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**Media Coverage for the Egyptian 25th January Events in Egyptian and
American Newspapers: A Comparative Study**

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**Media Coverage for the Egyptian 25th January Events in
Egyptian and American Newspapers:**

A Comparative Study

By:
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ABSTRACT

This study adds to the critical discussion about international media coverage diversity during political conflicts and social movements. It investigates journalistic objectivity in media coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011), by examining news framing in prominent Egyptian and American newspapers. The study clarifies how different countries' news media systems, political and ideological orientations and media ownerships directly affect international news portrayal for significant controversial political issues and contemporary social movements. It also discusses the recent advent of digital new media and online press, and its clear influence in connecting and directing the public especially in times of political change. Thus, the main purpose of this research is to examine the role of new media and online press in framing the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as a powerful social movement, indicating whether different countries news media systems in Egypt and the U.S. employed different news frames in their leading press coverage. This research is based on analyzing four elite local and international dailies representing different news media categories; the local Egyptian governmental press; Al Ahram, the private independent press; Al Masry Al Youm, and the foreign American press; The New York Times and The Washington Post. The study adopts the Framing Theory as its theoretical frame work hence it follows a triangulation mixed methods approach based on combining both qualitative and quantitative methods. The content analysis is used as a quantitative method while the in-depth interviews as a qualitative one. Content framing analysis is conducted over a period of one month, from 25th Jan. till 25th Feb. (2011), which is the peak period of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. The study is carried out on a purposive sample selected from all news stories that were published during the events peak period. Including 190 articles and their attached images, all extracted from four elite Egyptian and American newspapers to be analyzed. This was added to the In-depth interviews which confirmed the same research outcomes elicited from elite media professionals of academics, activists and journalists; giving their insightful views and prospective about the media coverage diversity for the 25th Jan. events.

After conducting the research analysis, the primary results exhibited that most international media coverage and press failed to present the incidents of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events objectively without revealing any political biases. The Egyptian governmental newspaper Al Ahram was apparently biased to the former regime and consolidating Mubarak's government mostly through its daily coverage for the events. Remarkably, it carried a conservative mouthpiece of the Egyptian government during the 25th Jan. events warning the public from participating in the demonstrations. While, Al-Masry Al-Youm, the most popular independent newspaper during the 25th Jan. events, it evidently fared to be neutral and objective through its daily coverage. Obviously, it hardly avoided being biased towards the former regime; that it was rarely speaking favorably about the Egyptian government. As compared to foreign American press coverage; the New York Times and the Washington Post, they were completely biased towards the Egyptian public demonstrations; and boldly supporting the protesters. They were framing the public demonstrations from its very beginning as a powerful social revolution for democracy and freedom. Hence, it was very clear that the American news media and press were dragging the international media coverage to follow its political direction in supporting the democratic change in Egypt. In this light, the research in hands managed to give a full and clear picture about the international media coverage for the 25th Jan. events, through examining the framing of various elite newspapers from different categories. That clearly revealed how such contradicted journalistic balances and covert political biases were directly reflected on news framing of the same events and the way each structured and portrayed its news. Hence, they were radically affected by these journalistic variables as; media ownerships, political interests, cultural contexts, ideological orientations and nationalities.

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Introduction

This introductory section reviews the context of the study with a brief background as it provides the purpose of the study. It also deals with the statement of research problem and the objectives of the study. Finally, it provides the organization of the dissertation.

1. Background of the Study

In (2011), sudden social movements erupted around the Middle East region, that the world became very curious about following these incidents and its controversial news media coverage. This sudden social crisis was famously known as the “Arab Spring Uprisings”. They can be defined as consequent revolutionary waves of social anger that the people of the Middle East Arab countries were revolting and protesting against their prolonged stubborn presidents and governments disgracing their prolonged corrupted regimes. In fact, most of these autocratic former regimes were profoundly trapped by snowball impact on the Middle East promoted by the combination of many radical economic, social and political problems. This consequently led to many public demonstrations and protests that threatened their autocratic ruling systems and spoiled their political regimes. Such recent political unrest in the Middle East region and in Egypt provides a great opportunity through the current research to examine the potential roles that new media and online press play in shaping public opinion and directing the political scene in nations triggering democratic change. Demonstrating why new media and online press have wide appeal especially in times of social movements and political crisis. As by featuring confrontation, emotion and visuallity, the ‘drama of democratic transitions’ is well aligned with deploying journalistic news values, which secures extensive coverage in foreign media. (Voltmer, 2013, p.93)

In fact, the Arab Springs started in Tunisia in 2010, however shortly it was followed by other correspondent revolutions in Egypt, Libya and Yemen. During this period, people everywhere turned to the various mass media channels as their main source of information and to trace the incidents of these social movements day by day. International media coverage and digital news channels are always regarded as most significant factors that profoundly affect people’s lives and ideological beliefs in times of complicated political conditions and social conflicts. According to Kim and Lim (2020), in the aftermath of Arab uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa, a voluminous interdisciplinary literature developed concerning the association between new media and political protest. And Alshareif (2016) commented that, “no one should neglect or discard the important role new media played in people’s lives triggering them into certain actions”. (p.59) However, these extended social movements were fostered by the controversial way it was framed through the various international news media channels.

It is crucial to highlight that these public uprisings that aroused within the middle-east region were regarded as an opening for a new stage in a long- struggle in seeking specific public demands of dignity, democracy, freedom, and social justice. Para (2017) stated that, “hence society’s values change; people may have more tolerance for change, that social movements in the past have moved society for more equal community seeking democracy”. (p.11) In fact, numerous factors have led for those movements. That most of the people of the Middle East countries were sharing the same sufferings accumulated since decades because of many social, and economic problems, and on top of them was the sever political corruptions that were accusing their prolonged dictator authorization regimes. This was added to many social and political complications such as lack of democracy, economic decline, unemployment, etc., although the nature and the performance of these uprisings varied accordingly from one country to another. However, it was directly affected by some other variables based on location,

leadership, scale, and economy of each country in the region. Kim and Lim (2020) commented, “in the face of brutal regimes ready to squelch any sign of dissent, ICTs can provide an efficient and safe outlet for potential participants to mobilize themselves”. (p.5)

Since long, Egypt was known for its long history as a proud nation with an old ancient civilization. It lies at the heart of the Middle East Arab world, where its strategic location connects both Africa to the Middle East. However, having the Mediterranean and the Red Sea helped Egypt to play such significant strategic political and economic role among most of the Middle East Arab countries. (Sharp, 2018, p.3) Recently, many of the Arab countries were suffering from various political, economic conflicts and many unstable social conditions, as military coups, civil wars, and public revolutions. And among all these unstable social and political conditions, Egypt was remarkably having its own motives derived by such deteriorated inner social, political, and economic conditions that profoundly pushed it towards the 25th Jan. demonstrations in (2011). Interestingly, that is where Egypt the self-identified center of the Arab world stands to fight for its own aspirations of change and having a better democratic future.

On 25th Jan. (2011), millions of the Egyptian people and simple citizens went down the streets despite their class variations, gender, religion or age all were eager to call for some specific demands of freedom, democracy and social justice. They were all gathered for achieving one purpose, the overthrowing of Mubarak and his regime, and superbly saturated that between democracy and equity lays the path for a better future and change. Badr (2019) commented that, many scholars and commentators attributed the Tahrir Revolution in (2011) directly to the rise of the Internet, as it was widely called “Facebook Revolution”. Interestingly, Egypt the most populated country in the Arab region was significantly inspired by its brave youth and simple people to begin its battle for democracy and freedom. That finally and after thirty years of ruling Egypt the Egyptian people managed to topple President Mubarak, the 83-year old dictator who had been clinging to the power since long. And only in eighteen days, the Egyptians succeeded in getting rid of the former corrupted regime.

The incidents of the 25th Jan. events not only captured the worldwide attention, but it also dragged both the national and the international news media and journalism to cover the events daily. During Mubarak’s era, mass media was holding mainly the governments’ most significant social and political affairs in covering and representing the various issues and stories that always deem suitable to the ordinary public audience. Importantly, “Mainstream political elites wield the greatest control over the international significant news frames” exporting them to the public through their vision. (Castells, 2013, p.163) However, these media frames will tend to conform to the spectrum of elite opinion while reflected on their political directions and decisions. In fact, the media coverage in Egypt and in most developing countries profoundly directs and shapes the public opinion and always controls the general political scene in the region. Within the Egyptian society, mass media and especially the digital media and online journalism are mainly responsible for directing the public while covering daily vital social and political issues. According to Olubela (2018), “the media ensure that the public is made aware of what is happening around them and in everywhere in the world”. (p.6) hence, the media always provide such an easy communication channel that links between the government and the public, and thus it is profoundly regarded as one of the four basic pillars of any modern democratic society.

When the Egyptian 25th Jan. events happened in (2011), mass media and especially digital media using both texts and visuals; obviously played a profound role for transmitting important information among the protesters and easily connected them. In fact, although Egypt is a developing country, through history it was always used to lead the Arab countries in the field of mass media with its various outlets. And this helped directing and influencing the mass opinion through its continuous development of

broadcast, press, and lately the social media networks. However, the role of digital media and online journalism has changed the global communication plan and has encouraged more comprehensive contributions of views and ideas. Interestingly, in today's digital era, the Internet and on line journalism has become a key alternative media tool used for social movements' activism. And this of course worked as a significant catalyst for promoting the angry people to persist and to continue their public revolutions. Thus, media coverage was regarded as the main key for this social movement and its revolutionary style of portraying the events as affecting the international media coverage.

Moreover, recently with such rapid advent of the internet, the digital media and technology, most of the international news media organizations remarkably evolved more to embrace new media channels and online press. They now offer online subscriptions to their papers, as well as paper subscription of digital journalism, in order to reach the maximum numbers of people who read news online. Kim (2017) declared that, "the process of globalization continually progresses, the role of most of global news agencies become more prominent within the production, distribution and consumption process of news among news suppliers across the globe". (p.5) in this regard, many scholars have examined the complex relationship between media coverage, digital media social interactivity during conflicts and social movements.

Evidently, the media coverage of social movements depend mainly on the selection of news sources, where readers tend to form perceptions of places and events abroad depending on various extended foreign news channels. According to Amenta et al. (2019), when social movement organizations receive extensive newspaper coverage, it is sometimes substantive and sometimes not, and by "substantive," they meant media coverage that reflects serious treatment of the movement's issues, demands, or policy claims. Such recent political unrest in the Middle East area provides a great opportunity to examine the potential roles that the new media and online journalism play in directing public opinion and affecting the political scene in Egypt. And, demonstrating why new media and digital press have wide appeal especially in times of social movements and political crisis, clarifying that the public audience are free to choose the type of news that suites their ideological and political directions. Hence, Powell et al. (2019) asserted that "Today's high-choice media environment allows citizens to select news in line with their political preferences and avoid content counter to their priors". (p.5)

The international media coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was obviously controversial, as each news media channel was having its own contrastive representation and framing for the same news. These international media were having various ways of presenting information that are technically accurate and true, but it could be also skewed to some extent. That relatively some researches existed into the selections of more balanced content through polarized contexts and fake news. This research sought to explore the objectivity of media coverage for the incidents of the 25th Jan. events (2011) detecting journalistic political biases within the international newspapers coverage for the first month period of the incidents, starting from 25th Jan. till 25th Feb. (2011). Moreover, it examines the news framing in four prominent Egyptian and American newspapers, Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times, and Washington Post. Through applying qualitative In-depth interviews with significant media professionals of academics, political activists and journalists then it is followed by quantitative content analysis based on the framing theory,.

This study, aims at exploring the different frames used by each newspaper, whether they varied along the period of study, and how political orientations, and media ownerships are regarded as significant variables that affected the choices of these frames. Hence, the framing theory investigates

media's influence on individuals and society, according to Weisman (2017), journalism ideally provides a platform in which various stakeholders in a given issue can find their voices heard.

The research at hands evaluates the media coverage of the early weeks of the Egyptian 25th Jan. Events in prominent Egyptian and American newspapers examining their framing for news while detecting their political biases. Hence, it furthers our understanding of contemporary new media coverage for social movements within the digital context. Thus, it sheds the lights on differences in governmental, privately owned, and foreign online newspapers' coverage of uprisings and protesters. Further, this study suggests new media users might prefer more digital news sources coverage of events than traditional mainstream media offer. Also, it helps in tracing how new media coverage and digital press are profoundly affected by several variables as cultural context, media ownerships and political interests.

2. Purpose of the Study

Recently, examining news objectivity in journalism especially in covering international political issues and social movements in news reporting have been the topic of discussion in academic mass media and journalistic research. To define news objectivity in international media coverage, it indicates giving all sides and details in any news a fair hearing, which does not show a false moral equivalence. In this case, covering the Egyptian crisis there is no one-hand-or-the other, each news media outlet was having its contrastive way for covering and framing the 25th Jan. events, some were very objective through its journalistic coverage for the events while others were apparently politically biased whether towards Mubarak and his regime or towards the protesters. The following research provides a better understanding of news media objectivity, its definition and how it affects the way news is represented to its readers. It is based on examining news framing and journalistic bias through the media coverage of four different influential Egyptian and American newspapers. Based on the notion that online press and digital news are powerful updated media tools used to foster democracy and to advocate social movements. Hence, news media and journalism control citizens' attitudes and decisions in their social and political lives. Especially that most significant international news organizations provide the information that underlies their political decisions and influence the nature and level of citizens' participation in politics and the degree of support for a variety of social and economic actors and campaigns. (Kneafsey, 2018, p.13)

Taking all these pieces in consideration, this study chooses digital press and online newspapers for the data collection instead of any other medium such as Printed press, Television or Radio. That, during political conflicts and social movements, the new media channels and the online journalism always provide wider context for the readers to understand how and why protests occur, and to debate whether these social movements and public actions are just. And that is basically through analyzing and understanding narratives represented by various international press covering social movements. In this sense, it is easy to identify how public trust has eroded recently within the media, "that if a piece of news does not fit a reader's experience, he or she may not trust the story". (Para, 2017, p.5) For this, the four selected Egyptian and American newspapers through this study are particularly chosen because they are very popular, well known as papers of record and widely circulated nationally and internationally.

The study chooses Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, The New York Times and The Washington Post, hence they are representing three different media categories; (the governmental press) Al Ahram; which is the leading state-run newspaper in Egypt, (the independent press) Al Masry Al Youm; the most popular Egyptian privately owned daily newspaper according to recent figures of reach and readership. And (the foreign American press) the New York Times newspaper which is considered the arbiter of international news in setting the agenda and the political news map within the United States (Gamson,

1992) as, it is also seen as the “main national print source most widely used by collective action researchers” (McCarthy et al., 1996). Also added to The Washington Post, which is the highest widely circulated American paper published and distributed in Washington, D.C. In fact, these two American newspapers were internationally prominent through their foreign news coverage and especially the Middle East issues. Reed (2017) stated that, “In the United States, mass media and press are tasked with effectively and honestly reporting news from around the world”. (p.12)

By comparing the local Egyptian to the foreign international American news media coverage for the first month of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, the variations were apparently reflected in their way of framing the same events and news. Especially by focusing on how each of these four newspapers as representing different media categories framed the same daily news. It is always the case that various international media outlets and press are having different viewpoints and representations for high-profile news events and stories. In fact, many scholars agreed that the international news media coverage are always key to most of the movement organizations’ social influence, especially in helping them to alter the general public discourse and encouraging political change. Thus, Powell et al. (2019) asserted that, “The last two decades have seen an explosion both in the diversity of choice available to news audiences and in the visualization of news media.” (p.12) It is radically affecting the protests during these social movements and its representations through various mass media channels and foreign news. And thus revealed many covert political journalistic biases based on their different ideological orientations and affected by their political affiliations.

In fact, most of the leading international foreign news media reported the 25th Jan. events (2011) as a democratic revolution against Mubarak corrupted regime. While in contrast most of the Egyptian official governmental news media and press reported the crisis as a conspiracy prepared against the Egyptian government, threatening the economy and the social stability in Egypt. Each news media outlet was having its own way for representing the same incidents of the Egyptian 25th Jan. demonstrations as if they were not covering the same events. Where, O'Brien (2009) postulated that, "the words we use are evidence of how we think, which, in turn, ultimately determine what we do" (p.32). Such “apparent journalistic reporting partiality can result in an unconscious distortion of reality caused swaying public trust of media”. (Reed, 2017, p.24) Therefore, it is crucial through the current study to examine the relationship between the 25th Jan. events as a complicated social event, and the news media coverage based on various news sources and ownerships. These contradicted media representations and news framing diversity for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events revealed many apparent journalistic and political biases that spring out from their cultural and political variations. Hence, evaluating media coverage for social movements cannot be studied in isolation; it is significant to be examined in relation to some important variables as the social and political contexts to come up with a clear vision.

Moreover, recently many researches in the area of mass communication are concerned with the notion of news objectivity in mass media and journalism especially regarding political conflicts and social movements. Hence, the daily news during social movements are always seen complicated and difficult to be comprehended by ordinary people, especially when it includes information that is hard to follow without having sufficient political background and adequate knowledge about these issues. The research in hand aims at exploring the different verbal and visual dominant frames used by international Egyptian and American newspapers; to clarify whether those frames reveal journalistic biases along the period of the study. It also focuses on how the media censorship and different political and ideological orientations affecting the selection and representation of news frames. Furthermore, no previous academic studies have specifically investigated objectivity in journalism and the media coverage for political issues.

3. Research Statement and Justification

In the context of losing public media trust as well as the rapid increase of political conflicts and social movements in many eastern countries missing democracies, this study sets out to investigate the relationship between media coverage, journalistic objectivity and news media ownerships. Hence, recently news media are often accused of partisanship and biased reporting especially in times of social movements. This research is focusing on analyzing different countries' elite newspapers, Egypt and the US different categories newspapers in framing the same incidents of the Egyptian 25th Jan. Events. In this sense, the study tries to create such a panoramic review of the international press coverage for the Egyptian crisis (2011) in both national and international press. Remarkably, most of the governmental Egyptian newspapers were lacking objectivity through their news coverage, and this was used as a tool to determine how objectivity in international media was consequently affected by many social and political variables. In fact, it was clear that the local news coverage for the 25th Jan. events lost its credibility and trust among the Egyptian people and the youth. The Egyptian local media and press boldly ignored the demonstrations, regarding it as a conspiracy prepared against the Egyptian government, threatening from streets chaos and protests through their daily live coverage. While correspondingly at the same time most of the independent and the elite international newspapers as the American press were apparently supporting the Egyptian 25th Jan. events from its beginning regarding it a powerful movement for freedom and democracy. Such clear media coverage contradictions revealed clear journalistic biases and the lack of news objectivity through the portrayal for the Egyptian 25th Jan. incidents. Sexton (2015) stated, "most implicit journalistic biases are mainly regarded as consequences of many subtle messages that are seen in media or popular culture, suggesting that there is one group good and another bad" (p. 1), where it drives and shapes public opinion.

In fact, during the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, there was a sense of opinion split over understanding and defining this revolution as a powerful public social movement focusing on its main actors creating two main groups. One group supports the protesters and the revolution while condemning Mubarak and his regime, whereas, the other group defends the former regime while criticizing the revolution and the protesters. Both sides continue to represent narratives and other counter narratives mainly to suit their own interpretations of the event. Both sides' narratives and framing of events are built around evaluative alignment and ideological positioning. As the news media consumers and the press audiences were stuck between these various news sources and media channels in covering the Egyptian crisis, confused which news media channel was to believe as a trustworthy source of information. This puts a significant question; where did the press and digital media stand today at this point in its credibility and objectivity, especially in the portrayal of such recent public social movement as the 25th Jan. events?

However, some recent studies suggested that new media and online press played a vital role in supporting the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as a public social movement to continue, spread and to achieve its success in getting rid of the former corrupted regime. During the recent years there was a great evolution in the internet and new media technology, especially the recent emerging of many new media genres (e.g. online journalism, social networks, online forums ...etc.). These digital media genres are mainly based on the incorporating of both verbal with visual tools and frames through their news representation for the public communication, as Powel et al (2019) asserted that, "importantly, the modality (verbal or visual) in which these arguments are communicated matters for the way in which they are processed by audiences". (p.12) Thus, it is significant through the current study to explore verbal visual framing news coverage in new media and online press to investigate basic characteristics for these recent genres, focusing on their special schematic structures. Especially that the significance of using

verbal-visual framing in covering social issues and political conflicts are built while arousing emotional connections by cultivating sense of solidarity and obligation.

The study relies on interpreting both verbal and visual framing approaches in a comparative content analysis; hence it focuses on how both verbal-visual frames were used by the various Egyptian and American newspapers in covering the 25th Jan. events. They were used integrated together in completing each other to assess the same meaning while delivering certain messages and political views. Based on the notion that, media can set the frame for directing the audience in what and how to think, and thus affect their overall interpretation of news report. Thus, the study focuses on the integration between the various news frames that helped in conveying various journalistic stances and ideological beliefs through international press coverage for the Egyptian social movement (2011).

4. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. Events in prominent international newspapers evaluating their news coverage objectivity. The study is based on comparing the various news frames used by four Egyptian and American online newspapers investigating whether different media ownerships, political and ideological orientations and nationality affect the media coverage framing and portrayal for the Egyptian events in international media and press.

The objectives therefore are:

- To analyze the framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events in elite Egyptian and American press.
- To examine the portrayal of the Egyptian (protesters) in the Egyptian and American press.
- To indicate political biases towards Mubarak's former regime in the Egyptian and American press.
- To explore if the 25th Jan. events was described as a (Revolution) through these Egyptian and American newspapers.
- To evaluate international media coverage fairness for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events in the Egyptian and American press.

5. Organization of the Dissertation

The Dissertation begins by an introductory section, that presents the general context of the study with a brief background, and it provides the purpose of the study. It also deals with the statement of research problem and the objectives of the study. Chapter one; discusses the social changes in Egypt during its recent history and the main features of its social structure through the various presidential eras. Chapter two; provides a critical review about international media coverage, its significance, and diversity in covering political conflicts or social movements. Chapter three; introduces the literature review of the study hence it focuses on the Arab Spring Uprisings and the Egyptian 25th Jan. events in national and foreign media coverage. It is focusing on the critical role of digital media and online press during contemporary social movements. Chapter four; develops the theoretical framework and the methodology of the study. It gives a brief background about the framing theory and the methodological steps followed through the study. Chapter five; applies the analysis of the study on two levels; first the In-depth interview technique and second the content analysis to combine both quantitative and qualitative methods together for the study. Finally, chapter six includes the conclusion and discussion of the study while providing the future recommendations for research also.

Chapter One

Social Changes in Egypt

This chapter provides a brief background about the various significant social changes that happened gradually within the Egyptian society during the past years. It focuses on the various social and political incidents that Egypt passed through recently ending by Mubarak's corrupted regime as motivating the 25th Jan. events. This part examines the various presidential eras in Egypt during its present history, while shedding lights on most significant social and political reasons that pushed the Egyptian people to demonstrate in (2011). It discusses the main social and economic problems that were reflected on the Egyptian social life through its various presidential ruling stages, hence it began by the 26th July revolution in (1925), followed by a chain of futile presidential eras led by; Gamal Abdul Nasser (1952-1970), Anwar Sadat (1970- 1981) and Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011). Their correspondent unstable ruling periods ended by many social and political corruptions added to great economic decline that led to the 25th Jan. (2011) events.

I. Introduction

Over the centuries, Egypt was profoundly known as the world's most significant ancient civilization especially because of its popular ancient Pharonic history. In fact, Egypt is a large over populated country where its strategic presence at the center of the world always play a key role in shaping its foreign relations, policies and social identity. Since long Egypt maintains good relations with the biggest countries and in its region. In fact, it profoundly worked on improving its diplomatic communications with all major countries in its region or internationally. Moreover, Egypt enjoys a strategic location at the middle of the world map; where it occupies a very unique position in the Middle East region. During its long history, Egypt was always playing an important and influential diplomatic role between the biggest nations and also between the Arab countries in its region. However, Egypt represents a fundamental bridge that links between the Arab world and Europe, through connecting two major continents Asia and Africa. Its geographic existence between two seas and continents, and having the River Nile passing through it, always controls and influences its economic, political and social relations with its neighboring countries.

