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Framing Political Change in Egypt: How Ideology influences Coverage

Sara El Maghraby & Yasmine Abu El Ela

Abstract

The ousting of the Elected Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi in 2013 attracted the attention of media all over the world. This study examined how newspapers in different countries framed this political change. Framing Analysis was conducted on news stories published from the 3rd to the 10th of July 2013 in the New York Times (U.S.A), Jerusalem Post (Israel), and Asharq Alawsat (Saudi Arabia). The study also applied Ideological Analysis to examine the influence of different ideologies on the coverage of political change in Egypt and the effect of regions with different political, social, economic and media systems on the framing process. The study concluded that there was a difference in the coverage of change in Egypt in the three newspapers according to their different ideologies.

Keywords: *framing, change in Egypt, ideology, press coverage*

I. Introduction

The news media play an important role in society. They set the stage for political news, manage their agenda and sources and control information. They function as a window to the outside world and possess the ability to shape public knowledge, attitudes, and voting behavior. It is no surprise then that the media are one of the most criticized institutions in world. The prevailing situation in Egypt before January 25, 2011 was precarious and volatile socially, economically, and politically. With a population exceeding 83 millions, rampant unemployment, dire poverty, a high rate of illiteracy, and a ruling party monopolizing both the economic and political life, Egypt was actually prepared to explode. The sociopolitical precedent that produced change in Tunisia was only the last drop that made the glass overflow for Egyptians. On the 25th

of January, Egyptians took to the streets, and demonstrations were in every street in different governorates. After 18 days of demonstrations and sit-ins at Tahrir square and other squares all over the country, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) declared that Mohamed Hosni Mubarak was no longer the President, and that the (SCAF) will rule the country during the transition period.

Since this declaration, Egypt has witnessed major political changes. These changes included the rule of the SCAF, and what the country has passed through during this period, namely many conflicts between the different political factions and between these factions and the SCAF. In June 2012, the Presidential elections were held, and the Muslim Brotherhood candidate, Mohamed Morsi, won and became Egypt's first civilian elected President.

During his rule, the country witnessed many political, economic and social challenges and the gap increased between the Muslim Brotherhood regime and other political parties. These deteriorating conditions led many Egyptians to sign papers calling Morsi to resign and early presidential elections to be held.

On June 30, 2013, huge demonstrations went out in different governorates calling for the ouster of Morsi, and the SCAF gave the President 48 hours to respond to people's demands. However, after the situation got worse, the Minister of Defense, Abdul Fattah El Sisi, declared on the 3rd of July, in a televised speech attended by religious, political and public figures, that Morsi was no longer the President and that Adli Mansour, the Head of the Constitutional Court, will rule the country during the transition period. He also suspended the Constitution and declared a road map to be achieved by all political parties.

This huge political change that Egypt witnessed in less than two years after the 25th of January revolution attracted the attention of countries all over the World, and the stances of

countries differed. Some countries like Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Russia supported this political change and congratulated the new President Adli Mansour. Other countries like Israel and Iran remained silent, refused to stand by either Morsi's side or the military's side and considered what happened to be an internal affair. In contrast, countries like the U.S.A, Turkey and Qatar refused what happened in Egypt and asked the military not to intervene in the political scene.

Thus, the U.S.A, Israel and Saudi Arabia represent prominent models reflecting the diversity of reactions towards the political change that Egypt witnessed. Therefore, it was deemed convenient to analyze the content presented in the newspapers of these three countries, examine the news frames used by them, and compare how their political stances, national interests and different ideologies affected this content. Framing and Ideological analysis were conducted on 140 news stories published in the *Jerusalem Post* (Israel), *New York Times* (U.S.A), and *Asharq Alawsat* (Saudi Arabia) in the period from the 3rd to the 10th of July 2013.

II. Goals of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the main frames used in the US, Saudi and Israeli newspapers in covering the political change that happened in Egypt on the 3rd of July and the consequences that followed this change. The study also aims to examine the effect of the different ideologies of the three newspapers on the framing of the political change that Egypt witnessed.

III. Research Questions

This study examines how newspapers in different countries framed the political change in Egypt and answers the following research questions:

RQ1: How was the political change in Egypt framed in the news coverage of the *New York Times*, *Asharq Alawsat* and *Jerusalem Post*?

RQ2: How were the consequences that followed the political change in Egypt framed in the *New York Times*, *Asharq Alawsat* and *Jerusalem Post*?

RQ3: What was the influence of ideology and national interests on the coverage and framing of the political change in Egypt?

IV. Background

A. One Event, Three Perspectives

U.S.A, Saudi Arabia and Israel differed tremendously in their reactions towards the ousting of the Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi on July 3.

1. U.S.A

From the very beginning of events, the American President Obama warned against military intervention in the political scene, and statements were published from American officials calling for respecting democracy and the civilian elected President. After Morsi's ouster, the American administration was divided on whether to call what happened from the military a coup and cut the aid given to the Egyptian military or to consider it a response to the people's will and continue to give the aid.

2. Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia showed great support to the political change in Egypt and congratulated the new President. It also offered billions to support the Egyptian economy and considered the third of July a victory as it witnessed the fall of the Muslim Brotherhood's regime.

3. Israel

Israel remained silent and refused to give any official statements. It did not show any clear reaction towards what happened and considered the ouster of Morsi as an internal affair. It did not support any part of the conflict.

B. Three Countries, Three Ideologies

The aforementioned difference in the stances of the three countries towards the political change in Egypt can be explained by taking a deeper look into the ideology of each country. By 'ideology,' we mean the national interests of the country, the relation of the country with political Islam, its stance towards protests and human rights, the relation of the country with Egypt, its political and economic stance towards Egypt.

1. U.S.A

It describes itself as a savior of democracy and human rights all over the world, and it defends democratic elections and refuses coups. Since the terrorist attacks that it witnessed in 9/11, the USA fears the rise of political Islam. Concerning its relations with the Middle East, it considers Egypt one of its most important allies since Mubarak's regime, and it seeks its stability in order to defend Israel's security. The U.S.A is also committed to offer Egypt aid according to the peace treaty signed between Egypt and Israel in 1979.

2. Saudi Arabia

It is considered an ultraconservative country ruled by the royal family monarchy. It lacks freedom of press and human rights. It calls for stability in the Arab world; therefore, it refused the Arab Spring and was not pleased with the ousting of Mubarak. After the Arab Spring, it was afraid of the rise of the Islamists and was worried that the Muslim Brotherhood reaches power in

the Arab countries, especially Egypt, and forms an alliance against its interests in the region. Saudi Arabia has historical ties with Egypt as the two are considered among the biggest countries in the Arab world. It is also considered one of the major supporters of the Egyptian economy as it offers aids to Egypt as well as job opportunities for many Egyptian laborers.

3. Israel

It is considered a free country with an elected President and free economy. Israel likes stability and predictability. Before the Arab Spring, it felt safe as it was surrounded by regimes that it knew them for years and it could predict their reactions. However, after the Arab Spring, Israel feared the formation of new governments that may be hostile to it. This fear was reflected in an article published in the Israeli newspaper *Jerusalem Post* entitled 'Concerned but quiet, Israel watches Egypt with an anxious eye.' The writer asserted, "Israel likes stability, yearns for predictability. It abhors chaos. That is why the 'Arab Spring' has been so problematic from an Israeli point of view."¹ Since Egypt is a neighbor country to Israel and has been committed to peace with it by virtue of the 1979 peace treaty, Israel worried from the rise of Islamists, especially the Muslim Brotherhood, as they have strong ties with Hamas. After Morsi's victory, Israel was concerned about his statements concerning his will to revise some articles of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and concerning his support to the people of Gaza.

