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The Coverage of Egypt's Revolution in the Egyptian, American and Israeli Newspapers

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Chapter 1

The Roots of the Revolution

The precursors to the Egyptian revolution started on 17th January 2011, following the ousting of the Tunisian President. Many Egyptians realized that the overthrow of a ruling regime was possible. Some people tried to commit suicide in imitation of the suicide of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia, a young fruit seller who set himself alight in the town of Sidi Bouzid in December 2010 in protest at the corruption and his inability to make a living.

Activists and political groups invited people to demonstrate on 25th January “National Police Day”, to protest against the political, economic and social situation in Egypt. On that day, Egypt witnessed unprecedented anti-government demonstrations which continued for the next few days. The government blocked Face book and Twitter on 27th January, and also cut off all access to the networks and shut down the mobile phone services on the next day known as “Anger Friday”¹, which witnessed mass demonstrations across the country. Millions of protesters from a variety of socio-economic and religious backgrounds demanded the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak’s regime. The police killed about 840 persons and injured 6,000 in their efforts to suppress the demonstrations².

On the night of ‘Anger Friday’, Mubarak sacked the cabinet and appointed a deputy president for the first time. He appointed the chief of the Egyptian General Intelligence, Omar Suleiman, to the post of vice president and appointed the

¹KarimaKhalil ,*Messages from Tahrir : signs from Egypt's revolution* , Cairo, The American University In Cairo Press, 2011, p8

² <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/node/385140>

former minister of civil aviation Ahmad Shafiq, as prime minister, but the people refused to cease their demonstrations until they had toppled the ruling regime, especially after they became aware of the huge number of victims of a bloody massacre by the police when they staged a sit-in in Tahrir Square.³ On 1st February, over a million people gathered to participate in a huge demonstration in the square. Mubarak declared, that night, he would not run for his sixth term at the next presidential election.⁴ The next day, Mubarak's supporters stormed the square on camels and horsebacks to attack the demonstrators. The battle lasted until the following morning and enraged the people, who insisted on continuing their protest.⁵ After 18 days of this popular uprising, on 11th February, Mubarak stepped down and handed over power to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces.⁶

Hosni Mubarak had monopolized power for 30 years through rigged elections and was aiming to hand the presidency over to his son, Gamal. According to the Constitution, the President had the power both to appoint and dismiss the prime minister, his deputies, the ministers and their deputies. In Mubarak's era, some politicians held their positions from the early 1980's until they were ousted. According to law 46 of 1972, the president was responsible for appointing the judges of the court of Cessation and Supreme Court as well as the public prosecutor and the attorney general.⁷

³ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/2011129155142145826.html>

⁴ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/blog/2011/feb/01/egypt-protests-live-updates>

⁵ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1352923/Egypt-crisis-Riots-death-toll-300-Hosni-Mubarak-mob-moves-8th-day.html>

⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12433045>

⁷ MayeKassem, *Egyptian politics: the dynamics of authoritarian rule*, London, Lynne Rienner, 2004, p27, 28,36.

The level of government corruption was unprecedented in Egypt's history. The Guardian newspaper published a report on 4th February 2011 that estimated the Mubarak family fortune to be US\$70 billion. The assets of a minister in the Mubarak government or a leader of his National Party were estimated to amount to billions of Egyptian pounds.⁸ At same time, 41% of the Egyptian population was living in poverty, according to a human development report in 2010.⁹

Furthermore, the Ministry of the Interior employed torture to extract information or force confessions. The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights documented 30 cases of torture during 2009. It also documented 567 cases of torture, including 167 deaths, by police between 1993 and 2007.¹⁰

Egypt had witnessed deterioration in all areas of life. According to one source, the number of people who died during a ferry accident on 13 February 2006, in burning trains, and in collapsed buildings was higher than the total number of people who have died in all of the wars that Egypt has ever fought.¹¹

Egypt's relationship with the United States and Israel:

“For nearly 35 years, Egypt has kept saying yes without deviation to whatever the United States asks of it: in its foreign policy, its policy toward the Arabs, its relation with Israel and its economic policy. The result has been a

⁸ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/04/hosni-mubarak-family-fortune>

⁹ <http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/6F413DF0-B4E7-4BDA-8D14-492BFC5682B0.htm>

¹⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Egyptian_revolution

¹¹ -Alaa Al Aswany, *On the state of Egypt: what caused the revolution*, Edinburgh, New York Canongate, 2011

continuous decline in Egypt's political and economic standing internationally and within the Arab world while Israel has been increasing its gains at Egypt's and Arab expense", wrote Egyptian Professor Galal Amin in his book, "Egypt in the Era of Hosni Mubarak 1981-2011".¹²

Mubarak's government was a very close ally of the United States and Israel, which meant that ousting his government might threaten American and Israeli interests in the Middle East. The United States tried to support Mubarak's regime when the revolution began. In early January, US secretary of State Hillary Clinton stated that "the Egyptian government was stable and looking for ways to respond to the legitimate needs and interests of the Egyptian people".¹³ Vice-President Joe Biden commented: "Mubarak has been an ally of ours in a number of things and he has been very responsible on normalizing relationship with Israel...I would not refer to him as a dictator".¹⁴

However, the American administration's language changed gradually with the continuation of the demonstrations in Egypt. After several days, Secretary Clinton called for "an orderly transition to a democratic government". She stated: "We want to see this peaceful uprising on the part of the Egyptian people to demand their rights in a very clear, unambiguous way by the government, and then a process of national dialogue will lead to the changes that the Egyptian people seek and that they deserve."¹⁵ On 1st February, President Barack Obama told Hosni

¹² Galal Amin, *Egypt in the Era of Hosni Mubarak 1981-2011*, Cairo, the American University in Cairo Press, 2011, p115, p 167

¹³ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12323751>

¹⁴ Lloyd C. Gardner, *the Road to TahrirSquare: Egypt and the United States from the Rise of Nasser to the Fall of Mubarak*, London, Saqi Books, 2011, p186, 193

¹⁵ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12323751>

Mubarak that the status quo was unsustainable, and that an orderly, peaceful transition must begin immediately. Obama described events in Egypt as the beginning of a new chapter in the history of a great country, and a longtime partner of the United States.¹⁶ In March, Hillary Clinton visited Egypt and invited the Revolution Youth Coalition to a meeting, but they refused to attend due to the Obama Administration's stance towards the Egyptian revolution at the beginning.¹⁷

Israeli President Shimon Peres summarized his country's attitude towards Egypt as follows: "Mubarak's contribution to peace will never be forgotten. I thank him for saving many people's lives by preventing war. The biggest problem isn't changing the government but changing the face of a country as poor as Egypt".¹⁸ This comment helps to explain why Israel was concerned about the events in Egypt, especially as Israelis were not allowed by the protestors to enter Tahrir Square. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the Israeli Foreign Minister announced, on 28th January, that they were keeping track of the situation in Egypt. A Labour member of the Knesset, Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, stated that 'all we can do is express our support for Mubarak and hope the riots pass quietly'.¹⁹

The Egyptian-Israeli relationship changed after the ousting of Mubarak. People demonstrated in front of the Israeli embassy in Giza on 8th April 2011, for the first time since the Camp David accords, to protest against the Israeli attack on Gaza. They demanded an end to the export of gas to Israel, a breaking of

¹⁶ <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/Obama-Tells-Mubarak-that-Transition-Must-Begin-Now-115068399.html>

¹⁷ http://www.masrawy.com/news/egypt/politics/2011/march/14/hiraly_cli.aspx?ref=buble

¹⁸ <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4024283,00.html>

¹⁹ <http://www.jpost.com/MiddleEast/Article.aspx?id=205389>

diplomatic relations with Israel and open borders with the Gaza strip.²⁰ Some demonstrators demanded the cancelation of the Camp David Accords. Relations deteriorated further after five Egyptian border guards were killed in Sinai during an Israeli military operation on 18th August 2011. Thousands demonstrated in front of the Israeli embassy in Giza, then protesters stormed the embassy which led to more violent clashes with the security forces. Three people were killed and 1,050 were injured during these clashes.²¹ Protestors staged a sit-in in front of the embassy and the Israeli ambassador's house in Cairo to demand the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Israel. The Israeli ambassador, Yitzhak Levanon, and more than 80 others fled from Cairo to Israel, leaving one diplomat behind.²²

Newspapers play an essential role in shaping world public opinion. There were clear differences between the coverage of the Egyptian revolution in different newspapers due to a wide variety of factors, such as the newspapers' political stance, the journalists' background, information sources, government policies, the law and censorship. This research aims to map and then analyze the differences between this coverage in a selection of Egyptian, American and Israeli newspapers. It aims to address four main questions:

1) What is the difference in the amount of coverage allocated by each newspaper to the Egyptian revolution in the period from 17th January to 19th February 2011?

²⁰ http://www.masrawy.com/News/Egypt/Politics/2011/april/8/israel_mozah.aspx

²¹ <http://www.alamalyawm.com/ArticleDetail.aspx?artid=197630>

²² <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14603812>

2) What were the main sources that the newspapers used when covering the events of this period?

3) What were the other indicators of bias in the reporting of the events of this period with regard to?

The language used (e.g. 'rioters' rather than 'demonstrators')

The decisions about what to report and what not to report: i) events (e.g. clashes, demonstrations) and ii) particular details (e.g. number of victims)

4) Which factors influenced the coverage of the revolution?

Chapter2

The Theoretical Framework

Framing:

‘Framing’ in mass communication refers to the process whereby meaning is given to an account of a political issue or event. It is a result of the complex interplay among the political elites, individual journalists, new organizations, professional norms and practices, and the broader culture and ideology (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). By structuring press accounts around a certain frame, journalists can shape the audience’s interpretations of a particular issue or event (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). There is a growing consensus that framing effects are not direct, but involve a complicated interaction between the audience characteristics, the message, and other contextual factors.²³

The media shape our perception of the political world, often subconsciously. Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley define framing as “the process by which a communication source...defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy”. Framing can be very subtle. It looks at how the media cover an event once they decide it is news. It is how the story is packaged, and with what set of issues is it catalogued?²⁴

Framing is the process by which sense is made of events. When we read a newspaper or watch TV or a film, we are living vicariously: we are not actually

²³ Robin L. Nabi, Mary Beth Oliver, *The SAGE handbook of media processes and effects*, Los Angeles, Calif, SAGE publications, Inc, , 2009 p86,90

²⁴ Jeremy D. Mayer, *American Media Politics in Transition*, Boston, Mass. ; London : McGraw Hill, 2008, p67

experiencing, at firsthand, the event that we are reading about or seeing. Instead, we are experiencing a mediated form of communication in which images and words supply us with information that shapes our perceptions of the world around us. The media selectively frame the world and these frames manipulate salience, meaning that media audiences are directed to consider certain features or key points and to ignore or minimize others. Media framing is the process by which information and entertainment are packaged by the media before being presented to an audience. This process includes factors such as the amount of exposure given to a story, where it is placed, the positive or negative tone it conveys, and its accompanying headlines, photographs, or other visual and auditory effects.²⁵

Framing theory aims to identify schemes in which individuals perceive the world. Frames help us to interpret and reconstruct reality. Media researchers find framing theory helpful when analyzing the imbalances and underlying power structures that mediate political issues. The use of framing theory not only identifies the different framings of one story across a number of news outlets, but also allows us to detect journalistic bias.²⁶

Gate Keeping Theory:

Gate keeping is the process by which selections are made in media work, especially decisions regarding whether or not to admit a particular news story to pass through the gates of a news medium into the news channels. The social psychologist Kurt Lewin (1974) noted that information has to flow along certain

²⁵Diana Kendall, *Framing class:media presentations of wealth and poverty in America*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield publishers, INC. 2005,p7

²⁶ Stephen W. Littlejohn, Karen A. Foss, *Encyclopedia of communication theory*, printed in the United States, California, SAGE publications, Inc. 2009 p407, 408

channels which contain gate areas, where decisions are made, under the influence of various favourable or unfavourable forces.²⁷

The gate keeping concept has a built-in limitation in its implication that news arrives in a ready-made, unproblematic event-story form at the gates of the media, where it is either admitted or excluded. The selection of news is not random and subjective. It takes place largely according to a scheme of interpretation and of relevance belonging to the bureaucratic institutions that are the sources of news or that process events.²⁸

A small number of journalists have the final control over the story choices. The media gatekeepers are not entirely free in their story choices. The coverage of major events, such as wars, assassinations, and plane hijackings, is almost mandatory. The gate keepers also select the sources through whose eyes the public views the world.²⁹

²⁷ Denis McQuail , *Mass communication theory: introduction*, London, SAGE, 1994 p213

²⁸ Denis McQuail , *Mass communication theory: introduction*, London, SAGE, 1994 p214,215

²⁹ Doris A. Graber, *Mass Media and American Politics*, Washington, CQ press, , 2006 p92

Chapter3

The Status of the Egyptian Newspapers

This research focuses on the status of newspapers during ousted president Hosni Mubarak's time.

According to their ownership, the newspapers in Egypt were classified as state-owned, opposition party or privately-owned.³⁰

The State-Owned Newspapers:

In theory, the state-owned newspapers were not a government institution per se, but a public enterprise, owned by the Shura Council "Consultative Assembly", which controlled the state-owned press on behalf of the Egyptian people.³¹ In official terms, the hiring and firing of leaders in the state-owned newspapers fell under the jurisdiction of the Shura Council and its heads. In reality, the Shura Council was a front for the presidential office. The president dictated to the head of the council who got these posts, and, usually, the lucky ones were journalists who maintained close ties with Mubarak and his office. As in most sectors of the Egyptian political system, the substance of politics in the state-press relation did not usually have a formal structure, but was operated through informal and patrimonial networks.³²

³⁰ Ashraf Ramadan Abdul Hamid, Press freedom "analytical study on the Egyptian Jurisprudence and comparative law, Cairo, Dar Al Nahda, 2004,p78

³¹ MamounFandy,(Un)*Civil War of Words :Media and Politics in the Arab World*, Westport, Praeger Security International,2007, p21

³² MamounFandy,(Un)*Civil War of Words :Media and Politics in the Arab World*, Westport,Praeger Security International,2007, P24

The state-owned newspapers' leaders might be non-professionals, which deprived these newspapers of professional journalists. The leaders had the absolute power to punish or reward journalists without justifications.³³

Saad Hagrass wrote in his article in Al-Ahaly opposition newspaper: "there was big ambiguity in the economics of state-owned newspapers and lack of information on their financial status". He cited a report by the central administration for financial monitoring, which had concluded that the state-owned newspapers always lost money and that these debts were increasing. Hagrass added that one of the main reasons for the deterioration of the state-owned newspapers' economies was the appointment of their leaders based on their political loyalty rather than their professional and managerial efficiency. The government had kept these leaders in positions for many years without supervision or control, in violation of the law. Those newspapers had turned into private estates and corruption hotbeds for looting public money. Hagrass added: "There were poor debtor newspapers and millionaire or billionaire editors-in-chief".³⁴

Several studies and books have confirmed that several state-owned newspapers were suffering from various financial problems. They always lost money and depended on the state to meet the deficit, although most newspapers' management tried to hide their financial problems. Dar El Taawon, the "state-owned press foundation", went bankrupt in March 2004 for the first time in state-owned newspapers' history. The state-owned newspapers did not publish their annual

³³ Mihrez Ghali, *Press Industry in the World*, Cairo, Egyptian Lebanese Publishing House, 2008, p 186

³⁴ Ahmad AlSeman, *Press and sustainable development*, Giza, The Academic Library, 2011, p90,91

budget as article “33” of the law required. The Central Auditing Organization did not review those budgets or prepare reports about them.³⁵

The state-owned newspapers had been hacked by the security agencies and sovereign bodies which had chosen the leaders, which influenced negatively their professional performance. The newspapers received American finance and aid as soft loans to develop their printing presses, other machines and research centres, some of whom received annual foreign aid.³⁶

Al-Ahram “state-owned newspaper”:

It was founded by Selim and Bishara Tikla on 27th December 1875. The first edition was issued on 5th August 1876³⁷ in Alexandria.³⁸ On 24th May 1960, the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser passed a law transferring the ownership of private newspapers, including Al-Ahram, to the National Union, the only political organization at that time. The ownership of the newspapers was transferred from the National Union to the Arab Socialist Union. In 1978, the union was divided into three parties, but the government transferred the ownership of newspapers including Al-Ahram to the state.³⁹

³⁵ Mihrez Ghali, *Press Industry in the World*, Cairo, Egyptian Lebanese Publishing House, 2008, p 188

³⁶ Mihrez Ghali, *Press Industry in the World*, Cairo, Egyptian Lebanese Publishing House, 2008, p 192

³⁷ <http://www.ahram.org.eg/>

³⁸ http://www.marefa.org/index.php/%D8%AC%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%AF%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85

³⁹ <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/node/43154>

The government's indirect control over the opposition party and privately-owned newspapers:

Law “96”, enacted in 1996, permitted only political parties and public or private legal persons to produce newspapers. The private legal persons had to be joint-stock companies or cooperatives.⁴⁰

The privately-owned and opposition party newspapers were kept in check through indirect control. All privately-owned or opposition party newspapers had to obtain a license from the Higher Press Council. The government was able to select which political voices could or could not be heard in the Egyptian media arena.⁴¹

The Higher Press Council was formed according to the president's decision. The council's head was the speaker of the Shura Council.⁴²

The government amended article “17” of the joint -stock companies law on 17th January 1998 in order to authorize the cabinet to refuse press companies' licenses without reason, which restricted the production of newspapers in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood failed to establish the Al Daawa Company, the Nasserists failed to establish “Yolyo”, and the “Dar AlHoria” foundation failed to obtain a licence to produce any newspaper or magazine.⁴³

The state monopolized the importing of papers and distributed them using facilities that were unavailable to the opposition party newspapers, which made printing newspapers on the state-owned newspapers' printing presses cheaper than using

⁴⁰ Ahmad AlSeman, *Press and sustainable development*, Giza, The Academic Library, 2011, p78

⁴¹ MamounFandy,(Un)Civil War of Words :Media and Politics in the Arab World, Westport, Praeger Security International,2007, p24

⁴² Suleiman Saleh , *The Crisis of Press Freedom in Egypt “1945-1985”*, Mansoura, AlWafa, 1995, p524

⁴³ Mihrez Ghali, *Press Industry in the World*, Cairo, Egyptian Lebanese Publishing House, 2008, p 180

their own printing presses. Publishing taxes were another restriction on party-owned newspapers.⁴⁴

Most party and independent newspapers did not have their own printing facilities. They usually relied on the state-controlled Al Ahram publishing house facilities for printing. Al Ahram, virtually controlled by the state, retained the right to block the printing of newspapers if they went too far in their criticism of the country's top politicians. The government might also punish dissenting papers by depriving them of government ministries' advertisements.