In fact, Egypt links between two principal waterways, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea via the Red sea including the Suez Canal. Hence, its national security is basically attached to its dominant control over the Nile River, where Egypt's prolonged survival and social life depend on it. However, the Egyptian current population number based on data extracted from the UN's (2017) World Population Prospects Report is estimated about 100 million people, where 33 % of them are young generations under the age 14. Egypt's two main biggest cities are; Cairo the capital city (11,169,000), and Alexandria (4,500,000) a coastal city by the Mediterranean Sea. Most of the country's population lives in main urban areas, (2013 est. *World Bank*) as having an urbanization rate that was estimated of 2.04% (*CIA World Factbook*). And the Nile Delta region is also regarded as one of the most crowded areas in Egypt, as including most of the population.

In this sense, the geographic location and neighboring for Egypt are always regarded as significant factors that directly affected the social life of the Egyptians through all their ancient history. The Egyptian people shared a very long history with their neighboring countries especially of the Nile River where the Egyptian society borrowed many of the private habits and conventions from them. Correspondingly, most of the Egyptian rulers and presidents tried to maintain their social and political

relations and ties with the neighboring countries like Sudan and Ethiopia. And they have also sought many agreeable peaceful diplomatic relations with the other Nile basin countries. In fact, through the past decades many of the Egyptian rulers tried to project their power into some Arab neighboring countries like Syria and Arabian Peninsula. And lately many of the Egyptian people were used to live and work in the Gulf Arab countries for improving their financial situations. However, all these social communications helped in building very strong relations based on long profound exchange of cultures between Egypt and most of the Arab countries, which left a clear stamp over the Egyptian people and their internal social life and structure.

The study in hands provides a close insight into how the various presidential eras and presidents dealt with the economic, social, and political aspects in Egypt during its recent history. Thus, to understand these radical changes that affected the Egyptian social life, it is necessary to rely on history books and educational research articles covering the various presidential eras, while investigating the recent Egyptian history. The following part provides a brief historical look at how Egypt changed socially through the various political and economic conflicts that it passed through, and especially during the last years of Mubarak's prolonged corrupted regime which led to the 25th Jan. events in (2011). This chapter discusses also the main social and political features of those correspondent frustrating governmental strategies through the various presidential eras have influenced negatively the Egyptian national identity and destroyed its ideological and social beliefs. Hence, these negative social implications were directly reflected on the Egyptian populations lives pushing the country to such ultimate status of general public dissatisfaction and chaos leading to the 25th Jan. events in (2011). Moreover, Badr (2019) commented that, situated within the persistent socio-economic problems that caused the Tahrir Revolution in the first place, the political system fears a potential opening of the media system and attempts at keeping a fragile stabilization at any cost. Even more, the national news media system was trapped by this corrupted regime for pushing the people and the audiences away from politics or practicing democracy.

It is evident that these social changes affected the Egyptian social life are regarded as normal results for the various economic and political tribulations that happened in the Middle East region and heavily accumulated through many years. Remarkably, during the recent era many of the Arab countries were suffering from various political conflicts and unstable conditions, as social crises, military coups, civil wars, and revolutions. However, Egypt through all its long history and complicated incidents stands out with such brave persistence fighting for freedom, social justice and democracy. In this light, this part works on analyzing the most radical social changes of the inner structure of the Egyptian community during the various periods of times. It focuses on the various presidential ruling stages of the different Egyptian presidents and their prominent political and economic strategies. This chapter highlights the main reasons behind the apparent social changes noticed gradually in the Egyptian society, where it is evident that these social changes are normal results for the various economic crisis and political tribulations that happened in the region and heavily accumulated during many years. In fact, Egypt passed through several political and economic problems, followed by many social changes that recently ended by the public anger of the 25th Jan. (2011) crisis. And only after one year, it was followed again by another public revolution the 30th of June (2013) events, which is regarded as an international social crisis that needs to be examined. Such unstable recent political and economic conditions are apparently considered as a primitive result for many social and political struggles and corruptions that radically shackled and constantly changed the Egyptian communities leading for these repeated public consecutive revolutions.

Remarkably, Egypt through its recent history passed through many social changes and economic problems during its various presidential eras started by Gamal Abdul Nasser (1952-1970), followed by

Anwar Sadat (1970- 1981) then Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011). Moreover, it is vital to shed the lights also on how the Muslim Brothers the profound Islamic political party in Egypt have jumped on Egypt's elections in (2011) after the ultimate success of the 25th Jan. events in getting rid of Mubarak and his corrupted government. That gave way for Mohamed Morsi's regime in (2012) for ruling Egypt only for one year which was regarded as a complete failure and a mess for the Egyptians. Morsi's disappointed regime worked as a strong catalyst that triggered another great public revolution, the 30th of June in (2013). Consequently, Mohamed Morsi was ousted from power in July (2013), ending up with free public elections bringing the current regime led by President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi in (2013).

II. Historic Background

During its recent history, Egypt has passed through various social, economical and political conflicts through its consequent presidential eras since the 1950's, which led to that powerful social movement, the 25th Jan. events in (2011). Hence, Stephen Walt (1996) claimed that: these domestic or internal transformations in a country would disrupt and upset the balance of power of the whole region and create a case of ambiguity and vagueness over the revolutionary nation's intents and competences, thus mounting the possibility of clash and misperception. Thus, it is crucial investigating why the Egyptian society was obviously divided in different separate classes during these three eras proceeding the 25th Jan. events in (2011); starting by Nasser's era, followed by Sadat's era and finally Mubarak's era. It is vital exploring Egypt's social conditions during its recent era starting from the 1950s, where it was profoundly occupied by two foreign occupations the British and the Turkish.

This critical period of such duel foreign occupations, the Turkish and the British; and especially the British occupation for Egypt, the Egyptian society was suffering from great civil oppression as they were living in very poor life conditions and difficult circumstances. Hence, most of the Egyptian people were living under the line of poverty, even deprived from the minimal human rights for living in an appropriate respectable life. That finally the Egyptian people decided to end this life of oppression, empowered by their public spirit of dissatisfaction that was spread among the Egyptian youth and the ordinary mass population. After many dark years the Egyptian population finally found its hope through a mild nationalist movement that was led by Gamal Abd El Nasser in (1952). In fact, this movement for the Egyptian people was regarded as the first real social attempt that was gathered for freedom and independency hence it was led by a group of youth, the "Egyptian Free Officers". Interestingly, the 23rd of July Revolution (1952) was known as a great significant turning point in Egypt's recent history, it finally ended the prolonged foreign occupations for Egypt that was wracking it for many decades. And it is the first time the Egyptians are ruling themselves and having an Egyptian president since the pharaohs.

Finally, and after many years of foreign occupations, the Egyptian people realized that they had to fight to gain their freedom and pride between the nations. In fact, the 23rd July (1952) public revolution was regarded as the first step towards their long struggle for achieving their persistent demands for living a better life based on democracy, freedom and social justice. Such great social movement was regarded as a significant turning point in the social life for the Egyptian people while seeking their dignity and grasping their rights to live a respectable good life. The Egyptian people after many long decades of oppression and by their strong desire for a real change for their thralldom living conditions were finally unified and succeeded to oust both the British-backed Turkish king and the British occupation in (1952). Thus, it is crucial to present a closer look about the 23rd July events marking its historic significance for the Egyptians as the first social movement for freedom and independence. Hence, its public success gave way for the various Egyptian presidential eras that are led by Egyptian presidents and leaders.

1. The 23rd July Revolution (1952)

After a long history of foreign invasions and occupations for Egypt, it is crucial shedding the lights on the first Egyptian public revolution in (1952) that was led by the brave Egyptian youth, the “free officers” against the Turkish king who governed the country since the 1700s. The 23rd July Revolution (1952) was a powerful social movement that was carried out by a number of young military officers, known by the Free Officers; a group of army officers whom were led by Muhammad Naguib, and Gamal Abdel Nasser. The main target of this revolution was the overthrowing of the king and ending the British occupation. Badr (2019) commented that, “Fueled by grievances against a system of unfair privileges in army and society, in (1952), the Free Officers Movement overthrew the monarchy and forced the British military forces to leave”. (p.68) By its success Gamal Abdel Nasser became the ultimate president of Egypt after his running for the elections in (1956), as he was one of the leaders of the (1952) revolution. In fact, during the British occupation Egypt was suffering from very bad social and economic conditions accumulated through many years. Hence, during these previous periods in the 1930s-1940s the Egyptian community witnessed also the appearance of these oppositional political movements such as the extreme Islamic party, the Muslim Brothers. Those religious oppositional parties were having great negative effect in shaping the Egyptian communities which continued in getting through deeply among the Egyptian people all over the past years, leaving its ideological extreme impacts on them. (Brynen et al., 2012, p.22) These ages of consequent occupations, and the existence of these profound Islamic extremes parties, most of the Egyptian population were living under poverty, and ultimately suffering from clear deteriorated health caring conditions and illiteracy. That by the 1950’s the Egyptian people finally decided to protest to change their miserable life conditions, giving way to the first great Egyptian 23rd July revolution, that was interestingly derived by Nasser and the Free Officers to Coup in (1952).

In fact, during this early period (1922-1952) Egypt was politically governed by both the democratic and monarchical figures. Hence, there was a ruling Constitution which allowed for an elected parliament, but the British authority had the power to influence the King’s decisions to appoint or dismiss the government. According to Cleveland (2009), he stated that “the British leaders [...] were negotiating with the Egyptian leaders about allowing the country independence while keeping it in the British sphere of influence”. (p.305) In this regard, the social and economic life was in dire conditions, as they were directly affected by these inner conflicts and suffering from such great social deterioration that led to these recent social unrest. Hence, Egypt during the British Turkish occupation experienced many political and economic corruptions that worked on wracking its various inner social and political sectors. Significantly, the British occupation main goal during its existence in Egypt was based on asserting and fixing its roots and identity within the Egyptian society. This was very clear and evident especially through the various stubborn policies they implemented during their ruling periods. The more they oppressed and over wracked the Egyptian people, the more the Egyptian population was angry, hating them and charging their desire to get rid of them. Although by the end of this period of their presence in Egypt, the British leaders finally decided to respect and to improve their relations with the Egyptian mass population, seeking peace with them but this was too late. The Egyptian citizens after many years of repeated foreign occupations were suffering from very bad social conditions of neglecting and poverty. Thus, they were finally eager for fighting to gain their independence, especially that, during this period in the 1950’s there were many different political oppositional currents of youth emerged within the Egyptian societies whom were fighting the British occupation and calling for freedom.

Remarkably, Egypt was in a chaotic state in July (1952), when a group of junior military officers led by Gamal Abdel Nasser succeeded to overthrow the British occupation and seized the power. It was

demonstrated that through the 23rd of July events, such current of public anger that was aroused in response to specific vicious social conditions, where the Revolutionary Command Council that was led by Nasser has taken the charge of the country's affairs in ruling it suddenly after getting rid of the British occupation. Interestingly, the young officers were not having any ready prepared agendas, policies, or programs. They do not have even any political support that they need to establish their own strategies while governing the country. Mainly they were trying to specify those profound policies and strategies for ruling the country based on social and political implementations. In this regard, the Revolutionary Command Council asserted a number of important political pledges that were based on their significant strategic targets, including mainly some points: the complete ending of imperialism and its agents, also the instant ending of feudalism, monopoly and the capitalistic control. In addition, they also worked on establishing a powerful army to protect the country against any external attacks while they were also focusing mainly on asserting equity and social justice among the Egyptian community, based on freedom and democracy.

Evidently, during this critical transitional period for Egypt in (1952), the Free Officer's Corps were the most powerful, ordered and ready national force for the struggle. The free officers were a secret society composed of some young military officers, whom were sons of some small peasant proprietors, minor government officials and petty merchants. They eventually gathered and organized a successful and bloodless coup against the British occupation on July 25th, (1952). The leader of the free officers was Muhammad Naguib, and was supported by Gamal Abd El Nasser. Their brave mission was to free their country from the foreign occupation and to achieve the country's independence. According to Teti (2017), "the Free Officers were broadly speaking nationalist, but comprised a wide range of political and religious sensitivities, and were primarily largely pragmatic and motivated by the combination of colonialism and a perceived corrupt monarchy". (p.6) Thus, finally and after a long struggle against the British occupation Nasser and the Free Officer's Corps succeeded to oust the Turkish king and they directly raised to power in a bloodless coup in (1952). In fact, the Free Officers were agreed upon establishing a number of goals to achieve what they called "the six-point program". Their program mainly included some specific objectives that mainly based on the destruction of the British colonialism and the removal of its Egyptian collaborators. They also worked on the radical elimination of feudalism, the ending of the political control of the state by foreign capital, the establishment of social justice, while building a strong national army, hence all these steps were significantly needed for starting a new healthy democratic life in Egypt. (Brown, & Shahin, 2010, p.203)

The Egyptian public success of getting rid of the British dominance in (1952) helped in setting the way for Nasser as the first Egyptian leader to take Egypt in a new strategic rising path among the Arab world that was called the "Pan Arab Nationalism". Hence, their main objectives were mainly based on establishing the Egyptian economic socialism, where the revolution's initial goal was basically to overthrow King Faruq. And that Nasser would lead the Arab world under the banner of Pan-Arabism, and to unify all the Arab countries. In this sense, Dawisha (2003) clarified that: the notion of "pan-Arabism was based mainly on the unity between the various Arab countries in the Middle East."(p.4) In fact, such powerful social movement, the 23rd July revolution consequently triggered many radical social changes within the Egyptian society and continued while led by President Gamal Abd el Nasser in (1952).

To sum up, the 23rd of July Revolution (1952) was marked as the first powerful Egyptian social movement; its main target was gaining Egypt's national independence, dignity and freedom through ending the British occupation and the prolonged ruling of the Ottoman elites in Egypt. The young Egyptian officers aimed at not just removing the king, but also creating new social and political

implementations based on specific social and political objectives. That by the end of the foreign occupation of Egypt it remarkably began a new independent ruling phase by the various Egyptian presidents for the first time in its history since the pharos. Thus, the next part presents a brief review about Egypt's recent presidential eras focusing on the basic reasons behind these significant social changes that happened in it during its recent history. Hence, this study not only looks at the internal factors of the Egyptian social structure changes during its recent history, but also the external ones. As it is focusing on the economic and political conditions and pressures that were practiced over Egypt and were clearly reflected on the social life of the Egyptians.

III. Egypt's Presidential Eras

In Egypt, many significant social changes have taken place during the past two decades. Egypt's political system is officially a presidential republic since (1952). (Badr, 2019) However, its political and social structure has changed radically during the pre-Mubarak era, and remained unstable. Such recent unstable political and economic conditions in the Middle East region and in Egypt are apparently considered as a primitive result for many social and political struggles and corruptions. These complicated social conditions led to these repeated public consecutive demonstrations in (2011). In fact, Egypt through its past history experienced various foreign occupations and faced many political and social corruptions through these consequent presidential dictator authorization regimes. Such profound complicated conditions of the political scene in Egypt caused many great challenges that significantly affected the Egyptian social life as accumulated through many years. The Egyptian people for long perceived that these many foreign occupations and their corrupted regimes since the British occupation in the 1950s have spoilt their social life and prevented them from rising among the great nations. In this regard, the main features of the Egyptian social structure always played an important role in shaping the general politic scene in Egypt and in the Middle East region.

Evidently, through the various presidential eras, and since the mid 1970s despite Egypt's move towards the political liberalization system, the sole power of presidency has remained the most dominant institution that controls most of the vital economic and social issues within the country. The president had enormous constitutional and legal powers to drive the political scene of the country through his ideology and political vision and this was profoundly reflected on shaping the Egyptian society. The president of the country has the upper hand for any social or economic reforms and he is mainly in charge also to take solely all the critical political decisions. And this was clearly reflected on the social and political life of the Egyptians whom spent many decades eager to interact and participate in the political scene of their country. In fact, all the authorization presidential rulers whom governed Egypt through its recent era were obviously dictatorial depriving the Egyptian people from any political sharing or participation in the countries' political issues or foreign affairs.

However, through these recent periods of the Egyptian presidential eras, the various Egyptian social and economic systems were also in dire need for many internal fundamental structural reforms to improve the internal deteriorated social conditions within the Egyptian societies. Thus, all the Egyptian presidents were targeting mainly the economic and social implementations to improve these poor conditions as their basic ruling strategy. And this was clear while reviewing Nasser's economic and social implementations despite his clear lacking for the political base and the public freedom. Then followed by Sadat and his Open Door Markets economic strategy, and finally came Mubarak trying the Liberalization and privatization economic plan. Which led to such vital question, whether those leaders controlling Egypt recently during those various consequent presidential eras and their significant economic plans and

liberal experiments are they really adequate and successful enough for such required economic, social and political restructuring and the deep reforms that the Egyptian society in dire need for.

In order to get a clearer picture of the Egyptian political and social life, it is crucial to focus on the main problems that faced the Egyptian society through the various presidential periods and ruling dynamics. It is very important to review those three significant presidential eras of Egypt during its recent history starting by Gamal Abdul Nasser (1952-1970), followed by Anwar Sadat (1970- 1981) then Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011). Hence, Nasser's era was colored by his strategic vision of Pan Arabism added to his strong persistence for achieving his economic and social implementations plans during his presidency. Especially that most of his foreign relations and policies were completely saturated by his ideology of rising the Arab nationalism and unity. His dream was to improve the social and economic life of the Egyptian population while achieving general equality between all the citizens. Moreover, his charismatic personality coupled with his dynamic personal leadership, allowed Egypt to rise in power and political dominance within the Middle East region. In this light, the next part presents the main features that marked Nasser's presidential era, mainly his ruling strategy, and foreign policy to sustain Egypt socially and economically while consolidating the Arab Nationalism. Thus, it is highly significant to shed the light on these factors that led to the clear social changes starting by Nasser's era which was characterized by a high sense of restoring the Egyptian nationalization, equity and dignity among all the Egyptian populations.

1- The Nasser's Era (1952-1970)

President Gamal Abdel Nasser represents Egypt's first military ruler, whom came to Egypt in (1954) and led the country through its post-colonial transition to a new independent presidential era. Interestingly, Nasser's era began after the ending of the British occupation and the success of the 23rd of July revolution (1952), where Egypt was evidently stuck within the center of three different significant "circles," the African, the Arab, and the Islamic. In fact, since long Egypt was viewed as a major independent player within the African region and it was strategically beyond that, hence it was regarded also as a prominent active mover within the wider circle of the Third World countries. In this regard, Egypt was politically considered as a significant and special key promoter through international nonalignment and neutralism. According to Hemaïd (2017), "this geopolitical weight and strategic importance made Egypt an object of interest to the whole world greatest powers". (p.53) In fact, when Nasser ascended the presidency in (1952), Egypt was suffering from such great decline in all fields, added to many social problems caused by its feeble economic system that was corrupted through many years of several foreign occupations. Especially that after the 23rd of July Revolution (1952) Egypt was completely destroyed and deteriorated at all levels; socially, economically, and politically caused by many years of oppression and corruptions as the British. Remarkably, Nasser all through his presidency period was convinced that Egypt had a huge responsibility in defending the Arab nations from what he regarded them to be "imperialist Arab governments". Thus, he dreamed to unify all the Arab countries under one free independent nation through extending his ideology of Nationalism within the whole Arab countries and the Middle East region.

In this context, for all the Egyptian populations Nasser represented the hope for a better free democratic future. He was the first Egyptian president whom realized that in order for Egypt to progress and to take its leading position within the Arab countries, it should work on supporting and implementing its inner economic and social conditions first. Badr (2019) commented that; "Abdel-Nasser was pushing for full control over the public sphere to ensure power over the young independent state". (p.68) Thus,

according to his ideological prospect based on Pan Arabism, Egypt should be socially and economically independent and strong. Thus, immediately when Nasser became the president, he began by great radical banning for all the opposing political parties against his ruling plan. Also, he asserted significant rules and policies that worked to centralize the ruling power within the presidency and to outlaw all the oppositional political parties disagreeing with his political views. In this regard, Khalifah (2013) postulated that, “Many historians recognized the complexity of Nasser’s character, his contradictory traits, and his sometime inexplicable decisions”. (p.98)

In fact, Nasser through the first period of his ruling presidency he based his ruling strategy to begin first by improving the internal economic and social conditions of the simple Egyptian people, where he asserted his famous socio- economic reforms plan. Hence, he was completely convinced that by building and supporting the inner social and economic structure within the Egyptian societies this would support him in establishing his further plans of improving the country’s political conditions with foreign policies and international relations especially with major countries. Dunne and Hamzawy (2019) commented that; while president Gamal Abdel Nasser began to implement nationalist and socialist policies, Egypt abandoned large industrial and commercial families, as well as some influential landowners, after the government placed their property under government control, or seized it to make it public property. Thus, Nasser began by rebuilding and improving the Egyptian internal social conditions, as he worked on several domestic axes that began by; the complete banning for the various oppositional political parties hindering his plan. And he worked also on the outlawing of the contrastive social groups whom did not support him or his government while manipulating the social contract and he also applied many changes in the economic sector.

In this regard, Nasser’s strategy was based mainly on strengthening the internal social and economic policies first to give support for the next step in his strategy of improving the country’s external foreign political relations. Nasser also established the first political party in Egypt in (1962), which was called the Arab Socialist Union. Hence, by marginalizing and outlawing all the social and political oppositional ones whom were against his policies and ideological directions, Nasser succeeded to dominate his control over the internal social and political conditions within the country. He chose to follow a redistributive properties strategy, and to apply pro-poor reforms that supported mainly the poor citizens. Such as his land law reform which was based for the broke up of the larger latifundia. Nasser also proposed many social commitments to provide appropriate jobs for the university graduates, while on the economic level he tried to practice prices control on most of the essential staples as cooking oil, rice, bread and petrol, etc. All these efforts and internal reforms he worked on were to improve the social life for the poor societies and the simple people in his country.

In the same core, it is crucial to point out that Nasser succeeded to keep good relations with the political party Muslim Brothers at the beginning of his ruling era. This group was formed in (1928), and was known as the oldest best organized political organization in Egypt. Although later when he controlled his power over the country, he started to eliminate their political power and social existence gradually within the Egyptian communities. Especially that the Muslim Brothers were very cooperative and profoundly supported Nasser and the Free Officers’ movement very much at the beginning during the first three years while struggling against the British occupation. But later after achieving the country’s independence, the Muslim Brothers became the most threatening group or political party that was annoying Nasser during the first period of his ruling era. The conflict between the Muslim Brothers and the Free Officers began when the Muslim Brothers rejected to join the national front. Such conflicted situation ended by savage assassination of some members of the Muslim Brothers and the vice-president

of Nasser. According to Brownlee, Masoud, and Reynolds (2015), through their study they explained Nasser's relation with the Muslim Brothers as: "The regime sent 54 Muslim Brother Member to prison in (1955) and detained thousands without charge". (Brownlee, et al., 2015, p.64) During this period, Nasser was attempted to be assassinated by the Muslim Brothers, but it failed. That Nasser and the Muslim Brothers began to diverge, each was looking for his own different interests while derived by their political directions and ideological views. Thus, by the year (1954), Nasser began to politically marginalize the Muslim Brothers, as he imprisoned most of their leaders and important members, while the rest of them were suffering from brutal oppressions by the government and many other unaccepted ways of agonizing for them such as police beatings, repeated arrest, harassment, and torture.

After controlling the internal complicated political conditions and eliminating the oppositional parties, Nasser began to focus his attention on the radical social implementations of the Egyptian inner societies hence this was planned through his social contract. In this regard, he worked on raising the levels of the services for the public including health care and education provided for the simple population whom were suffering for many years from severe medical negligent and poverty. Such severe deterioration at all the social aspects of life was accumulated through many years, especially happened during the British occupation. Hence, Nasser's main target was to provide at least the minimum, basic health care services urgently needed for all the Egyptian people. In fact, his ruling strategy was based mainly on the general social implementations that worked on improving the education system of the country. Dunne and Hamzawy (2019) commented that; "the Egyptian state under Nasser sent large numbers of teachers, judges, and bureaucrats abroad to help build state structures in Arab countries and beyond". So he encouraged increasing the numbers of schools and universities in most towns, to make education available for all the Egyptian citizens and especially the poor people living in urban societies. He believed that such educated population would enter to the work force and participate in improving the economic sector especially in the professional fields and making Egypt economically stronger.