V. Literature Review

Some studies were interested in analyzing the change that Egypt witnessed in newspapers published in one country such as the study of El Maghraby (2013) that conducted semiological analysis of the Cartoons, published in American newspapers, which presented the transition

¹ From "Concerned but quiet, Israel watches Egypt with an anxious eye," by Herb Keinon, 4 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

period in Egypt from February 2011 till February 2013. The study concluded that the image of the transitional phase in Egypt was mostly negative in the cartoons published in the US newspapers. The transition period was described as a period full of conflict that witnessed the rise of political Islam and its dominance on the rule in Egypt.²

Jorndrup (2012) studied the coverage of the Arab Spring in Danish press. It concluded that demonstrations in Egypt and Tunisia were covered positively while some news stories in this press tackled the fear of the rise of Islamism after the fall of Mubarak and Ben Ali's regimes.³

Pennington (2012) concluded that the 25th of January revolution was covered sometimes positively in the editorials of the *New York Times* and negatively in other news stories.⁴ Guzman (2012) discovered that the coverage of Mubarak and the old regime in the *CNN* and *Fox News* changed during the revolution as the media supported the former President and considered him an ally to the US at first then a threat with bad effect on the US-Egyptian relations. According to this study, the *CNN* framed the protests positively from the first day of the revolution, while *Fox News* only covered them positively later.⁵

Other Studies were about the coverage of the change that happened in Egypt in the Egyptian media during 2011. Among these studies is the study by El Maghraby (2014) who compared the coverage of the 30th of June demonstrations as presented in the cartoons published in governmental, partisan and private newspapers. The results showed that the governmental newspapers did not take the initiative in welcoming the demonstrations and cartoonists in these

² From "Transition in Egypt as presented in cartoons: A Semiological study on US Press," by S. El Maghraby, 2013, *Arab Journal of Media & Communication Research*.

³ From "Journalism's rewriting of history in reporting the Arab Spring," by H. Jorndrup, 2012, *Global Media Journal*, German Edition, Vol. 2, No.1, Spring/Summer 2012.

⁴ From "Stepping Into modernity: Narratives of Egypt's January 25th uprising in New York Times editorials," by R. Pennington, 24 May 2012. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Sheraton Phoenix Downtown, Phoenix, AZ.

⁵ From "U.S. media frames of Egyptians revolution participants," by A. L. Guzman, 2012. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Chicago, IL.

newspapers drew carefully on the worries and fear from these demonstrations. However, after the success of the demonstrations, they became, all of a sudden, great supporters of them. Private oppositional newspapers, on the other hand, showed support from the very beginning to the demonstrations and were calling the Egyptians to participate in rebellion against the ruling regime. The partisan newspaper, *Al- Hurriya wal-Adala*, the voice of the Muslim Brotherhood and the ruling party at that time, attacked the demonstrations and stood beside the ruling party.⁶

In their study, Osman & Abdel Samei (2012) compared between governmental and private newspapers in covering the 25th of January revolution. The study concluded that *Al-Ahram*, as a governmental newspaper, focused on one side, namely the negative effects of the revolution like the economic loss and the insecurity that Egyptians live in. On the other hand, *Al- Shorouk*, as a private newspaper, encouraged the revolution and the democratic change.⁷ Abdel Mordy (2012) in her study entitled ‘Framing the Lack of Security in Governmental Newspapers from January 28th till June 15th 2011’ concluded that the security, law and loss frames were dominant in the coverage of this period.⁸

VI. Theoretical Framework: Ideology and News Framing

Media’s reporting on a particular big issue usually reflected its host cultural, ideological and political perspectives. Because news is a socially constructed product (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996)⁹, culture is a critical factor to shape the process of news production because culture is “the

⁶ From “Cartoons and the Egyptian transition: A qualitative analysis of Egyptian newspapers,” by S. Al Maghraby, *Global Media Journal*, German edition, Vol. 4, No.1, Spring- Summer 2014

⁷ From “The media and the making of the 2011 Egyptian revolution,” by A. Osman & M. Abdel Samei, 2012, *Global Media Journal*, German Edition, Vol.2, No.1.

⁸ From “Framing the insecurity in governmental newspapers from 18 January to 15 June,” by M. Abdel Mordy, Jan- March 2012, *Egyptian Journal of Public Opinion*, Vol. 11.Special issue on Public Opinion & 25th Jan. Revolution (in Arabic).

⁹ From “Mediating the message: Theories of influences on media content” by P. Shoemaker & S. Reese, White Plains, NY: Longman.

collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (Hofstede, 2001).¹⁰

In 1974, a theory of frame analysis was developed by Goffman (1974) to refer to a specific set of expectations that are used to make sense of a social situation at a given point in time (as cited in Baran, 2006).¹¹ According to Entman (1993), framing involves selection and salience. Frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies. Inevitably, framing reflects both the sources that are chosen and the national context in which news is produced, thus also the foreign policies of the countries concerned (as cited in Mcquail, 2010).¹²

Ideology is a major source of framing in the news, and framing is an important mechanism by which ideology is transmitted through the news. As a socially constructed product, news is influenced by a host of political, economic, and ideological factors, and it is open to a fascinating process of cognitive simplification called ‘framing’ (Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad , 1998 as cited in Du, 2012).¹³

According to Massey (2000), ideology is the main variable in explaining the differences in news framing among cultures (as cited in Jang & Sung, 2004). Becker (1984) defines ‘ideology’ as "an integrated set of frames of reference through which each of us sees the world and to which all of us adjust our actions" (as cited in Jang & Sung, 2004, p. 6). Herman and Chomsky (1988)

¹⁰ From “Culture consequences,” by G. Hofstede, 2001, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication.

¹¹ From “Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment, and future,” by S. J. Baran & D. K. Davis, 2006, Boston: Thomson Wadsworth.

¹² From “McQuail's mass communication theory,” by D. McQuail, 2010, (6th ed.), London, Sage Publication.

¹³ From “Framing the 2011 Egyptian revolution within ideological boundaries: One incident, three Stories,” by Y. R. Du & K. L. B. Cheng, 2012. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, Phoenix, AZ.

argue that political ideology and national interests can construct all facets of the news, especially focus on how issues are framed and topics chosen (as cited in Jang & Sung, 2004).¹⁴

In 1995 five areas of ideological analysis were presented: content, structure, absence, style and mode of address that when taken together may help to understand the role of ideology in constructing a specific view of reality in a text that readers and viewers are encouraged to share. *Content* is analyzed through opinions, beliefs, values and other judgments, the vocabulary used, the stereotypes and characterizations of people, conflicts, resolutions and other actions within the text. *Structure* is analyzed through the opening and closing of the text. *Absence* was meant by Cormack to refer to elements which might have been expected to be in the text but which are missing from it. *Style* includes the use of color, design, fashion or genre while, for Cormack, the *mode of address* has to do with the way each text talks to us. Does it speak to the audience directly or does the text use a strategy of indirect address? (Cormack, 1995 as cited in Brennen, 2013)¹⁵

VII. Methodology

This paper was conducted on news stories published from the 3rd to the 10th of July 2013 in three newspapers that represent three different countries: The *New York Times* (U.S.A), The *Jerusalem Post* (Israel), and *Asharq Alawsat* (Saudi Arabia). This week was chosen as the 3rd of July was the day on which General El- Sisi declared the ousting of Morsi and the beginning of a new phase of a political regime in Egypt. In the week that followed this declaration, lots of events and consequences occurred in Egypt that were covered intensively in newspapers.

¹⁴ From "Ideological framing: A comparative analysis of South and North Korea's newspaper coverage of international conflict," by W. Jang & E. Sung, 27 May 2004. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, New Orleans, LA.

¹⁵ From "Qualitative research methods for media studies," by B. S. Brennen, 2013, New York: Routledge.

