has rapidly shifted. As of last week, protests were banned and the police used every tool in their arsenal to try to thwart them, including water cannons, tear gas and live bullets. More than 100 people died in vicious street clashes. But when that heavy-handed approach failed, the government called in the army, which for several days remained officially mum on its plans while soldiers showed increasing solidarity with demonstrators. On Monday night, the army issued a statement calling the protesters' demands legitimate and vowing not to fire on their rally. On Tuesday, the army stayed true to its word. Military helicopters buzzed overhead and troops worked with civilians to provide tight security, setting up ID checks and frisking stations at each entrance to the square. Mubarak's Tuesday night announcement that he would not run followed another major concession Monday, when Omar Suleiman, the newly appointed vice president, said the government hoped to open negotiations with the opposition. Taken together, the moves suggest that government authorities are anxious for a resolution to a crisis that has paralyzed the nation. Trading on the Egyptian stock market has been suspended since late last
week, and most business has ground to a halt as shops have been shuttered and factory workers have walked off the job. The country's economy, which was already struggling, could be devastated if the standoff between Mubarak and the demonstrators continues for much longer.

Opposition parties have nominated ElBaradei to negotiate with the government, and ElBaradei has put himself forward as a candidate to lead a transitional authority. Protesters on Tuesday said they were already looking past Mubarak, preemptively rejecting any members of his inner circle - including Suleiman - as their new president. But they have not coalesced behind an alternative, and they have studiously avoided associating with any candidate or party, saying Egypt first needs to settle on a plan for holding fair elections. A presidential election was already scheduled for September, although under Mubarak the contests have been heavily rigged and the outcome has always been a foregone conclusion. Mubarak was widely expected to run, although he denied Tuesday night that he had planned to do so. Protesters continued to demand that the United States take a more vocal role in supporting their movement, saying they are unswayed by the Obama administration's calls for an orderly transition of power. Fears of an Islamist takeover of Egypt, the protesters say, are vastly overblown, and demonstrators have emphasized that the nation's minority Christian community has been heavily involved in their movement. Although members of the Muslim Brotherhood - the nation's best-organized opposition group - have turned up at the protests in greater numbers in recent days, the group is hardly driving the demonstrations.

"Washington has been very anxious about what's happening here, but it shouldn't be. It should be happy," said Mohammed Fouda, 29, a software engineer. "This will reduce terrorism. When people have their voice, they don't need to explode themselves." If anything, the tone of the protests has been more nationalist than religious. Protesters have proudly waved the Egyptian flag and swayed to the sound of the national anthem and other patriotic songs. Many said they have felt pride in their nation for the first time as they watched it do in the past eight days what countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere did decades ago. "For 30 years people haven't seen anything good. Mubarak's a liar. He's corrupt. He's a robber," said Maher Abdul Azim, 58, a teacher. "But today, all of the Egyptian people have been reborn. Today, we have our freedom."

Coptic Christians fear persecution if extremists take power in Egypt

With attacks on Christians already increasing in the Middle East, the populist uprising in Egypt has triggered fears among some that the region's largest non-Muslim population - Egypt's 7 million Coptic Christians - could be at risk. Coptic leaders in the United States said they are terrified that a new Egyptian government with a strong Islamic fundamentalist bent would persecute Christians. They are quietly lobbying the Obama administration to do more to protect Christians in Muslim countries and are holding prayer vigils andfasts, such as one that ended Wednesday evening at Copt churches across the country, including four in the Washington area. "The current situation for the Copts stinks, but [longtime Egyptian President Hosni] Mubarak is the best of the worst for us," said the Rev. Paul Girguis of St. Mark Coptic Orthodox Church in Fairfax County, which has about 3,000 members. "If Muslim extremists take over, the focus will be extreme persecution against Copts. Some people even predict genocide. "Some major U.S. Christian figures, including well-known evangelical leaders and representatives of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, declined to publicly discuss the situation in Egypt, saying they wanted to avoid bringing dangerous attention to the country's Christians by appearing to complain or to advocate for a particular political outcome. Their trepidation stems from repeated attacks on churches in Iraq, where hundreds of thousands of Christians have fled in recent years, and from the New Year's Day bombing of a Coptic church in Egypt that killed almost two dozen worshipers and wounded nearly 100. The Coptic Church is one of the oldest Christian institutions in the world and is based in Egypt. "Egypt is the bellwether because its Christian community is so large and is the strongest in the Middle East," said Paul Marshall, a global religious freedom expert and a fellow at the conservative Hudson Institute. "What happens to Christians in Egypt is very significant. Everyone is watching." But not all American faith leaders are bracing for the worst. Joel Hunter, an evangelical pastor of a Florida megachurch and a frequent adviser to President Obama, said he's hearing a lot of optimism from Egyptian Christians who believe the uprising will lead to more freedom and religious liberty.

Many younger Christians in the United States also see the protests as something to celebrate. Hunter said, and older, more politically conservative Christians tend to be more skeptical of Islam generally and are worried about how a new Egyptian government will treat Israel. So far, the protests have focused on jobs, free speech and democratic elections, not religion, so it's unclear what the end of Mubarak's rule would mean for religious minorities. But in recent years, Iraq has lost about half its historical Christian population because of persecution, and Christians have been leaving Iran and Lebanon in lesser numbers. After last month's bombing of the Coptic church in Alexandria, Pope Benedict XVI publicly urged the Egyptian government and other leaders in the region to protect religious minorities. Egypt's Foreign Ministry spokesman said the pope's comments were "an unacceptable interference" in the country's internal affairs, and Egypt withdrew its ambassador to the Vatican in response. Some U.S. Christian leaders said the situation in Egypt might put the issue of religious persecution abroad back on the radar of American Christians. A decade ago, the freedom of Christians to worship in such places as Sudan was a top agenda item for American Christians, particularly evangelicals. But this week, experts said that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have absorbed people's attention. At a congressional hearing last month about the persecution of Christians in the Middle East, Christian leaders urged the administration to lean harder on Egypt's leaders to investigate violence against religious minorities and to lay out a clear strategy in Iraq for their protection.