All Nasser's significant plans were directed for improving the health and the educational conditions in the Egyptian society. Although his efforts were seen very effective and successful in strengthening the internal social life; Nasser was also highly interested in preparing a strong army to defend the country against any external aggression. Those ideas of Pan-Arabism along with the political and social ideology manipulated by Nasser were mainly regarded as the basic driving forces behind the apparent growing role of the military through the social life and political issues of the country. Such significant strategy for preparing a strong army to defend the country against any external threatening which correspondingly costed the country a high budget, was of course was regarded at the same time as a basic reason for maximizing the old inherited heavy economic burden of the country. That it required high expenses added over the feeble Egyptian national economy with its increasing financial demands. Based on Ahmed's (2017) study, he proposed that; "Nasser through keeping his pan Arabism ideology, he tried to improve domestic economic sectors in order to afford the financial demands of his social contract and to increase the country's internal income rather than depending on external financial support". (p.10)

Nasser also tried to improve the Egyptian industrialization sector so he focused on developing the heavy industrialization projects of the country as a significant objective to achieve through the Five-Year Development Plan by (1960). He worked on improving the already established industrial sector that was already existed and based on laws established during the British Occupation. That, between the years (1952) and (1959) the amount of the Egyptian industrial production increased by 47 percent, and Egypt was known to be the most industrialized country in the Arab Middle East region. Nasser through his implementations plan focused mainly on some basic economic sectors as; large textile industry, modern

banking structure, commerce, transportation system, and communication system. Remarkably, keeping the Egyptian economy closed was Nasser's main economic strategy that he was always against the idea of the international free markets. In fact, Nasser's economic reforms were based on improving and controlling the domestic social and economic sectors in Egypt, and most of the economic resources, hence they were totally steered toward the military, and controlled by it, such as the production of many industrial and agricultural inputs like steel and fertilizers.

In fact, those years between mid-1950s to 1960, were profoundly classified as a significant period of economic transition, hence Nasser during his national implementations he began by the nationalization of all the Egyptian private owned banks and major commercial businesses. His strategy was mainly to deprive any foreign country especially Britain and France from gaining any interests of the Egyptian revenues. The same policy of nationalization was applied also on the large foreign insurance companies and industrial companies as a part of his plan too, to control the national economy through his presidential period. In addition, Nasser implemented major agricultural reforms, from the period between (1952) and (1961), he managed to reallocate about one seventh of the Egyptian cultivable lands from the large landowners, to be distributed among the landless poor peasants. Thus, Nasser focused on major reforms in agriculture and industry to increase the national income, as he proposed the Agrarian Reform Law in (1952). Interestingly, this agriculture law limited the amount of land an individual could keep for maximum 200 acres. And if someone owed more land than that, the exceeding land had to be sold to the state at a certain tax assessment and then the state would sell it, at a low price, to individuals that did not own land. (Osman, 2010, p. 46) In fact, his agriculture reforms have led to a clear increasing of rural incomes and agricultural production, which raised the social level to some extent for the simple people.

However, Nasser's strategy was based mainly on social equality, as this law allowed more land to be more available to be purchased by the poor peasants. Correspondingly, it opened the door for the Egyptian state not only to collect more tax revenues, but also to encourage more people to be part of the economic sector. Another great step that marked Nasser's plan for the great domestic implementations was by supporting the economic sector in Egypt through building the Aswan High Dam and the nationalization of the Suez Canal on 26 July (1956). Evidently, these two huge, significant national projects marked a turning point in the social and economic Egyptian life. Thus, according to Nasser's plan, the revenues obtained by the canal would help in funding the construction of the High Dam. The Aswan Dam was an important project especially for Nasser's new strategy of domestic economic improvement. Moreover, the dam was needed to provide the needed water for agricultural development, land reclamation, generation of hydroelectric power and recreation. Thus, John Waterbury (1983) asserted that; "The Aswan Dam symbolized rationality in resource management, national sovereignty and strength, and the leading role of the state in finding technocratic solutions to Egypt's socioeconomic problems. All are closely interlinked". (Waterbury, 1983, p. 64) Moreover, the government was guaranteeing the state employment to all university graduates. Hence, all these social reforming programs helped the profound advent of a new modern middle class within the Egyptian social scale. These classes ultimately guaranteed their loyalty and commitment to support Nasser's regime regardless to any negative economic impacts or his political flaws.

In a way Nasser's regime was regarded to be authoritarian, that he asserted a profound restricted policy especially for encouraging the public sector expansion. In addition, his internal ruling strategy was based also on the nationalization of all the foreign and huge assets and banks in Egypt and the national subsidies, especially for the basic consumption goods. However, his strategy successfully promoted equity between the Egyptian people and all the citizens, although soon because of many financial and

economic factors, Egypt ran into serious social and economic problems. Regardless of the general public political repression of Nasser's ruling strategy in isolating the citizens from participating and interacting with the most significant political issues and events occurred during his ruling period, Nasser was incredibly popular either nationally among his people or regionally across the Arab nation. He succeeded to establish a single state party with an enormous security apparatus. Moreover, his deeds in relation to the Arab nationalism and Arab socialism which were considered as the "twin pillars of his revolution" were all focusing on the liberalization of Egypt, as well as, the Arab world from imperialism. And it was directed also to embark on a great social revolution as a part of the informal social contract. Accordingly, the Egyptian people agreed to take restrictions or limitations on their political freedom in return for the promise of better life standards. Hence, most of the Egyptian social life during Nasser's era was highly influenced by his profound social implementations and services provided to the public. In fact, Nasser's implementation strategy worked on offering a better chance for the Egyptian people in education, healthcare, and employment, as well as subsidizing food and transportation.

Remarkably, the First Five Year Plan (1960-65) during Nasser's era was successfully achieved; the Egyptian regime controlled all government major sectors and the national economy. All prominent industrialization was to take place according to the framework of Nasser's strategic plan of Pan Arabism. Moreover, on the social level, it is crucial asserting that in the light of all these economic and industrial developments, a new middle-class elites appeared within the public sector and newly emerged to be added to the profound Egyptian social structure. Hence, Nasser through his reforming policy succeeded to improve the social and economic conditions of the poor simple people whom were suffering for many years during the various occupations and especially the British. Moreover, food and fuel subsidies were regarded as essential basic goods that were widely affordable to the middle and lower classes by Nasser's government. Interestingly, all these new economic transformations of the Egyptian social structure were counted on for providing public mass support for Nasser's regime and policies as increasing his popularity between the mass populations.

Although Nasser's economic strategy did not accomplish what he wanted of being able to support his policies. Such economic and social reforms, while were important in terms of radical developments for the Egyptian society, they were very limited in their overall economic impact. Correspondingly, during this period Egypt received an external aid from the West and the Soviet Union in the 1950s, as the Soviets were the major supporters and financiers for most of the Egyptian development projects. They were regarded as a vital political protectors and economic supporters for Nasser's regime. However, between the years (1952) and (1967), Egypt was receiving many financial assistance from the United States also in the form of development assistance, economic support fund, and the food for peace program (Sharp, 2007, p.31) as the problem of dependency could be minimized by diversifying aid sources, a policy that Nasser adopted to achieve the balance between East and West, while receiving aids and funds from both sides.

Interestingly, these social and political ties with the Soviet Union has been transformed from poor to good strong relations by the beginning of the year (1954), hence these relations can be attributed to the social and economic developments that took place during Nasser's implementing plan. Evidently, the diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union was officially declared in August (1943). The Cooperation between Moscow and Cairo began by the first economic agreement signed in (1948), according to which the Soviet Union exported grain, timber and other goods in exchange for Egyptian cotton. Furthermore, during the 1950-60s of the last century, the Egyptian-Soviet partnership was at its uttermost. (Hemaid, 2017, p.114) That, by the year (1965), it was clear that Nasser's economic system based on public sector

expansion and commitments to consumption subsidies was not sustainable. Especially that the Egyptian economic system was highly affected by the fall of the Russian president Khrushchev in (1964). After Khrushchev, Egypt had lost the Soviet financial and political support and was forced to negotiate for credit with the (International Monetary Fund) IMF. In fact the IMF loan came up with its stabilization program which obliged Egypt to devalue the Egyptian pound by 40 percent, and other negative side effects as; scaling down investments, and raising prices and taxes States. (Borzutzkya, & Berger, 2010)

Remarkably, Nasser's ties with the United States during the 1950's were generally turbulent. The United States was hoping that the increasing pressure of foreign financial support for Egypt would influence Nasser to change his policies towards the West. From its part, the United States aspired that Nasser would cooperate with it to contain the soviet influence in the Middle East, and to build the regional stability by accomplishing peace with Israel. But Nasser did not allow the financial debts to affect his decision making or policies related the West or the Arab Middle East countries. Another significant factor that reshaped the Egyptian social identity was the idea of Pan-Arabism. Hence, the Egyptian society was suffering during this era from the internal multiple identity dilemmas that were changed in favor of Pan-Arabism over other identities. And especially by the conquer of Egypt in the (1967) Arab-Israeli War, and its suffering from a mortifying defeat, the Egyptian society was fragmented and shocked for losing their national pride. In addition, the Arab-Israeli War in (1967) was regarded as a disaster for the Egyptian economy that left many social problems and negative impact on the Egyptian population. The political importance of the (1967) war was immense; Israel showed that it was able to initiate strategic attacks that could change the regional balance. Both Cairo and Damascus learned tactical lessons that enabled them later to undergo the (1973) war to reclaim their lost territory. (Hemaid, 2017, p.117) This was followed by Nasser's death in (1970), a matter which gave way for a new president Anwar Sadat, who was also emerging from the military.

According to Nasser's Pan Arabism ideology of not allowing foreign powers to control his social or economic policies, as he tried to overcome his financial difficulties, he planned to use some of the newly acquired national revenue to fund a strong military to consolidate his policies, and to keep the country stable. Through all these complicated conditions, the Egyptian society felt great disappointment and humiliation because of their military defeat hence Nasser's regime faced great economic conflicts and political chaos. Thus, a great revolution of anger aroused, that most of the Egyptian mass population moved in strikes, expressing their demands and anger asking for more financial government support. The government's response was using various repressive efforts of violence to calm down the demonstrators. This social problem was a normal result, because the Egyptian economy could not afford for all the financial demands important for the people to eat and live. Nasser's government was pushed for making radical restructures in the economic system, represented by the March 30 Program (1968). This program worked on changing the Egyptian economy from state capitalism toward liberalization.

The March 30 Program (1968) gave more space for the private sector to flourish and helped in restructuring the public sector, as this was directly affecting the social and economic conditions in Egypt. In the private sector many restrictions were lifted thus encouraging for giving more space for decision making in the public sector. Such changes in the internal social and political structure gave way for many oppositional voices to rise confidently within the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), especially in press and many public conferences. Evidently, the March 30 program strategy was against Nasser's socialist principles, as this argument was also brought into the National Assembly. The Program was completely contradicted to Nasser's early strategy of equality between the Egyptian people, and supporting the middle and lower classes. Thus, the public sector began to shrink in the light of this new strategy. Despite

the export performance was improving, the interests were only for the upper classes to relish, as industrialists, businesses owners, and rich farmers were doing well, while the poor classes were suffering as the sharing of wages were gradually declining.

On 30th September (1970), Nasser died and he failed to achieve most of the commitments he promised to achieve during his presidency in (1952). It is significant to illustrate that Nasser's regime was based on a number of strategic social and economic implementations, mainly based on a program of nationalization of many large domestic assets, the Egyptianization of many foreign assets, and encouraging the expanding of the public sector with equity. His policy gradually led the Egyptian economic system to a severe crisis as it could not meet the rising expectations of the public. This was because of the lack of income resources compared to the financial domestic expenses of the state, which put Nasser's regime in a difficult situation. Some opinions argued that the geopolitical and geostrategic vision of Nasser for the Egyptian role has been theoretically true. Yet, this vision was not realistic as per his country's abilities and resources. Thus, the main key features that marked Nasser's ruling period were the great socio-economic reforms he established during his era. Hence his reforming strategy was lacking the profound political base. And to achieve his plan Nasser worked on implementing the inner social life based on equity as he chose to redistributive the public properties and the pro-poor reforms such as his land reforms laws which broke up the larger land owners, in commitments to provide appropriate jobs for the university graduates, control prices on staples and petrol, etc. These strategies and policies fulfilled the 'revolutionary' pledges contract which was regarded as the key plank for Nasser's legitimacy. The various flaws, social and economic failures and the clear gradual reversal for those commitments was ultimately crucial factor that caused great difficulty and many problems for Nasser's successors.

Eventually, despite all the social implementations occurred during Nasser's era and his great economic measures, they were serving mainly the upper classes and the middle classes only, improving and strengthening their financial estates. While most of the Egyptian populations living below the poverty level. Especially the poor rural masses they still could not feel any economic progress or change for better social conditions. The lack of concern with the deep rooted social problems that the majority of the simple Egyptian people were suffering from for many decades, were regarded as basic reasons for the public anger. The Egyptian society was plagued by a series of problems as the illiteracy, the poor health care services, and the high prices of food. These social problems were accumulated through many decades that were dominating the lives of the bulk of the Egyptian society, and helped increasing the social gap between the various Egyptian social levels. Thus, by the end of Nasser's presidency period, Egypt tried to shift its strategic economic policy from the state-led system to a more liberalized economic model. But it also failed to rescue Nasser's economic system as it swayed the Egyptian social structure and economy to an unequal and polarized political direction that obviously emerged during the post-Nasser era.

To sum up, during Nasser's presidency period there were many political and economic flaws that were directly reflected on the Egyptian society and changed its structure. Moreover, by the end of Nasser's era the Egyptian people were severely suffering, especially because of Egypt's economic decline that began after the (1967) War with the Israelis, and continued till Nasser's death. As, the loss of the (1967) War and the death of Nasser in September (1970) forced the Egyptian government to change its foreign strategies, and policies to be extended through Sadat's ruling period. In this sense, Egypt experienced a dramatic identity transformation and especially after the (1967) war. In fact, those significant social transformations were normal results for Nasser's ruling strategy that was based on raising nationalism and equity added to his significant economic and social developments. Thus, it is ultimate to go through the next period of the Egyptian presidency the Sadat's era, focusing on his

domestic and foreign policies. Hence, most of Sadat's new policies were in contradiction to those of Nasser's and his ideology of pan Arabism. In this regard, to get a clearer vision about the Egyptian social changes during Egypt's recent history, it is necessary to go through the main domestic and foreign policies of Sadat during his era and how they contributed to Egypt's political and strategic decline and losing its Arab Nationalism.

2. The Sadat's Era (1970–1981)

By the death of Nasser in (1970), Anwar Sadat became the next president ruling Egypt from (1970) till (1981). It was expected for Sadat to continue Nasser's ruling Arab nationalism path, as proposed by Cooper (1982) through his study, that it was planned for Sadat to follow "the ghost of Nasser" in his politics and relations. (p.123) However, Sadat ruled the country, taking on a policy of "de-nasserisation" direction, hence evidently he opposed most of Nasser's policies, in order to gain an ultimate friendship and acceptance among the West. Dunne and Hamzawy (2019) asserted that "after (1973), Sadat began to reverse the socialist policies introduced by Nasser and embraced economic liberalism". (p.5) In fact, by the beginning of Sadat's ruling period, most of the domestic social and economic conditions in Egypt were extremely deteriorated. The Egyptian national economy was suffering from great collapsing during this period and there was a current of general civil unrest within the Egyptian societies added to many political parties that were in continuous fighting due to Nasser's sudden death. Remarkably, Sadat inherited a weak and divided country suffering from many social and economic problems and very complicated political conditions. In addition, on the social public level; the whole Egyptian people were still in grief because of the decisive military defeat during this period at the hands of the Israelis. Taking all these chaotic conditions together, Sadat's government tried to rescue the country from its miserable situation as the majority of the populations were suffering and mired in poverty, illiteracy and disease. Correspondingly, during the first years of Sadat's presidential period, Egypt was reeling under a stagnant economy that was dominated by a system of state capitalism. Hence, most of the Egyptian public sectors were suffering from severe inflates and corruptions, as it failed to provide the capital necessary for many social and economic developments.

In fact, Sadat was not such a charismatic leader as Nasser and he was not much skillful in rallying on the public support and popularity. He was not interested too in the idea of the Arab unity and placing Egypt on top of the Arab world. In contrast, Sadat was not targeting pan Arabism strategy like Nasser but his main concern during his period of presidency was to make Egypt economically stable and politically secure. In this regard, after the death of Nasser and the Sadat's ascending to the presidency, he learnt much lessons of Nasser's flaws and sought to avoid doing the same mistakes that plagued his predecessor. Especially that, during the last years before Nasser's death Egypt was following a new economic growth strategy that was based on public sector expansion and encouraging the general policy for the economic liberalization. At the beginning of his ruling period Sadat was following Nasser's strategic plan and foreign policies during the first three years, but later on by (1971) he began to distance himself from the "Nasser-style" of governing. He succeeded to manipulate many new political, economic, and social reforms, as taking Egypt in a completely different political and economic direction. Sadat's strategy was interested mainly in entering political negotiations with major Western powers, as he adopted the liberalization strategy as the most necessary and appropriate path for Egypt's economic relief.

Sadat waged strong war against the intellectuals, artists, writers, journalists and activists whom were known to lead opposition views and criticize his new shifting policies. (Dunne & Hamzawy, 2019, p.5) Although Sadat's strategy was the same as Nasser's for Egypt to be economically independent, as a

poor developing country, Egypt could not achieve this without the essential military assistance and foreign economic aids from most economies major countries. Remarkably, these financial foreign aids dependency had its heavy costs and threats over the Egyptian political strategy in achieving its national independence. As following the Nasserist legacy, Sadat's political vision was working mainly on two interrelated implementing axes; first he worked on securing his political position, second achieving radical social developments and focusing on economic growth. Especially that Sadat realized that the oppressive ruling, brutality and opposing free speech in media and journalism would not support for long against his inevitable war against his first enemy Israel. In this regard, Sadat began to "demilitarize" the Egyptian state through minimizing the numbers of the army officers working in governmental positions, so as helping the military to focus more on the readiness for war. At the same time Sadat cooperated again with the neglected Islamic party the Muslim Brothers which was completely oppressed during Nasser's era and this was counted as his greatest mistakes that mislead his social and political strategy.

According to Dunne and Hamzawy (2019), they asserted that "on the foreign policy sphere, Sadat moved away from Egypt's alliance with the Soviet Union and the Socialist bloc, pursued a peace treaty with Israel, and built a cooperative relationship with the United States". (p.5) Interestingly, Sadat's great efforts for fixing the foreign Egyptian political relations were profoundly dominated by his dealings with the Muslim Brothers as representing the main religious political party that existed in Egypt during his ruling period. According to Teti (2017), "That was mainly to compensate, and to attack his Nasserist rivals, Sadat attempted to use the Muslim Brotherhood". (p.7) Although Sadat through his dealings with them was keen not to repeat Nasser's same mistakes in neglecting and demolishing their political and social existence. Thus, he decided to recover his relations with the Muslim Brothers, mainly to gain their political support. And in (1974), he set free most of their imprisoned members out of jails to live and deal freely inside the country. But at the same time he did not give them the enough space of freedom where he deprived them from existing socially and politically as a legally recognized political party.

However, Sadat's political reconciliation with the Muslim Brothers was based on his desire for gaining their support for his planned ruling strategy and supporting his social existence especially against the other oppositional liberal parties. Interestingly, his plan succeeded that they supported him and most of his domestic policies that they were grateful for him for the space he gave for them to exist freely in the Egyptian society and within the political life. Although directly Sadat's policy of reconciliation with the Muslim Brothers proved its failure that it was one of his biggest mistakes giving them way again to expand through the Egyptian societies. Thus, by the end of the 70s they were grappled and diverged against him because they were disagreeing Sadat's most foreign policies, especially the Camp David Accord with Israel. Consequently, in (1979), one of their prominent members of the Muslim Brothers assassinated Sadat in public ending his life brutally.

In this context, it is crucial also to shed the lights also on the 6th of October (1973) war; where the Egyptian troops attacked the Israeli fortifications on the East Bank of Suez Canal and destroyed Bar-Lev line for gaining back the kidnapped Egyptian lands Sinai. While at the same time the Syrian army attacked the Golan Heights for restoring also his lands from the Israel occupation. Correspondingly, after the Egyptian victory in their war, political negotiations and disengagement talks began between both Egypt and Israel on October 28th, (1973), that was known as "Kilometre 101". Remarkably, the Egyptian victory in the October war healed the psychological trauma of the Arab and the Egyptian defeat as well in the (1967) War, allowing them to negotiate with the Israelis on a later stage as equals. (Hemaid, 2017, p.118) In this regard, and after five years of the war, with the mediation of President Jimmy Carter, Sadat signed "The Camp David Accord", with Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel on 17 September

(1978). Such historic peace accord was regarded as an essential step for performing truce between Egypt and Israel, as both leaders were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for it. After only one year, on 26th March, (1979), Israel and Egypt signed a peace treaty, as these peace talks at the end of the war was regarded as the first time that Arab and Israeli officials met for direct political negotiations since the (1948) war. In fact, Sadat was excessively criticized and much blamed especially from the Arab countries for his political boldness in signing such peace treaty with Israel. Hence, during this critical period most of the Arab countries were consolidating the Palestinian issue, and regarded Egypt by signing such peace treaty with Israel on the opposite political track.

It was clear that Sadat's social and political strategy was based mainly to sustain political and economic stability within the Middle East region, under any cost or circumstances. Taking Egypt in a new path, Sadat began to follow a new strategy called "The Corrective Revolution". This plan allowed Sadat's regime to get rid of the people in the government whom were supporting Nasser's profound views and policies. As Dunne and Hamzawy (2019) commented that, "to destroy the legacy of Nasser's socialist experiment and to limit the influence of Nasserists and leftists, Sadat excluded Nasserist and leftist leaders from many official positions, some of whom had already been excluded in the so-called correction revolution in (1971)". (p.5) Thus, Sadat dismissed vice president Ali Sabri and imprisoned him along with his supporters on various charges of attempting to coup against him. Then, he announced new parliament elections. For this, the "Corrective Revolution" was regarded as a successful step in supporting Sadat to keep his hold over the country. As this revolution plan paved the way for Sadat's general domestic implementations and foreign policies to expand, and encouraged the freedom of public political expression. Thus, this stage was set for remaking Egypt through Sadat's vision. Sadat's government began by privatizing large state-run firms and returned many lands that had been nationalized under Nasser to its former owners. His economic strategy was targeting a new investment policy based on attracting the foreign investments. According to Ahmed (2017), "most of the State-sponsored subsidies which many segments of the population relied on, as needed to be removed hence Egypt received a \$40 million dollar loan from the World Bank". (p.12)

In a way, Sadat had inherited a heavy old burden of such collapsed and debt-ridden economy from Nasser. And this was mainly because of the great costs caused by the (1967) War that destroyed the Egyptian economy during the past period as this was added to many internal social problems as the unemployment which was a very big social problem during this period. Thus, Sadat through his new economic plan that followed the "Open Door Policy", he focused on improving the economic situation first to improve the other internal conditions and social problems. In fact, this new economic policy ended the national control of Egypt's economic resources within the public sector and encouraged both domestic and foreign investments through the private sectors. In a way, it is evident that Nasser's profound economic strategy has forced Sadat to re-examine the Egyptian economic structure and to follow an opposite economic strategy of the free market. In this regard, it must be emphasized also that most of the social and economic problems that characterized Sadat's regime were not all the creation of its Nasserist predecessor. But most of them were normal results for the long history of having many corrupted regimes and occupations for Egypt, which consequently caused such rapid changing of the internal Egyptian society especially during the inter-war period during the 70s. In addition to many other social problems that faced the Egyptian communities such as the recent rapid increasing of population which was a dominant factor for the extreme poverty and the bad social conditions especially within the Egyptian rural peasantry communities.

In order to understand the Egyptian social structure changing during Sadat's era, it is necessary also to examine the political and economic changes that occurred during this period. However, Sadat's real movement for political change was achieved by signing the "October Working Paper" in (1974) and applying the "Infitah" policy. It is argued that President Sadat's October Paper and his political reforms were motivated by his need for self-preservation, and not the democratic idealism. In fact, Sadat through his ruling has perceived that the Arab Socialist Union was a potential threat to his regime. Yet, this progressive step in his new economic strategy of liberalization began when this paper was released and approved in a plebiscite in (1974). That "the Egyptian economy would have to be opened up to encourage foreign investments and Egypt would accept unconditional aids and loans from abroad to aid in developments."(Lippman, 1989, p.99) While, Sadat's new economic policy was based on opening freely the Egyptian economy internationally to encourage the foreign investments so as helping transferring technology to achieve general economic and social prosperity. Thus, his strategic plane was focusing on attracting foreign capitals and technology, financial institutions while freeing the labor market. Sadat understood that Egypt could no longer achieve any economic progress depending solely on its internal sources of revenue and that the cooperation with a foreign capitals and investments were very essential. Thus, Sadat through his new economic policy he began to support the foreign relations with major west countries and to focus on the industrial sector by modernizing it while encouraging private businesses.