The opposition party newspapers:

An opposition party newspaper has to adopt its party's attitudes and serve its purposes, which influence the editorial policy. It is produced to be a medium for expressing its party's point of view. It has to introduce its party, follow its policies and promote its ideas.⁴⁵ Some party newspapers have gloried in their leaders and published their statements as the main articles on the front pages.⁴⁶

The party newspapers usually focus on issues concerning citizens and report them according to the party's perception, attitudes and principles. The opposition party newspapers' financial sources are usually distribution, advertisements and donations from party members, in some cases.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Shiam Qotb, *the future of party press in Egypt*, Cairo, the Arab World, 2010, p248

⁴⁵ Mohamed Monir Hijab, *Approach to journalism*, Cairo, AlFajr, 2010, p101

⁴⁶ Mohamed Monir Hijab, *Approach to journalism*, Cairo, AlFajr, 2010, p103

⁴⁷ Shiam Qotb, *The future of the party press in Egypt*, Cairo, the Arab World, 2010, p213,214

Al-Wafd:

Al-Wafd is an opposition daily newspaper produced by Al-Wafd political party. It was the ruling party before 1952. The 23rd July Revolution abolished political parties in January 1953. The party resumed its activities in 1978. It aims at political, economic and social reform, and supports democracy, protects human rights, supports youth roles and maintains the national unity. It started to produce Al-Wafd newspaper in 1984.⁴⁸

Privately-Owned Newspapers:

The privately-owned newspapers were produced by joint-stock companies. They were owned by the persons influencing their policies.⁴⁹ The privately-owned newspapers were always prosecuted. Al-Dustour's editor-in-chief, Ibrahim Essa, stated on 18th February 2008 on Al Jazeera channel that his newspaper had been prosecuted 45 times during its first three years. It was issued as a weekly newspaper at the beginning. The privately-owned newspapers were suffering from a lack of finance and advertisements.⁵⁰ Al-Badil privately-owned newspaper was closed after considerable financial losses. Sayed Krawia, a member of the board of Al-Taqdom Company, which produced the newspaper, stated that the investors did not have to lose money financing the newspapers, especially as the losses reached 18 million Egyptian pounds over two years. He added that the feasibility study had allocated only 12 million Egyptian pounds to support the newspaper over the first two years.⁵¹

⁴⁸ <http://www.alwafd.org/>

⁴⁹ Mohamed Monir Hijab, *approach to journalism*, Cairo, AlFajr, 2010,p123

⁵⁰ Ahmad AlSeman, *Press and sustainable development*, Giza, The Academic Library, 2011, p95

⁵¹ <http://www.youm7.com/News.asp?NewsID=114885>

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

Al-Masry Al-Youm for Journalism and Publication is an independent Egyptian media organization that was established in 2003. Its board is headed by Kamel Tawfiq Diab and includes a number of prominent Egyptian businessmen. The first paper was issued on 7th June 2004 and its editor-in-chief was Magdy El Galad.⁵²

Violence against journalists:

The government has also resorted to the outright repression and intimidation of dissenting journalists. There are countless cases of Egyptian journalists being subjected to beatings, jail, disappearances and even death.⁵³

Abdul Halim Qandil was the editor-in-chief of AlArabi opposition newspaper and a spokesman for the Kefaya opposition movement. In November 2004, four men pushed him into the street and inside a speeding car. They blinded and beat him, stripped him naked, and tossed him on the Cairo-Suez high way, warning him that “this will teach you to talk about your masters”.⁵⁴

After the 25th January revolution, Abdul Halim Qandil stated he had been tortured and that his clothes had been taken after he criticized the Ministry of the Interior. He stated that he had been kidnapped and tortured on the order of the ousted president’s wife, Suzanne Mubarak, his son Gamal Mubarak and the former chief of presidential staff, Zakaria Azmi. He was kidnapped because he had opposed the bequeathing of the presidency. He refused any deal with the state security to

⁵² <http://www.egyptindependent.com/node/54>

⁵³ MamounFandy,(Un)*Civil War of Words :Media and Politics in the Arab World*, Westport,Praeger Security International,2007, p24

⁵⁴ MamounFandy,(Un)*Civil War of Words :Media and Politics in the Arab World*, Westport,Praeger Security International,2007, p35

oppose the ousted ruling regime after reaching an agreement. He added that the journalist Mustafa Bakry had said that the ousted president had asked him to notify Qandil that he could travel on the presidential plane. He felt that his destiny would be like Reda Hilal, who disappeared in 2003.⁵⁵

Reda Helal, deputy editor-in-chief of Al-Ahram newspaper, disappeared on 11th August 2003. After the 25th January revolution, the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights asked the Attorney- General to conduct an urgent investigation into his disappearance. Captain Mohamed Abdul Nabi, a member of the honest police officers group, stated that the police had killed Reda Helal and that he knew which policeman had done it. The Egyptian Journalist Syndicate asked the Attorney-General to investigate with the Minister of Interior the disappearance of Helal. Osama Helal stated that the Minister of the Interior, Habib El Adly, and Gamal Mubarak were behind the disappearance of his brother, Reda Helal.⁵⁶

Examples of violence against journalists during the 25th January revolution:

Ahmed Mohamed Mahmoud, a journalist at El-Taawon “state-owned press foundation” and an independent distributor, was killed on 28th January. He was standing on the balcony of his office, filming the clashes between police and protesters in front of the Ministry of the Interior when a plainclothes police officer shot him in the eye.

“My husband was killed because he was videotaping realities that the police didn't want people to see,” said Mahmoud’s wife, journalist Inas Abdel Alim.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ <http://gate.ahram.org.eg/UI/Front/Inner.aspx?NewsContentID=103675>

⁵⁶ <http://www.redahelal.com/>

⁵⁷ <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/fallen-faces-uprising-journalist-ahmed-mohamed-mahmoud>

On 4th February 2011, the Committee to protect Journalists (CPJ) stated that the journalists in Cairo faced assaults, detentions, and threats, as the supporters of President Hosni Mubarak continued their efforts to obstruct the news coverage of protests demanding the ousting of the Egyptian leader. “It is stupefying that the government continues to send out thugs and plainclothes police to attack journalists and to ransack media bureaus,” said Mohamed Abdel Dayem, CPJ's Middle East and North Africa programme coordinator. “The Egyptian government is employing a strategy of eliminating witnesses to their actions,” he added. “The government has resorted to blanket censorship, intimidation, and today a series of deliberate attacks on journalists carried out by pro-government mobs. The situation is frightening not only because our colleagues are suffering abuse but because when the press is kept from reporting, we lose an independent source of crucial information.”⁵⁸

As of 2nd February 2011, CPJ has recorded 30 detentions, 26 assaults, and eight instances of equipment being seized. In addition, plainclothes and uniformed agents reportedly entered at least two hotels used by international journalists to confiscate press equipment.⁵⁹

The law:

Although Egypt’s constitution devoted an entire chapter to defining the rights, responsibilities and authority of the press, the Emergency Law abrogated these freedoms by allowing the authorities to ban publications for reasons of national

⁵⁸ <http://cpj.org/2011/02/press-attacks-cairo-reporter-dies.php#more>

⁵⁹ <http://cpj.org/2011/02/mubarak-intensifies-press-attacks-with-assaults-de.php#more>

security or public order, and to try offenders at military tribunals with a limited right to appeal. Article 48 of the constitution prohibited censorship, except under Emergency Law. Article 47 ostensibly guaranteed the freedom both to express and publicize opinions via any technological medium, but approximately 35 articles in various laws specified the penalties for the media, ranging from fines to imprisonment.

In addition to the Emergency Law, the Press Law and penal code provisions circumscribed the media, despite the constitutional guarantees of press freedom. Even after the Press Law was amended in 2006, the dissemination of “false news,” criticism of the president and foreign leaders, and publication of material constituting “an attack against the dignity and honor of individuals,” or an “outrage of the reputation of families” remained criminal offences that were prosecuted selectively by the authorities. The penalties included fines ranging from 5,000 to 20,000 Egyptian pounds (\$900 to \$3,600) for press infractions, and up to five years imprisonment for criticizing the president or a foreign head of state. During 2010, dozens of defamation and other cases were filed against journalists and media outlets. For example, the journalist Ibrahim Eissa has faced numerous criminal defamation charges over the past few years; as of October 2010, CPJ reported that Eissa had had 65 cases filed against him during his career for violating Egypt’s press law, 30 of which remained pending. Former newspaper editor Magdy Hussein, who had been imprisoned for political activism but should have been due for standard early release, was imprisoned for an additional year and fined after a 14-year-old defamation case regarding an interior minister was resurrected in July 2010.

Journalists enjoyed little professional protection and no right to access to information, so remained vulnerable to prosecution under these laws.

Spurious and trumped-up charges were also used to intimidate and silence journalists and bloggers. Freedom House stated in its report in 2011 that the award-winning digital journalist Wael Abbas was charged with selling communications services without a license, and because neither he nor his lawyers were ever informed of the trial date, he was sentenced in absentia to six months in prison and fined 500 Egyptian pounds (\$86). Although the conviction was ultimately overturned, the threat of multiple charges for the same alleged crime and the ensuing legal battles had a considerably chilling effect on bloggers and journalists. Freedom House's report added that the authorities in Egypt continued to imprison blogger Hani Nazeer without trial despite six rulings by the administrative court requiring his release. Nazeer's lawyers reported that they were not allowed to see their client and stated that he had been mistreated. Nazeer was released in July 2010.⁶⁰

The Closure of Newspapers:

In 2001, the government closed Al Nabaa newspaper after it ran a controversial story about an excommunicated monk who allegedly ran a sex.

By the late 1990s, the government was able to consolidate an environment of fear inside the media arena. This was the product of over ten years of confrontations with dissenting journalists. The standoff between the state and El Shaab opposition newspaper, which ended with the closure of the newspaper in 2000, epitomized the efforts of the government to contain free speech by force. The newspaper was

⁶⁰

http://old.freedomhouse.org/inc/content/pubs/pfs/inc_country_detail.cfm?country=8031&year=2011&pf

published by Al-Amal party, which had been allied with the banned Muslim Brotherhood since 1987.⁶¹

El Shaab's journalists litigated against the government that had closed the newspaper. They received 14 judicial judgments to reopen the newspaper, but the government procrastinated and ignored all of them.⁶²

⁶¹ MamounFandy, *(Un)Civil War of Words :Media and Politics in the Arab World*, Westport, Praeger Security International, 2007, p36,37

⁶² <http://anhri.net/press/2009/pr0917.shtml>

Chapter 4

The characteristics of the coverage of the revolution in three Egyptian newspapers

4.1 Introduction:

This research analyzes the content of three Egyptian newspapers from 17th January to 19th February 2011. The three newspapers represent the main types of newspaper in Egypt:

Al-Ahram, “a state-owned newspaper”

Al-Wafd, “an opposition party newspaper”

Al-Masry Al-Youm, “a privately-owned newspaper”

The research divided the coverage of the revolution into 3 periods:

- the coverage from 17th January until the 25th January demonstrations
- the coverage from 25th January demonstrations until the 11th February demonstrations before Mubarak was ousted
- the coverage from Mubarak being ousted until the public celebrations on 19th February

The content analysis aims to address three main questions:

- 1) What was the difference in the amount of coverage given by each newspaper to the main events during the revolution?
- **The coverage from 17th January until 25th January demonstrations**

This period witnessed suicide cases, reactions to the Tunisian revolution and invitations to demonstrate on 25th January.

- **The coverage from 25th January demonstrations until 11th February demonstrations before Mubarak was ousted**

This period witnessed both anti- and pro-government demonstrations as well as official, opposition and military reactions.

- **The coverage from Mubarak being ousted until the public celebrations on 19th February**

This period witnessed Mubarak being ousted and the public celebrations.⁶³

2) What were the main sources that the newspapers used when covering the events?

3) What were the other indicators of bias in the reporting of the events?

The frequency of the following words and phrases in each newspaper:

- **The coverage from 17th January until 25th January demonstrations**

The newspaper used the terms “suicide”, “demonstrations”, “revolution” and “Intifada”.

- **The coverage from 25th January demonstrations until 11th February demonstrations before Mubarak was ousted**

The newspapers used the terms: “intifada”, “revolution”, “martyr”, “victims”, “massacre”, “rallies”, “demonstrations”, “demonstrators”, “protesters”, “rioters”, “instigator”, and “thugs”.

⁶³ Note: Al-Wafd’s available editions were in PDF format. The words were counted manually. Hence, the figures may be approximate.

They used the phrases: “the People want to overthrow the regime” and “the overthrow of the regime”.

- **The coverage from Mubarak being ousted until the public celebrations on 19th February**

The newspapers used the terms: “joy”, “victory”, “revolution”, “martyr” and “victims”.

Decisions about what to report and what not to report i) events (e.g. clashes, demonstrations) and ii) particular details (e.g. number of victims) at the main turning points during the revolution:

The beginning of the revolution on 25th January 2011

Anger Friday on 28th January 2011

The first million demonstrations on 1st February 2011

Mubarak’s speech on 1st February 2011

Demonstrations supporting Mubarak on 2nd February 2011

The Battle of Camel on 2nd & 3rd February 2011

The President’s ousting on 11th February 2011

The public celebrations on 18th February 2011

4.2 The coverage from 17th January until 25th January demonstrations:

The precursors to the Egyptian revolution started on 17th January 2011, following the ousting of the Tunisian President. Many Egyptians realized that the overthrow of a ruling regime was possible. Some people tried to commit suicide in imitation of the suicide of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia, a young fruit seller who set himself alight in the town of Sidi Bouzid in December 2010 in protest at the petty corruption and his inability to make a living.

Activists and political groups invited people to demonstrate on 25th January “National Police Day”, to protest against the political, economic and social situation in Egypt.

The First Suicide Cases:

Egypt witnessed the first suicide case in front of the People’s Assembly on 17th January.

The headlines in the three newspapers:

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Citizen sets fire to his body in front of the People’s Assembly	Egyptian Bouazizi: he burnt himself in front of the People’s Assembly	Citizen tried to commit suicide in front of the ‘ People’s Assembly’ due to his restaurant’s bread

The amount of coverage:

The three newspapers reported on the suicide cases. Al-Ahram devoted 1,239 words to the suicide cases, Al-Wafd 1,888 words and Al-Masry Al-Youm 2,332 words.

Al-Ahram focused on the official reactions to the Tunisian revolution, which ruled out a similar scenario in Egypt.

Al-Wafd ignored the official reactions while focusing on the opposition and public reactions which praised the Tunisian revolution.

Al-Masry Al-Youm reported about the governmental, opposition and public reactions.

Al-Ahram ignored all invitations to demonstrate on 25th January while Al-Wafd and Al- Masry Al-Youm reported on the invitations.

Al-Ahram devoted 182 words to the social media. It reported about a campaign on Facebook, which invited people not to commit suicide.

	Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Suicide cases	1,239	1,888	2,332
Official reactions to suicide cases	1,602	1,518	2,617
Prosecution's investigation	1,407	1,299	2,175
Suicides' & their relatives' reactions	1,301	1,618	1,301

Opposition reactions to suicide cases			124
Official reactions to the Tunisian Revolution	178		332
Public reactions to the Tunisian revolution		95	212
Al-Wafd reaction to the Tunisian revolution		91	
Invitations to demonstrate on 25 th January		686	2,604
Invitations to boycott 25 th January demonstrations		306	869
Social media	182	144	91

The sources:

Al-Ahram focused on the official sources while ignoring the suicides and their relatives. It used 18 official sources compared with one suicide and 3 relatives.

Al-Wafd used 14 official sources and 12 suicides and their relatives.

Al-Masry Al-Youm used 30 official sources and 15 suicides and their relatives.

Al-Ahram never reported about the supporters or objectors to the 25th January demonstrations.

	Al Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Official sources	18	14	30
Suicides & their relatives	4	12	15
The prosecution	4	1	6
Opposition and activists		2	3
The National party	1		
Supporters of 25 th January demonstrations		5	27
Objectors to 25 th January demonstrations		6	9
International Media and news agencies	1		3
Eye witnesses		1	5
Social Media			1

The frequency of words:

Al-Ahram never used the terms “demonstrations”, “intifada”, “revolution”, “protest”, “freedom” or “unemployment” before the 25th January demonstrations.

	Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
suicide	47	60	85
demonstration		18	51
demonstrator		6	19
revolution		7	17
intifada		2	6
protest	7	24	41
freedom		8	9
unemployment		5	9
poverty	1	5	10

4.3 The coverage from the 25th January demonstrations until the 11th February demonstrations before Mubarak was ousted:

The Amount of the Coverage given by each Newspaper:

Anti- government demonstrations & official reactions:

Al-Ahram focused on the official reactions. It devoted 18,959 words to the official reactions compared with 18,388 words to the anti-government demonstrations.