A 2009 survey by the nonprofit Pew Forum that measured governmental and societal restrictions on religion found that a number of the world's least tolerant countries are Muslim-majority. The list included Iran, Egypt, Indonesia and Pakistan as well as India, which is majority Hindu. Concerns include bans on public preaching and conversion and the lack of prosecution for religion-based violence. Some advocates for religious freedom note that moderate Muslims and non-majority Muslims also suffer attacks and that the problem is extremism, not Islam.

Tahrir becomes central battlefield of a revolution
CAIRO - For 11 days, Tahrir Square has been the canvas on which a revolution has unfolded. At times, it has been an almost utopian scene of Egyptian joy, hope and community. But it has also become an inferno of smoke, strife and death.

As Egyptians vie for control of their country's future, the square has become the central battlefield, with the struggle there playing out for the rest of the world to see. On Friday, the vast, open space near the banks of the Nile remained in the hands of pro-democracy demonstrators, who have vowed not to leave until President Hosni Mubarak resigns his office. Unlike so many of the demonstrators who have taken to streets across the Arab world in recent decades, most of those who have occupied Tahir say they are politically secular - and they appear more disappointed in the United States than anti-American. They have made "cros and crescent together" an informal slogan, reflecting their embrace of Egypt's minority Christian community. They band together to sing patriotic Egyptian songs but hail foreigners warmly and greet them at checkpoints marked by the burned-out hulls of police vehicles with a hearty "Welcome to Egypt." As the government's tactics for crushing their movement have escalated this week, so has the resolve of the demonstrators. When they first occupied the square nearly a week ago, those opposing Mubarak chanted, "We are going to stay in the square." More recently, the line has changed: "We are going to die in the square." For a government that has brooked little opposition over the course of Mubarak's repressive 30-year rule, the demonstrators' stubborn refusal to leave Cairo's central plaza has been a deep affront. The protesters know that, and they believe that if they stay long enough, Mubarak will be forced to relinquish power. When the protesters in the square are not being attacked by pro-Mubarak forces wielding rocks, sticks and knives, the atmosphere here is remarkably peaceful. Men with plastic bags filled with prepackaged food make the rounds, ensuring that everyone has enough to eat. Others meticulously sweep the streets, cleaning up debris from the previous night's battle. Women lie on blankets covering what was once a manicured patch of green but is now a wasteland of dirt and mud. Doctors tend to the wounded, bandaging fresh gashes and snugly tying slings. At prayer time, the chants against Mubarak abruptly stop, and the faithful get down on hands and knees. "Revolution is like a love story," said Alaa Al Aswany, the Egyptian novelist whose writings about the hypocrisy of the Egyptian government and the need for free elections have helped inspire the pro-democracy movement. "When you are in love, you become a much better person. And when you are in revolution, you become a much better person."

But the good mood has often been broken in recent days by spasms of merciless violence. It starts when a roar goes up, signifying that pro-Mubarak forces are surging toward the square. Hundreds of men press forward to one of the square's entrances to push them back. Rocks fly. Women run for cover. Hand-to-hand combat ensues, with frequent gunshots and explosions piercing an otherwise silent city at night. Out of the serum, prisoners emerge. Those in the square say they have captured dozens of men from the pro-Mubarak side who wear civilian clothes but carry police, ruling-party or government identification cards.

Demonstrators have been repeatedly attacked by such men in recent days, with hundreds of people injured and at least nine killed. It would be easy for a mob mentality to take hold. But the protesters show a measure of empathy for their captives. The identification cards, protesters say, show that their foes come from poor areas of Egypt, and many have confessed to being promised a reward if they try to storm the square - usually about $20 and a meal at Kentucky Fried Chicken. "They're Egyptian, just like we are," said Khalid Abdul Rahman, a 26-year-old demonstrator. "But someone's telling them that we're not Egyptians." The detainees are first moved to a travel agency fronting the square that has become a makeshift prison and then passed along to Egyptian soldiers, who imprudently watch the scene from atop their tanks. Rahman said he comes and goes from the square. He said he always returns when he hears that his fellow protesters are under assault, running back with friends and slipping in through the military's checkpoints. But he said he has not yet thrown a single rock. "When I find that our revolution has become violent, I will leave this square for good," said Rahman, a teacher in jeans and sneakers. That sentiment is reflected in a popular chant: "We are peaceful."

Yet the lust for revenge is also growing as protesters continue to be hurt and killed. Days ago, demonstrators called only for Mubarak to leave Egypt and never come back. Lately, they've been demanding that he be tried and executed. On a chair set up outside the travel agency, demonstrators have mounted an exhibit of brass knuckles, switchblades and bullet casings. A sign on the chair reads, "Mubarak's Museum: These are the weapons of Hosni the Butcher." Demonstrators have gathered their own weapons. They have chipped away at the sidewalks, dislodging bits of concrete that they can hurl toward the pro-Mubarak crowd whenever a brawl breaks out. Scraps of metal have become shields, and cardboard boxes are turned into makeshift helmets. Yasser Sayed's right arm was badly injured in one recent clash. He's a 19-year-old laborer, and he's proud that despite repeated attempts to oust the demonstrators, they have stood their ground. For the protesters, he said, survival is victory but death would be just as sweet. "We've had 30 years of injustice, hatred and oppression," Sayed said, his hands flecked with blood. "The people are looking for change. The people have come to die as martyrs."