A total of 140 news stories were analyzed: 33 from the *New York Times*, 51 from the *Jerusalem Post*, and 56 from *Asharq Alawsat*. This study analyzed all the news stories that were published on Egypt during the period under study, and which were collected using the keyword 'Egypt' in the online search engines of the three newspapers.¹⁶

The analysis went through three phases. The first phase was a pilot study that was conducted on the three newspapers to determine the frames used in the news stories on Egypt and definitions of these frames were set. The second phase of the study was the frame analytical analysis in which all the news stories were categorized and analyzed according to the set frames. One news story can include more than one of the set frames. Examples and evidences of these frames were highlighted in the analysis. The third phase of the study was the ideological analysis suggested by Cormack. In this phase, prominent examples from the news stories that reflect ideology were analyzed according to the five criteria suggested by Cormack.

The analysis that was conducted on the news stories was based on the following three categories:

(A) Evaluating the ouster of Morsi or the political change that Egypt witnessed on the 3rd of July. This was concerned with the reactions towards the declaration that Mohamed Morsi was no longer President, that the Head of the Constitutional Court would rule the country, and towards the suspension of the Constitution and the declaration of a road map that would be achieved by all political factions. The frames applied to analyze this category were (1) the pro-political change frame, (2) the anti-political change frame, (3) the cautious towards political change frame (no real stance obvious).

¹⁶ The *New York Times* website: <http://www.nytimes.com/>
The *Jerusalem Post* website: <http://www.jpost.com/>
The *Asharq Alawsat* website: <http://www.aawsat.com/>

(B) Evaluating the situation in Egypt after the ouster of Morsi: This focused on the consequences that followed his ouster. The Frames applied to analyze this category were (1) the positive consequences frame, (2) the negative consequences frame, (3) the descriptive frame (description of the situation in Egypt).

(C) The ideological analysis: the study applied the five elements suggested by Cormack: (1) content, (2) structure, (3) absence, (4) style, (5) mode of address.

VIII. Data Sample

The *New York Times*, *Asharq Alawsat* and the *Jeruslaem Post* were chosen because they represent newspapers from countries that differed in their stances towards the political change in Egypt.

The *New York Times* (U.S.A) is regarded as the most respected news medium in the USA. It is also regarded as a paper of record. In other words, it has an immense influence on public opinion and sets the agenda for other media globally. It is considered the third largest American newspaper after *Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today*. It was established in New York in 1851 and is considered one of the best selling newspapers in the U.S.A as it came in the second rank after *Wall Street Journal* in 2013 with 1,865,318 copies.¹⁷ The newspaper has an international edition, *International Herald Tribune*, which was lately changed to *International New York Times*. The newspaper's website is also considered one of the most read American websites.

¹⁷ From "Newspapers post gains in digital circulation," by Christine Haughne, 30 April 2013, *New York Times*.

Asharq Al- Awsat (Saudi Arabia) was Launched in London in 1978, and it is printed in 12 locations internationally. The paper is often billed as "the leading Arab daily newspaper," and it calls itself "the premier pan-Arab daily newspaper." Although published under the name of a private company, the Saudi Research and Marketing Group, the paper was founded with the approval of the Saudi royal family and government ministers, and it is noted for its support of the Saudi government. The newspaper is owned by Faisal bin Salman, a member of the Saudi royal family.

The *Jerusalem Post* (Israel) was established in 1923 with the name *The Palestine Post*, and then it was renamed in 1950 and as the *Jerusalem Post*. It is an English newspaper published daily except on Saturdays, and it is considered Israel's best-selling English daily and most read English website. Until 1989, the paper supported the Labor Party. In 1989, it was purchased by Hollinger Group; then, in 2004 it was sold again to Mirkaei Tikshoret Ltd, a Tel Aviv- based publisher of Israeli newspapers.

IX. Findings

RQ1: How was the political change in Egypt framed in the news coverage of the *New York Times*, *Asharq Alawsat* and *Jeruslaem Post*?

Table 1

Frames Applied in the Coverage of the Political Change in Egypt

Category	Frame	<i>Jerusalem Post</i>	<i>New York Times</i>	<i>Asharq Alawsat</i>	Total
Evaluating the Ouser of Mohamed Morsi	Pro-Political Change	38.46%	33.33%	73.08%	52.38%
	Con-Political Change	26.92%	41.67%	15.38%	25.30%
	Cautious towards change	34.62%	25%	3.85%	20.63%
Total		100	100	100	100

A. The Frames Applied in the Coverage of the Political Change in Egypt

1. The Pro-political Change Frame

There was a significant difference between *Asharq Alawsat*, on one hand, and the *Jeruslaem Post* and the *New York Times*, on the other, as the application of the Pro-Political Change frame came in the first rank in *Asharq Alawsat* (73.08%) while its application in the *Jeruslaem Post* was 38.46% and in the *New York Times* 33.33% as shown in Table 1.

Some articles in the three newspapers pointed out that the change that Egypt witnessed was a reflection of Egyptians' will. In *Asharq Alawsat* and the *Jeruslaem Post*, quotes from prominent public figures were used to defend what happened in Egypt. Amr Moussa asserted that "[what] happened was not a coup, but it was a popular revolution that refuses the Muslim Brotherhood's rule."¹⁸ Ali El Selmi, former deputy Prime Minister stated that talking about a coup is 'nonsense' and confirmed that the army does not seek power at all and all that it did was only a response to the people's will.¹⁹

In the *Jeruslaem Post*, Hamdeen Sabahi, the leader of the popular current movement said that "the army implemented the will of the people and was not seeking power for itself".²⁰ Similarly, Egypt's Ambassador to Washington was quoted as saying, "Egypt did not undergo a military coup, and it is certainly not run by the military."²¹ El-Baradei in the *New York Times* considered what happened a "necessity of forcibly ousting President Mohamed Morsi and called the western

¹⁸From "Amr Mousa: This is not a coup. It is a people's revolution," 4 July 2013. *Asharq Alawsat*.

¹⁹ From "The former Deputy Prime Minister: The Egyptians ended an occupation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt,"

by M. A. Hassanen, 5 July, 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

²⁰From "Egypt left backs military role, sees short transition," Reuters, 6 July, 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

²¹ From "Officials call to include Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt transition," by Reuters and JPost.com Staff, 7 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

powers to support the country's transition and to help it become an 'inclusive democracy'".²² In addition, the newspaper stated that "Egyptians coined new phrases that better suited the character of their second revolution in less than three years while distancing it somewhat from the military. It was a 'People's coup.'"²³

This frame was also applied through the use of titles that supported the ouster of Mohamed Morsi. For example, in *Asharq Alawsat*, there was a report entitled "Egypt turns the page on Morsi's regime."²⁴ Another report was entitled "Eyes of the Egyptians look towards a bright future after the ouster of the Muslim Brotherhood's regime."²⁵ On the 3rd of July, the *Jerusalem Post* published a report entitled "Ousted from office, Morsi finds he and Egypt don't mix."²⁶ Moreover, titles that reflected foreign countries' support to what happened in Egypt were used. For example, in the *Jerusalem Post*, a report was published entitled "No criticism from US as Egyptian military overthrows Morsi".²⁷ In the *New York Times*, a report was published entitled "Syrian leader is jubilant at Morsi's Fall."²⁸

This frame was also obvious in the description of the Egyptians' happiness with the ouster of Morsi as *Asharq Alawsat* reported that "hundreds of thousands of anti-Morsi protesters in central Cairo's Tahrir square erupted into wild cheering, setting off fireworks and waving flags."²⁹ In the *New York Times*, a news story stated that "the mood was joyous in Tahrir square," and one of the

²² From "A Prominent Egyptian liberal says he sought West's support for Uprising," by D. Kirkpatrick, 4 July 2013, *New York Times*.

²³ From "Even as army seizes power, Egyptians claim revolt as their own," by K. Fahim, 4 July 2013, *New York Times*.