Al-Wafd and Al-Masry Al-Youm focused on the demonstrations. Al-Wafd devoted 32,897 to the demonstrations and 7,423 words to the official reactions. Al-Masry Al-Youm devoted 56,796 words to the anti-government demonstrations and 11,709 words to the official reactions.

Mubarak's Speech:

Al-Ahram devoted 937 words to Mubarak's speech compared with 326 words in Al-Masry Al-Youm. Al-Wafd did not devote a single word to Mubarak's speech.

Pro-government Demonstrations:

Al-Wafd provided 960 words on the pro-government demonstrations. It reported the demonstrations as bids by the National Democratic Party to confront the anti-government demonstrations and retain power. It reported that the demonstrators were paid or forced by the National party to support Mubarak's regime. Al-Ahram provided 5,045 words on the pro-government demonstrations and Al-Masry Al-Youm provided 5,764 words.

The National Democratic Party, "the former ruling party"

Al-Wafd devoted 322 words to report the National party's reactions, such as its bids to hold power or its members' resignation from the party. Al-Ahram provided 1,647 words for the National party's reactions and Al-Masry Al-Youm provided 2,419 words.

Al-Wafd party's reactions:

Al-Wafd used 6,400 words to report Al-Wafd party's reactions. Al-Ahram provided 339 words on Al-Wafd' and Al-Masry Al-Youm provided 1,807.

Violence against journalists and demonstrators:

Al-Ahram reported the security procedures for banning the demonstrations as serious efforts to protect the country and the people. Al-Wafd and Al-Masry Al-Youm reported the procedures as attacks on the demonstrators. Al-Ahram provided 1,370 words on the procedures, Al-Wafd 1,306 and Al-Masry Al-Youm 6,936.

Al Ahram only devoted 17 words to violence against journalists. It reported that Mubarak's supporters attacked an Al Jazeera reporter to protest against the coverage of revolution. They said that the channel misreported the events in Egypt. Al-Wafd and Al-Masry Al-Youm reported the security forces attacks against journalists. Al-Wafd devoted 736 words to the violence against journalists, while Al-Masry Al-Youm devoted 1,719 words.

	Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Anti-government demonstrations	18,388	32,897	56,796
Pro-government	5,045	960	5,764

demonstrations			
Official reactions	18,959	7,423	11,709
Mubarak's speech	937		326
Military reactions	1,157	469	1,354
Opposition reactions	3,436	3,831	15,603
Al-Wafd's reactions	339	6,400	1,807
The National Party	1,647	322	2,419
Revolutionaries and their coalition	1,256	1,945	2,942
Prominent figures' reactions	3,634	12,300	10,721
Syndicates and civil society organizations	1,472	1,503	5,951
Violence against journalists	17	736	1,719
Security procedures for banning the demonstrations	1,370	1,306	6,936
National party's procedures for banning the demonstrations		240	63
The Battle of	1,507	2,353	3,195

Camels			
Supporters of Mubarak	557		2,133
Objectors to Mubarak	468	1,481	2,924
Religious leaders' reactions	1,511	648	4,228
Social media	1,027	3471	2,065

The Sources:

Al-Ahram's most commonly-used sources were officials and Mubarak's supporters. It used 91 official sources compared with 41 opposition sources and 5 revolutionaries. It held the first interviews with the activist Wael Ghonim, a prominent figure in the revolution, and 4 demonstrators, on 8th February.

Al-Wafd used 22 Al-Wafd's members, 13 opposition sources, 17 revolutionaries, 43 official sources and one source from the National party.

Al-Masry Al-Youm used a variety of sources. It used 141 opposition sources, 77 official sources, 147 objectors to Mubarak's regime, 20 Al-Wafd's members, 18 members of the National party and 105 prominent figures.

	Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Official Sources	91	43	77

Opposition Sources	41	13	141
Military Sources	17	3	9
Revolutionaries and their coalition	5	17	27
Al-Wafd	2	22	20
The National party	5	1	18
Supporters to Mubarak	14		59
Objectors to Mubarak	19	34	147
Ordinary People			9
Prominent figures	36	95	105
Eye witnesses and sources	5	8	13
Journalists		1	3
Social media			1
International media	20	13	32
State media	14	4	5
Religious leaders	7	7	32
Syndicates and civil society	15	14	45

organizations			
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The Frequency of the Words and Phrases used in each Newspaper:

Revolution

Al-Ahram described the demonstrations as a revolution for the first time on 5th February. Al-Ahram used the term “revolution” 91 times compared with 181 times in Al-Wafd and 310 times in Al-Masry Al-Youm.

The demonstrations’ main slogan

It reported the demonstrations’ main slogan, “the people want to overthrow the regime”, on 11th February when Mubarak stepped down.

Al-Ahram used the slogan once, while Al-Wafd used it 35 times and Al-Masry Al-Youm 46 times.

Al-Ahram used the term “the overthrow of the regime” 8 times while Al-Wafd used it 70 times and Al-Masry Al-Youm used it 83 times.

Intifada

Al-Ahram used “Intifada” 12 times compared with 67times in Al-Wafd and 49 times in Al-Masry Al-Youm.

Thugs

Al-Wafd used the phrases “the National Party’s thugs” or “Mubarak’s thugs” 29 times to describe Mubarak’s supporters.

Martyrs

Al-Ahram used martyrs to describe the revolution's victims 25 times compared with 74 times in Al-Wafd and 145 times in Al-Masry Al-Youm.

	Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Intifada	12	67	49
Revolution	91	181	310
Martyr	25	74	145
Victims	16	13	43
Massacre	3		4
Rallies	26	5	45
Demonstration	313	491	875
Demonstrators	459	789	1,459
Protesters	28	15	111
Protest	69	35	147
Riot	27	12	33
Rioters	20	1	1
Instigator	3		3
Instigation	4	2	12
Reform	127	42	137
Freedom	68	64	150
Unemployment	17	25	26
Poverty	13	12	30
Stability	118	25	79

Corruption	37	46	94
Street war		2	6
Thugs	3	100	64
National Party's thugs or Mubarak's thugs		29	
Police's "self-control"	8		5
Vandalism	73	37	76
Robbery	25	11	28
Looting	27	15	39
People want to overthrow the regime	1	35	46
People overthrew the regime		2	
The overthrow of the regime	8	70	83

The Beginning of the Revolution on 25th January:

Egypt witnessed unprecedented mass demonstrations to protest against the political, social and economic situation.

The Headlines:

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Protest rallies and security cordons in Cairo and governorates: citizens and police officers injured	Anger Intifada in Egypt: tens of thousands in biggest demonstration since January 1977	Warning: thousands demonstrate against poverty, unemployment, high prices and corruption and demand the government's departure

Al-Ahram:

It ignored the number of demonstrators. It focused on the demonstrators' attacks on police and public buildings. It reported that the police assaults on the demonstrators were reactions to their attacks.

Examples of Al-Ahram's reports:

The security forces had to cordon off the demonstrations to ensure the citizens' safety and also keep the traffic flowing as well as prevent rioters from intervening in the demonstrations. The demonstrators blocked the streets and threw stones at the police, and the headquarters of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council. The police tried to disperse the demonstrators, but they latter threw stones at them.

The police had to use teargas which injured a number of protestors and police officers. The demonstrators rushed to riot and vandalize public buildings.

Al-Ahram reported that the Muslim Brotherhood Group's members rioted during the demonstrations. It described the group as the banned group.

Examples:

The Banned Muslim Brotherhood joined the demonstrators, exploiting the police's self-control and throwing stones at the headquarters of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, buildings and shops. The security forces had to use water hoses and teargas to disperse the demonstrators after chaos broke out in Tahrir Square and the traffic became gridlocked. The Banned Muslim Brotherhood incited a huge number of its members to join the demonstrations. The number of demonstrators exceeded 10 thousand persons.

The security forces continued to secure the demonstrators to express their opinions freely.

It did not report the demonstrators' requests. It said that the demonstrators were protesting against the Egyptian policies- "not the Egyptian government's policies"- and the economic situation, but it ignored the economic problems, such as corruption, unemployment and poverty.

Examples:

The Demonstrators criticized some of the Egyptian policies, demanding political change. They protested against the economic situation in the country, demanding that the constitution be amended.

Al-Ahram focused on government sources.

Examples:

Al-Ahram published an article entitled: “Security source: interior asks rallies not to follow false slogans”.

The security source talked about freedom of speech and said that the police force was committed to secure the rallies. He added that the demonstrations’ leaders insisted on incitement and ignored all instructions to leave after expressing their opinions.

It described the opposition as unidentified groups.

The Examples:

The protest rallies were permitted to express political or category requests according to democracy. The source added that the instigators adopted an incitement method to demonstrate on the 25th January and escalated their requests, especially the banned Muslim Brotherhood and what were called the April 6 Youth Movement, Kefaya and the National Association for Change.

It described the demonstrations as illegal behaviour.

Examples:

The police instructed the demonstrators to adhere to the legal guidelines when expressing their opinions and not threaten public and private buildings, and citizens. The Ministry of the Interior asks gatherings not to follow such movements’ leaders who seek to exploit the situation and challenge the legality.

Al-Wafd:

It described the demonstrations as too large for the government to control.

Examples of Al-Wafd's reports:

Many thousands demonstrated in Cairo and the governorates. A volcano of popular anger erupted in Greater Cairo's streets and squares, and a number of governorates. These were the biggest demonstrations since 18th, 19th January 1977. Large-scale Security forces failed to prevent the citizens from smashing the iron barricades. The government did not issue a statement about the angry demonstrations. The demonstrators invited the security forces to join them and support them in their demands for a happy, peaceful life.

It focused on the security forces' assaults against the demonstrators. It reported that the demonstrators' attacks against the forces were reactions. It reported that the citizens and a police officer were injured during clashes.

Examples:

The security forces used water hoses to disperse the demonstrators in front of the headquarters of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council. They used sticks, batons and teargas to disperse the demonstrators, who had to throw stones at the forces in a number of governorates, especially Suez and Ismailia. The security forces clashed with the demonstrators. A number of citizens and a police officer were injured.

It reported the demonstrators' requests

The Examples:

Several governorates witnessed demonstrations and protest rallies staged by the political opposition powers and protest movements to demand improved living levels, increased minimum wages, the repeal of the emergency law, a fair

elections, litigate who robbed Egypt's wealth, the freedom to establish parties and the alternation of power.

It reported that the government officials and the National Democratic Party's leaders hired thugs to assault the demonstrators.

Examples:

The government officials helped the National Party's leaders to hire thugs to suppress the demonstrators. The thugs assaulted the revolutionaries with batons, sticks and blade weapons, leading severe injuries among the demonstrators. The security forces broke up the demonstrations after threats were issued that the demonstrators would be arrested.

Al-MasryAl-Youm:

It focused on the demonstrators' requests and police attacks against the demonstrators and journalists. It reported that the demonstrators and police were injured during clashes.

Examples of Al-Masry Al-Youm's reports:

Thousands of citizens sent a strong message to the government and demanded its departure. They protested against the depressed economy, representing widespread poverty, mass unemployment and high prices. They demanded social justice, political reform, the elimination of corruption, increased wages, an amended constitution and the dissolution of the People's Assembly. Central security cars, armoured cars and ambulances spread through the republic's squares and main streets that were closed off by iron barriers. Thousands of security men wearing military uniforms and civilian clothes besieged and dispersed the demonstrators, using water hoses, tear gas, bricks and stones.

A number of demonstrators were injured or arrested during clashes with the security forces in Cairo and the governorates. A number of police officers were injured.

The demonstrators broke through the security barrier which contained 30,000 police officers, according to security sources. The security forces blocked all of the streets surrounding the Ministry of the Interior. It prevented cars and citizens from passing through.

Al-Masry Al-Youm's editors were attacked while reporting on the demonstrations. The security bodies instructed internet cafes to prevent the sending of pictures or videos and to check visitors' identity cards.

It reported the political parties' and movements' roles in the demonstrations.

The Examples:

Scores of Al-Wafd's members staged a march. The founder of Al Ghad party and scores of people joined them. Thousands of political parties and powers including the Muslim Brotherhood, Kefaya, April 6 and revolutionary communists demonstrated in the capital's streets and squares. They criticized the National Party's leaders, together with the Minister of the Interior and his repressive policy.

It reported the opposition viewpoints.

Examples:

Mohamed El Baradei said that the Egyptians have become ready to go to the streets for the first time in the recent history. He asked Mubarak to amend the constitution and stand down from the next presidential election. The Muslim Brotherhood criticized El Baradei's absence from the demonstrations.

It reported demonstrators supporting the Egyptian revolution in other countries.

Examples:

The National Association for Change in the U.S. stated that Egyptians in the United States, Canada and Britain will stage protest rallies on 25th January.

It reported the National Party's role in banning the demonstrations.

Example:

A parliament member of the National party prevented the citizens from demonstrating.

Conclusion:

Al-Ahram reported that the police assaults on the demonstrators were reactions to their attacks.

Al-Wafd focused on the security forces' attacks on the demonstrators, whose attacks on the security forces were reactions to this. It reported that the government officials and the National Democratic Party leaders hired thugs to attack the demonstrators.

Al-Masry Al-Youm reported the police attacks on the demonstrators and journalists. It reported the National Democratic Party's role in banning the demonstrations.

Anger Friday on 28th January:

Egypt witnessed mass demonstrations under the slogan “the people want to overthrow the regime”.

The Headlines:

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Massive demonstrations in Cairo and the governorates	Anger revolution: Change, freedom and social justice Hundreds of thousands took to the streets despite the cutting off of mobile phones and the internet, two killed and scores injured in violent confrontations between police and demonstrators in Cairo and the governorates	Last call : save Egypt

Al-Ahram:

It reported the demonstrations, but ignored the main slogan: “the people want to overthrow the regime”.

Example:

All governorates witnessed gathering demonstrations to demand change and reform. The demonstrators included young people, women, and the political powers and parties.

Hurghada witnessed a limited demonstration demanding change. The demonstrators stormed Port Said, including several thousands of all ages, including women and children. 30 demonstrators demanded reform in Kafr El Sheikh. Peaceful demonstrations stormed most of the cities in Beheira after Friday prayers. *It reported that the Muslim Brotherhood led the demonstrations*

Example:

The Muslim Brotherhood group led the demonstrations in several governorates, especially Cairo and Alexandria. The banned Muslim Brotherhood burnt several locations in Cairo after inciting around 53,000 of its members to join the demonstrations. The Muslim Brotherhood distributed leaflets to invite the demonstrators to oppose and attack the police. The citizens refused to join in a demonstration led by the Muslim Brotherhood.

The demonstrators vandalized Egypt and terrorized the people

Examples:

The peaceful marches turned into riots, vandalism, and the burning of state and private property. The demonstrations were marked by looting and robbery. The demonstrators crossed the Museum's main gate and smashed the neighboring shops' gates in order to rob their contents. The demonstrators attacked and burnt down police stations, smuggling out the prisoners. They also took weapons from 10 police stations in Cairo. Twelve persons attacked the central security forces' cars and seized teargas from soldiers after their assaults, burning cars and police vehicles. They dominated the civil defence cars, stealing and burning their contents.

Ismailia witnessed confrontations between demonstrators and the security forces which damaged the National party's headquarters as well as those of the governorate. They cut the train lines between Cairo and Alexandria after setting fire to and stealing the rails. Some governorates witnessed rioting, vandalism and

the burning of both public and private establishments. The demonstrators hurled stones at foreign consulates, including the French and Italian consulates.

The demonstrators chanted hostile slogans against the state and religious slogans related to the banned Muslim Brotherhood group.

It reported that the police secured the demonstrations, but had to use force to protect the country

Examples:

The security bodies did not attack or arrest the demonstrators. They maintained self-control until the banned Muslim Brotherhood provoked the demonstrators to attack the police by hurling stones at them. The security bodies' role was confined to ensuring security, but it had to use force in Kafr el-Dawwar to maintain control over the fires caused by the demonstrators. The security forces tried to disperse the demonstrators, but all attempts failed. The security forces cordoned off the demonstrators and used teargas to disperse them in a bid to restore calm in the city and quell the violence. The demonstrators did not stop rioting, but hurled stones at car firefighters until they demolished them.

It reported that people and police officers were killed or injured during the clashes.

Examples

The demonstrators threw stones and bricks at police officers and their cars, which injured scores of demonstrators and central security force members, in some cases seriously, with several fatalities. Alexandria witnessed the most violent clashes, which led at least to five dead and hundreds injured. Two central security soldiers were injured. The violent clashes between the security forces and demonstrators led to several victims and hundreds of injuries on both sides. A number of children, women and young people were suffocated. Three demonstrators were injured by teargas, rubber bullets and live bullets.

It reported that Mubarak imposed a curfew to protect the country and the people.

Example:

Mubarak, as the military ruler, imposed a curfew in greater Cairo, Alexandria and Suez. He commanded the armed forces to cooperate with the police by applying the curfew in order to maintain security and protect public facilities and private property after some governorates witnessed rioting, looting, vandalism and fires.

Religious leaders ask the people not to demand the overthrow of the regime.

Examples:

The Mosques' imams asked people not to demonstrate or demand the overthrow of the regime, but to stand behind the ruler in order to reform what had been spoilt and have their legal demands met. They asked the citizens to preserve their unity and uphold Islamic law's purpose of protecting souls and money.

It focused on the attacks made against the National Party's headquarters.

The demonstrators stormed the National Party's headquarters, broke down the iron gates, and destroyed the iron banners and main pictures, including a placard containing the party's name and Mubarak's picture. The central security forces prevented the demonstrators from continuing in their march in front of the National Party's headquarters after they destroyed its facades and threw Molotov cocktails at a nearby flat in Beni Suef. The demonstrators stormed a number of the National party's headquarters, burnt them down and damaged their contents in several governorates.