EGYPT'S MILITARY FEINTS, JABS WITH PROTESTERS

CAIRO - An uncertain coexistence between protesters and the Egyptian military is playing out in Tahrir Square, where early hopes that soldiers were sympathetic to the demonstrators and might come over to their side have given way to increasing signs that the army just wants the people to go home. On each of the past few days, the army has made its presence felt by different, nonviolent means. The object seems to be to discourage the opposition forces who want to keep possession of the central plaza, the iconic center of the 13-day struggle for control of the Egyptian capital. "The military doesn't want us here anymore," said Tamer Mustafa, 30, a teacher who was on the square Sunday. Officers, he said, have spoken with members of the crowd, telling them they're causing "fitna," or division between Muslims, and that this is not good. For a short time Sunday morning, soldiers prohibited anyone from bringing food into Tahrir Square, the scene of nearly two weeks of anti-government protests, though people were still allowed to pass the checkpoints. A sit-down protest began on the street at the foot of the Qasr Al Nil bridge, which feeds traffic across the Nile and, on a normal day, into the square. Men who had brought supplies to be given out to the crowds in the square sat on the pavement, waving their plastic shopping bags in the air. "Sit in, sit in, until they let the food in!" they chanted. They called on everyone who was heading to the square to join them, outside the perimeter, in this new protest. The soldiers, most wearing riot helmets but with the visors up, were impassive. "Why is the military preventing us from bringing food inside?" asked Hasan Affi, who had arrived with a bag of sandwiches, fava beans and falafel. "Is the military fighting us? Do they want us to die of starvation? The role of the military is to protect us, not to kill us." The crowd at this secondary protest grew until it numbered several hundred angry, chanting people. Similar scenes were enacted at other entrances to the square, threatening to spread the unrest outward into the city. After an hour, with no explanation, the army relented, and food was again allowed in. The mini-blockade was the latest in a series of maneuvers by the army. On Saturday, military tanks attempted to enter the square but were blocked by demonstrators. Atef Mohamed Habib, who was carrying a large
bundle of blankets on his head and was allowed to pass into the square unmolested Sunday, surmised that the army was making a show of trying to suppress the demonstration to appease the government. "It's to present an image," he said.

The army's increasingly visible presence has clearly made the area around the square much safer. The stone-throwing battles with protesters sympathetic to President Hosni Mubarak have stopped. Now, stones gathered as ammunition have been set out on the square to spell messages. One said: "We are the people of Facebook." But the military escalation also is a sign that the army is much more in control. It has set up checkpoints at every entrance to the square - in addition to those run by the demonstrators themselves - and its tanks are mostly arranged with their barrels facing the protest. On the side streets leading to the square, some intersections have been blocked off with coils of barbed wire. Heavy traffic barriers are in place, as well as sand-bagged emplacements. The demonstrators are aware that the army is the one institution in Egypt that commands universal respect and that could tip this struggle one way or the other. They are also aware that Mubarak, who continues to hang on, thereby continues to remain the commander-in-chief, and that an outright mutiny by the generals is unlikely. "Only the steadfastness of the youth here, and also external pressure, has forced the military to be neutral," said Mustafa, the teacher. "They may not be with us, but we definitely don't want them against us." The protesters have decorated the military vehicles with graffiti: "God is Great." "The Egyptian revolution will not be thwarted." "Down with Mubarak the butcher." On an armored personnel carrier, a passerby had scrawled a line from a Tunisian poem: "If, someday, people want to live, destiny will have to give way." "The soldiers sit topside, forbidden to talk with the crowds around them. No one at Tahrir Square knows how much further the army might try to tighten control in the next few days.

"The army is afraid of the regime," said Magdy Gharib Mahmoud, 25. "If the regime is shaken up a little bit, then the army will be on our side. But right now the military must be feeling that the regime is still strong."

CAIRO - Over the past few days, journalists working for Egyptian state media have orchestrated a remarkable uprising of their own: They have begun reporting news that casts the embattled government in a negative light. Whether the change is a sign of a weakened regime that is losing control or the result of a decision by the government to loosen its grip on information remains unclear. But the shift has been hard to miss. State-run television and newspapers such as the iconic al-Ahram initially dismissed the mass demonstrations against President Hosni Mubarak asNONEVENTS. As the crisis has unfolded since Jan. 25, most people have relied on Arabic satellite channels such as al-Jazeera and news accounts from independent Egyptian dailies and social networking sites such as Twitter and Facebook to keep up with events. As protests against Mubarak's nearly 30 years of authoritarian rule intensified, state television reported on the first lady's gardens and call-in shows featured hysterical women and men entreating people to stop demonstrating. Protesters began carrying banners in Cairo's central Tahrir Square denouncing state-run media and calling the news organizations "liars." "A day after pro-Mubarak forces were unleashed into Tahrir Square last week, inciting a bloody battle that left thousands wounded, al-Ahram reported on its front page that millions of government supporters had flooded the streets, grossly exaggerating their numbers. State television called the anti-Mubarak demonstrators "destabilizing" forces and accused foreign powers of instigating instability. "During the first 10 days or so, the Egyptian media was shameful," said Rasha Abdulla, chairwoman of the journalism and mass communication program at the American University in Cairo. "It was like they were living on another planet. But in recent days, state media organizations have started to shift their coverage.

At al-Ahram, after journalists signed a petition telling management that they were frustrated with the paper's reporting, chief editor Omar Saraya changed his tune. Saraya, who is close to the government and is seen as a staunch regime loyalist, wrote a front-page column praising the "nobility" of the "revolution" and urging the government to carry out constitutional and legislative reforms.

At state-run Nile TV, after two of her colleagues quit, Reem Nour met with her boss and told him that she could not tolerate being censored. She said last week that she would not cover pro-Mubarak demonstrators unless she was permitted to cover anti-government demonstrators as well. The 22-year-old reporter told her news director that people were laughing at the station's coverage. He told her to go out and report, she said. On Monday, for the first time, she told her viewers that protesters were demanding that the regime resign. "There has been a shift," Nour said. "The shift is happening because there is going to be a change in Egypt after this revolution."

Hisham Qasim, an independent newspaper publisher in Egypt, called the change in state media coverage a clear sign that "Mubarak is slowly losing control." "There's a feeling that [Mubarak] is going down and nobody can help him so it's time to save face," Qasim said.

Pressure from journalists began to increase late last week, after two al-Ahram reporters were killed during demonstrations and the government rounded up dozens of journalists, including employees of state newspapers. Some joined protesters in Tahrir Square, calling for freedom of expression. Some are turning on their bosses, calling them apologists for the regime. But a revolt by journalists was probably not the only reason for the change in coverage, Abdulla said. Senior Egyptian officials must have signed off on editorial changes that have led to more straightforward reporting in recent days. "Nothing in state television happens because journalists want it to happen," she said. "They all wait for orders to come from above." Shahira Amin resigned Feb. 3 from Nile TV after she watched mobs attack anti-government demonstrators in Tahrir Square and saw vehicles run over unarmed civilians, all on Arabic satellite channels. The anchorwoman said she had not been allowed to portray the protests honestly and could not tell her viewers that the demonstrators' top demand was the resignation of Mubarak. Another reporter resigned from the channel a few days later in protest. "We were dictated what to say and we were reading press releases from the Ministry of Interior," Amin said. "I couldn't be a mouthpiece for someone who slaughters his own people."