²⁴ From "Egypt turns the page on Morsi's regime," by A. Hetita, 4 July 4 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

²⁵ From "Eyes of the Egyptians look towards a bright future after the ouster of the Muslim Brotherhood's regime," by G. Al Kasas, 5 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

²⁶ From "Ousted from office, Morsi finds he and Egypt do not mix," Reuters, 3 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

²⁷ From "No criticism from US as Egyptian military overthrows Morsi," Reuters, 3 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

²⁸ From "Syrian leader is jubilant at Morsi's Fall," by A. Barnard, 4 July 2013, *New York Times*.

²⁹ From "Egypt turns the page on Morsi's regime," by A. Hetita, 4 July 4 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

most important sources mentioned in this news story was Mary Daniel whose brother was killed two years ago by soldiers, yet she confirmed that "the people are happy and it was not a military coup".³⁰

The three newspapers used some positive terms to describe the political change. In *Asharq Alawsat*, phrases like 'a historical event that should be taught to all the world'³¹ and 'People's revolution and Popular uprising'³² were used. In the *Jerusalem Post*, it was described as 'uprising' and 'relaunch of the Arab Spring.'³³ In the *New York Times*, terms like 'uprising,' 'country's transition,' 'a déjà vu all over again,'³⁴ and the 'fall of political Islam'³⁵ were used.

One can also notice that within this frame, the Egyptian army as the one responsible of Morsi's ouster was praised in some of the news stories. In the *Jerusalem Post*, sources praised the military's role. For instance, the former Israeli military intelligence stated that "the possibility that the army would open fire on civilians does not exist".³⁶ Similarly, Egypt's Ambassador to Washington confirmed that "Egypt's powerful military moved to oust President Mohamed Morsi last week after his response to massive street protests was to incite violence among his supporters."³⁷ In another analysis, the reporter asserted that although what happened is a military coup, "it was in answer to the will of the people, and the army Chief General Abdel Fattah El-Sisi made it clear that he had no intention to emulate Field Marshal Mohamed Hussien Tantawi

³⁰ From "Even as army seizes power, Egyptians claim revolt as their own," by K. Fahim, 4 July 2013, *New York Times*.

³¹ From "General Anan: The people were behind the ouster of Morsi and it was not a military coup," by S. Abu Hussein, 4 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

³² From *Asharq Alawsat*, op. cit.

³³ From "El Baradei: Army-sponsored roadmap re-launched Arab Spring," Reuters, 4 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

³⁴ From "A Prominent Egyptian liberal says he sought West's support for Uprising," by D. Kirkpatrick, 4 July 2013, *New York Times*.

³⁵ From "Syrian leader is jubilant at Morsi's Fall," by A. Barnard, 4 July 2013, *New York Times*.

³⁶ From "Yadlin: Civil war in Egypt is unlikely," Jpost.com, 6 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

³⁷ From "Officials call to include Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt transition," by Reuters and JPost.com Staff, 7 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

who tried to rule the country and failed."³⁸ In the *New York Times*, an Egyptian described the military as "the only other power that stepped in like a big father to protect the country."³⁹

The *Jerusalem Post* was characterized by criticizing Morsi and his regime as another technique applied within this frame. On the 6th of July, the newspaper published an analysis in which the disadvantages of the Muslim Brotherhood's rule were stated. It mentioned that "the Brotherhood plotted and fought throughout the Arab countries – Mandatory Palestine included – using every available means, terror included, to achieve their goal," and that Egypt after Morsi's victory "was drawing closer and closer to becoming a Islamic dictatorship."⁴⁰

Moreover, the former Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi was criticized as his "personal ratings were sapped by an economy in free fall and one clumsy policy move after another. He was fatally undermined by his failure to shake a conviction among the talkative urban elites that he was the clownish pawn of a secret society of religious zealots."⁴¹ His fall was also described as a "blessing for Egypt. It brings renewed hope to a deeply divided nation in the throes of an unparalleled crisis."⁴²

2. The Con-Political Change Frame

There was a significant difference between the *New York Times*, on one hand, and the *Jerusalem Post* and *Asharq Alawsat*, on the other hand. The con-political change frame came in the first rank in the *New York Times* and the percentage of its application was 41.67%, while in *Asharq Alawsat*, it came in the second rank and it was applied in 15.38% of the cases, and in the

³⁸ From "Analysis: The Arab world and Egypt's divide," by Z. Mazel, 6 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

³⁹ From "Even as army seizes power, Egyptians claim revolt as their own," by K. Fahim, 4 July 2013, *New York Times*

⁴⁰ From "Analysis: The Arab world and Egypt's divide," by Z. Mazel, 6 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁴¹ From "El Baradei: Army-sponsored roadmap re-launched Arab Spring," Reuters, 4 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁴² From "Analysis: The Arab world and Egypt's divide," by Z. Mazel, 6 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

Jerusalem Post, it came in the third rank and was applied in 26.92% of the cases as shown in Table 1.

This frame appeared in news articles that refused what happened in Egypt and considered it the end of the Arab Spring. In the *Jerusalem Post*, in an analysis entitled 'The Spring that never came,' the reporter poses the question: after the Muslim Brotherhood's removal from power, "does this mean the 'Arab Spring' is over? Are we witnessing the comeback of the nationalist military dictatorship model that the former President Hosni Mubarak represented?"⁴³ Another analysis asks "what is the future of the Arab Spring? Will the spring lead to a new breakthrough, or simply a reproduction of the old status quo?"⁴⁴

Other reports criticized the role of the army. In the *New York Times*, it was said that within two and a half years, it was ousting the nation's civilian leader. The reporter in this news story described Morsi as having been 'elected freely and fairly.' This news story also pointed out that civilians used to protest with a common chant against the military: 'Down Down with military rule.'⁴⁵

In another news story, the reporter described the generals in the military as "using a carefully orchestrated series of maneuvers refusing to call their takeover a coup."⁴⁶ On the 3rd of July, the *New York Times* published a news story entitled "Army ousts Egypt's President. Morsi is taken into military custody" in which the reporter describes how the military took over the rule. He described that the military vehicles and soldiers had surrounded the rally, that people died and others were injured and that at night the President was taken into custody and blocked from all communications. The news story described also that leaders from the Muslim Brotherhood were

⁴³ From "Analysis: The spring that never came," by A. Ben Solomon, 4 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁴⁴ From "Ziad Bahaa El-Din likely to be chosen as New Egyptian Premier," Reuters, 7 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁴⁵ From "Military reasserts its allegiances to its privileges," by Ben Hubbard, 3 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁴⁶ From "Army ousts Egypt's President: Morsi is taken into custody," by D. Kirkpatrick, 3 July 2013, *New York Times*.

arrested. After that the reporter explains in details the scene of general Al Sisi's televised speech in which he declared the takeover of the rule.⁴⁷

In the *Jerusalem Post*, the army was described as sparking a wave of bloody protests after its ouster of the Islamist President Mohamed Morsi".⁴⁸ Another topic reported that the military-driven plan to resolve the political crisis remained "mired in mistrust and confusion".⁴⁹

In an analysis published on the 8th of July entitled "For the Egyptian army, there's no turning back," the Egyptian army was described that "it will probably continue full speed ahead and not allow the Muslim Brotherhood to eke its way back into power or get into position where it could win elections again" and that the army "has been effectively – and brutally – dealing with the Islamists for years." The reporter also asserted that "it is expected that we will see a continuation of arrests, the shutting down of Islamist media, and trials of Muslim Brotherhood leaders".⁵⁰

Asharq Alawsat applied this frame through the use of sources from the Muslim Brotherhood group in different Arab countries who asserted that what happened was a coup. For example, the Muslim Brotherhood in Algeria considered what happened in Egypt an 'ugly coup' and that it is not the President's fall, but the fall of the military and the Egyptians who supported the military and the coup. Also the Islamic parties in Algeria considered what happened in Egypt a "coup on the constitutional legitimacy" and that this coup "has not any legitimate, political, or legal justification."⁵¹