It reported the security forces' practices against journalists but ignored the attacks against them

The security forces prevented journalists from entering hospitals.

Al-Wafd:

It reported that the demonstrations were too strong for the government to handle.

Examples:

Mass angry demonstrations erupted in Cairo and the governorates to demand a change in the ruling regime under the slogan “change, freedom, social justice”. Hundreds of thousands left the mosques after Friday prayers in order to demonstrate. Independent youths and members of the parties and youth political movements participated in the demonstrations, which were the biggest since the 1981 events and the 25th January intifada. People demonstrated in underground stations and the government prevented the metro from stopping at Cairo’s central stations. Cutting communications and shutting down the internet failed to stop the demonstrations. Egyptians complained of deterioration in their living standards, unemployment, widespread poverty and high prices. Several celebrities participated in the demonstrations.

It reported details about the demonstrations.

Examples:

The demonstrators besieged the neighborhood surrounding the presidential palace. They chanted “the people want to overthrow the regime”. The demonstrators gathered in front of the presidential palace, but the security forces prevented the flow of angry rallies and cordoned off the demonstrators. The security forces secured the neighborhoods surrounding the presidential palace and the president’s home.

The people supported the demonstrators.

Citizens clapped the demonstrators.

It reported the security forces’ attacks, seeking to stop the demonstrations.

Examples:

The Security closed Tahrir Square to prevent the demonstrators from communicating. The security forces prevented the Friday prayers taking place in Omar Makram Mosque in Tahrir Square.

The police prevented worshippers from entering mosques and attacked a worshipper. They arrested a huge number of citizens. They fired teargas and used water cannons to disperse the demonstrators. The security forces terrorized the people. They held citizens in the zoo to prevent them from joining in the demonstrations. Security forces wearing formal and civilian clothing spread out to confront the demonstrators, but they failed to stop the flood of demonstrators and arrested hundreds of them. The government did not issue a statement, apart from a warning to the people by the Ministry of the Interior to stop demonstrating.

It reported on the victims.

Examples:

Three citizens were killed, 1,500 were injured and hundreds were arrested. The victims refused to go to hospital out of fear of being arrested. One person was killed in Sinai. Hundreds were injured in confrontations between the security forces and demonstrators in Alexandria.

It reported the police attacks on the demonstrators.

The police used violent force against the demonstrators. They fired live bullets and used teargas intensively, which turned the area into an aggressive war zone. Confrontations between citizens and the security forces destroyed several cars, shops and government buildings.

The demonstrators burnt Alexandria's governorate headquarters. The Security forces pelted more than 30,000 worshippers with teargas and rubber bullets. Several hundred protesters threw stones at the police forces, which reached 3000.

It reported the security forces' attacks on the opposition leaders

The security forces held ElBaradei and some opposition leaders in Estiqama Mosque in Giza. They arrested a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood and two prominent leaders from Banha University.

It reported that the demonstrators attacked the National Party's headquarters and that the citizens clapped.

Fifteen hundred demonstrators stormed the National Party's headquarters in Ismailia. The demonstrators dominated the main headquarters of the National Party and all of its subsidiary offices. They replaced the party's slogans and banners with Egyptian flags, to the applause of the citizens.

It reported that the demonstrators stormed AlArbaeen police station in Suez.

Five hundred thousand people gathered in front of Arbaeen Police Station for the biggest demonstration in Suez's history. They demanded the release of all detainees. When the police had temporized to respond to their requests, the demonstrators stormed the police station and released all of the detainees and 120 imprisoned criminals. They seized 200 automatic weapons, holding officers and soldiers hostage. They set fire to the police station and 30 police cars. They took the hostages to the Suez police station surrounded by police officers. The demonstrators negotiated with the police to release the detainees. The police shot at the demonstrators and killed one citizen. Some police officers refused to shoot at the demonstrators.

It reported the police's attacks on journalists.

The police prevented media professionals from entering Suez in order to hide the police's use of excessive force against the demonstrators.

Police officers and soldiers prevented journalists from photographing events and confiscated their cameras. Four French journalists were arrested. The security forces prevented journalists from praying in Al-Azhar mosque.

The Mosque's imam demanded that the people should not demonstrate, which enraged them. The Mosque's imam asked people to demand their rights peacefully.

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

It reported that Mubarak imposed a curfew as a reaction to the rioting and vandalism.

President Mubarak- as the military ruler- imposed a curfew in Egypt after the governorates witnessed rioting, vandalism, robberies, destruction, burning and attacks on public and private property. The angry revolution has spread throughout Cairo and the governorates, with violent clashes between the security forces and the demonstrators.

It reported the security forces' attacks on the demonstrators.

The security fired live and rubber bullets, which injured scores of people and killed one citizen. The security clashed with thousands of demonstrators. The central security forces used expired American bombs against the demonstrators. The bombs carried a warning that they should not be thrown directly at people, but the security did not follow the instruction. The security forces sprayed sulphur water on the demonstrators. The security forces burnt two cars, using teargas. Ten girls

were harassed by plainclothes security members and thugs. The security forces prevented worshippers from entering Al-Azhar and Hussein Mosques.

It reported details about the demonstrations.

The demonstrators took to the streets and squares after Friday prayers. There were over 10,000 of them. Al-Azhar Street witnessed long marches and huge demonstrations, while the security forces fired teargas and sound bullets to frighten the demonstrators, who chanted slogans demanding the overthrow of the regime and revenge on the killers of the Suez martyr. They demanded to prosecute the president and his government for stealing the people's money. Human rights organizations asked the sane people in the regime to respond to the people's requests by denouncing the use of excessive force by the security forces.

It reported that the demonstrators attacked the police stations and the National Party's headquarters.

The demonstrators set fire to police stations in Syeda Zeinab. Thousands demonstrated in Giza and held a central security unit, including 30 soldiers and police officers. Alexandria fell to the demonstrators, who set fire to the governorate's headquarters and stormed Montazah's Police Station. The demonstrators destroyed the National Party's headquarters in Cairo and the governorates.

It reported the police attacks on the opposition leader.

The security forces placed Mohamed El Baradei under house arrest. The security forces arrested 500 Muslim Brotherhood members after the group declared officially that it would participate in the demonstrations.

It reported the opposition's reactions.

Al-Wafd asked the president to give up the presidency of the National Party and form a transitional government.

It reported the police attacks on the journalists.

The security forces closed the side gates of Al-Azhar Mosque and prevented photographers from taking pictures. They hit the journalist "Mohamed Mosaad". Teargases reached Al-Masry Al-Youm's headquarters. Several colleagues were suffocating and a colleague went to hospital after he had been unconscious for 30 minutes.

The internet was shut down, which made getting news or sending newspaper pages impossible. Al-Masry Al-Youm used a restaurant's motorcycles to send newspaper pages to Al-Ahram's printing press, using more than one person to avoid confiscation or arrest.

It reported that the government shut down the internet.

A sovereign body intervened to shut down the internet and mobile networks in coordination with the Ministries of the Interior, Information and Communication.

It reported people's support for the demonstrators.

People gave the demonstrators vinegar bottles, onions and, garlic to help them to combat the teargas.

Conclusion:

Al-Ahram reported that the Muslim Brotherhood led the demonstrations in order to vandalize Egypt and terrorize the people. The police protected the

demonstrators, but had to use force to protect the country. It focused on the attacks against the National Party's headquarters and police stations.

Al-Wafd focused on the police attacks on the demonstrators and the opposition leaders.

Al-Masry Al-Youm reported the security forces' attacks on the demonstrators, journalists and opposition leaders. It reported that the demonstrators attacked the police stations and the National Party's headquarters.

The First Million Demonstrations:

On 1st February, millions demonstrated in Egypt's governorates to demand the overthrow of the regime.

Headlines:

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Million demonstration demand change	People in Tahrir: Millions participated in an angry revolution to demand the overthrow of the regime despite the shutting down the transportation The National Association for Change decided 4 requests before negotiating with the deputy president	million demonstration demand the president steps down

Al-Ahram

It reported people's main demand for the regime's departure.

Hundreds of thousands of people gathered in Tharir Square to participate in the biggest demonstration ever held in Egypt to demand the Egyptian regime and Mubarak's departure. Egyptians with different attitudes moved to what has become known as Liberty Square to protest against the deterioration of the political, social

and economic situation. The demonstrators chanted hostile slogans against the regime.

It reported the demonstrations in other governorates.

Alexandria, Kafr Sheikh, Suez and Mansoura witnessed demonstrations demanding the overthrow of the regime.

It reported on the victims, without giving any details.

Three hundred people were killed and several thousands were injured during recent events in Egypt.

It reported on the demonstrators.

The demonstrators refused to delegate El Baradei to negotiate and chose the Secretary-General of the Arab League Amr Mousa or the Egyptian scientist Ahmad Zwil.

It reported on the opposition's stance.

The opposition parties refuse to engage in a dialogue with the regime as long as President Mubarak holds power.

It reported on the demonstrations in support of Mubarak.

Several thousand demonstrated in front of the Egyptian Radio and Television Union in support of Mubarak.

Al-Wafd:

The government could not stop the demonstrations.

The governmental procedures failed to prevent the demonstrators flowing into Tahrir Square in Cairo centre, the main squares and a huge number of governorates. More than two million people gathered to demand the overthrow of the regime and real democratic change. Celebrities, members of the political parties and powers, and foreign human rights organizations' representatives participated in the demonstrations. The security directorates in Cairo, Giza and 6th October were instructed to prevent the demonstrators from reaching Cairo.

It reported on Al-Wafd party's activities.

It accentuated Al-Wafd's role in the demonstrations from the start.

The National Coalition for Change made four requests before negotiating with the deputy president.

It reported that the demonstrations in support of Mubarak were being staged by the National Democratic Party.

The National Democratic Party pushed a number of its men into the demonstrations to support President Mubarak in an attempt to reduce the pressure of demonstrators asking for change, but such demonstrations did not appear in front of the angry crowds that grow every day.

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

It reported on the million demonstrations. It estimated the number of demonstrators to be hundreds of thousands.

The demonstrations' leaders asked all categories to join them in a "million demonstration" to renew their demands for the overthrow of the president. They refused to respond to the security's requests to leave. Celebrities, academic professors, women and children participated in the demonstration. Hundreds of thousands people gathered in Tahrir Square, and overflowed to the neighbouring squares.

It reported the demonstrations in other governorates.

Hundreds of thousands demonstrated in other governorates. About a million citizens staged a demonstration in Alexandria.

It reported that the security forces prevented demonstrators from reaching Tahrir Square

The armed forces' armoured cars prevented demonstrators coming from other governorates from reaching Tahir Square. The security forces prevented 25,000

farmers from reaching Cairo to participate in the million demonstration in Tahrir Square.

It reported on the demonstrations in support of Mubarak.

It published an article entitled: "Hundreds demonstrate to support Mubarak under the slogan "no to vandalism".

Two to three hundred demonstrators asked Mubarak to retain power and support the dialogue between Vice President Omar Suleiman and the opposition powers.

Conclusion:

Al-Ahram reported the people's main request for the regime to stand down, on the victims without giving any details, the opposition's stance, and on the demonstrations in support of Mubarak.

Al-Wafd reported that the government could not prevent the demonstrations, on Al-Wafd party's activities, and that the demonstrations in support of Mubarak were staged by the National Democratic Party.

Al-Masry Al-Youm reported on the demonstrations in Cairo and other governorates, and also on those in support of Mubarak.

Mubarak's speech on 1st February:

In the evening, Mubarak delivered an emotional speech, declaring that he would not stand for a sixth term at the next presidential election. Some people believed him, sympathized with him and left Tahrir Square.

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Mubarak declares procedures for the peaceful transfer of power		Mubarak promised not to stand at the next presidential election, the peaceful transfer of power, amendments to articles 67 and 77, and an investigation into the security chaos

Al-Ahram:

It published Mubarak's speech in its entirety as the main article.

Al-Wafd

It did not report on the speech.

Al-Masry Al-Youm

It published the main points of the speech: Mubarak would not stand for the presidential election, and would work on amending articles 67 and 77 of the constitution to guarantee the peaceful transfer of power to whomever the Egyptians elected.

The demonstrations in support of Mubarak on 2nd February:

On the following day, thousands demonstrated in support of Mubarak in Cairo and the governorates.

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Millions support Mubarak by holding marches in the governorates	National Party burns Egypt. It used employees and thugs to demonstrate in support of Mubarak and to attack objectors	Marches to support Mubarak in the governorates: thousands chanted: “Mubarak, pilot, do not let fire burn the country”

Al-Ahram

It reported that most Egyptians, including the opposition powers, supported Mubarak.

Cairo and the governorates witnessed popular million demonstrations to support the reform. Intellectuals, artists and some national opposition powers participated in the demonstrations. They displayed Mubarak’s pictures, supported his decisions and refused the invitations of some political powers who tried to gain the audiences’ achievements and exploit the youth’s revolution. They demanded that the new government should be given a chance to work quietly. They refused invitations to continue demonstrating in Tahrir Square and chaos spread throughout the country. Youths shouted to save the home, especially after President Mubarak made good decisions. Egyptian television broadcast scenes of huge numbers of demonstrators holding placards stating “Yes to Mubarak” and repeating slogans supporting legality. They said that the opposition demonstrations moved by some people led to bad situations never happened in Egypt.

Al-Wafd

The National Party took the first step towards burning Egypt after making a bid to shatter Egyptian unity. The National Party leaders tried to stage demonstrations in support of Mubarak in the cities and governorates. They broke the curfew. The National leaders forced the workers to demonstrate and threatened to set fire to them. They gave the workers money and food in return for demonstrating. The security forces, at first appearance, secured the demonstrations. Some cities witnessed clashes between supporters and objectors.

Al- Masry Al-Youm

On 2nd February, after Mubarak's speech, Al Masry AlYoum published an editorial entitled "A call to Tharir's heroes: keep your victories". It invited all parties and powers to engage in a national dialogue. The newspaper's stance influenced the coverage. It devoted 2,770 words to the demonstrations in support of Mubarak's speech compared with 778 words to the demonstrations against Mubarak. It held interviews with 43 persons supporting Mubarak's speech compared with 6 objectors. It held interviews with 5 prominent figures who supported his speech.

Examples:

Thousands participated in marches in the governorates to demand that Mubarak should retain power until the end of his term. The demonstrators displayed Mubarak's pictures and Egyptian flags.

Huge numbers of protesters left Tharir Square while a number of demonstrators, led by the Muslim Brotherhood, insisted on continuing the strike. The Brotherhood members attacked anyone who praised Mubarak's speech. The Muslim Brotherhood group refused to leave when the demonstrators left the square. The Muslim Brotherhood and opposition parties instigated people to demonstrate. Guardians and parents went to Tharir square to bring their kids.

It reported on the demonstrators who refused to leave Tahrir Square. They do not trust Mubarak and fear his revenge.

A lot of people cried after listening to Mubarak's speech. They received the speech with their emotions before their brains.

Conclusion:

Al-Ahram reported the demonstrations as the main article. It reported that most Egyptians, including the opposition powers, supported Mubarak.

Al-Wafd reported that the National Party's leaders forced workers to demonstrate and threatened to fire them. They gave the workers money and food to demonstrate.

Al-Masry Al-Youm reported that Mubarak's supporters were the majority while the objectors were the minority.

The Battle of the Camels

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Violent clashes between supporters and objectors to change	Civil war National Party's militia storm Tahrir Square with sticks and teargas Scores injured in street battles	Tahrir turned into a war zone and Watan asks for calm

Al-Ahram:

It reported the battle as clashes between supporters and objectors to change.

It published an article entitled "Violent clashes between supporters and objectors to change". There were clashes between protesters in Tahrir Square and supporters who stormed the square on camels and horseback, with sticks and whips. Six hundred and thirty seven people were injured and 3 were killed in the clashes. The demonstrators in Tahrir Square insisted on continuing their sit-in and asked for more reforms, change and President Mubarak's departure. Supporters clashed violently with objectors and both parties hurled stones and bricks at each other. The army asked demonstrators to return to home and abide by the curfew.

Reports stated that the National Party had gathered its members to support Mubarak.

It focused on the government reactions

The Prime Minister described Tahrir events as a farce, promising to investigate and punish the perpetrators.

Al-Wafd:

It reported on the battle as a last bid by the President and his National Democratic Party to retain power.

Police officers and secretaries on camels and horseback stormed Tahrir Square, while ministers instructed employees to go to the square to support Mubarak. In a last attempt by President Mubarak and the National Party to retain power, the party gathered several thousand people to ask Mubarak to retain power and stand the presidential election.

Mubarak's thugs gathered in Mostafa Mahmoud Square, and then some National Party members and paid people joined them and went to Tahrir Square. They hit the demonstrators and threw stones at them brutally. Eye witnesses stated that a huge number of plainclothes security men participated in the attack and used teargas. Scores of people were injured. The protestors captured 11 of horse and camel riders and discovered that they were police secretaries.

The National Party's thugs attacked demonstrators in Alexandria, Suez and Mansoura. Plainclothes police officers demonstrated in support of Mubarak and attacked demonstrators in Qalyubia.

The government used public buses to transfer employees to Tahrir Square and gave them food.

It focused on Al-Wafd Party and the opposition's reactions.

The National Coalition for Change warns against harming the demonstrators.

The president of Al-Wafd held the state bodies and the ruling regime responsible for Tahrir's events.

The April 6 youths rejected Mubarak's promises.

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

Egypt's political crisis worsened after hours of partial satisfaction after the President Mubarak's speech. Mubarak's supporters stormed Tahrir Square. Violent clashes broke out, leaving scores injured. Tahrir Square turned into street war zone. The army intervened to separate the two sides.

Protesters insisted on overthrowing the regime and supporters urged that Mubarak should be given an opportunity to fulfill his promises. The armed forces invited the demonstrators to return home to restore the country to safety and stability.