In this regard, Sadat through his economic implementation strategy has followed an open door, free market program called the "Infitah". This scheme encouraged the suitable conditions for a real estate and credit boom, a matter which led to the transformation of the country to become increasingly dependent upon foreign aids financing. Ultimately this "opening" or "infitah" program offered an alternate vision of economic progress and development to that of Arab socialism; which was directly reflected on the Egyptian social life. As by launching a process of liberalization and an influx of Western investments, to assimilate Egypt into the Western capitalist system, there emerged some high rich social classes of people during the 80's. Thus, it was clear that the Egyptian social structure has changed by the appearance of such new money-making elite classes that suddenly appeared which encouraged also class variations because of income unfairness and inequity between the rich and the poor. Remarkably, such economic strategy and policies during Sadat's era helped widening the gap between the internal social classes. Hence, it is significant mentioning that this period the 80's witnessed many public resistances, in the form of strikes and "popular unrest" that took place all through the mid-1970s to the 80's. Such as those major transport worker strikes that happened in (1976) and the huge food riots in (1977) that were including academics, state bureaucrats and workers. Correspondingly, Sadat reacted brutally against these labor unrest and staple protests by sending the military to control demonstrations.

However, by the year (1979) Egypt became the second-largest country recipient of the US aid, a matter that moved Egypt out of the Soviet sphere and entered it into the US one. In fact, the United States has provided a huge significant military and economic financial assistance for Egypt since the late 1970s. According to Sharp (2018), "These successive U.S. Administrations have been justified as an essential aid to the Egyptian economy for supporting its regional stability, building primarily long-running co operations especially with the Egyptian military and also sustaining the (1979) Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty". (p.2) and by the end of Sadat's presidency era, Egypt politically and economically was shifted gradually towards the US orbit, but this was at the price of dissatisfied erupted internal social situation. Especially that, Sadat's main ruling strategy was based for the economic developments and the change for supporting the Egyptian society, it was obvious that he was not interested much in implementing or

expanding any of the essential social services, such as, education, housing, subsidies, or health care services, in contrast to Nasser's efforts.

Furthermore, Sadat supported the political and economic connections with the United States, and established an alliance and peace treaty with Israel, negotiated by the Carter administration in Washington as the (1979) Camp David Peace Accords. Such foreign relations led Sadat to lose his public popular support between the Egyptian populations especially the youth, until he was ultimately assassinated by an Islamist group in (1981). Consequently, the social life during Sadat's era was characterized by a clear shifting and internal changing within its various social classes and levels. Hence, the economic and political instability that continued during his presidential period led to the general feeling of social depression and losing public identity especially when Cairo started to focus more on the western aspects of identity. And departing gradually the Egyptian nationalism away slowly from the idea of Pan-Arabism and the African identity, which has extended and continued through the next phase during Mubarak's presidency. Hence, Nasser's military defeat in (1967), coupled with Sadat's political isolation as a leader and president and his personal opposing for 'socialism' pushed the regime towards the opposite strategy of direction in the 1970s. In fact, during Sadat's regime, he completely changed the political Nasser's strategic direction, as he introduced the 'open door' (*infitah*) policy in (1974), which was not successful enough to rescue the Egyptian economic and to improve the social life for Egypt.

This profound economic strategy; the "open door" has served the basic function of stabilizing Sadat's rule especially by keeping support of the elites that were hard in Nasser's pro-poor main policies. While also this economic strategy was complying with the US' main demands of political negotiations for the return back of Sinai lands after the two wars (1967) and (1973). But this shift also helped increasing the social strife and decreasing the popular legitimacy of the regime while shacking its social its stability. Hence, Sadat's ruling strategy again pulled Egypt to severe economic and political decline. Especially that, in January (1977), he tried to eliminate the prices control over most basic staples and this was met with a great social public anger resulting 900 dead people, just in two days preceding Sadat's announcement of his policy reversal. According to Teti (2017), "Such public discontent and successive waves of crackdowns on both leftist and Islamist activists was a key determinant in his assassination in (1981)". (p.7)

Sadat's policies and ruling strategy managed to demolish most of Nasser's social plans and the relinquishment of his anti-imperialism, which encouraged the Egyptian social classes' variations. Hence, Egypt following Sadat's economic strategy hastily became more trade dependent rather than an agriculture country that it has to import most of its basic foods and needs. In this regard most of Egypt's foreign financing was completely restricted to the nonproductive sectors of the economy that pushed the new generations of the Egyptian youth during this period for searching for work outside the country. The country increasingly exported its labor and working hands to work abroad and especially in the oil rich Gulf States. Thus, the country's dependence upon transfers from its foreign labor sending their earnings back home became a very important economic financial source. That by the year (1974), the income sum from labor transmittals, oil exports, tourism, and foreign aid as well as the Suez Canal revenues accounted for nearly a third of Egypt's foreign income, as this number exceeded up to 75% by the year (1980). Moreover, one of the main social aspects of Sadat's ruling strategy that he tried to return the sequestered lands to the rich landowners within Egypt, which encouraged again the class variations and widened the social gaps between the internal social classes. And this estimated the general public feelings of the simple citizens for losing their national identity, and demolishing social justice. Such changes that Sadat brought to Nasser's Egypt left many Egyptians searching for a shadow of their former leader missing his

principles of nationalism and equity. In a way, Sadat-Nasser administrations' political and economic strategies have led to many significant social changes and caused clear broad declining affecting mainly the low and the middle classes within the Egyptian society.

Such complicated political situation that Sadat ended his ruling period by, led Egypt to lose its strategic value of Arab Nationalism and to lose its diplomatic relations with most of the Arab countries, missing their economic support and their funding to dry up. Consequently, the general continual exhausted economic conditions of the country pushed Sadat to rely more on the Western sources and their political support rather than the Arab consolidation. Although Sadat's main concern was to achieve strategic peace with Egypt's neighboring countries, and to keep Egypt politically and economically strong, there were many oppositional parties appeared against his regime. Hence, during this period although Egypt's (1979) peace treaty with Israel remains one of the most significant diplomatic achievements for the promotion of Arab-Israeli peace, in fact it put Egypt in a very complicated situation. (Sharp, 2018, p.2) That by the end of his ruling era there was a general public dissatisfaction and anger expanding within the Egyptian societies, such as the extreme political party the Muslim Brothers whom were opposing his economic strategy, and foreign policies. Correspondingly, the regime responded with brutal repressive measures and violence to control any chaos or opposition for his policy, which led to a great catastrophe that one of the breakaway factions from the Muslim Brothers called Jihad assassinated Sadat on 6 October (1981). With such dramatic scene Sadat's regime came to an end by his brutal sudden death. He left the country in a very miserable political and social condition, where Egypt had neither a strong liberalized economic system, nor a clear diplomatic liberalized polity.

After Sadat's regime Mubarak came to rescue the country from such difficult deteriorated conditions at all the social, economic and political levels. There is no doubt that the Egyptian society was completely shackled and changed recently during Sadat-Mubarak's eras. That when Mubarak came to power in (1981) after the assassination of President Sadat, the Egyptian people were still suffering from various serious social problems as illiteracy, unemployment, and income inequality, which were all related to the triangle of poverty. According to Berch Berberoglu (2000), these three factors were described as the "triangle of poverty" hence they were directly connected together and plagued the Egyptian societies for decades. (p.185) In order to improve the economic situation Mubarak tried first to continue on the (Open Door) economic strategy, but it ultimately failed to improve the domestic feeble financial conditions. Thus, he decided to follow a new economic strategy based on liberalization and privatization of the Egyptian economy which was directly reflected on the social life in Egypt. During the Sadat-Mubarak eras, the gap between the social classes was widely expanded and the class structure completely changed. That in the late of Mubarak's ruling period, the upper and the lower classes were significantly varied, while the middle classes were correspondingly shrank and suffered for keeping its existence. Yet, Mubarak's strategy of privatization and liberalization encouraged the appearance of the ultra rich class or the newly evolved businessmen and elite classes. Correspondingly, the poorer lower classes were increasing and spreading to be more neglected among the Egyptian population. Most of the Egyptians were facing severe financial decline and poor government services; they did not feel any kind of progress within their social life. Unfortunately, all these difficult social conditions were added to the World Economic crises in (2008) which continued to destroy Mubarak's regime to be ended with many strikes and demonstrations leading to the great public social movement, the 25th Jan. events (2011).

Thus, the next part briefly reviews Mubarak's ruling era and the basic reasons behind the clear social changes that happened in Egypt during its recent history. Hence, this study not only looks at the domestic factors that affected the Egyptian social structure, but also the external ones. It focuses on the

various economic and political conflicts and pressures passed by Egypt during the various presidential eras ending by Mubarak's era leading to such powerful social movement, the 25th Jan. events (2011).

3- The Mubarak's Era (1981–2011)

Hosni Mubarak was the former commander of the Egyptian Air Force and the Vice-President of Egypt at the time of Sadat's sudden death. He became the ultimate third president of Egypt on 7th October (1981). His main target was to follow a new strategy based on peace, equity and democracy to rescue the country from many profound bad social and economic conditions. In contrast to his predecessors Nasser and Sadat, Mubarak was not having such charismatic personality as a leader for all the Arab nations or promoting those high expectations for raising the Arab Nationalism. In fact, Mubarak was known as a cautious pragmatic president came from a military background to rule Egypt in a very critical time. Obviously, during his first years of presidency, Mubarak was insisting on revealing his good intentions for his people and the world of improving Egypt's foreign diplomatic relations with all its neighboring countries. That he boldly tried to distinguish himself from the other proceeding presidents, where he clearly announced his famous speech: "I am neither Gamal Abdel Nasser nor Anwar el Sadat, my name is Hosni Mubarak". (Faksh, 1983) In fact, Mubarak was always keen to prove that he is different, and capable to solve all the internal and external problems facing his country. His greatest mission was ultimately driving his country to a peaceful shore towards the democratic and liberal path.

Comparing Mubarak to the other proceeding presidents, he was a very peaceful and diplomatic president with a very simple humble character. Dunne and Hamzawy (2019) commented that, "with the assassination of Sadat in (1981) and the elevation of Hosni Mubarak, the volatility of Egyptian policies gradually subsided". (p.6) His strategy was based mainly on improving foreign diplomatic connections with the biggest nations and to fix the former deteriorated relations with the Arab countries which were completely destroyed by the end of Sadat's era. In this regard, Mubarak worked hard to encourage the internal public freedom and democracy within the Egyptian societies, while soothing the country from any external political conflicts or wars. Interestingly, he began his plan by solving the internal social and economic problems, which he inherited from a very long history of feeble economic and social conditions that existed even before Sadat's regime. Thus, as a young promising leader came for solving the country's major problems, he began by some specific political steps; as releasing thousands of prisoners to encourage the idea of public freedom, political relief and democracy. In fact, during the first period of his presidency, he tried also to give more political space and speech freedom for the public, as in freeing the media, press and censorship. In addition, he supported the active functioning of many civil society organizations that appeared during the 80's. Hence, his main target was fulfilling the general inner peace of the country while improving the foreign political and economic relations with dominant major countries as this is the only way to rescue Egypt from its economic crisis.

In fact, when Mubarak came to power in (1981), the Egyptian economy was completely deteriorated and especially because of the continual radical risings of the external debts. For this he was always seeking reconciliation and peace and maintaining good relations with the Arab countries and the major countries too. From this perspective, Mubarak's strategy for improving the social and economic dire conditions was based on a series of economic reforms that worked mainly to minimize the budget and the external account deficits while reducing barriers to domestic and international trade. In fact, as he was stuck within such complicated economic situation during his first period, Mubarak had no choice but to continue Sadat's economic "Infitah" policy, or the Open Door Policy. Hence, Mubarak's government

tried to relief such bad economic conditions; it accommodated many considerations and pressures from the various creditors, aid donors and International Financial Institutions (IFIs). (Aqude, 1994, p.15)

In the same context, it is highly significant to point out that Mubarak was highly affected by his military background. Thus, through his ruling period he was profoundly taking the military as his backbone for support, and trust. That in (1981), when Hosni Mubarak took control of Egypt, he depended on the military to be involved for achieving the inner stability of the country. And especially when he applied the "Emergency Law" to control the chaotic situation in the wake of Sadat's shooting. During this unstable period, Mubarak wielded many stricter controlling laws, with the suspension of the constitution and added more restrictions on civil liberties. Moreover, a new parallel legal system was formed, relying mainly on military courts, to be used for the trial of terrorists. (Hibbard, & Layton, 2010, p.203) In fact, Mubarak also relied on the military as a national force and a profound controlling power for improving the inner social and economic conditions within the Egyptian society. In this light, the Ministry of Defense in (1981) manipulated an economic arm called the National Service Products Organization (NSPO). This arm of the military was regarded as an arm from the government contributed to public infrastructure projects to produce cheap civilian goods for improving the conditions of the middle and lower classes. The Egyptian army was regarded as a very supporting power for Mubarak to achieve any required social or economic improvements required by the government to redeem the people. (Abul-Magd, 2012, p.6) And since long in (1952), the military has been always the strongest government entity, and the most dominating national power. It compromised nearly half a million personnel and also it possessed many vast lands and business holdings. It continuously played a basic significant social role that worked to provide employment and public services base on its sense of national identity and pride.

During the first years of Mubarak's presidency the Egyptian people were full of hope for having a better future and changing their exhausted social conditions. Based on this, Mubarak manipulated his plan taking the democratic direction and the diplomatic strategy for achieving specific targets based on spreading of peace, social integrity and economic prosperity. And this of course was in contrast to Sadat's "Infitah" policy of economic openness that failed to uplift the Egyptian economy during his era. In this regard, Mubarak during the first years of his presidency tried to follow the liberalized economic path that was based on good diplomatic foreign relations with other countries. But, ultimately the Egyptian economic system was already suffering from the "Infitah" strategy, which was having many negative economic influences. Mainly as its direct causing for the huge shrinking of most of the national industrializations, while encouraging the clear increasing of both the consumerism and the importation, which radically destroyed the Egyptian economy, which happened before during Sadat's regime. Hence, during the 1970s the economy was based mainly on a number of some limited economic sources; the revenue flows from Suez Canal fees, petroleum exports, remittances from expatriate Egyptian workers and foreign aid. Thus, it was evident that most of the Egyptian economic capitalists have "focused their energies on speculation and investment in quick profit schemes such as consumer imports and real estate construction" which was having a great negative impact on the Egyptian economy.

Interestingly, during the 80's the main target for President Mubarak was to restore the social stability within the Egyptian societies. And he assured the successive guarantee not only for his own country security, but also the peace and safety for the whole Gulf region against any external aggression like the Iranian or any external intervention in their internal affairs. In this domain, he endeavored to regain his country's strong good relations with the Arab world, a matter that represented a great challenge for Mubarak since his early days as a president. Remarkably, Mubarak tried hard to reach diplomatic compromises between the Arabs from one side, and his commitment with Israel and the USA from the

other side. Thus, he attempted to balance between these two obligations, so he was always criticized that he stressed on his keenness to maintain peace agreements between the Arab Nations and the west.

From this perspective, it is evident that the economic liberalization system was always the main strategy that was dominated by most of the Egyptian presidents since the 1970s. However, in the 1980s Mubarak has asserted the First Five Year Plan (1982-1987) which specified mainly for the investment allocation plans. Correspondingly, many infrastructure projects were implemented within the framework of the Five Year Plans. In addition to the public sector investment under the plan, Mubarak also asserted a set of policies to encourage the national industry sector, such as the tariff barriers to protect domestic industries, lower interest rate on industrial loans and also minimized taxes on industrial project. Thus, during the 1980s and 1990s Mubarak masterminded a massively long-drawn-out entrenchment of neoliberal economic and social reforms in Egypt. (Hemaid, 2017, p.204) In this regard, the first period of Mubarak's era and his economic Open Door policy had lasted approximately one decade to prove its failure. As by the 1990s, a new period began representing a highly significant turning point in the Egyptian economic progression based on a fully liberal economic policy. However, in contrast to the 1980s, many important political and social changes existed in (1990) and (1991).

Egypt during early 1990s has witnessed many social and economic implementations such as the economic reform policies based on the economic supplies of the World Bank added to other great international monetary organizations. Moreover, these periods of the early 1990s also marked the beginning of the IMF economic style reforms which was having many domestic implications as: the ultimate relaxing of prices control, attracting more external foreign investments (based on tax breaks or labors' reform), and increasing the facilitations for the privatization of most state assets. Interestingly, most of these reforms had continued and expanded during the 2000s, and remarkably accelerated with the dominance of Ahmad Nazif's government. Hence, he was regarded as a close ally of Gamal Mubarak, the President's son and most of the prominent businessmen in Egypt during this period.

However, the first years of Mubarak's ruling era Egypt was praised for achieving many great economic progress and domestic social implementations, although there were many negative oppositional political views. In fact, Mubarak's economic strategy that was based on the 'liberalization' plan was profoundly translated to the privatization of most significant state assets. And it also allowed the appearance of new generations of 'oligarchs' as demanded by the Western governments, although in the benefits of the Egyptian elites whom brought a significant increases for individual wealth and public income inequality. Hence Jane R. Harrigan and Hamed El-Said (2009) argued that; "Egypt's social and economic developments and growth in the 1990s was not based on exporting, as expected by the IMF, but was due to domestic demand growth mostly in the construction sector". (p.25) where Ahmed (2017) added, "State enterprises quickly passed into the hands of crony capitalists, as neoliberal reforms expanded over controlling the economic scene in the Egyptian society". (p.19) As Mubarak's government exerted great efforts for privatizing the Egyptian economy hence this was very clearly intensified and continued to the 2000s.

It is evident that the way the SAP was performing in Egypt, led to many political and economic corruptions. Especially that this economic system was based on the concentration and merging of both the economic and the political powers in the hands of elite ruling class only separated from the Egyptian society. Moreover, it encouraged the appearance of many negative social aspects within the Egyptian society as losing national identity, poverty and unemployment. In fact, Mubarak's great efforts to privatize the economy during the 2000s led to many sever political corruptions, and the concentration of most of the economic entities and the political power in some limited hands of elites and businessmen.

Mubarak's strategy for the privatizing of the state-owned ventures since (1991) has led to the loss of work and the early retirement as basic social aspect. In fact during the 1990s, Mubarak's regime implemented the IMF-sponsored by Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), which gradually caused a severe decline for the Egyptian economy and society. Although this economic program had successfully addressed most of the macroeconomic issues, it was also having some negative effects on the national Egyptian economy and the society. Moreover, the GDP of the growth rates during the years (1991) and (2010) were proved as rarely below 3% and often 5-7%. And the income and the wealth polarization have continued apace correspondent with the economic reforms, that by the year (2010), nearly 40% of the Egyptian populations were living generally below \$2 of the poverty line. As the new millennium approached during Mubarak's regime, the Egyptian economy and the national finances once again got into serious trouble, where deficits began to rise, exceeding the levels during (1989-1990). Furthermore, by the year (1990), Egypt faced severe bankruptcy which led to a great economic crisis. Hence, Egypt during this period was depending mainly on foreign financial aids and was mainly supported by the US because of Mubarak's significant diplomatic efforts.

Interestingly, Egypt's strategic rule in prevalence the Gulf War in (1991) was very significant especially, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. In particular, these unstable conditions in the Gulf area gave Egypt the chance to reveal its power and strategic importance to Washington to gain its political and financial support. And in this regard Egypt achieved the greatest diplomatic step that it finally succeeded to cancel half of its external debt from its various creditor nations. Correspondingly, in (1992) Mubarak regime tried to follow the economic stabilization plan in the 1990s for the national economic lifting up. Such economic program was having some positive economic and social impacts. According to Mokhlis Zaki (2001), "the stabilization program succeeded in reducing the deficit without sacrificing growth, also it helped in improving the Egyptian external balance". (Zaki, 2001, p.78)

In fact, such general economic direction of shrinking the government role was having great negative impact on the internal social conditions of the Egyptians. Hence it was associated to Egypt's significant joining with the World Trade Organization (WTO) in (1995), giving way for Egypt to access freely the global markets. Correspondingly, Egypt had to follow the (WTO) trading regulations and rules, which was mainly based on liberalization and transparency. In this regard, Egypt agreed to apply these principles within the General Agreement on Trade in Services which was a new forward economic step affecting the Egyptian economy. Hence, Mubarak's strategy during this period was focusing on social implementations as it remarkably achieved many great progressive economic steps. In particular, to improve the social and economic conditions through the government's strategy, it was based mainly on reducing its stakes in most of the public sector companies and the major public businesses. Also it asserted some new investment laws for facilitating the bureaucratic controls that were used to hamper the industrial path, and the trading progress. Correspondingly, such new economic strategies deployed by Mubarak's regime worked on shrinking the economic role of the government leading for such radical social disturbance within the Egyptian social structure. These laws also reduced the state's ability to over control the domestic economy, such as prices, interest rates, and the formation of companies and access to capital. (Rutherford, 2008, p.199) However, the life of the ordinary population and the business sectors as well as state-owned members has deteriorated in line with economic inflation, and most of them have slid down to the lower social classes.

In this regard, it was clearly evident that through the various economic stages during Mubarak's era in the 1990s and the 2000s, there appeared some social classes that financially flourished and became ultra rich, while others deteriorated suffering from many problems as unemployment and extreme

poverty. Through all these economic social changes, a new middle class emerged and appeared within the Egyptian society demanding support and existence. As Samir Soliman, (2011) noted; “these new middle class members have sent their children to private schools, received medical treatment in private hospitals, and travelled in private modes of transportation”. (p.155) Thus, it was clear that the Egyptian society was divided to three instinct classes with clear wide gaps and social barriers. In fact, many basic economic factors changed the Egyptian social structure based on the economic conditions starting from the *Infitah*, then SAP of the 1990s and the privatization program of the 2000s. Hence, each of these economic systems was having many defects and economic shortages that were directly reflected on the Egyptian societies. These many contradicted economic programs and continual shifting during Mubarak-Sadat’s eras were correspondently reflected on the Egyptian life style, as it was the basic reason for increasing the internal social problems and the class variations among the Egyptian population.

In other words, recently during Mubarak’s era the Egyptian society was apparently divided to three basic social classes, the upper rich class, the middle class and the lower poor class. Hence these various classes were characterized by the growing top rank of capitalists, the declining middle class and the continuously deteriorated lower levels. These social class variations and the gaps between them are radically increasing, as one of the main reasons for the existence of these gaps was the negative impacts of the stabilization program in the 90’s that encouraged the rapid rising levels of poverty. Income inequality between the wealthy and poor grew exponentially as the year 2000 approached, with 22% of the population living in poverty at just under \$2 a day. (The World Bank, 2011b) While the liberalization economic process effectively ended the state-run economy put in place by Nasser and the free officers. Hence, it never worked on improving the poor social conditions of the majority of the simple Egyptian people living under the poverty line for many years. In this regard, all the changes of the Egyptian social structure, based on unstable economic conditions, originally stemmed from Sadat’s opening up policy in the 80’s, as added to Mubarak's privatization reforms that was depending mainly on the rise of the oil and consolidating the foreign diplomatic relations with the United States.

All these important factors helped in reconstructing and internally changing the Egyptian society where the upper classes during Sadat -Mubarak eras were mainly including the foreign capitalists, the new national capitalists and those revitalized old capitalists. While the new middle classes were basically including the workers of state enterprises in the original middle level, and the lower classes including the urban unemployed and the farmers who lost their land. Interestingly, both the upper and lower classes completed the reconstruction of their own classes to extend by the beginning of the 21st century. However, the middle classes were regarded to be the most fragile class between other social classes, and still being feeble and constantly changing.