In another report, quotes from the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt were used as the spokesman of the group. It confirmed that what happened is a "coup against legitimacy" and that "it is

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ From "Egypt's interim President aims for elections in 6 months," Reuters, 9 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁴⁹ From "Morsi supporters return to protest in Cairo against army takeover," Reuters and Jpost.com staff, 7 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁵⁰ From "Analysis: For the Egyptian army, there's no turning back," A. Ben Solomon, 8 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁵¹ From "Brotherhood in Algeria afraid from losing power after the ouster of Morsi in Egypt," B. Ghemrasa, 6 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

impossible to convince Egyptians to return to the ballots after destroying the first democratic process in the country." It also considered what happened to the President as "sins and crimes against the country."⁵² In addition, the newspaper described what Morsi said when he was informed of the military's road map. It stated that he shouted saying, "what is happening is a coup" and that one of his assistants asserted that the President will face the trial to disarmament his legitimacy.⁵³

The *New York Times* also published on the 3rd of July what Essam El Haddad, the top advisor of Morsi and the leader in the Muslim Brotherhood, said: "For the sake of Egypt and for historical accuracy let's call what is happening by its real name: military coup."⁵⁴

3. *The Cautious towards Political Change Frame*

This frame came in the second rank in the *Jerusalem Post* as its application percentage was 34.62%. In the *New York Times* and *Asharq Alawsat*, the 'Cautious towards Political Change' frame came in the third rank as it was applied 25% and 3.85% respectively as shown in Table 1.

This frame was applied in the *Jerusalem Post* to reflect the American hesitation towards the situation in Egypt. For example, a report was entitled "Drama in Egypt: A Semantics Headache in Washington."⁵⁵ In another report, what happened in Egypt was considered as posing "a dilemma for Obama over continuing US aid to Egypt."⁵⁶ Another report stated that while the United States expressed concern about the military takeover, it did not condemn it nor call it a

⁵² From "The MB spokesman in Egypt: No negotiation before the return of Morsi to the Presidential palace," by A. Hetita & M. Shabaan, 8 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁵³ From "Morsi faces his ouster with irony and tells his assistants that what is happening is a coup," by A. Hetita & S. El Sharkawy, 5 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁵⁴ From "In open letter, Top Morsi aide says coup is under way," by D. Kirkpatrick, 3 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁵⁵ "From Drama in Egypt a semantics headache in Washington," by M. Wilner and Reuters, 4 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁵⁶ From "Obama urges Egyptian army to quickly return to democracy," Reuters, 4 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

coup, thus prompting speculation that the United States tacitly supports it.⁵⁷ This was confirmed by the White House Press Secretary who asserted that "the administration would take its time in deciding whether the events in Egypt last week amounted to a coup, or alternatively, a reflection of the people's will executed by a liberation military."⁵⁸

Moreover, in *Asharq Alawsat*, there was a report entitled "American Hesitation and Precaution towards What Is Happening in Egypt." In it, it was asserted that although many American leaders are upset, the truth is that there is hesitation between them in judging what is happening in Egypt, and that some of them are not upset with Morsi's ouster. It was also mentioned that the United States does not want to stand with any side, whether the Muslim Brotherhood or the military.⁵⁹

In the *New York Times*, there was a report entitled "A Coup or Something Else? 1.5 Billion of US Aid Is on the Line" in which the reporter pointed out that Obama's government was reviewing the American aid to Egypt after the ouster of Morsi. The reporter showed the contradiction between the fact that Obama carefully avoided "the c-word and that some politicians in Washington described the event in Egypt as a coup."⁶⁰ Another news story entitled "Egypt's Crisis Finds Washington Largely Ambivalent and Aloof" reflected the uncertainty of Obama and his administration towards what happened in Egypt. According to this news story, it was reflected that although Obama was frustrated by the performance of Morsi in ruling Egypt, he was also deeply concerned about the power in the military's hand.⁶¹

⁵⁷ From "Obama says US not aligned with any party in Egypt," Reuters, 7 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁵⁸ From "Analysis: On Egypt, Senate dissent is leverage for Obama," by M. Wilner, 9 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁵⁹ From "Doubt and cautions from the US about the situation in Egypt," by P. Becker, 7 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁶⁰ From "A coup? Or something else? \$1.5 Billion in U.S. Aid is on the line," by P. Baker, 4 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁶¹ From "Egypt crisis finds Washington largely ambivalent and aloof," by P. Baker, 5 July 2013, *New York Times*.

This frame was also applied in the *Jerusalem Post* to reflect Israel's hesitant stance towards what happened in Egypt. In the newspaper published on the 4th of July, there was a report entitled "Concerned but Quiet, Israel Watches Egypt with an Anxious Eye" in which the reporter asserted that Israel is worried because "predictability, stability, has been lost, first in Syria, and now – for a second time – in Egypt." Then the reporter stated that Israel's concerns about Egypt were because of security matters in Sinai, the impact of what happened on Hamas, the worry that Egypt may become ungovernable, and finally because if anarchy prevails in Cairo, Israel and/or the Jews will be blamed.⁶²

Foreign countries' responses to the political change in Egypt appeared in a news story published in the *New York Times* entitled "Ouster of Egyptian Leader Draws Divided Response." In this news story, the reporter tried to balance between the positive and negative reactions of Arab and non-Arab countries like, for example, Syria, the UAE, Britain, the US, Turkey, the Palestinian authority, Hamas, and Israel.⁶³

Concerning this research question, one can conclude that newspapers differed in their stances toward the event as *Asharq Alawsat* positively framed the event (73.08%), the *New York Times* negatively framed the event (4.67%) while the *Jerusalem Post* highly applied the Pro-Political Change Frame (38.46%) and the Cautious towards the Political Change Frame (34.62%).

B. The Frames Applied in the Coverage of the Consequences Following the Political Change in Egypt

RQ2: How were the consequences that followed the political change in Egypt framed in the *New York Times*, *Asharq Alawsat* and *Jerusalem Post*?

⁶² From "Concerned but quiet, Israel watches Egypt with an anxious eye," by H. Keinon, 4 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁶³ From "Ouster of Egyptian leader draws divided response," by A. Cowell, 4 July 2013, *New York Times*.

Table 2

Frames Applied in the Coverage of the Consequences Following the Political Change in Egypt

Category	Frame	Jerusalem Post	New York Times	Asharq Alawsat	Total
Evaluating the situation in Egypt after the ouster of Mohamed Morsi	Negative Consequences	90.91%	71.43%	54.55%	72.41%
	Positive Consequences	6.06%	14.29%	39.39%	20.69%
	Descriptive	3.03%	14.29%	12.12%	9.10%
Total		100	100	100	100

1. The Positive Consequences Frame

Asharq Alawsat highly applied the Positive Consequences Frame (39.39%) while its application percentage in the *New York Times* was 14.29% and in the *Jeruslaem Post* 6.06%, as shown in Table 2.

Asharq Alawsat positively framed the officials who will rule Egypt after Morsi's ouster, as a report was published about the interim President Adli Mansour entitled "The New Egyptian President Adli Mansour ... A Judge with Great Experience." In the report, he was described as a man with a deep look when he deals with different issues and that he knows well about the administrative and political work.⁶⁴

Another report was published about Mohamed Al Baradei in which he was described as "the spirit of the revolution that went out against Mubarak" and that he is nominated to be the head of a strong interim government with economic and security priorities.⁶⁵ After Hazem Al Beblawi became the Prime Minister, a report was published entitled "Hazem Al Beblawi ... The man who can deal with crisis became the Prime Minister in Egypt." In the report, it was mentioned that the Egyptians' hopes are depending on this economic figure to restore economic stability in the

⁶⁴ From "The new Egyptian President Adli Mansour ... A judge with great experience," 4 July 2013, *Al Sharq Al Awsat*.