Conclusion:

Al-Ahram reported on the battle as clashes between the supporters and opponents of change.

Al-Wafd reported on the battle as a last bid by the President and his National Democratic Party to retain power.

Al-Masry Al-Youm reported that Egypt’s political crisis had worsened after hours of partial satisfaction following President Mubarak’s speech.

The battle lasted until the next morning:

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
3301 injured in Tahrir’s events	Details of the most difficult hours in Egypt’s history	Bloody catastrophe in Tahrir: 8killed and 1200 wounded government apologizes for Bloody Wednesday

Al-Ahram:

It focused on the government’s reaction.

Mubarak stated that he was dissatisfied with the violence in Tahrir Square during the last few days, for which the Egyptian government was not responsible. He accused the Muslim Brotherhood group of being responsible for the violent events. He wants to leave his position, but is afraid of chaos. It reported that 3,301 were injured in Tahrir’s events. It stated that the Kasr Al Aini governmental hospital

treated a huge number of demonstrators, regardless of their political attitude. The Minister of Health instructed that everyone who had been injured during recent events was to be treated without charge.

Al-Wafd:

Egypt witnessed the worst 15 hours in its history. Tahrir Square turned into a bloody battle zone. Egyptians hurled stones, bricks and Molotov Cocktails at each other. Five persons were killed and 836 injured. The armed forces refused to intervene in the battle.

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

Street fighting continued between supporters and objectors. Both sides hurled stones at each other. Fire bullets were heard. Eight were killed and 1,200 injured. The demonstrators demanded the persecution of the regime for its crimes against the people. They shouted “the people want to persecute the regime”. They stated that they were considering staging a march to the presidential palace as the final step in overthrowing President Mubarak. The Prime Minister apologized for Bloody Wednesday, describing it as a catastrophe, farce and military battle, and promised to persecute its perpetrators, even if this was the former Minister of the Interior Habib ElAdly. Deputy President Omar Suleiman promised to persecute those responsible for Tahrir Square’s events.

The National Democratic Party denied sending militia to attack protesters in Tahrir Square.

Conclusion:

Al-Ahram focused on the government’s reaction. It reported that 3,301 were injured in Tahrir’s events.

Al-Wafd & Al-Masry Al-Youm reported the details of the battle.

The coverage from Mubarak's ouster until the public celebrations on 18th February

Mubarak's ousting and the public celebrations:

Al-Wafd focused on Mubarak's ousting and the public celebrations. It devoted 6,171 words to this topic, Al-Ahram 2,976 words and Al-Masry Al-Youm 4,709 words.

The military's reactions:

Al-Ahram focused on the military's reactions. It devoted 3,069 words to this topic, Al-Wafd 378 words and Al-Masry Al-Youm 1,793 words.

Al-Wafd party's reactions:

Al-Wafd focused on Al-Wafd party's reactions. It devoted 2,426 words to this topic, Al-Ahram 199 words and Al-Masry Al-Youm 116 words.

Social Media:

Al-Ahram and Al-Wafd were interested in the social media. Al-Ahram devoted 5,446 words to the comments and activities in the social media while Al-Wafd devoted 6,326 words.

The National Democratic Party:

Al-Ahram devoted 365 words to the National Democratic Party, Al-Wafd 30 words and Al-Masry Al-Youm 1,339 words. All three newspapers focused on the resignation of the National Party members.

The Revolution's victims:

Al-Ahram used 1,765 words to report the statement of “the Front Defending Demonstrators” on martyrs, injured and missing persons during the revolution.

	Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Mubarak’s ousting and the public celebrations	2,976	6,171	4,709
Pro-government demonstrations	322		263
Official Reactions	1362		330
Military Reactions	3,069	378	1,793
Opposition Reactions	364	72	1,827
Al-Wafd’s activities	199	2,426	116
The National Party	365	30	1,339
Revolutionaries and their coalition	885	1,239	1,631
Prominent figures’ reactions	1,937	1,509	3,258
Syndicates and civil society organizations	2,717	398	769
Supporters of revolution		624	

Religious leaders' reactions	1,356	193	910
Social Media	5,446	6,326	1,971

The Sources:

Al-Ahram focused on military sources. It used 11 military sources, Al-Wafd used 3 and Al-Masry Al-Youm used 8. Al-Wafd's most commonly-used source was party members. It used 15 members of Al-Wafd.

	Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
Official sources	9	1	3
Opposition sources	8	1	15
Military sources	11	3	8
Al-Wafd	1	15	2
Revolutionaries and their coalition	5	3	14
The National Party	3	5	11
Objectors to Mubarak			4
Ordinary People		7	
Prominent figures	17	9	14
International Media	3	3	1
Official media	3	1	1
Religious leaders	8	1	13

Civil society organization, syndicate and league	12	2	5
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The frequency of words and phrases:

Joy & victory

The three newspapers used “joy” and “victory” to describe the public celebrations after Mubarak was ousted.

Revolution

Al-Ahram used the term “revolution” 162 times over 8 days, while it had used it 91 times over 18 days before Mubarak was ousted. Al-Wafd used “revolution” 194 times and Al-Masry Al-Youm 250 times.

	Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
joy	24	22	26
victory	26	30	33
revolution	162	194	250
martyrs	91	90	101
victims		4	
rallies	3		2
demonstration	6	39	23
demonstrators	11	42	34
protesters	5		1

protest	4	1	9
reform	14	2	10
corruption	17	32	29
thugs	6	1	5
National Party thugs		3	
robbery	7	1	3
looting	3	1	2
people want to overthrow the regime		1	3
people overthrew the regime		1	2
fall of the regime	6	10	5
Freedom	36	26	36
poverty	2	2	5
stability	9	2	5

The Ousting of the President on 11th February:

On 11th February, Deputy President Omar Solyman declared that President Hosni Mubarak had decided to step down from office.

The Headlines

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
President Mubarak has stepped down	The end : the people’s will triumphed and Mubarak fell Celebrations spread through every street Al-Wafd introduces an initiative to restore calm and reassurance at home	Mubarak steps down and appoints military rule joy spreads throughout Egypt

Al-Ahram:

Al-Ahram published Deputy President Omar Suleiman’s declaration that the president had stepped down.

President Mubarak and his family arrived at Sharm El Sheikh.

It published statements by the activist Wael Ghoniem, the administrator of the Face Book page “We are all Khaled Saeed”, which helped to spark the revolution.

Ghoniem stated: “the army promised to protect the popular revolution”.

Al-Ahram published on 12th February an article entitled “Egyptians celebrate the overthrow of the regime”. The language in this article had completely changed.

The revolution was staged by Egypt’s honest youths. Millions went outside into the streets and squares, overjoyed at achieving the first demand of the revolution, which was the overthrow of the regime. Thousands joined protesters in Tahrir Square to celebrate the historic occasion. The square has become a symbol of the

youth's revolution, which succeeded in overthrowing the regime and won a victory for the people's will. They honour the martyrs who scarified their lives for freedom and dignity. Those martyrs wrote Egypt's new birth certificate with their blood. Mubarak was the first president to be overthrown by a popular revolution. It published the demonstrators' slogans: "We have triumphed; we have triumphed" and "The people and army are one hand".

Al-Wafd:

The people's will has triumphed and the 25th January revolution succeeded in overthrowing President Mubarak after 19 days. Joy and celebration spread throughout Egypt's streets and squares.

It published the ruling party spokesman's statement that President Hosni Mubarak and his family had left Cairo for Sharm El Sheikh.

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

The Deputy President declared that President Mubarak had stepped down after the demonstrators went to the presidential palaces. They besieged the presidential palace in Cairo, Ras el-Tein Palace in Alexandria and the Egyptian Radio and Television union. Joy spread throughout Egypt and the demonstrators in Tahrir Square celebrated their glorious victory. Mubarak surrendered to the people's will 17 days after the revolution began.

Hussein Tantawi the Minister of Defense, appeared in front of the presidential palace and exchanged greetings with those celebrating Mubarak's departure.

Conclusion:

There were far more similarities between the three newspapers once Mubarak was ousted.

The Celebration of the ousting of Mubarak on 18th February:

The Headlines:

Al-Ahram	Al-Wafd	Al-Masry Al-Youm
People want to cleanse the country	Egypt celebrates the revolution: Qaradawi leads millions in the Friday prayer , demanding to overthrow the government and release all detainees	Revolution millions face corruption billions in Tahrir Square

Al-Ahram:

Al-Ahram's language changed when reporting the demonstrations to celebrate the overthrow of the president. It published the demonstrators' requests.

In the million demonstrations, the people chanted insistently "People want to cleanse the country" and achieve all of the revolution's demands. They demanded that the emergency law should be repealed, all political detainees released, that a committee should be formed to investigate the Ministry of the Interior's crimes, that offenders should be prosecuted immediately, that the former regime's corruption symbols should be tracked down, that Ahmad Shafiq's government should be sacked, and that Omar Suleiman and all of the former regime's symbols should be prevented from occupying any political position.

It reported the demonstrators' slogans

"Hosni Mubarak left the palace and his assistants will not govern Egypt", "no to Hosni and his assistants; no to his party and regime".

It reported on the demonstrations in support of Mubarak.

Thousands gathered in Mohandseen to express their gratitude to President Mubarak.

Al-Wafd:

Millions in Cairo and the governorates celebrated the victory of the revolution. It published Yusuf Al-Qaradawi's Friday sermon. He described the former regime as a pharaoh who has lost his throne. He asked the army to free Egypt from the government formed by Mubarak. He requested the opening up of the borders with Palestine. He demanded the immediate release of all political detainees and those who had been arrested during Mubarak's time. He asked the Arab rulers not to fight their people during the demonstrations. He added that the revolution had triumphed over the juggernaut, corruption and the Pharaoh. The sectarian sedition ended in the overthrow of the regime.

Al-Masry Al-Youm

Millions in Tahrir Square, Alexandria and all of the governorates celebrated the 25th January revolution. They demanded the rejection of Shafiq's government and the release of all political detainees. The demonstrators adopted the slogan: "the people want to cleanse the country". Qaradawi stated that "no one can stand against change or the people".

It reported on the demonstrations in support of Mubarak.

Thousands dressed in black gathered in Mohandseen to express their gratitude to President Mubarak under the slogan "We are sorry, president".

Conclusion:

The three newspapers reported the celebrations, but Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm reported the demonstrations in support of Mubarak while Al-Wafd did not.

Chapter5

The Factors influencing the Coverage of the Revolution in the Three Egyptian Newspapers:

The researcher held interviews with 15 journalists from the three Egyptian newspapers to determine which factors influenced their coverage of the revolution:

5.1 Ownership

Al-Ahram, “a state-owned newspaper”

The Deputy Editor-in-Chief Faroq Hashem stated that the president, who appointed the editor-in-chief, was in practice the owner of the state-owned media. He added that his colleague Osama Saraya, Al-Ahram’s editor-in-chief during the revolution, had been appointed by the ousted president. Saraya was a member of the National Democratic Party’s policies committee, headed by Gamal Mubarak, ousted President Hosni Mubarak’s son. He was more kingly than a king and his loyalty was to the president. He supported the former ruling regime without justification. He wrote on Mubarak’s birthday an article entitled “Egypt born anew”. After 25th January, he became more aggressive in defending Mubarak’s regime because he knew well that he was a major component of the former regime, unlike Al-Ahram. If the regime were to be overthrown, Saraya would be overthrown, especially as he wished to be chairman of Al-Ahram’s board. Opinion columns were censored and some of them were deleted entirely. He was terrified of any word criticizing the regime, especially Hosni Mubarak and Gamal Mubarak.

Managing Editor Hazem Abdel Rahman stated that the state-owned newspapers had served the president, who appointed the editor-in-chief, but the emergence of the privately-owned newspapers and satellite channels led to increased freedom for

the state -owned newspapers because the competition had become stronger and people had different sources of information.

Managing Editor Anwar Abdul Latif stated that the president appointed the editor-in- chief and chairman of the board, who formulated the editorial policy. Sometimes, a state newspaper was a medium of the ruling party, whose head was the ousted president, for promoting its policies and suppressing the opposition on different levels. Each state newspaper handled its relationship with the former ruling regime in a different way. Some state newspapers had become National Democratic Party newspapers, attacking the opposition or following the party's policies.

Al-Wafd, “an opposition party newspaper”:

Executive Editor-in-Chief Wagdy Zein Al Dein stated that Al-Wafd, as an opposition newspaper, had to accentuate the party's role, follow its policies and serve its purposes.

Al- Masry Al-Youm, “a privately-owned newspaper”:

The Managing Editor Charl Fouad stated that: “There are no independent newspapers in Egypt. There are private, government and party newspapers, because the media support whoever owns them. Any newspaper owner is free to permit journalists only a certain level of freedom. For example, if the businessman who owns a newspaper broke the law, the journalists could not report about him.”

The coverage of the revolution:

Al-Ahram did not report the demonstrations before 25th January. It devoted 18,388 words to anti-government demonstrations, 18,959 words to the official reactions and 3,436 words to the opposition reactions from the 25th January demonstrations until 11th February.

Abdul Latif stated that: “During the revolution, we were not instructed to, but we applied the familiar policy of marginalizing the opposition under the pretext of reducing people’s sympathy for them, especially as the invitations to the 25th January demonstrations were from groups that were considered unpopular”. He admitted that they had not realized that the demands of the youths were the same those of as everyone else: human dignity, the banning of torture in prisons, the alternation of power and freedom for the opposition.

Journalist Mahmoud Mikawi stated that Al-Ahram, on 26th January, featured Lebanon’s events as the main article on the front page, presenting news about people distributing flowers and chocolate to police officers.

Managing editor Hazem Abdul Rahman stated that the main article on the front page on 26th January was supposed to be about the demonstrations, but Osama Saraya refused to publish it and insisted on featuring Lebanon’s events as the main article and the security forces’ viewpoints were used in the beginning. Al-Ahram’s delegate in the ministry of the Interior was responsible for reporting on the demonstrations. Saraya thought that Mubarak was the best president for Egypt. Mr. Abdel Rahman stated that he wished for the overthrow of the regime. He added that his son and daughter were in Tahrir Square and he himself attended the demonstrations several times.

On 28th January Al-Ahram reported that the Muslim Brotherhood had led the demonstrations to vandalize Egypt and terrorize the people. The police protected the demonstrators, but had to use force to protect the country. It focused on the attacks against the National Party's headquarters and police stations.

Mikawi added that Al-Ahram published formal news until 28th January, "Anger Friday", when the governmental official's confusion was transmitted to Al-Ahram's officials.

On 2nd February, Al-Ahram reported the people's main request for the regime to stand down. It reported on the victims without giving any details. It reported on the opposition's stance.

Mr. Hashem stated that Al-Ahram had witnessed many wrangles between the editor-in-chief and the journalists about rectifying the distortion which had influenced Al-Ahram so negatively. The editor-in-chief faced the journalists' unusual criticism because he fully supported Hosni Mubarak, his son Gamal and their assistants. However, he came under a scathing attack by Al-Ahram's journalists.

Mr. Mikawi added that Al-Ahram had witnessed a revolution. The journalists were grumbling about the coverage, especially since some of them were revolutionaries themselves. He stated: "We went to the square on 31st January and 1st February, where we faced the people's rejection". Mikawi stated: "We tried to rectify the situation, but it was very difficult and the editor-in-chief did not know what he was doing". Mikawi added that the editor-in-chief had to publish people's reactions on the inside pages and focused on the government's viewpoint on the front page. He could not ignore the people's views, especially since the government had admitted them.

Most reports were headlined by official statements in Al-Ahram

Mr. Abdul Latif stated that the newspaper reported on the demonstrations, but the journalists had to use government sources in the articles.

Mr. Hazem Abdel Rahman added that the newspaper's editors wrote official headlines for the demonstration news to avoid any governmental expostulation or punishment, such as preventing journalists from working.

The Battle of Camels:

Al-Ahram reported the battle as clashes between supporters and opponents of the changes declared by Mubarak. It published a main article entitled "Millions support Mubarak in marches in governorates".

Mr. Abdel Rahman stated: "I disagreed with Osama Saray on the coverage of the Battle of Camels. I told Saraya that he knew that those people had been paid to attack the demonstrators in Tahrir Square, but he did not listen to me and the main article entitled "Millions of demonstrators support Mubarak" was published". He added that the articles were shifted in the second edition.

Al-Ahram described the demonstrations as a "revolution" on 5th February for the first time.

Mr. Mikawi stated that Osama Saraya left the management to Managing Editor Hazem Abdel Rahman after the Battle of Camels on 2nd and 3rd February.

Journalist Samih Lashin stated that the journalists agreed with Mr. Hazem Abdel Rahman that they should write about what happened in the streets after the Battle of Camels. He recalled a demonstrator in Tahrir Square telling him at that time that "Finally, Al-Ahram has taken our side". He said that his articles would not be changed after Anger Friday on 28th January.

Al-Ahram did not report the demonstrators' slogans till Mubarak was ousted on 11th February.

Mr. Lashin stated that the regime was not overthrown until 11th February. Hence, journalists could not write about the demonstrations in details, such as the slogans against Mubarak.

The first interviews with activist Wael Ghonim, a prominent figure in the revolution, and 4 demonstrators were published in Al-Ahram on 8th February.

Mr. Abdul Latif added that Saraya told the journalists they could write whatever they wanted on 8th February. He added that the journalists decided that, if they had to choose between preserving Al-Ahram and maintaining their relationship with the authorities, they would choose Al-Ahram's future. He stated that Al-Ahram's journalists produced the "Tahrir's Youths" newspaper on 8th February and did not state the name of the editor-in-chief or chairman of the board on the editions which were distributed with Al-Ahram copies and in Tahrir Square without charge. They published in "Tahrir's Youths" what they could not publish in Al-Ahram: for example, the slogans of the demonstrators against Mubarak. Columnists had the freedom to write what they wanted. Al-Ahram's employees distributed "Tahrir's Youths" in Tahrir Square themselves. It lasted for 52 days.