Since her resignation, she has spent every day on the streets, demonstrating against the government. She said she has seen the coverage change. "This could be the start of a liberal media in Egypt," Amin said. "I hope it's not just a cosmetic change."

State-run media changing tune

State-run media changing tune

CAIRO - The popular uprising in Egypt triumphed Friday as President Hosni Mubarak surrendered to the will of a leaderless revolution and stepped down after 30 years of autocratic rule over the Arab world's most populous nation.
Mubarak became the second Arab leader in a month to succumb to his people's powerful thirst for freedom. His resignation sparked joyful pandemonium in Cairo and across the country, but the next steps for Egypt were unclear as the armed forces took control and gave little hint of how they intend to govern. For the moment, however, Egyptians were suffused with a sense that they had made world history, on par with chapters such as the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. In a region long devoid of democracy and stifled by repression, Egyptians celebrated with fireworks, a cacophony of horns and a sea of red-white-and-black national flags.

"I feel Egyptian, like I am a new person," said Mustafa Sayed, 52, among tens of thousands of protesters who marched to Mubarak's presidential palace to demand that he leave. "I feel as though my handcuffed wrists and my sealed lips are now free." Mubarak's abrupt abdication came just 19 hours after the 82-year-old leader had appeared on national television to declare defiantly that, despite the swelling protests against his rule, he had no plans to quit. He left it to his handpicked vice president, Omar Suleiman, to announce his resignation; Mubarak and his wife, Suzanne, then left Cairo, apparently bound for internal exile in the Red Sea resort of Sharm el-Sheikh.

ad_iconWhile Egypt's new military chiefs pledged to allow "free and honest" elections, it remained unclear how and whether power might be ceded to civilians, after six decades in which the army has been the country's dominant force.

It was also unclear whether demonstrators' success in winning Mubarak's removal might be followed by a quest for retribution against the former president, his wealthy family or members of his notoriously brutal security services. A group of Egyptian lawyers said they would submit a complaint to the country's attorney general seeking the prosecution of the Mubarak family on corruption charges. But for at least one day, Egyptians were able to celebrate, backed by international statements of support. "Egypt will never be the same," President Obama said at the White House. "... And I know that a democratic Egypt can advance its role of responsible leadership not only in the region, but around the world." In Tahrir Square, the plaza in central Cairo where the protests began Jan. 25, hundreds of thousands of Egyptians jumped up and down, pumped their fists, waved their flags, hugged and cried. If the people were nervous about their nation's uncertain future, they submerged their anxieties for the moment.

"I feel free," shouted Nihal Shafiq, a 30-year-old film director. "This is a great moment and it hit us by surprise. It is a new beginning for Egypt after 30 years of suffering." The uprising came soon after the ouster of Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali from Tunisia. Ben Ali, 74, fled the North African country Jan. 14, after four weeks of steadily escalating riots protesting his 23 years in power. Angered by Mubarak's refusal to resign, Egyptians responded early Friday with their biggest demonstrations yet. Ignoring fears that Mubarak might order a brutal crackdown, people of all ages and classes calmly gathered in central squares across the country and in unison demanded a change. As they did, demonstrators made common cause with thousands of soldiers who had been deployed to maintain order but stood by and allowed Egyptians to express themselves peacefully.

The soldiers' sympathies became clearer as Mubarak's end drew near. In front of the presidential palace, soldiers draped posters of martyred protesters over their tanks. Senior officers served juice and tea to the crowds.

Egypt's military chiefs, who had pledged not to hinder the protests as long as they remained nonviolent, said they were taking political control reluctantly. In a statement, they said they were "studying" what to do next, but assured the people that "there is no alternative to the legitimacy you demand." They also guaranteed "free and honest" elections, without specifying when they would be held or under what conditions. The statement was read on television by an unidentified military spokesman in uniform. The spokesman paid homage to the estimated 300 Egyptian civilians who were killed during the 18-day revolution, extending a formal salute. He also said that the Egyptian military "pays our respects" to Mubarak for his long service to the country but did not salute the former commander in chief, who had earlier agreed not to seek reelection in September. The armed forces are led by Defense Minister Mohammed Hussein Tantawi, 75, and the military chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Sami Enan. Neither spoke publicly during the revolution. It is unclear how much power they will reserve for themselves, or if they will hand control to transitional leaders. Also unclear was the fate of Suleiman, a former general and chief of Egyptian intelligence until he was appointed as vice president by Mubarak last month in an early concession that failed to stifle the protests.

Nabil Fahmy, Egypt's former ambassador to the United States, said there was no evidence that the military had carried out a coup. "The army did not take control," he said. "They were handed this power which suggests that this power is not in their ambition and they do not consider themselves to be an alternative."

Fahmy and other members of Egypt's civilian elite have called for creating a temporary government of national unity, or a small council to oversee the transition until elections can be held. "It is difficult to predict exactly how things will turn out, for after all this is a completely new situation that we have not experienced before," he said. "There will be a lot of details and negotiations through a complicated process that will require time and the inclusion of all." Essam el-Erian, a leader of the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood movement, banned under Mubarak, called for the chief of Egypt's constitutional court to oversee a transition to new elections and civilian rule. Some protest organizers said the demonstrations in Tahrir Square will continue, albeit on a smaller scale, until the military agrees to formal negotiations. Others expressed optimism that the army will agree to their terms. "Egypt is going to be a democratic state," Wael Ghonim, a Google executive who was detained for 12 days by Egyptian security forces for encouraging the protests, told CNN. "We are much stronger than all these guys."