⁶⁵ From "El Baradei comes back to the scene and officials ask him to form the new government," 5 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

country.⁶⁶ The *New York Times* also explained the qualifications of Al Beblawi and his positive effect on Egypt's economy. It was mentioned that he intended moving forward with economic reforms, that he earned a PhD degree, worked as an economic consultant and UN official, and he was a prominent critic of Mubarak's economic policies and Morsi's regime.⁶⁷

The *Jerusalem Post* positively framed Ziad Bahaa El-Din after he was nominated to be the new Egyptian Premier. He was described as a commercial lawyer with a doctorate degree in banking law from the London School of Economics, the one who argued in favor of Egypt concluding a \$4.8 billion loan deal with the International Monetary Fund, and that after his nomination, Al Nour Party declared that "he is one of the liberal figures that we greatly respect".⁶⁸

This frame also appeared to reflect the positive steps that the new government is taking to push the country ahead. This was obvious in the titles of the reports published in *Asharq Alawsat*, e.g. "An Economic and Security Councils in the New Government,"⁶⁹ "President Mansour Is Forming an Economic, Security Government,"⁷⁰ "El Baradei Presents a Plan to the Egyptian President to Cross the Country's Crisis,"⁷¹ and "El Azhar adopts Al Nour's Initiative to Form a Committee of Wise Men."⁷²

In the *New York Times*, a news story discussed that Egypt will face sudden improvements after the ouster of Morsi. The reporter described how life in Egypt has gotten better for many

⁶⁶ From "The man who can deal with crisis became the Prime Minister in Egypt El Biblawi Prime Minister," by Hazem Al Beblawi, 10 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁶⁷ From "Interim premier in Egypt could cut subsidies," by D. Kirkpatrick, 9 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁶⁸ From "Ziad Bahaa El-Din likely to be chosen as New Egyptian Premier," Reuters, 7 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁶⁹ From "Economic and security councils in the new government," by A. Hetita and M. Shabaan, 8 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁷⁰ From "Millions return to demonstrate in squares ... President Mansour is forming an economic, security government," by A. Hetita, 8 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁷¹ From "El Baradei presents a plan to the Egyptian President to cross the country's crisis," 8 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁷² From "El-Azhar adopts Al Nour's initiative to form a committee of wise men," by W. Abd El - Rahman, 10 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

people as gas lines disappeared, power cut stopped, the police and security returned, and all these improvements did not exist during Morsi's rule.⁷³

Other topics framed the Arabic and international support to the new regime to reflect the positive consequences that will occur in Egypt's foreign relations. This was clear in the quotes of several sources as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the U.S.A who asserted that "drawing a plan to go ahead by the Egyptian government is an encouraging step."⁷⁴ *Asharq Alawsat* reported that Israel considered what happened a bid advantage as this will weaken Hamas. It published quotes from the *Yedioth Ahronoth* newspaper that Hamas will be an orphan movement, that the Presidential palace in Egypt will close its doors in front of the movement and consider its members as spies, and that Libermann made a call for Israel to occupy the Gaza strip again after the ouster of Morsi.⁷⁵

In the *New York Times*, Israel's happiness was also positively framed as Morsi's ouster meant the end of political Islam and the weakening of Hamas. An example of this was in a report entitled "Israel sees a chance for more reliable ties with Egypt and a weakening of Hamas."⁷⁶

Concerning the Arabs' support to the political change in Egypt, *Asharq Alawsat* published that Saudi Arabia gives Egypt 5 billion dollars to help the Egyptian economy in facing the challenges of the interim period.⁷⁷ There was also a report entitled "Emirates offers Egypt 3 billion dollars as a loan free of interest ... A high level delegation met Mansour and Al Sisi to end

⁷³ From "Sudden improvements in Egypt suggest a campaign to undermine Morsi," by B. Hubbard & D. Kirkpatrick, 10 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁷⁴ From "El Biblawi, El Baradei and the military warn from any obstruction," by M. Shaaban , S. Elyamany, & M. Hasaneen, 10 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁷⁵ "Israel describes its relation with Morsi as 'Good' and fears from withdrawal of the situation in Egypt," by K. Zeboun, 7 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁷⁶ "Israel sees a chance for more reliable ties with Egypt and a wakening of Hamas," by I. Kershner, 5 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁷⁷ From "El Biblawi, El Baradei and the military warn from any obstruction," by M. Shaaban , S. Elyamany, & M. Hasaneen, 10 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

up a year of tension between the two countries".⁷⁸ In the *Jeruslaem Post*, there was a report entitled "Saudi Arabia and the UAE offer \$8 billion in aid to Egypt," and the UAE National Security Adviser was quoted as saying "The UAE stands by Egypt and its people at this stage and trusts the choices of its people."⁷⁹

2. *The Negative Consequences Frame*

One can notice that the negative consequences frame was highly applied in the *Jeruslaem Post*, *New York Times*, and *Asharq Alawsat* as it came in the first rank in the three newspapers (90.91%, 71.43%, and 54.55% respectively).

The newspapers mainly concentrated on the spread of violence that Egypt witnessed after the political change, which was framed in the following titles:

- Backers fight for return."⁸⁰
- "Cracks emerge as Egyptians seek Premier."⁸¹
- "Bloody day as unrest widens the Rupture among ordinary Egyptians."⁸²
- "Army kills 51, deepening crisis in Egypt."⁸³
- "Security sources: Three Morsi supporters shot dead by Egyptian forces in Cairo."⁸⁴
- "Is Egypt on a brink of civil war?"⁸⁵
- "Reeling Muslim Brotherhood vows 'Intifada' after Morsi's ouster."⁸⁶
- "The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt faces the most violent crisis in a history full of blood and

⁷⁸ From "Emirates offers Egypt 3 milliard dollar as a loan free of interest," by S. Elyamany, 10 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁷⁹ From "Morsi supporters continue protests, Gulf States offer billions in aid," Reuters, 9 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁸⁰ From "Mayhem in Cairo as Morsi backers fight for return," by B. Hubbard, 5 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁸¹ From "Cracks emerge as Egyptians seek premier," by B. Hubbard, 6 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁸² From "Bloody day in unrest widens the rupture among ordinary Egyptians," by B. Hubbard & K. Fahim, 8 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁸³ From "Army kills 51 deepening crisis in Egypt," by D. Kirkpatrick & K. Fahim, 8 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁸⁴ From "Security sources: 3 Morsi supporters shot dead by Egyptian forces in Cairo," Reuters, 5 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁸⁵ From "Is Egypt on the brink of civil war?" by A. Ben Solomon, 9 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁸⁶ From "Reeling Muslim brotherhood vows intifada after Morsi ouster," Reuters, 9 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

challenges.”⁸⁷

- "El-Manial district turns into a battlefield between Egyptians after Bradei`s speech.”⁸⁸

- "Sheikh Al Azahar warns from violence and calls the military to prevent confrontation between citizens.”⁸⁹

Some leads were also used to dramatically frame violence. On the 6th of July, the *Jeruslaem Post* published a lead that reads, “Egypt counted its dead on Saturday after Islamists were enraged by the overthrow of President Mohamed Morsi ... in an explosion of violence.”⁹⁰ Another lead in the same newspaper asserted that “the bloodshed deepened Egypt`s political crisis escalating the struggle between the army ... and the brotherhood.”⁹¹

Some news stories mentioned the violence that the Muslim Brotherhood would use as a response to the ouster of Morsi. This was obviously clear in an analysis published in the *Jeruslaem Post* entitled “Dying for the Cause. A prominent figure of the Muslim Brotherhood said that preventing this coup may call for martyrdom.”⁹² *Asharq Alawsat* quoted Mohamed Badie, the Muslim Brotherhood's leader, when he confirmed that millions will stay in different squares to protect the elected President Morsi and carry him on their shoulders.”⁹³