Due to the clear radical changes in the political and economic strategies during Mubarak’s era, as the rise of oil and other rent sectors, added to the various social classes’ changes, the Egyptian society was highly affected. It was obvious that the whole Egyptian community through all its levels were suffering from constant political and economic reshaping during the periods of Sadat and Mubarak regarding their economic and political changing strategies. As by the 90’s due to the privatization policy many of the middle classes have slid down the social ladder, while only a few have ascended up, resulting clear changing in the social classes. Moreover, based on the privatization strategy there were many expelled workers of state-owned enterprises of the middle and lower civil servants whom were angry also, as they took part in many strikes and demonstrations against Mubarak’s government. Correspondingly, a very small number of administrative bureaucratic types and cadres of state-owned ventures have traded power for money in the privatization and became the new capitalist elite. (Sharp, 2011a, p.15)

In this sense, it is worth mentioning that such phenomenon of classes variations in the Egyptian society already existed since long during the various past foreign occupations since the 60's. Since long the Egyptian society was divided to rich upper classes and the majority of populations were belonging to very poor lower classes. Interestingly, during Nasser's presidency period, the class variation gap of the Egyptian society was limited between high and low classes, the high class of the land owners and the poor low class of the simple rural peasants. However, it continued after Nasser's era to be such an extravagant social problem in the Egyptian community especially with the "Infitah" strategy during Sadat's presidency period in (1974). Then continued and amplified by the economic and political strategies of Mubarak's regime in the 1990s. Continuously, through all the various presidency periods the poor Egyptian populations were suffering as the poverty level kept increasing radically especially within the rural areas and the uneducated simple people. Thus, during Mubarak's period in the 90's the upper and lower social classes significantly expanded, while the middle class significantly shrank, thus turned the social structure to a number of contradicted social levels with clear wide gaps between them.

Correspondingly, it is important to clarify that when Mubarak came to power after Sadat's death, he tried to regain the diplomatic balance within the Egyptian foreign relations through restoring the country's good connections with most of the Arab nations. Moreover, he tried also to maintain Cairo's commitments concerning the peace treaty signed with Israel in (1979), and to consolidate his political foreign relations with the United States. Mubarak's successful foreign diplomatic relations especially with the U.S. administration and presidents paved the way for him during his ruling period to continue on his presidency for many correspondent years. That he was always keen for keeping good relations with the United States since he began his presidency so as to support him and to keep him in ruling Egypt as long as he can. According to Teti (2017), "Egypt's economic and political relations with the US were forged in the Sadat era and remained cemented in the post-Cold War world". (p.20)

After exploring the various presidential eras proceeding the 25th Jan. events in (2011); ruled by Gamal Abd El Nasser, Anwar El Sadat and finally Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, it was clear that Egypt's political and social landscape has changed and varied several times especially during the last years of post-Mubarak's ruling period. Such significant social and political changes that happened through the various Egyptian ruling eras were mainly based on their different ruling systems and their ideological and political directions. Most of these changing drivers for the social and political conditions happened during the various Egyptian presidencies can be clearly identified to some basic internal and external factors, although they were mostly linked, and proceeding through the extended ruling periods. In this sense, we can declare that the main reasons for the clear social and political changes that happened recently within the various presidential eras can be definitely linked to the main political strategies of Nasser's regime first, then the Sadat's and Mubarak's later. Hence, they were developed mainly to secure their ruling legitimacy and presidential stability. In fact, most of the political legacies of those contradicted ruling strategies of the various presidents of Egypt clearly explain the various social, economic and political fissions that affected the contemporary Egyptian society and clarified these profound political tensions.

By reviewing Egypt's recent significant presidential eras; it is perceived that those preceding eras before Mubarak's era, the Nasser-Sadat administrations, and their political and economic strategies have led to many significant changes that were reflected later on the Egyptian social life. However, there are several reasons of change in the Egyptian society and politics that can be divided into internal and external factors, although they are closely related. In fact, Egypt's social changes went back after the 23rd July revolution, since Nasser's regime and social performances strategies and then followed by Sadat and Mubarak regimes later which were developed mainly to secure their persistent legitimacy and ruling

stability. The legacies of their most deployed strategies illustrated the great points of tension all through the various social, economic and political changes in the contemporary Egyptian society. Remarkably, it caused broad decline within the various social life standards especially the low and the middle classes in the Egyptian society while gradually changing its main features.

Although the three presidents Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak through their ruling periods their main target through their ruling strategies was to improve the Egyptian social conditions that they were trying various economic plans to consolidate the Egyptian economic system. But actually they all failed to fix this old burden they inherited from many decades of poverty and suffering from exhausted financial situations of the Egyptians. Their biggest mistake was that they while they were trying to rescue the feeble Egyptian economic system; they were always exporting foreign economic systems from the west that were successfully applied within the western countries. But all these exported economic systems programs like the Open door markets, the privatizations, the liberalization or even the stabilization programs clearly proved its ultimate failure when applied on the Egyptian economy. And this is mainly because these exported western economic plans did not suit the social and economic nature of the Egyptian communities, thus it proved its continual failure. Moreover, that continuous shifting between the various economic systems was regarded as another significant economic flaw that marked their social and economic frustrating ruling strategies. Hence, this continual shifting among the various economic plans was regarded as the main cause for their consequent failures of improving the dire economic and social conditions of the Egyptian people through their correspondent presidency periods.

In fact, those repeated political failures and ruling strategies' flaws that were coloring Nasser's social and economic reforms and commitments were regarded as other dominant factors for the illegitimizing of Nasser's successors of presidents. Hence, both regimes Sadat's first then followed by Mubarak's later ultimately demolished most of Nasser's social contract reforms in favor for Egypt's state and the business elites. According to Molnar (2017), "there were many unforeseen social changes that Sadat brought to Nasser's Egypt left many Egyptians searching for their identity and the shadow of their former leader. (p.11) It was clear that, Sadat's vision and foreign policies including the diplomatic relations to the Arab region was totally different from Nasser's vision, while the latter estimated that Egypt's foreign policy is mainly committed to its Arab domain. Correspondingly, Mubarak was known for his popularity between the foreign countries especially for his strong good relations with the American Administrations and presidents that supported his prolonged existence in ruling Egypt for many years. In fact, Sadat was on the contrary, he realized that the Egyptian foreign relations and policy should focus on achieving his country's interests. Though, both the domestic and external policies of Mubarak's ruling dynamics were totally differed from those of his predecessors Nasser and Sadat. Yet, they both began their presidencies with sovereignty problems as some parts of the Egyptian lands were still under occupation. Nasser worked hard to end the British occupation, while Sadat's main target was putting an end to the Israeli occupation of Sinai, and restoring the Egyptian land back. And Mubarak aimed to keep the country in peace and avoided any brutal conflicts or wars. Moreover, Sadat realized that turning to the West especially the United States would be the only exit to all his country's problems, regardless of all the negative impact on this rapprochement of the Egyptian leader ship. (Aboul Gheit, 2013, p.422) In fact, Mubarak followed his path through his ruling strategy that aimed to strengthen his relations with major western countries mainly the US. And always keeping good relations with the US and all the neighboring Arab nations, which was opposite to Nasser's strategy whom regarded the Soviet Union to be his ally and main political and economic supporters.

It is highly significant also to clarify that the greatest flaws that was taken against Sadat's regime was his political cooperation with the Islamic groups; the Muslim brothers in Egypt as giving them the space to expand through the Egyptian societies. As this was completely different from Nasser's strategy of imprisoning and siege them during his ruling period, while Mubarak was seeking reconciliation with them, trying to keep the inner peace of the country. Consequently, the general continual exhausted economic conditions of the country pushed Sadat to rely more on the Western sources and their political support rather than the Arab consolidation. While Mubarak through his years of presidency succeeded to extend his good diplomatic relations with the biggest world's nations and the Arab countries. Yet he neglected the country's inner social problems especially during the last ten years of his presidency. He was not much concerned about improving the poor inner social conditions for the majority of the ordinary Egyptian population, suffering from many social problems mainly; poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and poor health caring services.

To sum up, like any president Mubarak was having many good social, economic and political reforms and developments but he was also having his points of weakness and political flaws in his ruling strategy that was marked by many clear political corruptions and economic deficiencies. In fact, such recent unpleasant inner social conditions and the presence of many political corruptions within his government and elites during the last years of his presidency caused that clear widening of the internal social gaps within the Egyptian societies and also encouraged class variations. And this was regarded later as a serious matter that motivated the great public eruptions and the angry demonstrations of the 25th Jan. (2011) events seeking for an ultimate political change and democracy. Evidently, those Egyptian demonstrations were mainly motivated by a number of factors such as the success of the Tunisian revolution in (2010) that took place only one month earlier than the 25th Jan. events and continued to spread. It was regarded as a powerful series of social movements that were erupted as consecutive waves of uprisings across most of the Arab nations seeking democracy, equity, and freedom. Hence, it was affected by another significant factor that triggered the success of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, the recent advent of the new media, digital press and the internet. These new media coverage played a profound role in transmitting the news and information while connecting the protesters easily during the erupted events. In this sense, the media coverage during the Egyptian revolution was regarded as very significant catalyst for the instant public spread and the success of the 25th Jan. events (2011) in Egypt. Thus, the next chapter explores the significance of media coverage and the profound role it play during social movements as it focuses on the relation between media coverage, news objectivity and journalistic bias especially in digital media and online press while covering foreign international social and political events.

Chapter Two

Media Coverage

This chapter discusses the significance of international media coverage during social movements and political conflicts. It focuses on the special relation between media coverage, news objectivity and journalistic bias in digital mass media and online press. Illustrating how journalistic political biases and media ownership can directly sway public perception and spread chaos especially in times of social and political conflicts. Moreover, it discusses impact of foreign news coverage, its main features and journalistic criteria based on the various news values that directly affect the framing of significant political news through international media coverage.

I. Introduction

Today, the international media coverage diversity for most significant contemporary social and political events has become an important subject for most global political debates. Evidently, prominent news media systems radically affect and control the social life and the democratic path of many nations, where mass media can be regarded as basic “social constructionism” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 103). Media coverage and online journalism are basically regarded as valuable sources of information and powerful modes of communication that highly signify what people perceive about most vital social and political events that occur around the world every day. Newman et al. (2019) argued that, “The news media are seen as doing a better job at breaking news than explaining it”. (p.3), as it creates the positive or negative opinions of its audiences about any significant topic. In fact, the way international media coverage presents political issues or social conflicts profoundly shapes the public views for these issues. And consequently it is directly reflected on their social life and the general political conditions for many countries. Based on the notion that, mass media mainly constructs the social reality through “structuring and framing those images of reality . . . in a more predictable and patterned way” (McQuail, 2010, p. 331).

Thus, to illustrate the impact of international media coverage on social movements and political events, this study investigates the various journalistic norms penetrating the framing of foreign news through the various prospects and contexts of each story. It is crucial to explore the different ways the news media portray and frame most significant events in presenting international political issues. Recently, international media coverage by its various extended channels and especially after the new advent of the internet and digital media has become the main source of information for the majority of population all over the world. Every day, millions of people are targeting the various news media channels searching for updated news and information about most interesting events that are happening around the world. As, the media coverage for social and political issues is the very foundation of democracy that shines a light on things it deems necessary for the public knows.

Importantly, the international media coverage by its tracing nature for most interesting popular news can drag the public attention and increase the importance of specific news stories by time spent in reporting same issues and the way of its representation. In fact, for many people the media always represents the best way for them to find information about ever-changing political, social and economic situations around the world. Simple people usually believe and trust the media in shaping their views and forming their opinions based on the information they gained from the various media sources without indicating whether these information are factual or not. Thus, the media controls people’s beliefs and political views by determining what they should concern themselves with, what it presents, and how they

should think about them as reported through its framing of news and its agenda setting. Evidently, in today's life style citizens mainly experience politics through the media.

In the current age of new media and digital news, it is necessary to examine how great news agencies and journalists frame most contemporary significant political conflicts as affected by various cultural and ideological evolutions of their country. According to Newman et al. (2019), "Journalism exists in the context of its audience, and if journalists (and those who care about journalism) are to understand and navigate the changing environment around news, it is critically important that they have access to relevant, robust, independent evidence and analysis on how people across countries engage with and use news". (p.1) Moreover, journalistic objectivity in media coverage always vary from one news media system to another based on many factors and different variables that could affect the out framing of news covering international events, such as many recent social movements. Olubela (2018) asserted that "the role of mass media in today's society cannot be overemphasized" (p.4), especially in covering social and political issues. The new media by its many sources and the appearance of the new technology are regarded as the prominent source of news for the audience, used to illustrate and simplify for them most complicated political issues or conflicted events published daily in international vital news. Hence, it serves as such fast and trusty source of information for the public audience during any social crisis. And this was very clear recently especially in portraying most conflicted political issues and social events.

Moreover, recently scholars have started to focus more on the clear significant communicative role of digital media and online news channels, and especially its radical effects on people, democracy and societies. In fact, the media by its agenda setting and framing for the various topics has the power to control and shape the political and ideological directions of the public audiences. For this, most of the early scholarship regarded the news media coverage mainly as a profound source of data especially on social collective actions in times of social movements. Thus, it is crucial to understand why and how new media and press are keen to cover significant international political conflicts. This study focuses mainly on the insight that social movements rely mainly on news media sources, although their coverage is largely controlled by international news organizations and the elites. In this sense, it is important to focus on the main perspectives that highlight the different interactions and correlations among the different news media ownerships organizations dealing with various social movements' actors and cultural contexts. According to Amenta, et al. (2019), "Although many recent social movement actors suffer compound legitimacy deficits with journalists, the institutional mediation model identifies the openings news institutions provide, the movement organizational characteristics, the forms of collective action likely to induce substantive news treatment, and the political contexts that will amplify or dampen these effects" (p.19) Hence, international media coverage is directly affected by various journalistic values, political affiliations and covert biases.

In contemporary modern societies, mass media always has the power as the main news provider for many updated information in covering the daily most significant current affairs to dominate the political situations in many countries. As prominent international news media channels consequently provide its followers audiences with a variety of information and updated news about the most significant events that is hard to expose directly. In this sense, media coverage shapes public opinions, beliefs, decisions and behavior whether in terms of civil and political opinion, or in the areas of media marketing through the other significant spheres of human activities. Based on the notion that, the profound knowledge of reality and its description is always a report of human being, which is only the result of subjective choices. Thus, many journalism professionals and media researchers since long agreed on specifying some basic criteria for defining the journalistic news coverage representations. These news

coverage criteria are called “news values”, widely used by media researchers and journalism educators through their studies. In fact, these profound journalistic criteria of news values are mainly controlling the news framing through the various mass media channels, journalism and reporting.

In the same vein, scholars have long considered foreign news coverage as an integral part of political communication, in part due to their effects on citizen’s political perceptions and activism behavior especially in times of social movements. However, foreign news media is regarded as a significant international industry that is profoundly dominated by a number of variables that directly affect the way of framing for most significant news represented through the various news media channels and press. These variables are directly influenced by those relevant ideological backgrounds for elite individuals within media organizations, cultural contexts, timing, structure of new, and the political orientations for media employers and owners. Thus, Wouters (2015) postulated that, “in covering foreign news stories dealing with news content, not based on the effects of exposure; humans do not need to be assigned to characteristics as individuals or societal”(p.36). Recently, some news media researchers asserted that media coverage and foreign news framing are mainly controlled and driven by the ideology and the political affiliations of the news sources of the journalists and the news media organizations ownerships.

II. International Media Coverage

In fact, there are five factors affecting prominent international media in use when evaluating whether a story or an issue has news value or not. These five factors are profoundly including: timing, significance, proximity, prominence, and human interest. (Olubela, 2018, p.3) However, the media coverage for the 25th Jan. Events hence it is the issue under investigation through this study inevitably checks all these five factors of that criteria. The 25th Jan. Events news is relevant because it happened in Egypt, recently at the time. Also, it is a social issue and public crisis that has the ability to heighten public emotions, involving the majority of the Egyptian population, and affecting not only Egyptians but also the Middle East Arab countries and many people abroad. It is not surprising that the news media coverage for the various political and social contemporary unstable complicated events is mainly represented through broader narrative structures that are normally represented through using variety of frames, metaphors and images. Consequently, recently most significant daily events and foreign news can be structured and represented through various news frames, especially during complicated social conflicts. This significant news are put into more useful contexts to be simplified, and illustrated to the public audiences, hence they have no direct contact or presence within these distant events. Wilkins (2015) asserted that, "the media constructs the news within the boundaries of a particular viewpoint (frame), which may cause the perception of a news report to change depending on the source" (p. 62). The way the media framing news is regarded as a very efficient tool used for creating media reality and directing mass population.

Indeed, recent studies have shown that international media coverage especially in foreign news are always charged with some covert political biases that mainly affect the media framing of international complicated political issues. In this sense, there are many previous researches that worked on examining perceived journalistic biases of major news organizations, focusing on the results dispelling the general opinion that the partisan slant of these news sources. In fact, journalistic bias as criticized by many media researches and the news audiences as well, radically affects what news organizations decide to report on and how they frame the issues and the incidents they cover. Such clear contemporary news media contradictions and diversity in international media coverage for political issues are always seen as a normal result for the extra lacking of media objectivity due to many covert journalistic and political

biases. However, journalistic bias can be detected through many ways, such as presenting selective reporting, or by putting positive or negative undertone representations through the framing of news to support one side while neglecting or opposing the other. Moreover, journalistic bias is highly affected also by these various contradicted news sources, foreign news media systems, and news media ownerships. That played such clear profound role in shaping the international news media coverage represented to the public consumers.

In this sense, the media coverage for most significant political and social issues is always regarded controversial and contradicted from one news media channel to another. That the media when choosing a well known topic based on a specific criteria and how much space they provide for publishing it, is profoundly affected by some variables, like covert political interests, ideological orientations and the media's ownerships. It is obvious that international media coverage plays a profound role in shaping the social and political relations and conditions for great countries and nations. Hence, it directly controls the news portrayal, which has the greatest influence on both levels the individual, and the societal. According to Zhang, Yan, Stewart and Porter (2016), "if individuals are primarily responsible for causing problems, solutions should be sought at the individual level, such as changing risk behaviors and seeking help. If problems are also attributable to systemic flaws, then the society at large should share responsibilities by providing societal remedies, such as policy and regulatory intervention and community support". (p.188) However, the importance of media coverage is not in reflecting reality only, but also because it works on reframing most significant international news while guiding mass audience towards specific views and political directions especially in times of social unrest.

To sum up, there are some variables that are controlling international media coverage and foreign news. Many mass media researches on news framing focused on the media's role in directing and affecting the individuals and the society. Sexton (2015) commented that, "most implicit journalistic biases are consequences of subtle messages seen in media or popular culture, suggesting that one group is good and another is bad" (p. 1). Hence, this partiality in covering news can result in an unconscious distortion of reality, and the lacking of news objectivity in media coverage existed in news through various ways. These ways are mainly presented through some media channels like offering false news in reporting journalism or through presenting selective reporting, especially in covering international political issues. Thus, the next part provides a closer look on the significance of media coverage regarding foreign news representation of vital issues and events especially in times of social conflicts and political change.

1. Significance of Media Coverage

In the age of the internet connections and the digital information, mass media always provide those easy available communication channels among the public audiences for debating and interacting about most important global political news and events. Thus, media coverage should always be based on knowledge of reality as news descriptions are mainly viewed as a report of human being. In fact, it is a result of subjective news choices. The significance of media coverage comes from its power of providing various communication channels between the governments and the public. Importantly, it is regarded as one of the four basic pillars of any modern and democratic society. (Olubela, 2018, p.6) Media coverage helps to ensure that citizens are aware of what is happening in their countries and also around the world. In this sense, the impact of media coverage for the daily most significant political and social issues has been explored by many scholars and has been examined in various ways. Further, the way in which news media coverage portray specific events, directly affect how the receivers of the public audience of that news understand these events. The public audience of news media always built their opinion based on

how news stories were framed and presented for them which is correspondingly added to their own individual frames. According to Ceron et al (2019), “In advanced democracies, the media have contextually adapted to their audiences”. (p.43) Moreover, news followers for such significant issues mainly interpret and process various information based on the tone of presentation for the news story. For this, news journalists and reporters play important role in shaping opinions among the public perception framing it negatively or positively where the other aspects of the story are excluded. Many contemporary researches proposed that social movements use media coverage and press as basic public communicative resources that facilitated its mobilization, publicity and political interests.

In the same context, during these recent rapid changes that happened in the field of international news media coverage and press, the new media and digital journalism has invaded the news media markets and changed its features of production and consumption for the global published news. Kim and Lim (2020) commented that “In non-democratic nations, the related costs of coordination and organization are often prohibitively high, where the Arab Spring was no exception”. (p.15) this was especially encouraged by the newly appearance of what was called the “Smart- Phone Citizen”. A new type of demanding audiences for news, that correspondingly need more updated ways of media coverage and interesting news sources as well. Hence, Bell (2016) stated that, “The phone in our pocket is our portal to the world. I think in many ways this heralds enormously exciting opportunities for education, information, and connection, but it brings with it a host of contingent existential risks”. (73) In fact, Bell’s point is critical in answering that profound question, ‘What is news?’ And, focusing on how these news representations adopted in journalism helped in motivating such recent social connections and political involvements, while providing this user friendly digital technology for the public. Also, it helped the readers for rethinking and reframing many news events. Remarkably, the production and the consumption of news during the last years became such a deeply social phenomenon that enabled us to understand the world in which we live. And which by time gradually changed and affected by many various factors as news values. In fact, international media every day choose from a large number of events that they provide their audiences only a limited part of it. It is crucial focusing on why media choose a specific topic and how much space they provide for it, based on its implicit choices. Hence, the way journalists frame most important news is never value-free. (Trampota, 2010)

Moreover, the media coverage and its increasing significance as a powerful social indicator and a political tool exceeded recently during the 20th century. As Shehata and Stromback (2018) proposed that; “the migration from popular traditional news media outlets to new online press and social media as understanding how audience citizens search to learn about politics and the most updated current affairs through these sources recently has become increasingly important”. The media impact increased and became more dominant by the appearance of the internet and the evolution of new media technologies. This new current of new media channels encouraged the great public usage for these updated electronic devices that were spread among the public and especially the new generations of youth and invaded most of the world’s population. That by the expanded usage of social networking sites and digital journalism, there appeared a new style of online communication and social interactivity. However, Newman et al. (2019) asserted that; “the spread and the increasing growth of the Smartphone usage has also been driving the popularity of podcasts, especially with the young generations”. (p.3) those easily accessed online connections helped in facilitating the recent public use for online news and encouraged social networks activism. Although, over the time many academics paid less attention to the ‘older’ media devices, such as the printed press, radio and TV, while increased their digital interaction with the ‘newer’ media. (Chadwick, 2014)

The internet and digital journalism are basically regarded as essential tools triggered for promoting democracy and human rights; they help individuals expressing their views and opinion freely. Activists use these new media technology and internet connections as a public platform to organize their protests whether in real life or virtual for social and political change. Digital media helps in creating interactive platforms among ordinary citizens to share and discuss their political views and ideas about any issue or news that is happening at any part in the world. According to Kim and Lim (2020), “such online political activism can also impact mobilization via persuasion by virtue of exposure to the activism of nearby others”. (p.5) New media and on line journalism do not only open new channels for communication and participation, but also, it guarantees credibility and transparency of information hence it provides easy accessibility to international websites. Thus, it is difficult for governments to control or censor contents on online news and internet connections.

Interestingly, such recent rapid evolution of the new media and the internet technologies made the whole world as one small village. Thus, the daily increasing public usage of digital journalism and social media helped in circulating much significant social and political updated news faster and farther than before compared to last decades. Now, most of these new generations and the simple people everywhere are spending more time-consuming news through the digital media and online press pages while searching the web. In fact, these new media and social media platforms played a profound impact on recent public news consumption internationally, as reversing viewership declines of most traditional platforms, such as radio and television. Baker (2015) asserted that, “digital news and social networking has increased 90% over the last two years, allowing more audiences to access content without television or radio”. These developed new media channels have created a highly competitive news media market between the various international media outlets, and major global news organizations.