The military chiefs pledged to repeal Egypt's repressive state-of-emergency law as soon as calm was restored, but did not offer specifics. Mubarak imposed the law in 1981 after the assassination of his predecessor, Anwar Sadat, and used it as a tool to restrict political opponents. Sarah Lee Whitson, Middle East executive director for Human Rights Watch, estimated that 5,000 people are detained in Egypt under the state-of-emergency law on the basis of political affiliation or political views. Despite the military's pledge, she said there is no indication that the law will be repealed soon. Special correspondents Sherine Bayoumi and Samuel Stockol contributed to this report.

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| | Much faith in military, but many questions |
|---------------------------------------------|
| CAIRO - For nearly six decades, the Egyptian armed forces have propped up every one of the nation's autocratic leaders. But Friday, when the military announced it was taking over the government, pro-democracy demonstrators cheered. The jubilation was rooted in a hope that the military intends to do what it says it will do: facilitate a transition to democratic rule. |
Despite the military's long-standing support for President Hosni Mubarak, it pushed him aside Friday, and a military spokesman assured demonstrators that the people's wishes would soon be fulfilled. Many Egyptians who clamored for regime change over the past 18 days said Friday that the military has been among the country's least-corrupt institutions, and they lauded the restraint with which commanders handled the recent unrest. "The military statement is great," Google executive Wael Ghonim, who became the reluctant face of a leaderless movement, said in a Twitter message. "I trust our Egyptian Army."

Military leaders said they would soon outline details of their transition plan, but many questions remained unanswered Friday. It was not clear how long the military will remain in charge or what measures it would take to restore order after a bloody and tumultuous popular uprising. Military chiefs have said fair elections will be held as soon as possible. They have also promised to repeal the emergency law that has been used for decades to suppress government critics. Many within Egypt's senior officers corps have completed training programs at the National Defense University in Washington. The Obama administration and congressional leaders hope that fact may help keep lines of communication open between the Egyptian and U.S. militaries and give the Egyptian officers a democratic grounding to draw on during the transition.

One senior administration official described NDU as "a revolving door" for the Egyptian military leadership. Despite the prevailing mood of euphoria Friday in Cairo, some Egyptians expressed concerns.

"These are the generals who have been the backbone of Mubarak's dictatorship for the past 30 years," Hosam el-Hamalawy, a popular activist and blogger, said Friday night. He said demonstrators must continue protesting until a truly democratic government is elected.

Sylvia Maier, a political science professor at New York University, said it is unlikely that the military will attempt to stay in power. But she and blogger, said Friday night. He said demonstrators must continue protesting until a truly democratic government is elected.

On Friday, it became clear the military was taking charge, protesters pouring into downtown Cairo's Tahrir Square expressed confidence in an institution that has been revered even when the civilian government was despised. Hassan Abu Baqr, 33, a university professor, wept as he approached a soldier guarding one of the entrances to Tahrir Square just after the news of Mubarak's departure was announced. "The soldiers are our brothers," he said. The Egyptian Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, which gathers only under extraordinary circumstances, held a meeting Thursday, after which its leaders suggested Mubarak would step down. It was the third such meeting in the body's history.

The president, 82, appeared to resist the military chiefs' efforts to force him out. In a defiant speech broadcast late Thursday, he agreed to cede some powers to his handpicked vice president, Omar Suleiman, but made it clear he did not intend to leave office. His intransigence enraged protesters, putting the military in a difficult predicament, stuck between the demands of the demonstrators and a president determined to cling to power. "Where is the Egyptian military?" some protesters chanted angrily Thursday night, reacting to the president's speech. On Friday, the military answered by shoving Mubarak aside.

Abdallah al-Ashaal, a former deputy foreign minister, said Mubarak had limited military leaders' authority in recent years in an effort to keep potential rivals at bay. "Now the army feels exactly the same way we feel now," Ashaal said. "They feel the sense of emancipation." Mubarak and his two immediate predecessors - Anwar Sadat and Gamal Abdel Nasser - are all former military officers. Mubarak's ties to the military run deep. An air force pilot, he rose to become commander of the air force and assumed the presidency when Sadat was assassinated in 1981 during an annual military parade. Mubarak is the first long-serving Egyptian president to leave office alive. On Thursday night, a protester at Tahrir Square scrawled a joke on a placard, imagining a reunion among Mubarak, Nasser and Sadat in heaven. When the two deceased rulers met Mubarak, the joke went, they asked him: "Was it poison, or did it happen on a stage?" Neither, Mubarak responded. "Facebook."

Title: CBC News's Lara Logan Attacked in Cairo
Source: The Washington Post
Date: Feb 16, 2011
Section: Unknown

Lara Logan, CBS News's chief foreign correspondent, is back in the United States after being beaten and sexually assaulted by a mob in Tahrir Square last week while covering the celebrations surrounding the fall of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo, CBS News said Tuesday.

"On Friday, February 11, the day Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak stepped down . . . Logan was covering the jubilation in Tahrir Square for a '60 Minutes' story when she and her team and their security were surrounded by a dangerous element amid the celebration. It was a mob of more than 200 people whipped into a frenzy," the network said in its statement. The network said that Logan is in an American hospital recovering from her injuries, the extent of which has not been disclosed. CBS News also did not disclose the name of the hospital. But a source who has knowledge of the situation said Logan has returned to her home. "I doubt if we'll ever find out" who her attackers were, said the source, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the situation. Some at CBS likened the assault to the "wielding" that occurred in New York's Central Park in 2000, when at least seven women were attacked and some were sexually abused by a wild, cheering mob after a parade. When Logan returned Saturday to the United States, she was described as being in shock and not speaking, the source added. "In the crush of the mob, she was separated from her crew. She was surrounded and suffered a brutal and sustained sexual assault and beating before being saved by a group of women and an estimated 20 Egyptian soldiers," CBS News said in its unusually detailed statement that was e-mailed to the media on Tuesday afternoon. After the attack, Logan rejoined her CBS News team, returned to her hotel and then returned to the United States, the network said. CBS News said it had no further comment. Logan has reported from numerous foreign locales as a reporter, including Iraq and Afghanistan. The South African native has regularly risked her life while following U.S. troops into combat. Logan, 39, joined CBS in 2002. Her husband is Joe Burkett, a defense contractor; they met in Baghdad while she was covering the war. Logan and Burkett own a home in Washington. International reporters came under attack during the protests in Egypt by assailants apparently aligned with the Mubarak regime, but the assaults appeared to diminish with Mubarak's departure from power Friday.