Al-Ahram after Mubarak's ousting:

Al-Ahram used the term "revolution" 162 times over 8 days after Mubarak's ousting, while it had done 91 times over 18 days before Mubarak's ousting.

Hashem stated that Al-Ahram's main headline in its printed edition was "The people overthrew the regime" after Mubarak's ousting. The difference in tone was enormous between the headline "Egypt newly born", published on Mubarak's

birthday, and “The people overthrew the regime” after Mubarak’s ousting. Al-Ahram continued to support the popular revolution rather than the regime to restore its readers’ confidence.

The Military Council

Al-Ahram devoted 1,157 words to the military council’s reactions before Mubarak’s ousting compared with 3,069 words after his ousting.

Al-Wafd devoted 378 words to the military council and Al-Masry Al-Youm 1,793 words after Mubarak’s ousting.

Mr. Hashem stated that the military council had replaced the president despite the increased freedom. It appointed the editors-in-chief in the state-owned newspapers and influenced their editorial policies. The ownership of the state newspapers must be reviewed according to objective principles to serve the people instead of the ruler.

Mr. Abdul LaTif stated that the military council assumed the president’s role, but it realized that it led the country after the revolution.

He stated:”We have to differentiate between the ruling regime, as a government and a party, and the state. The state newspapers must express all political currents and maintain state unity”.

Al-Wafd:

Al-Wafd newspaper devoted 8,917 words to Al-Wafd’s reactions and used 38 sources from the Al-Wafd party.

Editor-in-Chief Suleiman Ghoda stated that the newspaper was keen to publish the party’s statements.

Executive Editor-in-Chief Wagdy Zein AlDein stated that Al-Wafd, as an opposition newspaper, had to accentuate the party's role in the revolution, especially since the revolution's principles had been the main requests of the party through its history. These included fair elections, the constitution, combating corruption and the alternation of power. The newspaper had to follow the party's policy and serve its purposes.

Head of the News Section Yasser Shura added: "We were afraid that, if the political powers including Al-Wafd reached an agreement with the government, it would lead to a change in the party's stance".

Al-Wafd devoted 32,897 words to the anti-government demonstrations and 7,423 words to the official reactions.

Mr. Zein AlDein stated that the newspaper was keen to focus on the people while ignoring the official sources. The newspaper attacked the former regime's members and focused on their corruption.

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

Al-Masry Al-Youm devoted 56,796 words to the anti-government demonstrations.

Mr. Charl Fouad stated: "Our priority was the revolution, revolution, revolution. We cancelled other news sections, such as the economic and sports sections. Our newspaper from the front page to the last was about the revolution".

5.2 Government threats and pressure:

Al-Wafd:

Mr. Ghoda stated that the president of the party had been threatened by governmental officials that he would pay the price for his stance.

Zein AlDein stated that the president of the party had been threatened by members of the former regime and the National Democratic Party. For example, Speaker of the Shura Council and Head of the Higher Press Council Safwat El-Sherif told him: “You played with fire”. Zein AlDein said: “If the revolution failed, all of us would be imprisoned”. Al-Wafd newspaper is printed on Al-Ahram’s printing press, which controls the number of copies printed.

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

Managing Editor Mohamed El Sayed Saleh stated that Al-Masry Al-Youm was threatened by the government and other authorities controlling the country that emerged during the revolution, such as the General Intelligence Service and the State Security Investigations Service. Saleh added that, when Al-Masry Al-Youm published the headline “warning” on 26th January, it was threatened with closure by the Minister of the Interior, the State Security, the Minister of Information and the Chief of Presidential Staff. When the newspaper published the headline “security conspiracy”, the editor-in- chief was threatened with closure by the Minister of Information and the Chief of Presidential Staff.

On 2nd February, after Mubarak’s speech, Al-Masry Al-Youm published its editorial entitled “A call to Tharir’s heroes: keep your victories”. It invited all parties and powers to engage in the national dialogue. The newspaper’s stance

influenced the coverage. It devoted 2,770 words to the demonstrations in support of Mubarak's speech compared with 778 words to the demonstrations against Mubarak. It held interviews with 43 persons who supported the Mubarak's speech compared with 6 objectors. It held interviews with 5 prominent figures who supported the speech.

Mr. Mohamed El Sayed Saleh stated that there was pressure on all media, including Al-Masry Al-Youm. The government's threats did not impact on the coverage, but there were attempts by all media to calm the situation due to pressure placed on their owners until the Battle of Camels on the 2nd and 3rd February. At that time, some opposition powers agreed to engage in the national dialogue with Vice President Omar Suleiman. The demonstrators noted this, but failed to understand the reasons for it. Mr. Saleh added: "We prepared 15 pages about martyrs' stories, but could only publish 3 pages due to pressure put on the newspaper".

Mr. Charl Fouad added that the owner of Al-Masry Al-Youm did not intervene in the coverage of the revolution, but that the coverage impacted on his other projects. The government put pressure on the owner through other projects. He stated: "The most difficult challenge was that, if the revolution failed, we would all be punished severely".

Managing Editor Mohamed Radwan stated that, when Al-Masry Al-Youm published the headline "warning" on 26th January, the editor-in-chief was threatened by a high governmental official who said: "You play with fire, after the events are over, there will be strong, dangerous reaction against Al-Masry Al-Youm".

5.3 The journalists' political stances:

Al-Wafd:

Al-Wafd's prominent figures had different attitudes toward the revolution.

Head of the News Section Yasser Shura announced that the party issued a statement on 25th January in support of the revolution. Therefore, the newspaper had to follow the party's policy, but the coverage depended on every journalist's attitude and priorities. He stated: "I supported the revolution and always published news about the revolution and against the former regime".

Journalist Salah Sharabi stated: "My favourable stance towards the revolution influenced the coverage although I knew this was unprofessional. For example, if the number of demonstrators was small, I avoided stating the number and instead published a photo showing a crowd of people".

He added that he avoided tarnishing the revolutionaries' public image, especially negatives based on personal cases. He avoided criticizing the military because he thought that this was the last remaining cornerstone of the Egyptian state and that destroying this cornerstone meant destroying the Egyptian state regardless of whether he agreed or disagreed with its policy. He added that one of his main priorities was to report the number of demonstrators because this was a decisive factor in the revolution. The huge number of demonstrators aroused the hope that the revolution would succeed. He focused on the huge number of female demonstrators, children and famous individuals who were widely known for their honest opinions who played a crucial role in supporting the revolutionaries after

rumours spread by the ousted regime's symbols accused the revolutionaries of treason and betrayal.

Journalist Abdul Wahab Shaban added that he focused in his reporting on issues such as solidarity, the absence of sectarianism and discrimination to encourage people to join in the demonstrations.

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

Journalist Samah Abdul Atti stated that she could not forget that she was an Egyptian citizen, which influenced her coverage. She stated "All of us were eager to see this turning point in Egypt's history. This is my country and I lived a dream that could not be understood and the future could not be predicted. I was a part of the event and I could not see any negatives". She added that she only could see what she wanted to because she was part of the structure. She stated: "I could not be neutral; I sided with the people".

5.4 Violence against journalists:

Al-Wafd devoted 736 words to the violence against journalists while Al-Masry Al-Youm devoted 1,719 words.

Al-Wafd:

Mr. Salah Sharabi stated that he was arrested on 25th January, while taking photographs in Talat Harb Square. A police general arrested him, even though he told him that was a journalist. He spent 5 hours in the military prison in the 10th Ramadan neighborhood, met famous people and was forced to sign some papers, the content of which he was unaware.

Mr. Abdul Wahab Shaban said that he was hit on 25th January when he tried to enter Tahrir Square. He told a general that he was a journalist, but the general replied “If you want to live, leave because we will arrest everyone in the square”. Shaban asked: “Did you come to protect or to arrest us?” The general replied “There is no time for such talk”. Mr. Shaban stated that he tried to enter the square again at 4 am, but a police officer warned him: “If you do not leave, you will not see the sun again...” “There are no journalists”.

He added that he went to pray at Hussein Mosque on Friday, but a general prevented him from entering it although he told him that he was a journalist. Shaban told the general: ‘Your actions will inflame the situation’, but the general replied: “We want it be inflamed”.

Al-Masry Al-Youm:

Journalist Samah Abdul Aatti stated: “The most difficult challenge facing journalists was the confrontations with the security forces in the streets. The police state was not overthrown. When reporting, we might be hit or shot. I was hit by a police officer on 26th January. We saw people being hit, dragged and arrested. My colleague tried to speak to a young man who was being dragged away by the police, but an officer hit him. I photographed them, but the officer pushed me. I fell to the ground. I rose and tried to hit the officer, who was shocked and pushed me again and I fell again. I tried for a third time and fell again. My colleagues pulled me away, through fear of arrest, but I yelled: “I have known your face, I will not forgive you”. She said” I cried with compulsion and weakness”.

Journalist Mohamed Gharib stated that journalists sent the newspaper to the printing press via more than one person to avoid thugs or the State Security thwarting them. Mubarak’s supporters stormed Al-Shorouk newspaper and Al Arabiya channel. It was said that they would storm Al-Masry Al-Youm, so the journalists formed popular committees to protect the newspaper’s headquarters.

5.5 Difficulties facing journalists

Al-Wafd

Mr.Salah Sharabi stated that a difficulty facing him was the different number of martyrs. There was no accuracy in differentiating between martyrs who had gone to the square and killers exploited by the ousted regime to fight the revolution, especially as the journalists were not allowed to enter the hospitals.

Al-Masry Al-Youm

Mr.Mohamed Gharib stated that the journalists faced difficulties in transmitting news on Anger Friday (on 28th January) when the government shut down all mobile networks, but people in houses and shops allowed journalists to use their landline telephones to transmit news. He added that none of the journalists had witnessed a revolution before. Hence, they had no previous experience of one. They could not predict events or even decide if they were in the midst of a revolution or merely demonstrations.

5.6 The Social Media:

According to the Freedom House report in 2012, the new media and citizen journalism made a major contribution to the Egyptian and Tunisian uprisings.⁶⁴

Social media played a major role during the revolution. The three newspapers reported people's comments and activities that appeared in the social media.

Al-Ahram

Al-Ahram devoted 182 words to the social media before the 25th January demonstrations, 1,027 words from 25th January to the anti-government demonstrations on 11th February and 5,446 words from Mubarak's ousting on 11th February to the public celebrations on 19th February.

Mr. Abdul Latif stated that the social media were used as for about five per cent of their information during the revolution. Due to the major role of the social media during the revolution, Al-Ahram provided a page for people's comments and activities reported via the social media. He thinks that the social media have become a main source of information and an important indicator of youths' attitudes.

Al-Wafd

Al-Wafd devoted 144 words to the social media before the 25th January demonstrations, 3,471 words from 25th January to the anti-government

⁶⁴ <http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FOTP%202012%20Booklet.pdf>

demonstrations on 11th February and 6,326 words from Mubarak's ousting on 11th February to the public celebrations on 19th February.

Mr. Yasser Shura stated that the journalists depended on the social media up to 40% to find out information about the demonstrations, the number of victims and the martyrs' names during the revolution.

Mr. Abdul Wahab Shaban stated that he did not depend on the social media for his coverage of the revolution.

Al-Masry Al-Youm

Al-Masry Al-Youm devoted 91 words to the social media before the 25th January demonstrations, 2,065 words from 25th January to the anti-government demonstrations on 11th February and 1,971 words from Mubarak's ousting on 11th February to the public celebrations on 19th February.

Ms. Samah Abdul Atti stated that she used the social media to follow the demonstrations.

Mr. Mohamed ElSayed Saleh stated that the journalists could not depend completely on the social media because any one could upload anything to them. Hence, they are not a reliable source of information.

5.7 The newspapers' stances:

Al-Wafd's views were clear from some headlines. For example, the article on the first suicide case was headlined by: "Egyptian Bouazizi".

Mr. Zein ElDain stated:" We expressed our views in some headlines to reveal more of the reality and clarify the situation".

Al-Masry Al-Youm expressed its views in some headlines. For example, the article on the 25th January demonstrations was headlined: "warning".

Mr. Charl Fouad stated that viewpoints were expressed in the headlines due to the national interests. All Egyptians had an interest in the overthrowing of the former regime.

Mr. Mohamed Radwan stated that the journalists tried to clarify the situation and help the readers to understand and form opinions.

5.8 Circulation:

Al-Ahram

Mr. Hashem stated that the public attacked Al-Ahram, which tarnished its reputation. Hashem added that the circulation decreased to 35% of its previous circulation, which was the lowest level in Al-Ahram's recent history.

Al-Wafd

Mr. Ghoda stated that Al-Wafd's circulation increased by 200% during the revolution.

Mr. Zein AlDain stated that the circulation of Al-Wafd increased during the revolution by 400%, and it reached 77,000 copies.

Al -Masry Al-Youm

Mr. Fouad stated that the circulation of Al-Masry Al-Youm increased by 120% during the revolution to 710,000 copies. The circulation decreased after the revolution, but remained at 200,000 copies - higher compared with the pre-revolution period.

People's confidence:

Mr. Abdul Latif stated that Al-Ahram published an apology to its readers for its coverage of the revolution.

Abdul Latif stated that Al-Ahram restored people's confidence 6 months after the revolution due to its editorial policy which sided with the people's issues and the

disappearance of the authoritarian ruler who had given instructions to the editor-in-chief.

Chapter 6

The American Newspapers

6.1 The Status of the American Newspapers:

The amendment to the constitution guarantees freedom of the press in the United States. The amendment in its entirety reads as follows: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances”.⁶⁵

For more than half a century, the mass media have helped fundamentally to alter the nature of American politics.⁶⁶

One of the clearest trends in media ownership is its increasing concentration in fewer and fewer hands. In his widely cited book, ‘The New Media Monopoly’, Ben Bagdikian (2004) argues that ownership of media has become so concentrated that, by the mid-2000s, only five global firms have come to dominate the mass media industry in the United States, operating like a cartel. These five companies are Time Warner, The Walt Disney Company, Viacom, News Corporation and Bertelsmann. According to Bagdikian, “this gives each of the five corporations and their leaders more communication power than was exercised by any despot or dictatorship in history”.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ David Croteau, William Hoynes, Stefania Milan. *Media /society: industries, images, and audiences*, SAGE publications, Inc, Los Angeles, 2012, p77

⁶⁶ David Croteau, et al, *ibid*, , p219

⁶⁷ David Croteau et al, , , p32

In some cases, the owners of media companies have direct control over media products and thus are able to exert a political influence by promoting ideas that enhance their interests. Conservative media magnate Rupert Murdoch has used a variety of his News Corporation's media holdings to advance his political and economic goals.⁶⁸

Access to the President of the United States is tightly regulated by White House aides, and even regular members of the White House press corps have relatively little opportunity to interact one-on-one with the commander-in-chief. That is why the presidential news conferences are so important. On these occasions, a roomful of reporters is brought into contact with the president and can ostensibly ask him whatever they wish. In reality, even that access is not equal among the assembled reporters, as written and unwritten rules of conduct apply. Each president who has employed the news conference treats it differently, to varying degrees.⁶⁹

The New York Times:

The New York Times, one of the oldest continuously published newspapers in the United States, lies at the top of the elite tier of newspapers.⁷⁰

The New York Times had a circulation of about 875,000 in 2010, "the third largest in the USA", and 34 million unique web visitors from the USA in May 2011. It is

⁶⁸David Croteau et al, , p46

⁶⁹ Jim Willis, *the media effect: how the news influences politics and government*, Westport, Conn. ; London , 2007 p106

⁷⁰ Aurora Wallace, *newspapers and making of modern America: a history*, Greenwood Press, London , 2005, p156

well-known for its liberal slant and targets an audience drawn from the upper socio-economic groups.

The Wall Street Journal:

Since 2007, The Wall Street Journal has been owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation. In April 2011, the newspaper enjoyed the largest circulation of any US newspaper, at around 2.1 million. Prior to April 2001, its circulation revenue had grown for 17 straight quarters in a row, while its digital subscription had also increased by 22% in a year, to over half a million. It targets a similar audience profile as The New York Times. Historically, it has been known for the division between its liberal or "straight" news reporting and the more conservative, free-market leaning of its editorial and opinion pages.⁷¹

The Sample:

The researcher used the term "Egypt" to find articles about the Egyptian revolution in the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal from 17th January to 19th February 2011.

This chapter aims to address four questions:

1) What was the difference in the amount of coverage allocated by each newspaper to the events in the period from 17th January to 19th February 2011, with a particular focus on:

The American official reactions

The American People in Egypt

⁷¹ James Painter, *Poles Apart: "The international reporting of climate skepticism*, Reuters Institute for the study of Journalism, Oxford, 2011, p85

The demonstrations supporting the Egyptian revolution in the United States

The American People's stances

Analysts, experts and former officials' reactions

The newspaper's comments

2) What were the main sources that the newspapers used when covering the events during this period?

3) What were the other indicators of bias in the reporting of the following events during this period?

Language Decisions about what to report and what not to report

4) Which factors influenced the coverage of the revolution?

6.2 The Characteristics of the coverage of the Egyptian revolution in two American newspapers

The preliminary study did not find any crucial differences between the coverage of the anti-government demonstrations in Egypt, the Egyptian government's reactions

and the international reactions. So the research focused more on the reaction of the Obama administration and the reactions of ordinary people including Americans in Egypt and Egyptians in the United States.

The Amount of Coverage:

The New York Times devoted 3,364 words to interviews with Egyptians in the United States, while The Wall Street Journal devoted 582. The New York Times devoted 1,898 words to the American Jews’ stances towards the revolution. The New York Times devoted 1,106 to the newspaper’s comments, while The Wall Street Journal devoted 518 words.