In today’s digital media communities while having various news sources and choices this gave the majority of public citizens more chance to comprehend and select their news that satisfies their own political preferences and to avoid those other news content counter opposing their priors. (Powel et al., 2019, p.12) In fact, the last two decades witnessed a clear explosion in the various media coverage choices that are available to audiences and also the variation of the news types published for them. In times of social movements in many non democratic countries new media was addressed precisely, that it was argued to be the real driver for the Arab Spring Uprisings in December (2010) and being the main catalyst. However, most of the democratic regimes were regarding mass media and journalism as important industries, that they continuously exert great efforts for its technological developments to increase its competitiveness internationally and to satisfy their audiences. While, in the contrary many other non democratic nations suffering of profound corrupted regimes rarely use their media systems solely but as propaganda machines. They have the capacity to create and sustain powerful frames that encourage loyalty among the mass population while controlling it. In this regard, most social movements seeking for democratic future as relishing dignity, freedom, and social justice are mainly depending on mass media, and especially the new media and online press, as being one of the basic tools for promoting their political demands, expansion and social success.

To sum up, mass media significance lies in the fact that it could profoundly change the philosophical and the political opinions of individuals and communities, especially by giving thoughts of new forms while guiding all public actions. Many scholars of media research and democratization deployed many different views to develop ‘theories and effects that differentiate the role of mass media during democratization from mass media in established democracies’ (Jebril et al, 2013, p.33). Ultimately, the media coverage for social and political conflicts played a crucial role in reflecting the

political interactions among the various nations as it is affected by some basic variables of mass media subjects. These variables could be mainly represented by; news events, news values, culture context and social reality. Many theorists and political communication researchers have been studying the profound correlation between media coverage and political conflicts, examining its features and outcomes especially during social movements. Hence, many existing literature showed that social movements always relied on new media and social networks as basic communicative channels that sustained their activism, mobilization, publicity, and political influences. The next part offers a general review about the significant role of media coverage during social movements for promoting its public success.

2. Media Coverage and Social Movements

With the recent evolution of many social movements in the world and especially in the Middle East area, it is significant to shed the lights on the media coverage relationship in conjunction with news framing and journalistic objectivity. In fact, the international media coverage especially for these social movements and political conflicts was covered controversially among major elite international news media channels. However, its journalistic coverage thus ultimately demands for presenting more objective and interesting news beats, investigative reporting, and many updated topics connected to the worlds' daily events. In achieving this, media coverage has to rely on tailoring objective news stories provided by international prominent news agencies as trusty sources of information. During any political or social crisis, news media channels are among the main responsible institutions that instantly work on collecting the largest amount of information, and directly offering it quickly to the public audience after reframing its content. Specifically, Kim and Lim (2020) commented that "such contemporary active online political communities raise the likelihood of protest participation through the processes of idea dissemination, interpersonal encouragements, and peer motivations and pressures". (p.5) Despite the fact that recently it was clearly criticized that this process of presenting and framing political news is contrastively tailored for serving their political affiliations and ideological interests.

Recently, the media coverage for most significant international issues was obviously portrayed through some specific news frames. Park (2019) argued that, "professional media use for political news is significantly associated with both political issue knowledge and political process knowledge. (p.253) hence the way of media coverage and its framing of news can have a positive or negative effect on the public's opinion. Most of the ordinary public audiences are considering the role the media play in the political ruling system as vital, that they get their news from their news channels as trusty sources of information even if they feel anxious about getting fake news. In fact, political conflicts, and social movements by their very complicated and conflicted nature, always attract most of the international media coverage and the public audiences' attention as well. In this sense, many researchers have pointed out that conflict reporting is often more sensationalized and demanded for the sake of increasing high circulation and ratings in attracting more audiences.

News media channels popularity is growing rapidly, where digital media is used a significant tool of mass communication realm. It is marked by its global aspect and its exponential level of use and flexibility. Resorting to such new media genres of online news and digital journalism might have some negative implications on national security, state's ruling strategies and political interests within any nation. As these new media outlets spread recently among the social communities for most countries, it is significant to monitor their development process, examine their efficiency and evaluate whether they add positive or negative contribution to the country. Correspondingly, mass media helps the countries to measure, monitor, and report the usage of these new media channels as public platforms used by other

countries as it is utilized as a primary source of information in preserving the national security for many nations.

It is significant to understand the various ways the news media channels frame prominent international political news, and complicated social issues hence the public always believe the media and depend on it to form its political views and opinions. According to Olubela, (2018), “with the inclusion of opinion reporting and its perceived liberal or conservative identity, the news media always create such safe haven for likeminded people by supporting their held beliefs”. (p.9). Most of the ordinary individuals’ knowledge about complicated international issues and conflicts are mainly based on the various daily information they received from the media sources and channels regardless whether these information are factual or not. Moreover, the media coverage for social crisis and political conflicts can involve many covert political interests and ideological directions. Ashley & Olson (1998) confirmed that, international media coverage play a significant role in the life and death of political and social movements whether by revealing green lights in covering the social protests or not, while focusing on specific sources to be used. Also, it highlights how to *frame* specific issue; hence, reshaping these messages of protestors for their target of intended audiences. It is crucial to point out that during recent social movements most of the conflicted parties attempted to rely on news media coverage, while controlling it to gain more legitimacy and public support.

In the same token, such recent evolution of these new media technologies and software devices, it is obvious that it completely changed the profound systematic ways of media coverage. Also, they affected the way how the public audiences are searching for updated news and consuming this news especially during unstable political conditions and social movements. Recently, many new media outlets and digital press have witnessed the sudden appearance of a new concept called “Smartphone citizens”. Hence, this recent concept is mainly attached by the youth and the new generations whom are easily connected to the web searching continuously for more updated news while reacting through the various social interactivity and political activism. This kind of global digital activism can be counted somehow internationally credible as they are entirely independent and easily accessible as characterized of having no boundaries or any hidden political agendas. Dunaway et al. (2018) declared that, the accustomed mobile access to the Internet is changing the way people consume information, yet we know little about the effects of this shift on news consumption. However, these new styles of digital activism opened a wider space for many doubts about the credibility and transparency of these sources of news concerning mainly the various political and ideological views that could be posted by some anonymous individuals using the web for political interactions and activism.

Thus, recently many news media researches are focusing on the actual role of online news and social media in triggering ordinary citizens of individuals to be participants and activists while controlling the major incidents of the Arab Spring. Hence, many scholars proposed that those newly advent media technologies and social media networking helped the instant spread and the great success of many recent social movements such as the 25th Jan. events in (2011) in Egypt. Moreover, with the recent advent of digital media connections and much other technological advancement that facilitated gathering the people faster, the public can cultivate social activism through these diffused new media and social networking. In fact, many researchers were extremely exaggerating about the actual role of new media and digital journalism during these recent public chose and social movements. Many of their studies claimed that such protests and demonstrations in the Middle East Arab Spring countries, including the Egyptian revolutions were mobilized and succeeded because of the public excessive usage of digital media connectivity and the easy access of online champers. Definitely, the international media benefits a lot

from the coverage of news drama related to social movements and protests. The media thus provides such direct or indirect aids and support to social movements and their goals by covering their stories and publishing simple narratives of it to the audiences to understand.

Consequently, during the 25th Jan. events several news media entities in Egypt were very anxious about the fast spreading of news and the public using these digital media platforms, encouraging online activism, although the profit income from these digital news websites does not currently exceed than 15-20 percent of the total Egyptian news media revenue. Moreover, these figures of high digital penetrations and increasing public usage of new media and digital journalism indicated also such ultimate future change in the Egyptian media platforms. According to Allam (2018), “Audiences’ usages and preferences have changed. Television is still the main popular medium which reaches almost all Egyptians; digital media have witnessed a remarkable growth, and many media entities started to modify their traditional business models and adapt digital services to gain higher reach”. (p.3) Based on recent researches of the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) indicators in Egypt: “The rates of Internet users and mobile penetration have increased remarkably since (2011).

Furthermore, the Internet penetration in Egypt reaches up to 38 million; and the mobile broadband subscriptions reaches 31 percent, where the internet is accessed through mobile phones by 32 million subscribers. The percentage of families who have access to Internet at home counts for 46.5 percent of the population. (Allam, 2018) And, this is precisely why the media coverage for the Egyptian events was so striking. In fact, these records regarding the Egyptian internet users and the digital media reflect the great popularity for using the internet and new media technologies in Egypt and the Middle East region which was highly recommended among the activists and the youth during the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. Importantly, this event was ultimately fueled and then sustained by a contrastive media coverage and press. The way these various updated news delivered to the audiences came through many forms of communications, all of which are framed to deliver the required messages. And this of course is serving mainly these different news media sources affiliations and the governmental political directions in supporting the elites and the former regime figures.

Taken in this light, we can say that the media coverage for significant political events, through selecting, structuring and framing these news it is using various tools, clearly revealed the media’s role that being moved from the representational function to the constructionist one. For this, most of these elite news organizations are persisting in creating new ways for informing their public audiences with consequent updated news subduing their competitors in dominating the international news media market while serving their political and ideological interests. Recently, such a competing domain of directed media coverage among the various international news media organizations of the globe increased especially by the great exchange of foreign news expansion in the political media market among the various nations. Hence, Ceron et al (2019) through their study assumed that the news media owners and managers hire and promote editors and journalists to create an ideologically consistent newsroom able to cater to the preferences of an ideologically closer audience. However, most recent mass media researches recommended that international news media framing of significant political issues are highly affected by the journalists’ values, as one of the most significant aspects of framing and editing in press while indicating the editors and their publishing. The words used in their articles and columns published every day in international newspapers and digital news channels are the values of the journalists themselves, as based on their political and ideological backgrounds, directions and beliefs.

In the same token, media coverage especially for social movements persisted as relevant in political interactions, because most of the elite political debates are mainly taking place in mainstream

news. And therefore they are offering a wider space for the various news sources expressing their political demands and ideological directions. Social movements correspondingly used mass media attention to express their political claims and directions. Hence, media coverage mostly attends to cover conflicts and social movements for creating newsworthiness while grasping mass audience attention. Such dual interests are clearly expressing the highly significant relation between media coverage and social movement's swellings, which elaborates how the various news media systems are using and blending the different mass media objects for delivering their specific messages to the public. For this purpose, many news organizations have learned how to command salience transfer cycles in order to control mainstream news through media coverage and amplification of posts on social media and to activate and mobilize their constituents bringing mainstream news to their online forums for the mass audience. (Jofre, 2017, p.3) Thus, it is crucial to argue that media coverage and online news do play an important role in political mobilization and unrest in post-authoritarian contexts especially during social movements. News media coverage is always regarded as a basic catalyst for motivating the public crowds, where these public social movements are always working on supporting images that will mobilize members for gaining more political support in society, and in presenting their messages.

Moreover, Gamson (1995) argued that movements need mass media channels and its coverage in order to be able to connect efficiently with the public in times of activism. Correspondingly, news media coverage provides also such common background that helps the public to speak the same language while dealing with the same events. In fact, social movements draw on available media discourse to create 'collective action frames' that are necessary precondition to turn parts of the public into participants. It is worth mentioning that, public activists during social movements depending mainly on their connected social networking for sharing the information between each other. That is mainly based on their internal messages sent through e-mails, messages, social networks and following updated news using digital press. And such recent online media channels offered a high level of outreach connection that was critical not only to keep the movement community regularly informed by updated events, but also to provide instant direct public connections and easy channels among the protesters. Thus, it is evident that during social conflicts media coverage controls much of the various mass media channels and subjects, to frame incidents based on specific news values while shaping public social reality.

To sum up, lately due to many deficits in news media coverage for significant social and political news and foreign affairs, several media researches while encouraging free press and new media technology. They focused also on their role in facilitating public connections and the instant spreading for news during social movements. These new media outlets through its social interactivity obviously encouraged these many recent incidents of powerful social movements to flourish and to achieve its goals in various areas of the world, such as the Arab Springs in the Middle East region. The next part focuses more on the significant role of media coverage and digital news in motivating social movements like the 25th Jan. events (2011).

3. Media Coverage and the 25th Jan. Events

Classified as a transitional democracy, Egypt featured a transferring media landscape which has witnessed many changes and challenges since the January 25 revolution in (2011). (Allam, 2018) Recently, during Mubarak's presidential era the Egyptian media landscape has provoked many discrepancies and debates about its credibility and journalistic objectivity, especially criticizing its way of coverage for most significant political events. Many of these media coverage negotiations were arguing about the future for having more free independent media and free press in Egypt. In fact, Egypt is the

third largest media market after Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), where the Egyptian government for many years was spending lots of money for developing its news media systems and press organizations while supporting their digital presence. Remarkably, the Egyptian media recently during Mubarak's era, succeeded in achieving its goal of attracting the largest numbers of public audiences to be their online users. These new media approaches highlighted the radical changes that happened recently in the field of mass media and journalism especially in most developing countries and the Middle East region. Hence, Badr (2019) commented that; The Internet was introduced in Egypt in 1993, and the Internet penetration grew steadily in the society from 1% in 2000 until a 48.7% penetration of Internet users in Egypt (December 2018, Internet World Stats).

During the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, the new media especially social networks and online journalism obviously provided such appropriate social atmosphere that facilitated the direct linkage between the organized crowds in connecting the angry people together. Thus, it is not surprising that since long the various governmental authoritarian regimes in Egypt and in most of the Middle East Arab countries ultimately realized the great power and the strong social impact of mass media and digital press as an effective tool for controlling and directing the political scene in times of conflicts as happened in Egypt. However, Bennett and Pfetsch (2018) argued that, "Political communication in many democracies reflects the disconnection of publics from institutions of press and politics due to the hollowing of center parties and growing social divides". (p.243) there is a great link between the media coverage for social movements and those corrupted policies which acted as basic catalysts within the Middle East region countries that motivated the public demands for freedom and democracy.

In this sense, it is crucial to highlight that such recent evolution of new media and the various technological devices are regarded as the key role in spreading and mobilizing social movements of the public crowds. Park (2019) proposed that recently the "great impact of social media for news on political issue knowledge increased with the additive role of professional media news use". (p.254) hence, it was clear that the new media technology was regarded as one of the basic motivating instruments that revealed contradicted political expressions and ideologies. As based on the notion that, while media can set the frame, it is directing the audience in what and how to think, and affecting their overall interpretation of news report. Accordingly, during the last years most of the Arab leaders and presidents ultimately recognized the great threats imposed by the various media organizations, online news and journalism on their policies and regimes. That most of these authorization governmental regimes have manipulated many news filters and applied many legal restrictions to control the media representation activities in their countries.

Many arguments also assumed that the recent excessive public usage for the Internet and the new digital media would demolish boundaries and fasten the ways for more easy interactions between most of the Arab countries. Allam (2019) commented that, "In the Arab region, unexpected political changes have influenced the media scene; political and commercial pressures exercised over media entities have affected their credibility and created a crisis of trust". (p.1) that is through supporting speech freedom, and increasing availability of news, that the regimes and the governments will lose control over the information offered to the public. However, the Egyptian population and the Arab people while using new media and digital press will have such a wider opportunity to be more involved in the political and social issues related to their countries. But what happened in Egypt and in most of the Arab countries was completely the opposite. That the more freedom the people engaged in using technology and the internet, the more restrictions the governments and the Arab regimes made on the various media sources. And this was through many ways; as by limiting the internet access, applying restrictions on content, and violating

rights of users. Ultimately, all these governmental restrictions were applied by the regimes for supporting their power and insuring their prolonged existence. However, since long the Egyptian people continued to struggle with an authoritarian media sector and constraints on freedom of expression.

In addition, the media was used also as a force to increase the pressure on the Egyptian regime to surrender for the public demands, pushing the leaders of the country to hear the calls and anger of the protestors and to make political compromises. Obviously, the recent advent of these new media channels and online press are mainly regarded as basic tool for spreading the news of the Egyptian social movement to the public opinion and the audiences. According to Newman et al., (2019), “in general, South African media has a strong reputation for independence but political and business interference is an increasing concern”. (p.148) that although there are many independent news media channels existing in the South African countries and the Middle East region, they are completely directed and dominated by the regimes’ policy and the economic holders. In this sense, it is vital to shed the light on the important role played by the digital press and new media in shaping public opinion recently for many years under the former regime’s ruling, and the significance of framing for such political events of the Egyptian crisis.

According to Allam (2018), the Egyptian revolution was called the “Internet Revolution” or the “Digital Media Revolution” where the Egyptians were using the Internet and also the various social media platforms to express their anger and to contact each other, in this regard the dependency on the new media and the digital platforms increased. Consequently, many Egyptian news media organizations during this period realized the great importance of using online platforms that offer for them updated news, which needed a general restructuring through their business models. As supporting the fact that the mass media are the primary means by which people receive information about politics and economics. Thus, it is significant to focus on examining how major newspapers *framed* the political events in an attempt to covertly sway the public opinion. Since some audiences have no direct experience with what is happening around them and did not physically participate in the Egyptian revolution, these audiences depend on the media to be informed about the reality of what is going on.

It is crucial through this study in hands to examine closely the relationship between media coverage, ownerships, political biases, and the media freedom in journalism especially in contemporary media research focusing on social movements, and political conflicts. Hence, free objective media helps in monitoring and eliminating political corruption, as executive-level government corruption positively associates with increased government censorship efforts of traditional and new media. (Solis, & Antenangeli, 2017) Strategically, activists have used this flexible space offered by the various new media channels to overcome the lack of mainstream media attention to their issues. Their basic channels for instant safe connection, is often through internet connections and during summits, as it offers as well a level of outreach that was critical not only to keep the movement community regularly informed but also to generate available links beyond the publication that built the movement across cities.

Schulz (2019) through his study examining the relationship between populist attitudes and the new media use during social movements, he proposed that, “populist citizens are more likely to consume news than non-populist citizens”. (p.89) where most of populist citizens exhibit a preference for gaining their news and following the incidents through the digital news media sources and the social media as their first source of political information. Moreover, activists usually follow the political agenda through the mainstream news and share this information among their online news members and adherents to affect public engagements and collective actions and patterns. Thus, online press, and social networking sites, provided some new forms of political engagements and collective actions that are cheaper and faster than before.

During the 25th Jan. events, most of the prominent Egyptian governmental news media sources were apparently biased to the former regime and supporting Mubarak's government through their media coverage and news reporting. While in contrast, the international media mainly the American press were very objective through their news coverage for the same incidents, declaring its strong consolidation for the Egyptian revolution and the protestors from the very beginning. Thus, it is crucial through the current study to examine the various newspapers coverage, focusing on journalistic bias and news objectivity as permanent aspects of international media and news journalism.

News media coverage is always accused of its lacking of news objectivity in covering and reporting social movement incidents, that journalists rarely include concepts such as freedom, social justice or democracy through their reporting. As journalists exerted lots of efforts to cover the social movements' incidents, as by covering and framing the events they are controlling the general political scene, and covertly directing public opinion. In addition, journalists especially covering political or social issues are always accused by their journalistic bias to one side of the conflicted parties. Much news happen in a day, and newsrooms have limited resources to cover it, so editors mainly use their personal judgment to choose what events are the most important. In fact, most significant international political and social conflicts are always affected by public ideology, as it is always regarded as "fundamental, axiomatic beliefs underlying the social representations that are shared by a group" (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 193), where it directly influence all the levels of the news makers. In this sense, many questions of media transparency, news trust, political bias, censorship, and journalistic objectivity in news coverage have been raised since the first steps in public communication especially during political unrest and social movements.

To sum up, in today's international journalism and the democratized news media systems they became much more important than ever. The idea of news objectivity and journalistic bias exists at the heart of serious news media coverage for most of the international political events and social issues that exist during the last century. In other words, media coverage objectivity and transparency in covering social and political issues are now under pressure and mainly criticized because it is in the digital age of new media and online press where any voice could offer his voice or message to the public. The next part argues about media coverage significant notions as journalistic objectivity and covert political biases reflected on international published news media and press for the most significant events especially during social and political conflicts.

III. Media Coverage Objectivity

In the current age of clear tensed international media coverage diversity and the continual change of the global mass media landscape; the public media trust has been radically eroded. These many contradicted foreign news sources and international media channels profoundly trapped the mass media and journalism to achieve their democratic role and political responsibilities for achieving good relations and peace among the nations. Given that citizens mainly experience politics through the media to interpret most complicated political conflicts and issues. Thus, mass media is always regarded as its main task is to inform the ordinary public about the truth of the various contemporary social and political issues they should be concerned about. However, since long the idea of news objectivity in relation to media coverage for most significant events and international political issues is under examination. In fact, many people used to deal with the various media sources to be objective and true, hence it is one of the tenants of journalism is to be accurate and fair (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014). Importantly, many news journalism studies have long tradition in investigating the impact of different ideological and political affiliations of most prominent news media owners and journalists. And this is adequate

especially in covering significant political conflicts, focusing on its control over international news making organizations and newsrooms.

According to Chong (2017), “the unattainability of objectivity as an ideal in journalism is well established”. (p.2) that although it is a general term, there are many definitions for journalistic objectivity. In this regard, Dennis and Merrill (1984) argued that journalistic objectivity in news coverage can be achieved while “separating facts from opinion, presenting emotionally detached views of the news, and striving for fairness and balance” (p.111). Based on a study represented by Gallup/Knight Foundation Survey (2017) on Trust, Media and Democracy, its results revealed that most Americans believe it is now harder to be well-informed and to determine which news is accurate. They increasingly perceived the media as biased, trying to identify objective news sources. They believed that the media continue to have a critical role in our democracy but are not very positive about how the media are fulfilling that role. News objectivity is by no means an international journalistic value where, most of the international news media systems are dominated by some ideological, political and social factors. These variables can be represented mainly by the existing cultural and political variations between the countries, their media ownerships, and the various types of news media systems they are related to. Thus, Picard and Zotto (2015) argued that; “elite media owners and managers can control their organizations and their editorial outputs via recruitments” (p.54), while controlling the framing of significant political and social news to be colored by many political biases and losing its objectivity and transparency. That although many journalists adhered to the principle of journalistic objectivity, news transparency and trust in journalism has gradually lost its credibility and centrality in profession.

Despite its global rise and popularity, the international media coverage especially in that age of digital journalism is always accused by its lacking of news coverage objectivity in covering international complicated issues related to social or political conflicts. According to Oubela (2018), “the history of objectivity in journalism can be traced back when journalists were professionalizing their careers”. (p.7) In this regard, it is crucial to shed the lights on the significant notion of journalistic objectivity to be closely discussed. Especially that, recently in covering social and political issues, some journalists are lacking understanding what is objective news representation hence they sometimes unknowingly impose their personal political affiliations and ideological views on the news. As Entman (1993) declared that, “Journalists may follow the rules for ‘objective’ reporting and yet convey a dominant framing of the news text that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a situation” (p. 56). Moreover, he added that these journalists are also completely ignoring the profound differences between “including scattered oppositional facts and challenging a dominant frame, while presenting the news stories that make each issue equally salient”. (p.57) Thus, understanding and sticking to this concept of presenting objective and transparent coverage in news media could be achieved only through focusing on clear and balanced news reporting in international media representations.

During the last years, many researches were profoundly criticizing international media organizations of having many journalistic professionalism problems of lacking accuracy and transparency through their coverage for most significant news and events. These contradicted unbalanced international media coverage directly influence the democratic path for many nations and their political relations. Hence, Entman (1993) initially asserted that, “any democratic process could be influenced by how the most significant political issues are framed in the media”. (p. 57) Based on a study presented recently by Gallup/ Knight Foundation (2018), it declared that the majorities of Americans describe each of eight forms of news bias or inaccuracy as “major problems” in news coverage today. Chief among these is the spread of inaccurate information and much fake news on the internet where the owners of these news

outlets attempting to influence the way stories are reported. In addition, the media and especially digital news channels have been addressed at large about its radical effects on mass opinion dynamics during social movements. Such recent arguments begged some questions about specific criteria that news media should follow to be free, trusty, objective and independent. As Kovach and Rosenstiel (2014) proposed that, "Journalism's first loyalty is to citizens". (p.72) where the public respects the media's vital role in shaping and directing the political agendas for the nations, thus they depend on the various media outlets as the first source of information to know about most significant issues, even if they don't trust it to be fair and objective.

Moreover, news media Journalists are also aware of the importance of the notion of news fairness in international news making and media coverage, while following these journalistic ethics for restraining their own biases. In this regard, the basic fundamental journalistic regulations proposed that journalism should not be the voice of any particular party or sect. (Rosen, 1994) Accordingly, Ward (2017) outlined his approach of *pragmatic objectivity* in journalism where news objectivity is not regarded merely for investigating the factual correctness of propositions and events, but also the nature of the ideological backgrounds and beliefs that lie behind our views and affect convictions. Furthermore, Ward suggested some "basic standards of evaluation" for journalism and journalists' attitudes that were defined as follows: "Journalists should adopt the objective stance, step back from their beliefs, display a passion for truth and give reasons that others could accept." (p. 97) although the concept of news objectivity was consequently developed since long, it was focusing on the relation between media coverage and news objectivity to get a clear version of the truth in covering significant events. Thus, it is regarded as one of the most recognized traditional journalistic methods that should be profoundly discussed recently through mass media research.