Among the dozens of correspondents who were harassed or physically assaulted: CNN anchor Anderson Cooper, who was punched repeatedly before retreating to the safety of his hotel; ABC correspondent Christiane Amanpour, whose car was surrounded by men and who was sprayed with glass when a rock was thrown through the windshield; and CBS News's Katie Couric, who was confronted by protesters and left the country.
And Egyptian news journalist Ahmed Mohammed Mahmoud was shot to death Jan. 28 while photographing a clash between protesters and security forces. On Feb. 3, news sources reported that Logan and her crew had been detained by Egyptian police outside Cairo's Israeli Embassy and that she had been taken to the airport the next morning and expelled from the country. Her detention came shortly after Logan reported on the stepped-up efforts by Mubarak's regime to crack down on foreign journalists covering the protests.

CBS declined to discuss Logan's detention and expulsion at that time, telling the media that for security reasons, it would not comment on personnel activity or location. On Feb. 11, the same day Logan was sexually assaulted and beaten, according to CBS, she told an Esquire magazine blog, the Politics, that she had returned to Cairo that day, just as Mubarak was leaving.

"Lara Logan, you see, is not afraid," Esquire reported on Feb. 11. "There's no doubt in my mind that the situation we were caught in before, we are now arriving into again," she told the blog that day. As she rang off, the blogger asked her one last question: "Is CBS insured for this [expletive]? Are you insane? '""You know, I don't worry about things like that,"' she responded with characteristic bravado.

### Appendix IV

**Al-Masry Al-Youm’s Samples:**

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<th>Title</th>
<th>Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm</th>
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**Details**

- **Title:** Early Rehearsal for “Day of Rage”
- **Source:** Al-Masry Al-Youm
- **Date:** Jan 25, 2011
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**Title:** Conspiracy by “Security” to Support the Scenario of Chaos

**Details**

- **Title:** Al-Masry Al-Youm
- **Source:** Al-Masry Al-Youm
- **Date:** Jan 30, 2011
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**Title:** Human Scenes in the Heart of Tahrir Protests

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**Title:** Human Scenes in the Heart of Tahrir Protests
مشاهد إنسانية في تقب مظاهرات الحزب

أعمال متباعدة. ووجه متفاوت. شاب في العشرين. وscripción لم يكن يوجد لدينا ماتهن طبالة. أصيبت ربيع ميردو. ورش من كان يتعلق بخلال مواقف. انخفاض على ممارس الفرقة. ونحو من كان يدرك على مرتاح في ميدان التحرير الذي توقف عليه بالكامل.

في 25 فبراير، لم يبق لها غير مبارك. رؤية، رواة البعض أفضل حالا. حال من كثيرين حوله، فقد نجح في تدبير مصادر زوجته. لكن فاني الحائط على دكيل زوجها، يري أن زوجته سبي. برإته الذي لا تقدر على 700 جنيه، فإن أسطورة 30 جنيه في آخر شهور مفاصل الامتحان، التي تذكرها في مدينة السلام.

لم تفتح زوجة ومبارك، العمل بعد المصالح. قرارها المشاركة في المظاهرات، فقد كان حرق في البداية: المشاركة ليوم واحد، لكن قال "لختفي من هناك". ووضع: "نأسفة ما بين بعض الأشخاص".

روماشي شاهد خطاب الرئيس مبارك مؤخرًا، لكنه يرى أن "كل ما قلته قلته. وآلم متناول عانى، وعند فتح. وفقا ومبارك، مبتذل التصور أثناء حارات أحد مجال الاتصالات التي تم فيها في شارع قصر النيل على يد مجموعة من المصرون.

وفي الثانية منتصف ليلة أمس، كان محمد محمود إبراهيم، المقيم في دار السلام، وافق في ميدان التحرير، إبتدأ بعضا مذهلة بالتنبيب. ومشترد. ورش من الزواج، أربع السماح في مطالب إلى أングيز. عن قدرته على التفكير. وди بقية.

الشاب الذي يعمل "حصادا" نظر 25 جنيه يوميا. قال إنه يفتقد بمساحة بعض أشخاصه 200 جنيه شهريا. ابتز شقة. يطلب عمل محمد محمد وسيلة تخلع سريعة، وهو ما جعله يشير "مستقبل صيني". عن 200 جنيه لكل شهور، بما كان. حولا. لأصل شاب من رغبة في أن تكون تفاصيل دخوله التجارية لا تتجاوز ألف جنيه، لكنه أوضح "ما هي قربه". واحدها. وظيفته.

جمال محمد عبد الحليم، أربعيني وفق في ميدان التحرير، وشبت أخرين، قال إن قانون قنوات في المظاهرات لأنه حدي. ووضع "ثمنا لمل كل شمالة"، وأن إقاته بيجي المفرة من ذو الأحداث ورغبته في مشاهدة ما يجري على الطباعة، وكنا الدافع الوحيد للنزلاء الشارع.

محمد "الموظف" في وزارة "التأمين والمعاشات"، يتعادل ما يقرب من 3 آلاف جنيه. ويأتي هو الأخر "كماء".

الشب الشاي الذي يكون أسرته من زجاج وقلابين "الويس" "عسلي". يرى أن خطاب الرئيس أثر أكبر من يومين "حيا ما الدنيا وعند". ووضع "عند عدوى في رجل وقنا ودينا شفق ومكافحة جماعات إحلى حاجة". وأضاف: "أنا وحيد وحالة كده ورثت الشقية التي انتهت فيها من وراثة وسوني. ود السبب في إني أقدر أحسب.