	The New York Times	The Wall Street Journal
the American president’s reactions	4,894	5,208
the American administration’s reactions	7,870	5,065
Congress and its members’ reactions	841	1,304
The American People in Egypt	1,006	1,039
The demonstrations in support of the Egyptian revolution in the U. S.	931	972
The American People’s stances	260	

Egyptians in the U.S.	3,364	582
Arabs in the U.S.	33	
Jews in the U.S.	1,898	
Analysts, experts and former officials' reactions	1,741	899
Newspaper's comments	1,106	518

The Sources:

The Wall Street Journal used the American President as a source 17 times compared with 9 times in The New York Times.

The New York Times focused on people's reactions. It used 22 Egyptians as sources in comparison with 12 in the Wall Street journal. It used 13 Jews as sources.

	New York Times	Wall Street Journal
The American president	9	17
The American officials	45	34
Congress members and speakers	9	9
Former U.S. officials	12	
Experts, analysts and research centres	11	9
Egyptians in the U.S.	22	12
Arabs or other demonstrators and	2	

activists		
American People	7	5
International Media and News Agencies	12	14
Arab diplomats	1	
Jewish leaders	13	

The Language:

There were similarities between both newspapers' use of language:

	New York Times	Wall Street Journal
ally	16	13
embattled "Mubarak"	4	4
revolution	8	4
unrest	14	11
chaos	5	1
crackdown	2	1
protest	50	46
protesters	40	37
uprising	18	5
upheaval	3	2
transition	44	43
resignation	10	6
ouster	4	4

The American Administration's reactions:

The New York Times:

It was very keen to analyze and explain most events. The newspaper commented on most news reports.

Examples:

While President Obama said in his State of the Union address that the American government stood by the people of Tunisia and their struggle for freedom, the White House has been careful not to endorse similar aspirations in Egypt, historically a key ally for American interests in the Middle East.

The administration's restraint is also driven by the fact that, for the United States, dealing with an Egypt without Mr. Mubarak would be difficult at best, and downright scary at worst. For 30 years, his government has been a pillar of American foreign policy in a volatile region, not least because of Egypt's peace treaty with Israel. American officials fear that a new government — particularly one dominated by the Muslim Brotherhood or other Islamist groups — may not honor the treaty signed in 1979 by Mr. Mubarak's predecessor, Anwar el-Sadat.

President Obama once again passed up the opportunity to publicly call for President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt to resign, but said that Egypt will not go back to the country it used to be before the democracy protests started.

The Wall street Journal

The newspaper commented on some news reports.

Example:

The U.S. tone, while shifting to acknowledge the fast-moving situation in Egypt, remained studiously cautious, suggesting they saw one last chance for Mr. Mubarak to address protesters' concerns, and also perhaps an acknowledgement that the alternatives to his rule were uncertain, unknown or unpalatable.

The American Administration's Relationship with Mubarak's Regime:

Both newspapers focused on the American administration's relationship with Mubarak's regime.

Examples:

The New York Times:

Unusually large and sometimes violent burst of civil unrest that appeared to threaten the stability of one of the United States' closest Arab allies.

The Wall Street Journal:

Any major shift in the foreign policy of Egypt, the Arab world's most populous country, would have lasting impact for American interests, in matters from the Arab-Israel peace process to the fight against al Qaeda, say current and former U.S. officials. A major concern—though not an immediate one—is that an Islamist government could someday take power in Cairo, drastically reordering Egypt's world view in a manner similar to what happened in Iran, when the 1979 Islamic revolution overthrew the American-backed shah.

Obama's Speeches:

The New York Times:

It only reported the transcript of Obama's speech after Mubarak's ousting.

The Wall Street Journal:

It reported the transcripts of all Obama's speeches about Egypt.

The demonstrations supporting the Egyptian revolution in the United States:

The New York Times:

It reported that the demonstrators criticized the American administration's stance towards the demonstrations in Egypt.

Examples:

The protesters, many of whom said they were American citizens, came out not only in solidarity with fellow Egyptians but also to demand the American government support their plea for democracy.

"I'm asking the U.S. government not to support a dictator," said Nasser al-Armoush, 57, a business owner who immigrated from Egypt to escape the regime's repression. "Mubarak is over."

Sherif Nasr, 54, a physician who has lived in the United States for 29 years, said: "The American government has a strategic interest in Egypt, they see it as an ally in their fight against terrorism, as an island of stability in the Middle East. I find it very disheartening that they insist the regime is stable, when it is a regime that has no respect for human dignity."

Some demonstrators reiterated his point, shouting, in Arabic, "Mubarak: Tell Obama to get you a plane ticket and U.S. residency."

The Wall Street Journal:

It quoted a demonstrator on the American administration's stance.

Example:

"We are here to give a message to President Obama that your real allies are the Egyptian citizens," said AmrAbdelghany, a 27-year-old college student from North Carolina who said he moved from Egypt less than two years ago.

The American People's Stances:

The New York Times:

It reported on the American people's stance toward the demonstrations in Egypt.

Example

More than 8 in 10 Americans say they are sympathetic to the protesters in Egypt who have called for a change in their government, and most think the changes will be mostly good for Egypt and for the United States, according to a Gallup poll released on Tuesday.

The American Jews

The New York Times reported on Jews who supported the revolution.

Example:

"We are deeply inspired by their push for democracy and freedom," said Cecilie Surasky, deputy director of Jewish Voice for Peace, based in Oakland.

Ms. Surasky said she hoped a new political order in Egypt would help speed the end of Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories, which her group opposes.

It reported the American Jewish leaders' stances.

Example:

Across the political spectrum, American Jewish leaders say that when they consider the future in Egypt and what it means for Israel, it is as if they are standing on a shaky tightrope stretched between poles of hope and dread.

6.3 The factors that influenced the coverage of the revolution in the two American newspapers:

The researcher e-mailed the journalists who had reported on the Egyptian revolution in The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal and the newspapers themselves several times.

Challenges in Cairo:

The New York Times:

The New York Times correspondent in Cairo, Kareem Fahim, stated that there were a few specific challenges to reporting the Egyptian uprising. The first was simply logistical, as the mobile phone and internet service was cut off at several points during the uprising, making it hard to get the news out, and to work out exactly what was going on much of the time. He added that during the marches on 28th January, he remembers using the landlines in several shops in Mohandeseen and Dokki, “neighborhoods in Giza”, to report the news that the protests were becoming extremely large. He stated: “I’m unsure that it influenced the coverage; we adjusted pretty quickly to the communications problems, and used satellite modems and phones to communicate with our editors in New York”.

Mr. Fahim added that a more daunting challenge was working out how the Mubarak government would react on any given day, and whether, especially in the early days of the protest, we were seeing a repeat of Tunisia, or a protest movement that would fizzle out. The use of a lot of careful language can be seen in our stories during the first few days, as we wrestled with the question of whether the government was actually threatened or still strong”.

Mr. Fahim added:”We dealt with the same thing that other journalists and protesters faced, including violence by the riot police and thugs. There was also a rumour, at one point, that the government might raid our offices, so our staff took the equipment home or hid it”.

Mr. Fahim stated: “I have to say that I didn’t personally face different difficulties as an international correspondent, but two of my colleagues were briefly detained by the military”. He added that there was a wave of anti-foreigner propaganda, fuelled by the state television, which resulted in attacks on foreign journalists during the uprising. He stated: “I was never the target of those attacks”.

The Wall Street Journal

The Wall Street Journal correspondent in Cairo, Matt Bradley, stated that journalists faced quite a few challenges during the coverage of the revolution. He added that on the evening of January 27th, the Egyptian government cut off internet usage throughout the country, which meant that they no longer had access to email, Twitter or Facebook (which were essential to the activists' organization of the protests) and were unable to do basic research online. Mr. Bradley stated: "As a journalist, I have come to rely on the internet as an essential tool but, suddenly, without the web, I realized how much I had been using it as a crutch to handle simple queries like the spelling of names and dates".

On the morning of January 28th, the Egyptian government cut off the mobile phone service. This was made even more difficult because he had almost no landline numbers for any of his contacts, including activists, Brotherhood members and other important characters whom he had come to rely on for information. Mr. Bradley added that, for the following few days, they were forced to try literally to run into the people whom they knew in Tahrir Square or elsewhere. He stated: "Again, we were thrust into Stone Age reporting".

Mr. Bradley stated that the other, perhaps more significant challenge was the campaign of anti-foreigner sentiment that the Egyptian state media drummed up in order to have a scapegoat for the unrest. The state TV broadcast widely and constantly the view that the protests had been instigated by foreigners, particularly members of the foreign media. Suddenly, it was unsafe to be a journalist and they began hearing horror stories about their colleagues being beaten up around Cairo. He stated: "I personally was chased by a group of people, armed with knives, clubs and machetes, out of a poor neighborhood near Cairo. The military personnel

nearby had to fire into the air in order to disperse the crowd. It was very frightening and took some getting used to, but eventually, the wave of xenophobia crested and ended, and we felt safe again”.

He added that, in the past few several months, the xenophobia that he mentioned has resurfaced. People openly condemn Americans and many are suspicious of his presence in Egypt. Mr. Bradley stated: “It’s a big change from when I first arrived three and a half years ago, when Egyptians were, with very few exceptions, welcoming and curious about a foreigner living amongst them”. He added that it has been very upsetting to see how much influence the regime-sponsored media machine has on ordinary Egyptians and how capable they are of inciting mob violence simply by broadcasting untruths.

Mr. Bradley believes that the foreign correspondents are probably respected more than their Egyptian colleagues but, at the same time, they come under far greater suspicion. He stated: “It’s difficult to get ‘scoops’ and breaking news, and certainly very difficult to break through the language barrier, that might allow me more access to ordinary people. It’s not easy for me to hang out with my sources in social situations and become their trusted friends, as my Egyptian colleagues might do”.

However, the Western press has a reputation for authority, accuracy and objectivity that the Egyptian press does not enjoy. On the whole, he thinks that even many Egyptians trust Western journalists more than they trust his Egyptian colleagues. This varies, of course, on a case by case basis.

The Middle East Bureau Chief of The Wall Street Journal Bill Spindle stated that one of the main challenges during the revolution was security in and around Tahrir

square for reporters. There were definitely security concerns. He added that one of their reporters was attacked by a group of thugs. He hit his head fleeing the group and needed five stitches. His injury was not serious, but could have been worse. Mr. Spindle stated that the other challenge was the sheer speed of events as Mubarak went from appearing fixed in office forever to be toppled in weeks. Mr. Spindle added that they had to plan carefully when working in and around the square and reporters weren't able to always work with the freedom they would have liked. He stated they had to send up to 8 reporters to Cairo and other places in Egypt to keep up with the speed that things were happening.

He added that they had faced difficulty to try to manage the unmanageable. For example, trying to keep up with events each day in such a chaotic environment was a huge challenge. The cell phone network and internet were down during some of the biggest days. Many rumors were flying around the square and beyond. Reporters couldn't easily communicate with each other or with their editors. Safety was a constant worry.

Challenges in Washington:

The New York Times:

Chief Washington correspondent David E Sanger stated: "In Washington, the challenge was piercing the administration's confusion and secrecy about its response. We managed to do that, but only after Obama had had several conversations with Mubarak. Some of those came out in the paper".

Use of Social Media:

The New York Times:

Mr Fahim stated: “Absolutely, we were following Twitter and Facebook closely throughout the uprising, for information on the protests and the crackdown. Both were very helpful, but, of course, not always reliable – I can’t count the number of Twitter rumours that we chased down that turned out to be untrue”.

The Wall Street Journal:

Mr. Bradley stated that he depended heavily on Facebook and Twitter for his coverage. Without those tools, it would have been very difficult to keep up with the breaking news, the new information in the Egyptian and foreign media and simply gauging public opinion. Both Twitter and Facebook allowed him real-time access to what was going on in Egypt.

Mr. Spindle stated that they were constantly monitoring twitter sites and facebook pages to track projects and keep up with the opposition.

The New York Times’ Stance:

Mr. Fahim stated that he did not think that the newspaper really adopted a particular stance on the Egyptian uprising, and there was certainly no pressure to cover the events they were witnessing in any particular way. Each evening, they would speak with their editors about the coverage, and would ask them what was important, and what they should be writing about. Mr. Fahim added that his more experienced colleagues – Anthony Shadid and David Kirkpatrick, who headed the bureaus in Beirut and Cairo – were very good at informing the newspaper about what their priorities should be.

The Wall Street Journal’s Stance:

Mr. Bradley stated that he never felt strongly influenced by the newspaper's political stance. The Wall Street Journal has a reputation for hard-nosed business reporting, a conservative economic perspective and relatively strong support for Israel, even by American standards, but these views are, for the most part, confined to its opinion pages. He added: "I've never been asked to alter my writing or the direction of a story to suit the paper's perspective".

Journalists' political stances:

The New York Times:

Mr. Fahim stated: "As an Egyptian American, as someone who has followed Egyptian politics closely my whole life – and frankly, as a human being – I think it was impossible not to be moved by the courage and dynamism of the protest movement, but I was interested in covering all of it, and tried to, including the feelings of the government loyalists, many of whom I interviewed during marches". There was a real fear among many of those people about what would happen if Hosni Mubarak was toppled.

The Ownership:

The New York Times

Mr. Fahim stated that the ownership of The New York Times did not really influence the coverage. The editors at the paper were relying on all of the journalists in the field to tell them what was happening. They had ideas for stories, based on what they were reading in various places, but the journalists' ideas were the most important, in his opinion.

Mr. Sanger stated that that The New York Times was a public company, with family ownership controlling a majority of the voting stock. He added “I've never seen the family interfere in the coverage, and I've worked at The Times for nearly 30 years”.

The Wall Street Journal

Mr. Bradley stated that the ownership of The Wall Street Journal did not influence its coverage. He said that perhaps the ownership influences subtle things - like which of his story pitches are approved, etc.-but on the ground in Cairo, he did not notice anything like that. He stated: “No one has ever directly interfered in one of my stories with a blatant, politically-motivated change”.

Conclusion:

There are many similarities between the coverage of the revolution in The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal. Both newspapers focused on the American administration's relationship with the Mubarak regime. The New York Times was very keen to analyze most events, whilst the Wall Street Journal dedicated a lot of attention to President Barak Obama's reactions. The New York Times reported on the views of American people, Jews and Egyptians in the United States. The main challenge facing The New York Times correspondent in

Cairo was violence. The confusion and secrecy surrounding the American administration's response was the main challenge facing journalists in Washington. The social media were a main source of information about the events in Egypt, but were not a reliable source.

Chapter 7

The Israeli Newspapers

7.1 The Status of the Israeli Press:

According to the Freedom House's report in 2012, the Israeli press is classified as free. The report, which covered the events that occurred in 2011, concluded that various pressures impinged on the press freedom in democratic countries such as Israel.⁷²

Israel imposes military censorship on publications.⁷³

The Israeli Chief Censor Sima Vaknin-Gil stated in an interview with SPIEGEL ONLINE: "I will censor anything that comes across my desk that I believe will be useful to the enemy for purposes of gathering valuable information. It can be one letter, one word, one line. At times, I regret, it can be more -- but we aim to keep our intervention to a minimum".⁷⁴

The International Herald Tribune, "the global edition of The New York Times" published an article entitled: "In Israel, press freedom is under attack" by Dimi Reider, on 31st October 2011, that stated: "The Tel Aviv District Court sentenced Anat Kamm, a 24-year-old journalist and former soldier, to four and a half years in prison for leaking documents containing evidence of what she suspected might be

⁷² <http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FOTP%202012%20Booklet.pdf>

⁷³ Saleh Al Noamani, *Military and press in Israel*, Cairo, Shorouk, 2005, p32

⁷⁴ <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/interview-with-israel-s-chief-censor-i-will-censor-anything-that-will-be-useful-to-the-enemy-a-690811.html>

war crimes committed by her commanders. Uri Blau, a prominent Israeli investigative reporter at Haaretz, who received the documents from Ms. Kamm, is now waiting to hear whether the attorney general will indict him”.⁷⁵

The private media dominate the press market in Israel. “Yedioth Ahronoth”, Haaretz and Maariv monopolize the print media market.⁷⁶

70% of media professionals work for these three newspapers. They have a great influence over Israeli society.⁷⁷

Haaretz:

Haaretz is Israel's oldest daily newspaper. It was founded in 1918 and is now published in both Hebrew and English. The English edition is published and sold together with The International Herald Tribune. It is known for its staunch left-liberal stance on domestic and foreign issues. Its editorial pages are considered influential among government leaders. Haaretz is considered Israel's most influential daily newspaper. Its readership includes Israel's intelligentsia and its political and economic elites. Surveys show that Haaretz’s readership has a higher-than-average education, income, and wealth; most are Ashkenazim.

Until August 2006, the Israeli Schocken family owned 100% of the Haaretz Group, but then the German publisher M. DuMont Schauberg acquired 25 % of the shares. The deal was negotiated with the help of the former Israeli ambassador to Germany, Avi Primor.

⁷⁵ http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/01/opinion/in-israel-press-freedom-is-under-attack.html?_r=1

⁷⁶ Saleh Al Noamani, *Military and press in Israel*, Cairo, Shorouk, 2005, p24

⁷⁷ Doaa Mokhtar Mohamed Ghasob, *Palestinian and Israeli media coverage of the second Palestinian Intifada “analytical study on Palestinian and Israeli websites”*, Master’s research, the Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University, 2009, p90,91

On 12th June 2011, it was announced that the Russian-Israeli businessman Leonid Nevzlin had purchased a 20% stake in the Haaretz Group, buying 15% from the family and 5% from M. DuMont Schauberg. This means that the Schocken family now owns 60% and M. DuMont Schauberg and Leonid Nevzlin 20% each⁷⁸.