Negative consequences were also framed through describing the conflict that occurred between different political factions. The *New York Times* concentrated on the conflict between

⁸⁷ From “The Muslim brotherhood in Egypt faces the most violent crisis in a history full of blood and challenges,” by M. H. Shaaban, 9 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁸⁸ From “El-Manial district turns into a battlefield between Egyptians after Badei`s speech,” 7 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁸⁹ W. Abdel Rahman, 7 July 2013, “Sheikh El- Azhar warns from violence and calls the military to prevent confrontation between citizens,” *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁹⁰ From “Protests rage across Egypt as Islamists vow further violence,” Reuters, 8 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁹¹ From “Muslim Brotherhood says 37 of its supporters killed by Egyptian forces,” Reuters, 8 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁹² From “Analysis: Dying for the cause,” by A. Ben Solomon, 4 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

⁹³ From “Thousands of Morsi supporters continue to protest in two areas in Cairo,” by W. Abdel Rahman, 5 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

liberals and Al-Nour ultraconservative Islamic party. This conflict was described as a fight between liberals (El-Baradei and Shady el Gazaly Harb) and Salafis (Younis Makyoun). This fight was about shaping the new government after the military's ouster as El-Nour rejected the nomination of the liberal icon El-Baradei. On the other hand, El Gazaly Harb warned that "he will die ... for the separation of religion and politics".⁹⁴ *Asharq Alawsat* focused on the problems that Al-Nour party faced after some of its members supported the ousting of Morsi while others refused, and that the party was facing many resignations.⁹⁵

Also *Asharq Alawsat* was concerned with the conflict between Al Azhar and the Muslim Brotherhood and the efforts of the International organization of the Muslim Brotherhood to push the Azharians to publish fatwa supporting the legitimacy of Morsi and refusing the stance of Sheikh Al-Azhar about the political change.⁹⁶

The negative consequences that Egypt would face after the change were in some news stories framed as negative economic consequences that would affect Egypt's economy. In the introduction to the news story about the US aid in the *New York Times*, the reporter narrated that the White House ruled out an "immediate suspension of American's assistance to Egypt ... hoping to use its financial leverage to press for the prompt restoration of a democratic government."⁹⁷

Other news stories framed Egypt's foreign relations with countries of the world as declining due to the political change. In the *New York Times*, for example, a news story focused on how the US ambassador in Egypt was hated amongst Egyptians because of the US reactions on the

⁹⁴ From "Islamist party a surprise force in a New Egypt," by D. Kirkpatrick, 7 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁹⁵ From "Confusion between the Salafis after the end of Morsi's regime and the support of Al Nour party to the ouster of Morsi," 5 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁹⁶ From Sources: Brotherhood's international organization pushes the Azharians inside and outside Egypt to save Morsi," 8 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

⁹⁷ From "Obama administration rules out suspension of aid to Egypt in near term," by P. Baker, 8 July 2013, *New York Times*.

military intervention on the 3rd of July. The reporter described this hate stating how her image was plastered on banners in Tahrir Square and was crossed out with a 'X' or distorted, and she was insulted or called to leave the country.⁹⁸

The *New York Times* was also concerned with the reactions of international organizations towards the change in Egypt and how this change would affect their relations with Egypt. It published a report in which a top human rights official in the UN was concerned about the detention of the Muslim Brotherhood members and violence and stated that that official called for a dialogue involving all political parties including the Muslim Brotherhood."⁹⁹

The *Jerusalem Post* was characterized with its deep concern about the declining situation in Sinai. It covered the multiple attacks of Egyptian forces and the hitting of the gas pipelines in Sinai¹⁰⁰ in an analytical piece entitled "Sinai's Growing Terrorism Problem." The reporter stated that Egypt and Israel are facing a common threat in the form of radical armed Islamic groups that would like to carry out attacks on Egypt and Israel."¹⁰¹

3. *The Descriptive Frame*

This frame came in the third rank in the *New York Times*, *Asharq Alawsat* and the *Jerusalem Post* as it was applied (14.29%, 12.12% and 3.03% respectively). This frame was applied in the three newspapers to *describe the situation in Egypt without a clear judgment*, in *Asharq Alawsat* there was a report describing the scene in the 3rd of July when the defense minister Abd El Fatah

⁹⁸ From "Ambassador becomes focus of Egyptians mistrust of US," by M. Landler, 3 July 2013, *New York Times*.

⁹⁹ From "UN rights official questions detention of Islamist leaders in Egypt," by N. Cumming Bruce, 5 July 2013, *New York Times*.

¹⁰⁰ From "Blast hits gas pipeline between Egypt and Jordan," Reuters, 7 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

¹⁰¹ From "Analysis: Sinai's growing terrorism problem," by Y. Lappin, 8 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

El- Sisi declared the oust of the Egyptian president in a televised speech in which he was surrounded by several public figures.¹⁰²

In addition, the newspaper published the speech of the Egyptian President Adli Mansour after he was sworn in.¹⁰³ Another report was about the sentences against the Muslim Brotherhood leaders.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the *New York Times* shed light on the ongoing accusations that the Islamists face, especially the Muslim Brotherhood leaders, from the new government. The military's spokesman was quoted accusing the Islamists of violence.¹⁰⁵

In a news story entitled "Egypt is Arena for the influence of Arab Rivals,"¹⁰⁶ published in the *New York Times*, the effect of the change, whether positive or negative, on Egypt's foreign relations was described. In this news story, a balanced view of the reaction of the countries that agreed with the change, such as Saudi Arabia and the UAE, and that of those not welcoming the change, such as Qatar, Turkey and the US, was presented to show how countries differed in their reactions towards the ongoing events in Egypt. This frame appeared only once in the *JP* in a report that talked about the opening of Rafah crossing by the Egyptian authorities for several hours.¹⁰⁷

Concerning this research question, it is notable that although the newspapers differed in framing the event, they were similar in concentrating more on the negative consequences that followed the event. The Negative Consequences Frame came in the first rank in the *Jerusalem Post*, *Asharq Alawsat* and the *New York Times* and was applied in 90.91%, 54.55%, and 71.43%

¹⁰² From "The Egyptian army declares the end of Morsi's presidency in accordance with the political parties," A. Hetita, 4 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

¹⁰³ From "The speech of the President Adli Mansour after he was sworn in," 5 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

¹⁰⁴ From "Latest stories about Muslim Brotherhood's leaders arrest," by M. A. Hassaneen, 5 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

¹⁰⁵ From Egypt's government Broadens its accusations against Islamists, by D. Kirkpatrick, 10 July 2013, *New York Times*.

¹⁰⁶ From "Egypt is arena for influence of Arab rivals," by Robert F. Worth, 9 July 2013, *New York Times*.

¹⁰⁷ From "Egypt opens border to allow stranded Gazans to cross," Reuters, 10 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

of the cases respectively. The three newspapers expressed fear from the struggle and conflict that the country will face because of the Muslim Brotherhood insistence on returning to power.

The Positive Consequences Frame appeared more in *Asharq Alawsat* as it was applied in 39.39% of the cases when compared the other newspapers (6.06% in the *Jerusalem Post* and 14.29% in the *New York Times*) This can be attributed to Saudi Arabia's pessimism towards the end of the Muslim Brotherhood regime.

RQ3: What was the influence of ideology and national interests on the coverage and framing of the political change in Egypt?

According to Cormack (1995), the ideological analysis suggests five elements that help to understand the role of ideology in constructing a specific view of reality for the readers of a text. In the following pages, these elements will be analyzed to determine the influence of ideology on the coverage of the three newspapers.