From this perspective, recently international news media coverage is often accused of journalistic biased reporting, especially during social movements and political conflicts. Such journalistic bias can be both: objective in the sense that some issues and actors are actually *presented* and *discussed* in an unbalanced and slanted way, or subjective, in the sense that audiences *perceive* the news as favoring some parties or ideologies over others. (Eberl, 2018, p.2) Correspondingly, the term of "news bias" in journalism always has an indication for double meaning in news reporting, and supporting one side or idea rather than another opponent one. In fact, it is certainly possible to have some biased media organizations that lack objectivity in its news coverage, these organizations are almost swayed by their ideological and political affiliations. Where, the journalists and the news makers are sometimes lacking the appropriate amounts of information about the stories they cover, mainly in cases when they report about topics they are not familiar with, or covering situations that are happening in remote and hardly accessible places. This published inaccurate information are remarkably lacking objectivity hence it is presented through unbalanced and biased journalistic frames to serve various news media organizations' political interests and elites' affiliations.

In this sense, news bias in reporting journalism can be defined as the media's tendency to systematically underreport or over reports certain types of issues or events in a specific way. Especially that, news media coverage manipulation whether intentionally, or unintentionally, ultimately misleads public perception and agitates political conflicts. Thus, it is highly significant to clarify that media coverage can be used as a useful means for drawing public attention to important issues hence it needs to be carefully managed, lest it becomes a distraction. Recently, during this era of new media technology, it is obvious that the new emerge of online press and social media; the media can be easily manipulated and misled by individuals as news- makers and media ownerships of international news organizations

specifically to serve their political agendas and interests. As Newman (2019) commented that: “Some media companies are hoping governments will help them with tax breaks or other direct subsidy,.....But others worry that relying on government money is ultimately a slippery slope that will undermine journalistic independence”. (p.26) especially that factual reporting and personal neutrality in journalism are very essential hence it is expected to deliver the mere truth in news to the public with complete transparency and avoiding covert political biases. Despite there are other media systems and journalists advocated that the media should play a more significant role in defusing political tensions and forging political consolidation and social peace.

Hence, it is the age of new media technology and online news, the speed at which the updated information are directly disseminated to news consumers has increased dramatically and continued to accelerate especially in covering international social issues or political crisis. Thus, the media’s preference for covering dramatic events can be regarded also as journalistic bias hence its tendency to report in a partial manner is driven by social and political incentives as well. Moreover, the different international governmental and political parties vie for the respective news media segments toward which their content is geared. At the same time, it is noticeable that there are many other journalistic factors affecting the news objectivity in daily international news media coverage such as: nationalism, political and ideological backgrounds, cultural context, timing, censorship and propaganda. Based on Park’s study (2019), he asserted that “political talk strengthens the positive association between social media use for news and political issue knowledge”. (p.267) In fact, there are many great countries often through their news media coverage they conspire to encourage covert journalistic and political biases causing the lacking of objectivity in journalism. In addition, there are many external factors that directly affect the international political scene and sway the public perception for real events. As, there are many news organizations that function as a propaganda tool advocate for the perceived national interest of some authorization systems of which they are part of it.

There are many different theories about the types of journalistic biases in media coverage, based on the notion that different media influence different types of people. (McQuail, 1979) Hence, it might be more problematic discussing media coverage objectivity regarding political and journalistic covert biases. Especially that some authorization governments and elite politicians are able to influence the media; that the audience doesn’t have the adequate or effective mechanisms to make requests or demands. Thus, “the audience generally chooses between the products that the media decide to offer” for them, (Pedro, 2011, p.119) as they are capable to realize the duality in covering news and to identify clearly the apparent journalistic biases and the lacking of objectivity through the delivered messages in news for them. Based on a Gallup (2018) research study: it declared that many Americans believe that the news media have an important role to play in democracy, particularly in terms of informing the public, yet they do not believe the media are fulfilling that role, hence more than 8 in 10 U.S. adults believe the news media are critical or very important to our democracy.

To sum up, during international political or social conflicts, the media coverage although distracted by many factors to sway the truth through their news reporting, they are always responsible to exert great efforts to maintain journalistic norms, adhering transparency and news objectivity. Thus it is crucial through the next part to define more the notion of news objectivity and to focus on presenting what journalistic bias is and the profound correlation between them.

1. News Objectivity

International media coverage is always associated by the notion of news objectivity. Hence, it is a multi-faceted world; news objectivity is always related to words like accuracy, neutrality, impartiality, honesty, fairness, balance, depersonalization, and commitment to the truth. (Maras, 2013) Many recent researches about political journalism and mass communication are concerned about the notion of news objectivity especially in international media coverage for political conflicts and social movements. News objectivity and journalistic truth in news media and journalism are basically based on the public trust for the various media channels and journalists which is not new. In this regard, Newman (2019) asserted that; many significant media entities as “Human rights and journalist groups are worried about who gets to define which news is ‘fake’ and the consequent implications for free speech”. (p.21) In fact, since long the people are used to deal with the various news media outlets to be trusty and objective, as one of the tenants of news journalism is to be accurate and fair through its coverage. Correspondingly, many studies worked on investigating the significant correlation between media coverage, news framing and objectivity for representing significant political events. Also they focused on indicating how journalists’ personal views and political beliefs affecting their choices, decisions and framing of news. In this sense, it is crucial to investigate the notion of journalistic objectivity in news media coverage as being multi-dimensional and ongoing, not static and absolute value. Carpentier and Trioen (2010) argued that there is a clear gap between what journalists want to do and what they actually do through their representations and framing of significant news.

Although there are many other alternative standards centered on personal moral values, news objectivity regards structuring news in journalism as a performance based on specific news values and journalistic norms. However, news reporters and journalists also are thus profoundly expected to be neutrals that observe and objectify social phenomenon or events without interfering into dialogue with the objects they observe. Remarkably, international media coverage and foreign journalism are always accused of losing its transparency and objectivity while covering significant political news. According to Newman (2019), “every day the explosion of content and the intensity of the 24-hour news cycle have put huge pressure on individual journalists over the last few years. Especially at a time when the relative status and pay of journalists has declined compared with other professions”. (p.30) Journalists the objectivity of whose practices is open to evaluation should do their best to ensure that their statements correspond to reality and take responsibility for their reports.

Thus, it is clear that in defining the notion of news objectivity, it varies across the mass media professions. Many news media academics and journalists noticeably introduced the notion of news objectivity in different ways as their attitudes are always related to the subjects they are covering. However, international media coverage of political news or events can often be somewhat difficult to comprehend by the ordinary public audience, especially when it includes information that is hard to follow without having sufficient ideological and political background and knowledge about it. Consequently, the media coverage for most critical international news usually tries to compensate this lack of news objectivity by creating something for everyone to drag public attention.

In fact, as a significant ambiguous journalistic term, news objectivity in mass media has many definitions and most of them argue that the personal subjective judgment of journalists and reports should be avoided. As, based on Newman and Fletcher (2017) study, they asserted that: “among those who do not trust the news media, the main reasons (67%) relate to bias, spin, and agendas”. (p.5) That is to say, “one in every four Americans gets their news from one perspective and 46% rarely change their views, taking solace in like-minded sources”. (Olubela, 2018, p.7) which indicates that the ordinary people and

citizens feel that elite politicians and the powerful people are exploiting the media as an effective tool for supporting their political or economic interests, more than addressing ordinary readers or simple viewers. These feelings of media distrust are commonly spread among the young generations or those whom earn little within societies.

In this regard, Ceron et al. (2019) through their study argued that: “recently in advanced democracies, the media have contextually adapted to their audiences. They assumed that media owners and managers hire and promote editors and journalists to create an ideologically consistent newsroom able to cater to the preferences of an ideologically closer audience”. (p.5) this is especially with the evolution of new media regarding its relationship in conjunction with news objectivity. Hence, it was used as a journalistic tool for directing the public, and wielding dominant controlling power over them. Because the public audiences always respect the role the media play in the political system, a significant number of people get their news from their news media sources versus the other profound sources, even those who worry about fake news. Based on Knight Foundation (2018) study, it declared that 66% of Americans do not believe today’s news media hence it does not separate opinion from facts. Moreover, it registered an increase from the 43% in (1984) that over eight in ten believe the media ensure Americans are informed about public affairs and hold leaders accountable, a critical role for the democracy.

In the same context, Deuze (2005) suggested that the notion of objectivity in news media coverage is a significant claim to justify journalism’s professional status in such “binary world”; when there were two competing truths, a disinterested referee is needed to report on “both sides of the story”. (p.57) In mass media and journalism, lacking of objectivity in news coverage and its framing is always countered by many journalistic and political biases. It is argued that news media biases especially in journalism profoundly presented a problem in publishing accurate reporting of the news. In this sense, recently many scholars focused on studying the role news media play during conflicts involving popular challenges to authoritarian regimes and in democratization. Based on the latest survey findings revealed that more than three in five news consumers do not believe that news media are independent of business and commercial influences. (Reuters Digital News Report, 2018) Hence, objectivity in publishing news media always requires a complete separation of facts from opinions in preparing news and reporting.

Many researchers proposed that in news coverage, subjective judgment of journalists should be removed especially in covering political issues and social movements. Therefore, news objectivity can be defined as “an ideal counter to the reality of the reporter’s own subjectivity”. (Schudson, 1990, p.268; McQuail, 1994, p.145) Where, objective journalists are expected to be outsiders observers and objectify any social phenomena rather than interfering themselves into dialogues with the event or issue they cover to understand their personal views. Correspondingly, it is very common that many of international news organizations sometimes provide a platform for their owners to propagate and pursue their political views based on specific ideological and political orientations in presenting various social issues, to gain more publicity and to attract more audience attention.

Moreover, journalistic objectivity has been defined as an effort to report the facts without developing or at least without revealing an opinion about them. Thus, many mass media researchers asserted that to apply objective journalism; journalists should report in an objective and balanced manner, with no obligation to any outside interest or being swayed to any governmental authority or political party. In addition, journalists and reporters must keep their loyalty to tell the truth regarding public interest, as their coverage should be clear from any ideological or political biases. From this perspective, news objectivity and journalistic professionalism have long been intertwined, and even mutually defined,

although pure objectivity is difficult to apply especially during covering these recent complicated political and social conflicts.

According to Gray (2017), "The major new challenge in reporting news is the new shape of truth". (p.16) this statement, from Kevin Kelly of Wired magazine in March (2017) has focused mainly on the big challenge that is facing both the journalists and the news media consumers through the media coverage of significant political issues while addressing the impact of new media. He asserted that recently and mainly during covering political and social conflicts, the "truth" is becoming more complicated and difficult to determine because unfortunately "for every fact there is a counter fact". (p. 16) That was difficult for the journalists to cover these complicated social issues objectively without showing any personal support or bias towards any side of the various conflicted parties. Ultimately, news objectivity mainly springs out from opponent political ideology which serves as a key characteristic of media coverage due to the different sources of the contradicted news outlets.

To sum up, news objectivity and avoiding journalistic biases are always discussed in many researches, seeking trust and transparency in news, thus it depends on the openness about sources, means, and interests. Recently, many debates have been about lacking objectivity and avoiding journalistic biases; while giving more stress on news objectivity and the need for factual, evidence-based, journalism as a foundation. Based on the notion that, if the public are less concerned about news coverage transparency and news worthiness, they may still be keen to preserve news objectivity hence defined as accurate reporting as a firm foundation on which to base opinion. Thus, the audience shows the same attention for objective news, while detecting and avoiding journalistic biases and especially in covering social movements and conflict news. The next part presents a brief discussion about journalistic bias, its definition and how it affects the framing of news in new media and journalism.

2. Journalistic Bias

Many studies have detected the notion of journalistic bias from different prospects hence it refers mainly to the intended distortion of reality while framing news. According to Entman (2010), journalistic bias occurs "when a news report emphasizes one side's preferred frame [...] while ignoring or derogating another side's". (p.67) It might also include some political prejudices and personal inferences based on the journalist's assumptions rather than presenting the reality in covering events and not sticking to the truth while describing a situation. In fact, journalistic bias is profoundly tied to some specific journalistic norms of fairness in news representation in media and journalism. Thus, indicating the manner in which significant news are presented and framed recently became a critical issue in news media research and journalism, where it has a clear profound impact in directing and shaping most of the current international political climate. It is crucial to point out that there are many different factors that could affect the framing and the representation of the everyday news, making it difficult to detect journalistic biases in press easily. This covert journalistic bias led the public audiences to feel stuck in choosing between the various products of news and channels that the media decide to offer.

In this regard, Chad M. Weisman (2017) proposed that, journalistic bias not only lies on a spectrum with verifiable degrees, but it can also be defined, in the researcher's eyes, as based on two concrete elements. The first element of media bias is to return to the discussion on media framing that lies in emphasis, namely the choice of subject matter deemed newsworthy, while the second is to stress on the various aspects and details of a given story lent greater importance. Consequently, for long news media was accused by losing its credibility and objectivity, especially by indicating covert journalistic and political biases while covering critical news issues and significant events.

Recently, scholars have started to focus on defining the notion of journalistic bias as the media's covert tendency to systematically over report or underreport certain types of news events. In fact detecting journalistic bias causes such persistent problems of distrust and confusion for both the participants and the observers of any social or political contemporary conflict. Such incontestable nature of reporting bias in international news media depends mainly on how major news organizations and journalists navigate the social, cultural and political context in which they are based. Hence, in most democratic governments the pressures on the media is controlled and limited, where the scope of news reporting should reflect those basic conventional media coverage preferences of free objective coverage. While, in non-democratic regimes and authorization governments there are many political constraints on journalism reporting as supporting those conservative preferences of the state political interests and ruling strategies which will drive the scope of coverage, emphasizing the legitimacy and inevitability of the prevailing order. Thus, it is crucial examining the journalistic media bias in international media coverage for both democratic and non-democratic states especially in times of social movements focusing on its opposite patterns in covering the same event.

Remarkably, international media coverage transparency and accuracy in covering significant news is compromised by other external factors as that competitive nature of the international news-market in journalism. Most international news agencies combat to be the first in publishing and representing news scoops, as indicating their biases towards a specific view or political party. In this sense, Journalists create more favorable opportunities out of the interpretation of the various daily political and social issues or events in order to support the opinions of particular groups or organizations, which lead to non objective and biased news coverage. Another significant factor that encourages covert journalistic bias is the personal preconceptions of the reporters, which are sometimes driven by their cultural and ideological beliefs and their demographic tendencies within the groups and population. That is obviously reflected through their news coverage and reporting for political conflicts or social crisis. In a way, some journalists and reporters ultimately have the power to decide how to report any issue or news, based on the value it gets. Also, they have the privilege to present any particular news or event through an angle or a specific frame to support some political view or ideology which in turn affects directly the public opinion. In fact, how journalists present any issue has a lot to do with how they reframe it and rewrite it through their ideological and political perceptions. And, because of the high competitive news market some journalists are driven to "break" a story before anyone without checking its accuracy or knowing enough about its details. And this encouraged the instant spreading of much fake news.

Moreover, lacking news objectivity reveals also many covert journalistic biases in international media coverage, hence that "thirst to be the "first" between the various elite news agencies and journalists leads to the distortion of reality, and encourages contradicted personal views represented to the audience consumers. In other words, "those different impressions created from an objective event by *slanting* information are what we call media biases". (Xiang & Sarvary, 2007, p.611) News media coverage deviation from the true story and ignoring the most significant facts in news channels and press is regarded also as an unprofessional media representation that reflects many journalistic biases. In fact, some elite news organizations having such strict news journalistic policies to regulate the structuring of news and ensuring that the news story is to be represented completely accurate before publishing or airing it. While in contrast some others were lacking such journalistic norms as ignoring about these journalistic policies to be less stringent and thus encourages covert news biases in media coverage for political issues which is regarded as a great problem in accurate reporting of news.

Many media researches addressed journalistic bias that it mainly refers to some types of deviation of reality while covering critical news and significant issues. But as discussed previously, there are many news values in press that directly control the way of framing news, making it difficult to distinguish a particular bias easily. From this perspective, news media and journalism are always accused for its political biases especially in covering social and political issues. As news media coverage and journalism always exert lots of efforts in news selection regarding the decisions of what is to be represented for the consumers through the various news media channels. In this regard, it is crucial to focus on the forms and the definitions of journalistic bias as a significant journalistic notion that is common within international contemporary news media channels and press. Hence, journalistic bias not only lies on a spectrum with verifiable degrees, but can be defined, in the researcher's eyes.

Entman (2010) described the process of news decision-making of journalists in framing the text they produce as based on their ideology and personal beliefs as a kind of "bias." Also, many critics also suggested that reporters and editors are affected by their personal ideologies and beliefs in making news decisions yet, journalists themselves deny such bias. According to Chong (2017), "in its most problematic formulation, bias can lead to distortions if journalists use their individual opinions, rather than facts, as a 'lens' through which to make sense of and report on issues". (p.4) And this happened mainly in cases when they are covering international complicated political events as journalists have to inform about topics they are not enough familiar with, or even about the current situations that are happening in remote and in hardly accessible places where this published information in news is then unbalanced and biased.

In fact, Weisman (2017) through his study addressing media bias asserted that there are many emphasis mainly driven by the social and economic factors that guide news systems and organizations toward reporting stories supporting and biased to some views or individuals over others that is to attract a greater number of audience and viewers. The media's preference for covering international significant political issues are always accused of its apparent bias especially in press, and its tendency to report in partial manner which is driven by some social and economic factors and political interests. However, prominent news media organizations are dominating the news market segments toward which their content is geared. Based on a study of Reuters Institute: Digital News Report (2019), "In South Africa, there is a strong tradition of highly trusted, independent media, but this is increasingly under threat" (p.147) That in many authorization countries the news media systems and press are mostly controlled and dominated by the governments policies and various tough journalistic restrictions. These mass media dominance are thus affecting the public opinion in everywhere of the world and specifically in the Middle East region where the majority of the citizens are depending on foreign news media as their first trusty source of information.

According to Newman, et al. (2019), "recently international media coverage trust is being eroded by a combination of unethical business practices, shoddy journalism, and escalating misinformation affecting critical national elections". (p.147) In fact, recently the people reliance of media began to decline gradually because of some factors as the corrupted regimes' policies and the economic dominance over the news media. Moreover, the news topic selection is also regarded as one of the most important factors in evaluating newsworthiness which is regarded as a kind of journalistic bias as well. The manner in which the topic is dealt with and the order of representing these topics of significant news in printed, electronic or digital media can be evaluated through some basic criterions in media coverage. Consequently, media researchers and journalism professionals specified some basic journalistic norms to describe a professional editorial discipline that sought to avoid personal and political biases and to fasten the public trust for the news media and journalism. In that context Kneafsey (2018) commented that,

variations in influence over the tone of news media coverage by different types of owners is of ultimate importance for policy makers and regulators, as well as political scientists, media economists and other communication scholars interested in the provision of information on political, economic, and social issues to the citizenry.

To sum up, many news media researches and journalism studies have discussed the radical effects of lacking journalistic objectivity and the existence of many covert political biases in international media coverage and foreign news. As the profound journalistic criteria adopted in foreign media coverage is based mainly on the newsworthiness and the sources of news to be reported in terms of specified news variables including these journalistic news values. Thus, the next part clarifies the basic criteria of foreign news coverage, its main features as presented by elite media researchers to represent professional media coverage for the various updated international news. Hence, these criteria illustrate how to avoid journalistic biases and to support objective journalism through international media coverage and foreign news representations. It is crucial focusing on presenting foreign news coverage and the most significant news values that are widely used by various news media systems as controlling much of the journalistic representations and the out framing of international news. That these foreign news values are rather than some formal guidelines, significant code of practice and ethics used to define the core features for presenting international foreign news and objective journalism.

IV. Foreign News Coverage

Recently, at the age of digital media and the internet while covering many international social and political conflicts, foreign news coverage has become the first trusty source of news for the majority of populations everywhere in the globe. Foreign news is always regarded as an extraordinary social communicative tool used among the nations to bridge relations, cultures and for sharing information. It profoundly proved to be the most popular and easy accessible news source especially in covering distant events across elite nations. Foreign news coverage is thus known as a very important and critical type of news in mass communication and in international media coverage as fostered by those innovative tools of new technology and digital media. What really signifies this type of foreign news is that it mainly targets public audiences everywhere in the world, trying grasping their attention and satisfying their demands and interests. And that is because it mainly covers news about foreign countries in distant areas which normally deals with unobtrusive events and complicated issues to be represented for ordinary national audiences. Thus, it works on collecting and publishing the largest amounts of foreign news covering all prominent and significant issues from various parts of the world to present them through its many extended news media channels. However, in publishing foreign news some recent studies claimed that there has been a great clear shift in a number of Western democracies towards more negative media coverage focusing on conflicts, scandals and attacks frames. (Soroka, 2014) Hence, the majority of populations are always interested about tracing this type of popular strange news to learn about international events and issues far beyond their communities and the local news of their countries.

In international foreign news coverage, variables can be understood as newsworthiness hence, people pay much attention to deviant and conflicted events that seemed catchier in grasping most public audiences' interests. According to McCluskey (2019), there is "a wide range of potential influences on news content and many of the proceeding work based on the sociology of news (e.g., Gans, 1979; Schudson, 1983; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) hence there is a complex set of interrelated factors influencing what becomes news, including news values". (p.2) Moreover, foreign news coverage is particularly important because people are not having direct contact with those global complicated events

and social conflicts, but instead they rely on foreign news sources to comprehend these distant foreign events and political issues. Remarkably, the increasing advent of many foreign news channels propped by the recent evolution of digital new media technology has ultimately changed the world media coverage plan especially in constructing and publishing foreign news which directly affect those international relations among the various nations.

These many contemporary radical changes of international news media landscape affected also the structuring of foreign news and the journalistic criteria adopted by most elite news organizations, editors and prominent news media gatekeepers. And this is especially in their presentations of global social and political foreign news. Initially, Loyn (2007) defined the notion of “news” in general that it is what matters, what gets into the political bloodstream and what counts. And he added that the role of news agencies and journalists is based mainly on constructing this foreign news, and making decisions about the selection and framing of it regarding: what facts to use, what facts to highlight in the story and what facts to skip. In fact, many studies based on the criteria of foreign news coverage suggested that editors and journalists are the main controllers of the foreign news selection and framing, calling them gatekeepers.

Importantly, gate-keeping in international media coverage is regarded as one of the most significant features that control the news selection and the structuring of foreign news. The role of the gatekeeper in tailoring foreign news is taken by professional individuals as editors-in-chief, editors and media text authors, in addition to some authorized officers of the state or the political parties might control the irresponsible’s role. (Shoemaker, & Vos, 2009) Thus, gatekeepers’ function in foreign news coverage is highly affected by the cultural and domestic environment that directly influences their professional work. Consequently, foreign news organizations and the reporters as well both while dominated by gatekeepers have the power to decide how to report any foreign news or event based on the true value it gets. As, they have the journalistic privilege to tailor this distant news according to their personal views as affected by their ideological and political values. Hence, how journalists present any foreign issue has a lot to do with how they frame and publish it. As, the personal journalist’s domestic viewpoint while covering foreign international news is inseparable from his or her professional coverage and personal considerations. Thus, despite all the recent contradictions about defining the idea of gate-keeping in news coverage, in fact it is mostly defined as a type of filtration and selection of news topics. This filtered news is highly motivated by protection and propagandist reasons that shape its general news structure, hence if a specific topic is selected, this means that the space for the other topics is then limited and may be excluded from the news media coverage.