Ynetnews:

Ynetnews is the online English language Israeli news website of Yedioth Ahronoth, a widely-read newspaper, founded in 1939. Ynetnews' team of translators and editors provides coverage of news based on the reporting and writing of Ynet and from Yedioth Ahronoth and other publications of the Yedioth Group. Ynetnews also produces original material and works with in-depth news reporting, commentary and analysis by Israel's public opinion makers, as well as features from Israel, the Middle East, the Jewish world and global affairs. The Yedioth Group is owned by Mozes, an Israeli family.⁷⁹

This chapter aims to address four questions:

1) What was the difference in the amount of coverage given by the newspapers to the events in the period 17th January to 19th February 2011, with a particular focus on:

Israeli Government Reactions

Israeli People Reactions

Israelis in Egypt

⁷⁸ Haaretz

⁷⁹ Ynetnews

2) What were the main sources that the newspapers used when covering the events of this period?

3) What were the other indicators of bias in the reporting of the events in this period?

- Language “ally, peace, Islamists and Radical Islam”
- Decisions about which events to report and which not to report

4) Which factors influenced the coverage of the revolution?

The Sample:

Haaretz:

The researcher used the term “Egypt” to find articles on the popular revolution in Egypt from 17th January to 19th February 2011 on Haaretz’s website.

Ynetnews:

The researcher used the terms “Egypt”, “Egyptian revolution”, “Egyptian demonstrations” and some phrases related to the main events and Israeli reactions to find articles on the Egyptian revolution from 17th January to 19th February on Ynet’s website.

7.2 The characteristics of the coverage of the revolution in two Israeli newspapers:

There were many similarities between Haaretz and Ynetnews. Sometimes, they carried similar headlines.

Examples:

The Suicide Cases:

Date	Haaretz	Ynetnews
18 th January 2011	Two more Egyptian men attempt self-immolation	Two more Egyptian men attempt self-immolation

Anti-government demonstrations:

Date	Haaretz	Ynetnews
25 th January 2011	Three Egyptians killed in anti-government protests	Egyptians denounce Mubarak, 3 killed
27 th January 2011	Top Egyptian reformist returns home on third day of anti-Mubarak protests	El-Baradei to return to Egypt as riots continue

28 th January 2011	At least 18 protesters killed as thousands of Egyptians defy curfew	Twenty killed in Egypt protests; curfew defied
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The Egyptian government's reactions:

Date	Haaretz	Ynetnews
31 st January 2011	Mubarak to talk with opposition as 250,000 protesters gather in Cairo	Mubarak wants talks with opposition

International Reactions:

	Haaretz	Ynetnews
27 th January 2011	U.S.: Egypt has great opportunity for political reform	White House: Egypt has 'great opportunity' for reforms
4 th February 2011	Iran Supreme Leader: Egypt unrest inspired by our Islamic Revolution	Iran: Riots sign of Islamic awakening

The Content Analysis:

The research focuses on Israeli reactions to the popular revolution in Egypt.

The Amount of Coverage:

Haaretz focused on the Israeli government's reactions, while Ynetnews tried to balance those of the Israeli people and the government's reactions. Haaretz devoted 6,486 words to the Israeli government's reactions compared with 528 words to the Israeli people's reactions. Ynetnews used 2,864 words for the Israeli government's reactions compared with 1,132 words to the Israeli people's reactions.

	Haaretz	Ynetnews
Israeli Government's Reactions	6,486	2,864
Israeli People's Reactions	528	1,132
Israelis in Egypt	1,316	239

The Sources:

Haaretz's most commonly-used sources were Israeli officials. Haaretz used 21 official sources while Ynetnews used 14.

	Haaretz	Ynetnews
Israeli officials	21	14
Former and current Knesset members, and Israeli party officials	2	5
Israeli people	4	4
International Media	11	3
Egyptian Sources		1

The Frequency of Words:

During the Egyptian revolution, the Israeli government's main concern was the peace treaty with Egypt and the Islamists. The government's concern was reflected in the media. Haaretz used the word "peace" 76 times while Ynetnews used it 27 times. Haaretz used "Islam" 28 times while Ynetnews used it 11 times.

	Haaretz	Yedioth Ahronoth
ally	5	
peace	76	27
Islamic	5	3
radical Islam	13	4
Islamist	10	4

chaos	4	1
riot	9	3
protest	32	15
protester	10	11
unrest	10	1
revolution	11	17
downfall		3
ouster	9	1
victory	1	4

The Israeli People's Reactions:

Demonstrations supporting Egyptians in Israel:

Haaretz:

It reported on the demonstrations in front of the Egyptian Embassy in Israel.

Example:

Demonstrators in front of the Egyptian Embassy in north Tel Aviv on Friday expressed support for the massive anti-government protests taking place in Egypt and demanded that President Hosni Mubarak resign immediately.

It quoted an activist

Example:

Activist Muhammad Jabali said that the demonstration was held in solidarity with the people of Egypt and in support of democracy.

Ynetnews:

It reported on the Arab Israelis' demonstrations in support of Egyptians in various locations in Israel.

Example

Arab Israelis held rallies of solidarity with Egyptian protesters across the nation, expressing their support for the ongoing protests threatening to topple President Hosni Mubarak's 30-year rule.

It reported the demonstrators' slogans against Mubarak and Netanyahu.

Example:

The demonstrators chanted slogans in support of the Egyptian uprising while slamming President Mubarak and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. The demonstrators said "The people want to overthrow Mubarak", "Gamal Mubarak, tell your father the Arab people hate you".

It held interviews with the demonstrators.

Example:

Former Knesset Member Issam Makhoul does not expect a Cairo revolution to affect the peace treaty with Israel. He said "Popular uprisings that weaken

America's hold on the region will clearly affect Israel too". He estimated that the Egyptian uprising has already succeeded, and that Mubarak is a "dead horse" even if he remains in power for a few more months. MK Zahalka told Ynet that "We cannot overturn the Israeli government without the support of people in the Jewish sector. I think that what's going on in Egypt will affect everyone, including Israel".

It reported on Israelis' "Arab and Jewish" demonstrations in front of the Egyptian Embassy in Tel Aviv

Example:

In Tel Aviv, some 20 people, both Jewish and Arab, protested outside the Egyptian embassy in Tel Aviv. Some of them held up signs slamming the Egyptian government. An Egyptian embassy official came out and ordered Ynetnews photographer to refrain from documenting the protest.

During the rally, one protestor used a loudspeaker to charge that "(Former Egyptian leader) Nasser left American dogs after his death: Mubarak and Sadat." Another protestor, Hadash activist Rasul Saada, praised the "heroic Egyptian people," while expressing his hope for revolutions in more Arab states.

Israelis' celebrations after Mubarak's ousting:

Haaretz and Ynetnews reported on the Arab Israelis' celebrations after Mubarak's ousting.

Haaretz:

Protesters in Nazareth emphasized that the uprisings strengthen Palestinian demands for rights and self-determination.

Ynetnews:

Jubilant Arab Israelis hit the streets of the northern town of Taybeh Friday evening to celebrate Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's resignation earlier in the day.

The Israeli government's reactions:

Haaretz:

It reported all the details of the Israeli government's reactions.

Examples:

The Foreign Ministry is conducting status updates on Egypt every couple of hours and Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman has been maintaining close contact with Israel's ambassador to Egypt.

Prime Minister Netanyahu and the Israel Foreign Ministry announced Friday that they are keeping close track of the volatile situation in neighbouring Egypt, but are refraining from taking a political stance.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told his cabinet Sunday that Israel must exercise responsibility and restraint in the face of the unrest in Egypt, and that Jerusalem's primary concern was to preserve the more than 30 years of stability and peaceful ties with Cairo.

It reported about the Israeli government's concern over the Islamists in Egypt.

Example:

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu warned during his meeting yesterday with German Chancellor Angela Merkel in Jerusalem that the continued upheaval in

Egypt may bring to power radical Islamic elements, a repeat of the scenario that occurred during the Iranian revolution in 1979.

It reported on the Israeli government's concern over the peace treaty.

Examples:

PM stresses that Israel expects any government in Egypt to respect peace treaty, says instability in Egypt could last for years.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said that if democracy prevails in Egypt then it will not pose a threat to peace with Israel.

Prime Minister wants international community to make clear that new leadership must meet a series of conditions similar to those posed by Hamas in order to gain recognition of legitimacy.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has asked U.S. President Barack Obama and a number of other Western leaders in recent days to make it clear to any new Egyptian regime that it must abide fully by the peace agreement with Israel.

Israel hopes the resignation on Friday of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak will bring no change to its peaceful relations with Cairo, a senior Israeli official said.

Prime minister welcomes Egyptian military's pledge to maintain all international treaties, including its peace treaty with Israel, in wake of President Mubarak's ouster.

It reported Israel's wishes for the Egyptian people after Mubarak's ousting.

Example:

Israel hopes the Egyptian people will be granted the freedom and hope they desire, President Shimon Peres said. Only history could judge the Mideast regimes which were toppled in the wake of recent popular unrest, he added.

Ynetnews:

It focused on the main topics

It reported the Israeli government's concern over the peace treaty and the Islamists.

Examples:

Extremist takeover in Egypt would put Israel in 'wholly different position', security official warns

A fundamental change of government in Egypt may lead to a "revolution in Israel's security doctrine", a defence official told Ynet Friday night, as protests against President Hosni Mubarak's rule continued to intensify.

Addressing the uprising in Egypt, Netanyahu told reporters in Jerusalem that Israel was following the developments with "concern and vigilance, in the hope that peace, stability and security will be maintained".

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told the Knesset plenum that "an Egypt anchored in democratic values will not constitute a threat to peace, just the opposite".

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu welcomed the Egyptian military's announcement that it would continue to honour its peace treaty with Israel despite President Hosni Mubarak's resignation.

7.3 The Factors that influenced the coverage of the Egyptian revolution in the Israeli newspapers:

The researcher emailed questions to the Israeli journalists to determine the factors that influenced their coverage.

Challenges facing the Israeli journalists:

Haaretz:

The senior correspondent of Haaretz, Anshel Pfeffer, stated that the challenges posed by covering the Egyptian revolution were mainly of a technical nature. He added: “Like everyone else, in the first few days, I had to find a way of filing my stories and working without a mobile phone service, the internet or email. I overcame these difficulties in the old-fashioned way, by phoning and sometimes faxing my stories via the landline of my hotel. Then, there was the challenge of police and sometimes civilian violence on the streets. This was something I have faced before in other places around the world and I exercised necessary caution, taking cover where necessary and avoiding police and military checkpoints when possible”.

Mr. Pfeffer stated that as a reporter for an Israeli newspaper, he was aware that many Egyptians would be suspicious and even hostile, so he identified himself as a British journalist in most cases (he is also British) and found that, in general, the demonstrators were friendly towards the British journalists. He stated: “I would have preferred to have said that I was working for an Israeli newspaper but I felt that that would have been too great a risk in the tense environment in which some of the Egyptian media were reporting about the ‘Israeli agents’ who were active in Cairo. I felt that, in some cases, being a foreigner was an advantage since the

Egyptian reporters were often treated far worse. I am a writer and I do not carry a camera or work with a camera-crew so I attract less attention when working in the street”.

Ynetnews:

Ynetnews Editor-in-Chief Yigal Walt thinks that the greatest challenge was to make sense of the events, of the behind-the-scenes developments, of “who was against whom?”, and so on. For example: were the protestors against Mubarak also in favour of democracy? Or not? Were they anti-Israeli or not? And so on. The bottom line he would say is that the greatest challenge was to make sense of the nuances of the story, rather than to report it as a simplistic “black and white story”, “good guys against bad guys”, etc.

He added that the Egyptian revolution was a story of huge interest to Israelis, with potentially major implications for the future of Israel and the region. As such, they gave it a very high priority and earmarked many resources for it. Regarding the topics for coverage, he believes that the focus was concerned with two issues: first, describing events as they happen, being up to date, and giving the readers the ability to follow the events closely. Secondly, issues pertaining to the “day after” – here, they aimed to offer all sorts of analysis by various experts and commentators regarding what might happen next. There were all sorts of views, most of them predicting a grim future (but some more optimistic in tone).

Mr. Walt added that the Israeli reaction was one focus, but not the only one. He added that the Israelis certainly identified it as a huge story, it was certainly a top priority, and they certainly aimed to present the Israeli angle, as well as the

international angle and various domestic Egyptian angles (i.e. the pro-democracy demonstrators, the Muslim Brotherhood, and so on).

Mubarak regime's relationship with the Israeli government:

Haaretz:

Mr. Pfeffer stated: "Since I was aware that the relationship between Israel and Egypt since the signing of the Camp David Accords is of great strategic importance to Israel, I tried to gauge public feeling, among the demonstrators and in other parts of Cairo, regarding the future of the relationship with Israel. My impression was that many Egyptians felt that Mubarak was too close to Israel but that they were, in the main, not in favor of cancelling the peace agreement. I also felt that they had much more pressing internal issues than the relations with Israel and that was why they were willing to risk their lives in demonstrations".

Ynetnews:

Mr. Walt stated that the relationship between Mubarak's regime and Israel did not influence the coverage, but it did influence the questions they tried to analyse, such as what Israel's relationship with Egypt would be like in the post-Mubarak era.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the Israel Foreign Ministry announced that they were keeping close track of the situation in Egypt, but were refraining from taking a political stance. To what extent did the Israeli government's stance influence the coverage?

Haaretz:

Mr. Pfeffer stated: "My coverage was not influenced in any way by the Israeli government's position. I work for an independent newspaper and we try to provide

our readers with the most reliable coverage, without being affected by any government or political agenda”.

Ynetnews:

Mr. Walt stated that the Israeli government’s stance did not influence the coverage. As an independent newspaper enjoying freedom of the press, he said his paper does not take the government’s position into account.

Ownership:

Haaretz:

Mr. Pfeffer stated: “I have never been told by the owners of Haaretz or my editors how to report on the events I cover. They trust me to do a professional job. Haaretz is a newspaper that has always supported peace and building up Israel's relations with its Arab neighbours and I believe in this agenda. It was important for me, and I think also for my editors, not to write in a scaremongering tone, as some other Israeli news organizations were doing and I believe that we succeeded in delivering balanced, informative coverage of the revolution throughout the period I was in Cairo”.

Ynetnews:

Mr. Walt stated: “Ynet’s ownership is uninvolved in any of our news work, regarding Egypt or any other topic”.

Social Media:

The social media played a crucial role during the Egyptian revolution. To what extent did the Israeli journalists depend on the social media?

Haaretz:

Mr. Pfeffer stated that, when the internet was functioning again on 2nd February, he used Egyptian websites, Facebook accounts and the Twitter feed to keep up to date with evolving events. “It was often the best way to get relevant, up-to-date information on what was happening in the streets, and the atmosphere among the various groups, but as useful as the social media are, nothing can replace actually being out there on the street and speaking to people, but since you can only be in one place at a time, and sometimes you have to be back at your hotel, writing up reports, the social media are a valuable tool for keeping abreast of events”.

Ynetnews:

Mr. Walt stated that they did not quite depend on the social media, but they also included it as an angle of the coverage (for example, they had stories about gauging the mood on Egypt’s social networks). They also used the social media as a source, on occasion, but not as a leading or major one, more for the purpose of “adding colour” to the coverage.

Conclusions on the coverage of the Israeli newspapers:

There were similarities between Haaretz and Ynetnews. Haaretz provided more details on the events in Egypt, the Israeli reactions and the international reactions. Haaretz focused on the Israeli government's reactions while Ynetnews tried to balance the Israeli people's reactions with those of the government. The future of the Egypt-Israel relationship was the main priority during the revolution. Haaretz and Ynetnews used the social media as a source of information, but they did not depend on them entirely.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

The social and traditional media played essential roles in the popular revolution in Egypt, but there were differences in the coverage of the revolution of the traditional media due to various factors.

There are major differences in the coverage of the revolution between the three Egyptian newspapers, and minor differences between the two American newspapers and between the two Israeli newspapers. The Egyptian newspapers reported the revolution as a main turning point in Egypt's history while the American and Israeli newspapers reported it as a foreign issue that might impact on American and Israeli interests in the Middle East.

The type of ownership of the newspapers was the main factor influencing the coverage of the revolution in the Egyptian newspapers. Al-Ahram, "a state-owned newspaper", had served the ousted Egyptian government's interests. It was very keen to marginalize the opposition and tarnish the demonstrators' image. Al-Ahram's coverage changed gradually to side with the people after its journalists protested against the editor-in-chief who had been appointed by the ousted president. Also, its circulation decreased to 35%, which was the lowest level in its recent history. It started to report some of the reality after the first million demonstrations on 1st February. Al-Ahram's coverage changed completely after Mubarak's ousting on 11th February, to side with the revolution. The military council which replaced the ousted president appointed the leaders in the state-owned newspapers and influenced their editorial policies. It pressurized the editors-in-chief to publish material in favour of the council.

Al-Wafd, an “opposition party newspaper”, followed the party’s policy and accentuated its role during the revolution.

Al-Masry Al-Youm, a “privately-owned newspaper”, tried to report on all sides. In some cases, the coverage was influenced by the ousted Egyptian government’s pressure on its owners.

The owners did not influence the coverage of the revolution in the American or Israeli newspapers.

Both American newspapers focused on the American administration’s relationship with Mubarak’s regime. The Wall Street Journal focused on the American president’s reactions to the revolution. The New York Times was very keen to analyze and explain most events. It reported the Americans, Jews and Egyptians’ stances.

The future of the Egypt-Israel relationship was the main priority for the Israeli newspapers. Haaretz focused on the official Israeli reactions while Ynetnews tried to balance the official reactions with those of the people.

All of the Egyptian, American and Israeli journalists used the social media as a source of information to follow events in Egypt, but did not consider these a reliable source. They all suffered from the violence and the cutting off of communications while they were reporting from Egypt.

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