هكذا قال الشاب الذي يدرس كلية التجارة رغم عبء 25 حيا، يبحث عن اسم العمل ودراسة. على تجربته أخيرا. ورغبته أنه "نتيجة كلمة الترويج" للدعاية. قال "مش لكي أكل أو شيء صغيرة". معبأ "عسلي". سيعود إليه في "إفاعف الأخلاق إلى مفعوضة صرامة ويفتح شكره"، بجانب "الرسالة" التي يبحث عنها علشان المناقصات ترسو على الشركة. اعتذر أحمد كلامه لقوله "مش رجاء بيني هذي حبايب"، قاله "منيآ" إلى أثار دماء سالم من جينه".

مشاركة "المظلولة".-

موقف أحمد تجاه خطاب الرئيس، هو نفسه ما عبرت عنه فتاة的品牌 في إجتماع المظاهرات وقالت احتراما "عاداته هو يمشي مسيرة ما انتهت بقولها "في شباب من عهد حسنها وبسبوسة". أما يعرف "المظلالة"، فإن من كتاب "في حي عش يعبر بيتي"، يدعى "جلد النوبة". يعاود "ل إذا نزلت ما بجانبها". إعترفا: "أنا من ثقافة خالق أكثر من 4 أيام من التيار، ثم تعرض له "فهم توقعاتنا ومراجعتها ويفتحوا على علمي. محاصرة ضياع النظام ورة لا.

وفي إجتماع المظاهرات التي كانت في طريقها إلى ميدان التحرير. قال عاطف عبد الله خليل، إنه لن ينزل إذا بدأ اثنين: "سعد ربا" الذي يرى أنه سيجب على مصر مجرد رحيل هذا النظام، الشاب البالغ من العمر 33 سنة يعمل "اتسوري"" يوجد في دهان الأندلس البالغة 40 جنرد، بي يجيب بوعشة لا.

هدا الذي جاء إلى القاهر جافة من الدنيا قبل 20 عملا. قال: إنهم ابراب تضاهر "مش عيز على بيتي"، ويذكرون حضور إقراره، ضمن "المغرب". وحيد في صماعة أهله من المنا، وبنى سوف ونصحه من إجبار الشقة 100 جنيه شهريا.

2011-02-01
Crisis Follow-Ups: “Transportation” (Sectors) Daily Losses LE15 Million, Remittances Ceased... Stock Market, Banks Remain Closed for the Fifth Day

Title: Al-Masry Al-Youm Date: Feb 3, 2011

Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm

Details

Title: Marches Support the President in Governorates... Thousands Chant: “‘Oh Mubarak the Pilot, Don’t Leave It (Egypt) Burning’”

Details: Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm Date: Feb 3, 2011
وفي الكويت، خرج الآلاف من مراكز وقرى المحافظة، وأعضاء حزب الوطن ونواب الشعب والقوى الثورية تأييد الرئيس.

وتم ذلك في مظاهرات تأييد في عدة مدن، وطالبو بفتح مكاربات لحل الأزمة، وأصدرت الأوامر السابق على إغلاق الموانئ، وتم إصدار الكواز لمنع أي مشاجر في المجتمع.

وفي الإسكندرية، خرج الآلاف في مسيرة تأييد للرئيسي، وتشارك الصور في مسيرة إلى ميدان التحرير بمقتطفات ليوم ثورة مصر.

وفي القليوبية، توجهت المئات من مئات المؤسسات إلى ميدان التحرير لدعم الرئيسي، وتم الإعلان عن اجتماعات في عدة مدن.

وفي الإسماعيلية، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي السيناء، دفع عدد من نواب مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية بأسمائهم للمتظاهرين في مظاهرة بكيرتش الشمالي.

وفي سوهاج، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي عمان، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي البيضاء، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي الموناكرو، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي البحرين، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي السعودية، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي قطر، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي أبوظبي، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي bienvenue، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي النرويج، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي نيوزيلندا، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي أستراليا، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

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وفي أمريكا، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي الشرق، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي الجنوب، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي الشمال، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

وفي الشرقاط، شارك الآلاف في مظاهرة تأييد للرئيسي، وشارك فيها أعضاء مجلس الشعب والقوى الثورية.

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Title: Rebels’ Signs and Posters: Hardboards, Cloth and Umbrellas...Flag’s Colours, Martyrs’ Pictures Fill the Square

Details: Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm  Date: Feb 11, 2011  Section: Page 8

Excerpt:

«I don’t think Mubarak has a tv»

-Whether free, on television, with closed captions, or with subtitles in the language of the people — it's troubling, said one of the defendants, and the case is an example of how the government has been unable to hold back dissent in the country.

Excerpt:

«We are not happy, we are not satisfied, we are not going to accept anything less than freedom, democracy, and justice.»

-From a protest in Tahrir Square, where demonstrators chanted “Down with the regime!” and “Freedom, freedom!” and carried flags and posters calling for reform.

Excerpt:

«And the al-Fateh cells are surrounding us and threatening us with different methods, and we are determined to continue our struggle.»

-From a speech by a leader of a group of protesters, who said they were prepared to fight for their rights and freedoms.

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-From a speech by a leader of a group of protesters, who said they were prepared to fight for their rights and freedoms.
▌علم مصر، قال: "عموا، أي الشهاده، التي مكثها من غير نبى، أنا بيتي هذا علماً أولًا لرسى إبراهيم، ويقال: "أوبرى حال الشهاده". وطول مدة جوسها حرصت مهجة" على تبادل الالافات مع السيدات الجامعات فوق الكراسي الخشبية المجاور، واللتي نحن صحفنا إلى السيدات.

وقعت إحدى السيدات لأخفى فوق صدرها مكتوبًا عليها: "أنت نسي الشهاده"، وأمكنت في دعاها الأخرى لأخفى أخرى تحمل عبارة: "المالحة فوق الخشبة، وخلوته صوتها وهم الأنلف الذين اعتذروا في الميدان لم يدع الظاهر "مورو الخادم" سيلعب توصيل رسائله، مما تميز عنها "شلطن خاطري ما تشوش". خليخة واستقال، طلق مصري.

"فرش" البالغ من العمر خمس سنوات، شاركٌ وجد في كتلة الالافات، بعد أن اختار مع أبناءها، قال الولد: "حرصت وأسرتي على السيدات التحرير، ولم تكن صحوة الآلاف التي يحملها عمر، ندعه المعصمين إلى المين عمداً حتى يتحلق مطالبًا.