Concerning the content in which vocabulary, judgments, beliefs, stereotypes and characterization are analyzed, the results showed that the three newspapers applied the content to reflect their different ideologies. While the *New York Times* used the term 'coup' and 'military-led government' to describe what happened in Egypt, *Asharq Alawsat* used the terms 'people's uprising' and 'people's Intifada' while the *Jeruslaem Post* was very cautious in using the term 'coup' that was not mentioned unless a source used the term to describe what happened.

The three newspapers differed in their judgments towards what happened in Egypt. While *Asharq Alawsat* celebrated the ouster of Morsi and judged the situation as a victory of people's will, the *New York Times* evaluated the change in a more negative way and was concerned about the military intervention in the political scene. In contrast, the *Jeruslaem Post* was cautious about the change and did not show any happiness or sadness about what happened.

One can notice that because the three countries are cautious about political Islam, especially the Muslim Brotherhood, a number of news stories stereotyped them negatively. This can explain the reason the Negative Consequences Frame was applied intensively in *Asharq Alawsat* newspaper although the newspaper also applied the Pro-political Change Frame (73.08%). However, in the topics that dealt with the consequences the Negative Frame was applied (54.55%) and was used to present a negative image of the Muslim Brotherhood who will use violence to return to power.

Asharq Alawsat stated that they will remain in the squares, will fight until they carry Morsi on their shoulders, and that they are in conflict with all parties and institutions, even Al-Azhar, in their defence of the legitimacy of Morsi. In the *Jeruslaem Post*, for example, they were described as ‘dying for the cause’¹⁰⁸ and that they will use violence and die in order to restore Morsi’s regime. In the *New York Times*, Muslim Brotherhood’s leaders were cited in some news stories to show that they will not believe in democracy because Morsi was ousted although he was freely and democratically elected. They were also stereotyped in continuous conflicts with the liberals, Al- Nour party, the military and the police.

Asharq Alawsat used ‘characterization’ in order to show its support to the change as it positively characterized and celebrated Adli Mansour, the new President and El Biblawi , the new Prime Minister in some of the news stories. For example, Adli Mansour was described as an experienced judge while El Biblawi was described as the man who would face the challenges that Egypt is witnessing. On the other hand, the *New York Times* in accordance with its concern

¹⁰⁸ From “Analysis: Dying for the cause,” by A. Ben Solomon, 4 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

about the situation in Egypt described Adli Mansour as the ‘mystery man’ that no one knows about, even the Egyptians.¹⁰⁹

Concerning the ‘structure’ of the news stories in the three newspapers and how it was applied to reflect ideology, we notice that lots of leads and closures were used. An especially remarkable descriptive lead was published in the *New York Times* which read "Egypt`s new military-led government enlisted internationally recognized figures to serve its public face and promised swift election ..., but introduced a transitional plan that was widely criticized as muddled, authoritarian and rushed."¹¹⁰ In contrast, *Asharq Alawsat* published a totally different leads which said "The Egyptians spent a historic night full of joy and happiness, singing and dancing in all streets and squares of Egypt. In this celebration, they wiped the dust of two years and a half in which they lived in crisis."¹¹¹

Concerning ‘absence,’ the three newspapers differed in the topics they focused on. Israel, being a neighbor country with Egypt, the *Jeruslaem Post* reflected the concern with what was happening in Sinai, whether the attacks on the soldiers or the blowing of the gas pipelines. However, this perspective was absent in the *New York Times* and *Asharq Alawsat*. Each country’s national interest was also very obvious while analyzing absence. The *New York Times* concentrated on the US aid given to the Egyptian military and the hesitation of the US administration regarding whether to call what happened a ‘coup’ and cut the aid or consider it a response to the people`s will and continue to give it.

The *Jeruslaem Post* was also concerned about the US aid issue as it is not in the interest of Israel`s security that the Egyptian military becomes weak and loses control over Sinai. *Asharq*

¹⁰⁹ From “New leader may only be figurehead, experts say,” by M. El Naggar, 3 July 2013, *New York Times*.

¹¹⁰ From “Egypt`s new leaders` transition plan meets with swift criticism,” by D. Kirkpatrick, 9 July 2013, *New York Times*.

¹¹¹ From “Eyes of the Egyptians look towards a bright future after the ouster of the Muslim Brotherhood's regime,” by G. Al Kasas, 5 July 2013, *Asharq Alawsat*.

Alaswat concentrated on the Arab countries` -- Saudi Arabia and the UAE -- aid to the Egyptian economy.

One can also notice absence in the sources used in the news stories in the three newspapers. The *New York Times*, for example, cited a huge number of Muslim Brotherhood leaders, members and supporters while *Asharq Alawsat* and the *Jerusalem Post* cited mainly official sources and spokesmen from the new government.

The ‘style’ did not differ in an obvious way when compared in the three studied newspapers as most of the news stories about Egypt and its change were published in the Middle East section in the newspaper and sometimes in the front page. About the ‘mode of address,’ one can notice that the *Jerusalem Post*, in accordance to its country`s attitude towards the change in Egypt, used an indirect language and indirect words to show how cautious and unsure it is towards what is happening, and it did not want to blame any side of the conflict. The statement "It was not clear whether the attacks were coordinated and in reaction to Morsi's removal"¹¹² was always published when dealing with the attacks in Sinai. In addition, the statement "It was not clear whether security forces other than the army were present"¹¹³ was always published when dealing with topics of the struggle between the Muslim Brotherhood and the army. In the *New York Times* and *Asharq Alawsat*, the language, the words and the descriptions were very direct either welcoming the change or worried from it.

This research question, through applying the ideological analysis to the text of the news stories (content, structure, absence, style, mode of address), reflected obviously the ideology of each country. The usage of words, topics, sources, descriptions and leads differed in every

¹¹² From "Islamist gunmen stage multiple attacks on Egyptian Forces in Sinai," Reuters and Jpost.com 5 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

¹¹³ From "Egypt`s interim President aims for elections in 6 months," Reuters, 9 July 2013, *Jerusalem Post*.

newspaper in the topics that dealt with the change in Egypt in a way that reflected the respective ideology of each country.

X. Conclusion and Future Research

The modern media environment is more polarized than ever before with partisan news audiences self-selecting into news channels that cater to their political preferences. Moreover, the media bias debate has heightened the overall consensus that the majority believe the media is biased, despite a lack of conformity in scholarly research and evidence that points to the underlying causes and factors. An alternative assumption is that news consumers' interpersonal factors such as ideology and perceptions of bias cause the notion that the media is biased.

The study concluded that ideology affected the framing of Egypt's political change in the newspapers under study. The results of the study confirm what was suggested in 1998 by Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad, namely that ideology is a major source of framing in the news, and that framing is an important mechanism by which ideology is transmitted.

Very few issues can spark more controversy than claims of media bias in political news. Arguably, claims of media bias that ignite such fumes are influenced by the very ideologies and partisanship that pundits, scholars, journalists and politicians hold. For these reasons, the discussion typically produces more confusion than clarity. The debate over whether, how, and to what extent do media bias their news content began decades ago. All the while, the arguments have escalated and intensified several questions. Does media bias exist and if so, in what direction? Does media bias influence opinions and attitudes of individuals? Did individuals' perceptions of bias bolster publics' cynicism in the media? Whatever the question is, different explanations have been made.

The study suggests further research on different newspapers in different countries with different ideologies and relations to Egypt. We suggest studying, for example, press in China, Russia and Turkey and the effect of their ideologies on the coverage of the change that Egypt witnessed on the 3rd of July. We also suggest conducting similar research on the same newspapers that we analyzed to compare between these newspapers in covering the Presidential elections that Egypt witnessed in which General El- Sisi won as well as the other political steps that will follow, for example parliamentary elections, etc. To widen the perspective a little, we suggest further research using the same methodology and theory to analyze changes in other Arab countries. More researches on Arabic newspapers should be conducted applying the ideological analysis as little researches are applying this tool of analysis.

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