وفي أركان السيدات تتأثرت آلافات كبيرة الحجم، التي تشمل المطالبة الجماعية للانتهازيين، وهي الالافات التي أعدها الخطابون، يفتحون في إحدى العروض الأنبياء، و trwał عن النظام، وسعي، وحلفاق، والذين يتجاوزون، وإنشاء جمعية لتعزيز الدستور، وحمايتها قوية للسندق عن قل الالافات.

وعلى متن المغازاة، كذلك فكروا عليها كلمة واحدة "أرجل"، وهي الالافات التي مصدرها من المحتارين، أنها كثيرة، ما دوماً على هذه رفعية، البيضاء، وإنشاء جمعية لتغيير الدستور، وحماية قوية للمستقبل مع قل الالافات.

وركز أصلع الالافات مكتوبًا عليها كلمة واحدة "ميش هندي ما يأتي"، دوتنا عليه بعض الشعراء التي تردودها أثناء الانتهازي والمشاركة من مثن، "فطامه" الذي نرى.

اللائح وروادة المواء، نضطر إبراهيم، إلى تخفيف حدة الانتهازي بالطريق، وهي الالافات التي أعدها الخاطرات، يفتحون في إحدى العروض الأنبياء، وكلمته عن النظام، وسعي، وحلفاق، والذين يتجاوزون، وإنشاء جمعية لتعزيز الدستور، وحماية قوية للمستقبل.

وأول أحدهم نسيجية الشعبي بالميدان، ويديعه "حاج" أن تجنب نضارة واحدة كتابة وتعلق الالافات في الميدان، خاصة

اللائحات كبيرة الحجم، التي تبكي عليها خطابات الجماهير، وقال: "أعلم اللجان مقاس 3 أمتار، نشرها مكان من مبان، معانق 15 رجلًا، طالبًا للفت حمله على ع好人، قس تقريباً على 60 جماهير مع رأس ألون الطول، نحنهم، كما أن هناك 12 يوم.

ولهنما هم بعض الالافات التي عبروا معده، وأنها هنا من 12 يوم.

لم تهدف اللجان فقط لتغريب عن مطالب الانتهازي بل حرصت ضعفهم على حمل لوجاً تبتعه عن الواقع الذي يعيش عليه المصريون، والذي فضحه الثورة، ومنها الالافات التي حملها طالب جماهير، ومكتوب عليها "ضادي مصبوأ" في مصر.

وستعمل الالافات لتحفيز على مطالب الانتهازي، وخطابها، ومشاركتهم في الازمة، مثل الالافات التي عقبها أحد الشباب عبرها في موقع طلبيته، بعد أن يرغب أن يحب أكثر منا، حيث يحملوا على الميدان، الفهد، للانتهازي، في مكان الألوان، الألوان، الألوان، الألوان، الألوان، الألوان، الألوان، الألوان.

لإثير الانتهازي، فحصاً كبيرة الحجم، إلى سائر الانتهازي، وأسر المحتارين، في العالم، احتضنا بها من برمدة الحول، واندكت من قبل، في الحقيقة، وكانتهم من ينظرهم حتى في أوقات راحتهم، وهم يتجهون إلى أمل، خاصة أن أم مصر.

لم يخل من تلك الالافات إطلاقاً.

بعد أن أصر علماً في أول يوم عودة الموظفين إلى العمل، أحد الأماسي، سارع المهندس محمد خضر، لواصل تظاهره، واستصل في داخل الميدان، وكأنه قرر أن ينسك عيناً لثقلي، فوق إحدى الالافات "بسيط مبارك"، قال: "الرسوس من أجل الأشياء التي يمكن للناس أن يعبر بها ما بالحال، لذلك لا إ מבص من مسابقة أي شخص يرغب في كتابة لوحه، كما أننا نتبادل للألوان الملونة التي ينسل واحدة لائقة في أعمال مدارة.

آخر الشهيد حمادة يوسف، جلس على أحد أسوار حداد الميدان، وأضاف لائقة مكتوبًا عليها: "مهم الشهاده في قلبي"، وعليه

القرآن الكريم، في نص الحروف، والجذور، فالثانية حتى لو احتفظنا الشعبي يمكن أن يقال على عودة عسكري، أو

Title: People Demanded and Brought Down the Regime: Mubarak “Steps down”, Cedes Power to the Military…Egypt Erupts in Jubilation

Details: Source: Al-Masry Al-Youm Date: Feb 12, 2011 Section: Front Page/Page 2
الجيش: احتجاجات العمال تتصدى للجهد المصري

تم إعادة تشكيل الحكومة المصرية، بعددلية على التخطيط الاقتصادي، وتعزيز التكنولوجيا في الصناعات الورقية، وبعض الشروط الجديدة للتسويق، والهجرة إلى السفارات في البلدان العربية.

ووفقًا لصريح، ووفقاً لواحد من الصحفاء، ووفقاً لبعض الصحافيين، تضمنت الانتفاضات والاحتجاجات المتعددة التي شهدتها مصر، والمواد الملموسة، والتحريضات، والخصوصيات والمواقف، والممارسات المعنية، والجهود المبذولة، والجهود المبذولة، والمواقف، والممارسات المعنية.

ووفقاً لصريح، ووفقاً لبعض الصحافيين، تضمنت الانتفاضات والاحتجاجات المتعددة التي شهدتها مصر، والمواد الملموسة، والتحدث مع الصحافيين، والمواقف، والممارسات المعنية، والمواقف، والممارسات المعنية.

ووفقًا لصريح، ووفقاً لبعض الصحافيين، تضمنت الانتفاضات والاحتجاجات المتعددة التي شهدتها مصر، والمواد الملموسة، والتحدث مع الصحافيين، والمواقف، والممارسات المعنية، والمواقف، والممارسات المعنية.

ووفقًا لصريح، ووفقاً لبعض الصحافيين، تضمنت الانتفاضات والاحتجاجات المتعددة التي شهدتها مصر، والمواد الملموسة، والتحدث مع الصحافيين، والمواقف، والممارسات المعنية، والمواقف، والممارسات المعنية