Moreover, international foreign news coverage is also highly affected by many journalistic factors, news values and many fundamental news media routines postulated during foreign news making procedures. Correspondingly, it is crucial to argue that foreign news reporting is mainly based on some specific values that deal with the human-focus that relates directly to the way the person, or the people, telling the story and those whom are represented and involved in the story telling process. As mentioned before, many journalists are using their own news values regarding their personal choices of stories and many international news organizations tend to prioritize the compelling nature of bad news over good news. Thus, constructing and framing foreign news is a much more complex news media process as based on such linear relationship between the news makers and the audience consumers. According to McCluskey (2019), “recently another significant perspective within the values used by journalists is suggesting that most of the controlling norms and the basic ethics in journalism are internal and always guide the understanding of professional media practices”. (p.3) Definitely most of these relevant key

issues concerning foreign news coverage are that major news organizations are mainly dominating most foreign news representations to decide what stories to be covered and how they are reported and framed to the audiences according to their policies and interests.

Foreign news media can also set those interactive terms among the various social communities' debates arguing about most significant social and political issues and distant conflicts. Hence, they work on building especial narratives about many contemporary international events as social movements and conflicts. Hence, it is based on their especial interpretation for those incidents while publishing them through its various foreign news channels to the public audiences. It is crucial to point out that foreign news coverage is based on the localization of news that it mainly focuses on the sub-national interpretations and the production of this news which is built mainly in response to most contemporary international events. Thus, foreign news coverage adopts this process of localization: where it is based on interpreting and reporting distant foreign events by relating and republishing them to their local audiences. (Hafez, 2011) Correspondingly, with such increasing public demand for interpreting simple news, easily understood subjects and direct narratives around complex situations, where most foreign news sources failed to do this. And this derived most empirical mass communication research to focus more on examining foreign news coverage diversity and its journalistic criteria as paramount.

Many recent studies asserted that foreign news media always play a significant role in controlling how citizens make sense of the world far beyond their national borders; that it mainly signifies what constitutes valid political participation and what does not. (Van Leuven & Joye, 2014) Foreign news is thus mainly characterized by its especial type of distinct news which it presents to the public everywhere in the world that most of these selective news are generally seemed to be strange and catchy. In a way, the process of foreign news coverage in correlation with news production and news consumption is inherently selective. Hence, most foreign news channels mainly present news and events that covers international political conflicts, social movements, wars, terrorism or disasters that happen at any part of the world and at any country.

In fact, the features and the nature that characterize foreign news coverage obviously indicate that international foreign media treat most vital events and political issues differently depending on whether these issues internal or external that it is ultimately affecting the country's news media system and policy. Especially that; through the process of foreign news coverage for most global political issues and conflicts, different news values are especially deployed depending on the affinity of the various ideological and cultural orientations of the news consumers of public audiences. For this, many researches argued that most of the foreign news coverage is regarded descriptive, hence it is related to the content and the structure of the international news published through the various news media channels. Many studies also proposed that not only the selection of foreign news coverage is affected by using professional news values but also the nature of the event, its cultural context and proximity as well. Thus, explaining that those nations which are culturally close to our own are receiving most of the foreign media coverage attention. These shared interests and values with other countries, emphasizing its national identity always shape how the public audience identifies those overseas cultures and distant communities' conditions and foreign news.

Nonetheless, scholars also disagreed about evaluating journalistic professionalism of foreign news coverage while presenting global significant issues and controlling major countries' foreign relations and policies. Major international news organizations use this type of foreign news, as based mostly on covering various global political and critical issues to reinforce their journalistic practices and to increase its news media publicity and its press external publishing. In fact, foreign news coverage is

used for perpetuating these existing political and social relations among the various nations, while directing and controlling their political ruling strategies. In a way, foreign news coverage and its function are very important to the public audiences, the governments and the countries' news media systems especially in times of complicated political and social conflicts.

According to Hess and Waller (2016), media coverage for various news events is mainly grounded on significant connection with places, and understanding its social and cultural dimensions that is apparently embodied through the various events. In this regard, the foreign news coverage represented in most international media outlets, are focusing mainly on conflict events as affected by the various relationships and political, economic, or cultural concerns, rather than other domestic events. Thus, international foreign news channels are always regarded as the first trusty source of news for ordinary citizens to gain information and to understand difficult situations concerning most relevant international events and complicated political issues.

1. Impact of Foreign News

Recently, the increasing impact of foreign news sources on international media coverage have important role in shaping the modern democratic society as providing the main linking channel among the majority of populations. At every part of the world, people always rely on the various extended foreign news media channels as their main source of information and their favorite basis on which they form their opinions and political decisions. In fact, with such interconnected globalized news world of increasing controversial media coverage, foreign news coverage sustained its impact than ever. People are always interested to know more about the world's foreign news far beyond their local societies and national borders. Especially that today the access to the various international news channels searching for updated foreign events and critical issues is no longer trapped by many details or barriers because of some existed limits or the lack of contact. Hence, both foreign news coverage and lack of foreign news are contributed mainly to some vital journalistic definitions based on various social and political international relations among the nations. In this regard, Molnar (2017) commented that, "News coverage is primarily about reporting events, these events usually involve people and their actions, which are represented in newsprint and on our screens through both images and words". (p.14) Moreover, recently that clear expanded interconnectivity and interdependence between the various countries, journalists and prominent news organizations are all profoundly tailored together to provide the public audiences with the adequate information they search for. However, most significant international news characterized by intensity strong direction whether positive or negative may be listed among the most significant factors and values that affect the foreign media coverage.

In foreign news coverage, negative distant news as death, disasters, crimes or even wars and political conflicts are always attracting the majority of public attention, while local entertainment news as art and sports of domestic news attract less the public attention. Thus, international social conflicts and terrorism news are covered more in complicated views through the various extended foreign news channels, leading to radical disturbance for the public opinion. Hence, these types of foreign news do not raise doubts when they are reported through the international mass media accounts. The audiences are mostly dragged by unexpected and unusual news, especially including the coverage of distant quaint events. Moreover, it is obvious that emotions and strange events have great influence on the way in which reality is perceived; that it directly affects foreign news representations, and the way in which the news information is delivered, received and remembered. In a way, audiences might have no direct experience or contact with the events and therefore they depend mainly on foreign news channels and sources to be

informed and understanding international significant complicated situations. Remarkably, audiences are always demanding knowing more updated news through the various foreign international news channels hence they trust them more than their local news media sources. And they depend on them to understand most vital distant international issues and contemporary political events. In fact, most audience consumers depend on the various foreign news sources and channels for shaping their views and comprehending many contemporary complicated political issues. Although those same events might be reported as foreign news outlets diverge based on how various elite foreign news media systems and organizations interpret these news and events for their audiences.

However, foreign news coverage is mainly regarded as the most prominent type of news that attracts the majority of the audiences and followers to trace its updates of the world's foreign affairs and events day by day. And this is lately increased especially because of this controversial international news coverage for many complicated political conflicts and social movements. It is marked as a very powerful type of news as having great impact on international news coverage hence it directly affects and shapes the political directions and the ideological views of the public audiences while guiding the general political conditions within many communities and nations. Theoretically, foreign news coverage allows elite news organizations to overcome geopolitical boundaries and hierarchies in presenting distant international news flow about other countries. There are several features ultimately help in shaping this foreign news coverage of many international critical events to be seen as newsworthy, although newsworthiness is regarded as a 'slippery concept.' (O'Neill and Harcup, 2009, p. 162) Such as the country's news media local editing preferences as newsworthy that mainly call for foreign media coverage of countries sharing geographical, political or cultural affinity. Moreover, this increasing popularity for tracing foreign news channels recently expanded because of many other reasons, mainly due to its interesting and especial way it is presenting a variety of outlandish issues covering various parts of the world.

It is evident that international media systems exert great efforts to grape public attention in covering private news related to the rich, powerful, and famous people and events. Correspondingly, many previous researches demonstrated that foreign news coverage of significant political or social events are depending mainly on their emotional attachment to those foreign events and having great impact especially during social unrest. Thus, Schulz (2001) commented that, "The more diverse the foreign news coverage, the higher chances are that a number of countries and large parts of the world come to the attention of the public". (p.6) For this, it is crucial to point out that most domestic news organizations are covering international foreign news and events differently affected by their national and cultural contexts variations in which they operate. Moreover, that clear cultural filtering in foreign news coverage affects mainly how most local news organizations interpret distant foreign events through their own distinct ideological and political views in publishing foreign news to their audiences.

Interestingly, foreign news coverage has great impact on both the public audience and international media coverage hence it is specialized in dealing and emphasizing most significant international social, economic or political issues and conflicts. Foreign news coverage thus attracts mainly public attention to learn about and to interpret the various international events and incidents. However, foreign news coverage during the last period was seen as reflection of the type of information that people want or expect to know about. Hence, it represents a clear extension of the various organizational, sociological and cultural norms of the person or the news agency producing this type of foreign news. Thus, most international foreign news sources become more symbiotic, where human responses affect its framing and the kind of stories that are published. As most of these foreign news stories are represented

through a new level of media coverage combination between the various foreign news sources and the public consumers for these news. Consequently, the way of presenting foreign news covering international events through the various news media channels can shape and affect the way the public perceive these significant issues. This is especially important with regards to foreign political events and social movements where ordinary people have little knowledge about the real incidents and its details. As audiences are always searching the various foreign news channels for more updated information and news to understand these complicated critical situations at any part in the globe.

In the same context, many studies argued that foreign news and international media coverage were regarded as one of the basic catalysts that triggered the success and the instant spread of the Arab Spring Uprisings as contemporary public social movements in (2010) to move and expand among most of the middle-east countries. In fact, the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) happened in Egypt after one month of the success of the Tunisian revolution in (2010). Any observer of the Arab Spring uprisings will notice that the success of these democratic revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen was mainly supported by international media coverage as strong catalysts, including digital media and online journalism added to many other variables which played a vital role in shaping and directing the public perceptions. International foreign news coverage provides what the people need during this erupted events, hence they needed fast up to date news. In fact, during the incidents of the Tunisian Wind demonstrations, the Egyptian people were following these disturbed events through the various foreign news media sources and online news channels tentatively day by day all through this social crisis period.

There was a clear shift toward the digital media and the online news in order to cope with the rapid changes underway, much covered foreign news was provided freely in order to deliver the information as quickly as possible. However, it was evident that the Egyptian people were mainly motivated by the Tunisian demonstrations' public success in getting rid of their president and his corrupted regime. Hence, the Egyptian youth were highly empowered by the events they followed through the various foreign news channels covering the Tunisian social movements inspired to repeat the same experience of public demonstrations against President Mubarak and his former government. The Egyptian people were seeking for many political changes and having democracy, freedom and social justice. Hence, the international media coverage and foreign news played a vital role in spreading the Arab Springs' social movements to continue from one country to another. It is obvious that foreign news coverage for social movements passed through many processes during these public social crisis and political events which consolidated the transfer of salience in different political agendas beyond the traditional interactions between mainstream news and public agendas. (McCombs, et al, 2014) thus, it changed the general political plan within the middle-east area.

It is also worth recalling that, major nations are profoundly depending on international mass media organizations and foreign news coverage to enhance and support their strategic and political relations with other nations. And among all these prominent international mass media outlets each country depends on some leading elite newspapers that play a central role in directing and shaping their foreign policies and international relations. What's more, however, it helps to bridge the large gap in understanding, trust and cultural conceptions among the nations created by distance and orientations. Importantly, in major countries foreign news media systems are always relying on their official press organizations and the leading governmental newspapers hence they are always regarded as an important critical news source for the country's politicians, elites and opinion leaders. Thus, during social movements and political conflicts these leading papers ultimately serve as prominent news sources and public opinion driver used for directing the international news coverage.

Consequently, foreign news coverage can set many significant political news agendas and the main journalistic standards for international news media systems and press that have radical internal and external impacts on the social and political conditions of any nation. However, based on these political and foreign journalistic variables that differ from one country to another and from one news system to another, it is evident that the most leading international newspapers always serve as dominant political indicator for the over-all foreign news coverage performance and quality. Most of the leading papers within major nations always play a central role in shaping and directing its external foreign relations and policies. In this regard, Schulz (2001) asserted that, if the mass media of a country are distributed and observed abroad, it is in the first place the leading newspapers. Particularly foreign correspondents from abroad rely on these papers as an information source. However, major countries use their elite news media organizations and official press as significant tools used to direct and shape its international foreign policies and relations with other major countries. Hence, most of those leading papers of record are having strong influence on the public opinion and on the countries' foreign political relations as well.

Evidently, foreign news coverage in major countries has great social and political impact over its internal and external policies and relations especially with other countries. This international interactivity among the various foreign news media sources that links the East and the West emerged as a normal result of many cross border news information exchange. It is supported by the recent appearance of the new media technology, online news and the internet. Thus, many countries especially the Third World countries always criticized the foreign news coverage of major Western news media channels for their imbalanced news reporting presentations in its published quantities and the distortions in its quality of news. Hence, most of the dominant Western news agencies failed to supply those Third World countries with the adequate information they always needed to cope with those rapid developments. In this regard, some researchers argued that international foreign news coverage was regarded as a significant tool for cultural imperialism, and seen as an efficient instrument used by the western countries to dominate and control the Third World economically and politically. And, this was clearly reflected in the increasing social and political gaps between major industrial and developing countries that radically affected the structure of international foreign news coverage for many contemporary social and political problems.

2. Foreign News Sources

In fact, this growing trend of the increasing public interest to follow the various foreign news channels for gaining updated information and international news contributed mainly to the clear radical erosion of the public trust in their local mainstream media. Hence, the audiences' trust of the source of news ultimately affects the message's effectiveness, where the higher credibility of a news source, the more likely an individual will think that the information they gain is credible. This extended popularity of getting foreign news via online press and social media was obviously intensified by the public distrust in mainstream media as trusty sources of news and this particularly noticeable during the recent years. Cozma (2014) commented that "news source selection is ... a key component of the final news product, and using the same sources over time has important implications" (p.5). Thus, foreign news sources are always having the greatest impact on the news content and worthiness by providing the context within which all the other information is evaluated. Foreign news sources are always regarded as one of the basic factors that directly affect the journalistic representation of most foreign news coverage especially when reporters tend to emphasize certain facts in a specific significant issue. For this when foreign news agencies and gatekeepers take the decision of which topics to be covered and in which form will be

represented through its extend channels they are completely controlled by the various foreign news sources and its selection.

In that context, it is crucial to point out that foreign news sources serve as contested news media channel, through which in international political or social conflicts most effective parties and dominating political groups voice their perspectives and inspire support for their efforts. Based on the cultural selection theory, any selection of news messages in mass media will profoundly affect the general political conditions of any country and its entire societies. However, Entman (1993) noted that, journalists engage in news framing by selecting certain sources and making them more salient than others. Evidently, how the foreign news media from two different countries present their local news depends mainly on their especial selection of news sources because readers tend to form perceptions of places and foreign international events abroad depending on the diverse nature of news sources used while covering most significant international news. Many previous studies focused on the relation between news sources and foreign news coverage in international news framing declared that during times of social conflicts and wars, the most commonly used sources are the government officials. Hence, these authorization media systems usually control the selection and structuring of foreign news and thus shape the political scenes of the nations.

In fact, most of the daily international foreign news as based on the various foreign news sources tend to focus more on presenting negative, disruptive events, on elite nations and elite people. Although there are many countries of the world especially the Third World nations, are completely invisible to the prominent news media organizations and the profound news world community. In fact, their social and political problems are neglected and not covered. Such imbalanced foreign news coverage in international news flow is due to several reasons and mainly because of the dominant media coverage of some western news media agencies with their central journalistic performance. In this sense, rich and powerful political elites are always having the dominance over international news as in agreement on any given matter, while dissenting other voices are barred from the media. The majority of news agencies and mass media in the Third World countries are depending mainly on the western news agencies to gain its news as trusty source of information hence they are lacking their own news sources. However, some critics accused those profound news agencies of supporting western governments and elite powers, mainly as the United States. And that is to serve their own political and ideological interests through controlling their foreign news media systems while extending their policies and directions.

Recently, public audiences' attitude and their social interactions dealing with foreign news media sources, and what they trust, are remarkably losing its credibility hence it is changing gradually over the time. Most of the foreign news coverage and especially in international news reporting and journalism were accused by its lacking of news objectivity and colored by many covert political and journalistic biases. According to Newman et al. (2019), "amid all this frenetic change, some are beginning to question whether the news media are still fulfilling their basic mission of holding powerful people to account and helping audiences understand the world around them". (p.9) Hence, there are many variables affecting the way of framing foreign news including political and ideological orientations, cultural contexts, and journalistic news values. That is to declare a country's foreign policy relations and strategies may be affected by its media's framing of international events. One reason for this influence is that, in addition to affecting the issue priorities of the public, mass media quite likely have an impact on the world vision of a country's elite. For this, it is quite clear that foreign news sources have great political influence and it is highly relevant in shaping the country's foreign policies and agendas to be treated by their political institutions. Moreover, this foreign news structural division among the various nations always creates an

ultimate interactive media coverage mechanism that determines and shapes the form and the content of foreign news. According to Monroe (2002), countries where foreign news and information are produced and disseminated to other countries gain power over the latter where information is consumed. However, major international news organizations consciously provide their foreign news sources as extended foreign products of economic incentives to keep and satisfy their target audiences, and to practice its political dominance on other countries media.

Correspondingly, many researches on foreign news sources and selection have provided enough evidence that people in positions of authority get their voices in the news more often. (Gans, 1979; Cozma, 2015) Especially through covering international conflict and war between great nations and countries, where official sources are always regarded as dominate news sources of information. However, most prominent news media channels particularly located in the developing countries are always accused of creating and publishing a pattern of international foreign news flow and coverage that suits its countries' political systems, ideological directions and interests. Moreover, those foreign news sources are profoundly affected by some variables and factors that control and shape its coverage. Thus, to investigate foreign news coverage in times of social movements and political events regarding its impact on the social and political conditions of a country and the public audiences, it is crucial to point out that foreign news sources selection and the way of structuring this news. In fact, it plays such vital role in motivating the public and directing the democratic process in many conflicted nations through publishing their local news sources. And this is of course through informing the public and the ordinary citizens about most updated foreign news and many information during the events, while connecting and guiding them in making other critical choices whether at elections or during referendums.

Also, these various foreign news channels helped ordinary people and the public audiences to take decisions in vital social and political issues across their national and international borders. Foreign news is a major (and often the only) source of people's image of the world, it is indeed a relevant task to describe how mass media depict foreign countries. Consequently, people are aware only about critical foreign news which is presented to them through the various news media channels, where the most salient events and issues mainly determine their public agenda. And this is obviously the case with the majority of audiences hence they have no available sources informing them except the mass media and foreign news sources. Thus, it is crucial to shed the lights on the impact of foreign news sources on both levels; the international media coverage and the audience consumers, through examining its prominent journalistic norms and the main criteria penetrating the structuring and the framing of international foreign news coverage.

3. Structuring Foreign News

Foreign news coverage is like any type of news, it has its own features, variables and values that shape and identify its news structuring and reporting. In foreign news coverage, the important thing while covering most contemporary international social and political events is that it is based mainly on the appropriate selection and structuring of this type of news to be regarded as newsworthy. One of the most significant features that identify foreign news coverage is the type of news it presents to its audiences everywhere in the world. Hence, it is dealing mainly with interesting issues about elite nations, states or famous people which are regarded as news of high value. Many news media scientists have repeatedly discussed the clear impact of structuring foreign news on people's opinions. Especially that; in structuring foreign news, people tend to be more selective in reading what they already agree with while rationalizing their preformed views in opposing contrary arguments.

Previous researches indicated that the mass media failed to change people's opinions on various significant issues for which they already have formed a strong opinion. Although the structuring of foreign news has a profound influence when it comes to setting the agenda and priming people on distant new issues. Thus, it is crucial to declare that the way of structuring foreign news determines how it is socially discussed. Especially that, foreign news coverage has wide public appeal and also affects the international media coverage based on essential news values that work on selling this type of special news to the public. In fact, there are several concrete factors affecting the structuring of foreign news in international media coverage hence it is controlled by some entities as: ethical codes, media legislations, censorship, gate-keeping, framing, and agenda setting.

Foreign news coverage for social movements and conflicts fills the international news media, where social conflicts by their very nature, always attract most of the population and the massive media attention. Past researches pointed out that structuring conflict reporting is mostly sensationalized for boosting higher circulation and ratings. Since most of the conflicted parties are always using the foreign news channels to gain more legitimacy and the public support. Moreover, structuring foreign news in covering conflict issues can also serve various political and ideological purposes as it goes through several steps of: selecting sources, press organizations, news reporters, news agencies, journalists, and editors. Hence, most of the foreign media coverage is citing mainly other news media channels or opinion leaders where the complete news chain of information flow becomes so long. Consequently, news selection distortion may occur at any link in this extended news chain of information.

In fact, journalistic news values are regarded as basic criteria that influence the structuring and presentation of foreign news hence these values or factors vary among the different countries and cultures. However, many studies argued that structuring foreign news is highly compiled by other variables rather than news values, such as newsroom culture, sensitivities towards advertisers, pressure groups, varied sources, or even seem-to-be mediocre facts like "not putting audiences off their dinner". (Sheridan, 2002, p.10) Hence, all these factors controlling foreign news structuring are classified to be internal or external factors, directly influence the foreign international news making process. And consequently they influence also the public audiences' trust in foreign news media sources and their journalistic decisions as their first favorable source of information. Based on the Digital News Report (2019), "across all countries, the average level of trust in news sources in general is down 2 percentage points to 42% and less than half (49%) agree that they trust the news media *they themselves use*". (p.9) Mass media should balance the public's need for interpreting reality and true information against fake news and avoid directed news which recently became eroded especially in the age of new media and online citizen journalism where the boundaries between professional judgment and personal opinion are often unclear.

For many countries the process of structuring foreign news under certain cultural and political conditions is profoundly controlled by the state supervision including various governmental partners, such as the news media organizations' ownerships and censorship. According to Graber (2010), foreign news selection and its structuring depend mainly on the various news organization's norms and values. Thus, she asserted five basic factors influencing the media structuring of foreign news as based mainly on how news makers select carefully those specific news topics rather than others based on these features: strong impact; disaster/scandal/violence/conflict; familiarity; proximity; and timeliness/novelty. Also she added that, conflict, proximity, and timeliness are especially regarded as the most important criteria that generally control the foreign media coverage of significant global news. (p.85) Moreover, the process of structuring foreign news needs a very skillful combination among the various news values in a highly

flexible way to succeed in grapping the audiences' attention for this especial type of global news. Thus, mass media and journalism including foreign news coverage has a socio cultural function in directing and shaping mass opinion for any community or nation.

In the same context, many critical approaches to the study of foreign news coverage while focusing on its main features, they proposed significant questions about these news values especially manipulated in structuring foreign news. They argued that, elite foreign news channels mostly decide which of the international events are worthy to be covered to grape the public attention depending on their own journalistic decisions and resources. And how this foreign news coverage interprets these significant events for their target audiences through focusing on the way those local news organizations are structuring other distant foreign events for other nations. Hence, recently there are more concerns about those radical misinformation and disinformation that remain high despite all the efforts done by the various media platforms and news publishers to build and regain the public confidence. (Newman et al., 2019, p.9) Furthermore, the newsworthiness of foreign news coverage directly affects the structuring of international news, as Bednarek and Caple (2017) declared that: "In analyzing texts, researchers could focus on clear cases where either the 'preferred' meaning is obvious or where the target audience is unlikely to be divided in their attitudinal point of view." (p.61) In this sense, structuring foreign news can be approached through various journalistic prospective based on foreign news organizations and the journalists publishing this type of news as affected by their ideological and political directions.

Importantly, many journalists while structuring distant foreign news do not explore reality from an external point of view, but rather function as representatives of the society in which they belong to. Also, they are highly affected by the culture and ideology they are sharing and the social and economic circumstances they are living in. Mass media studies argued that media freedom, and positivity in foreign news coverage is basically associated with major countries' news media ownerships, foreign investments and financial aids. The impact of new media and globalization on structuring foreign news in international media recently increased radically. In fact, major countries and governments use this type of foreign news structuring as a profound source of information that helps in shaping its economic plans and political ruling strategies as based on other countries' political systems and economy. According to Kim (2017), when it comes to representing an event of social crisis that entails mass casualties such as war, terror and natural disaster, studies imply that such discourse of 'Othering' can be recognized in relation to representations of geographically, racially, and culturally distanced or proximate 'suffering others. Thus, it is crucial to point out that major countries use their structuring of foreign news through their official news media systems. Also it works to collect significant foreign international news and information about other countries, to reframe them through their political and ideological directions to suit their public audiences and to serve their social and political interests.

Structuring foreign news of various international social and political events are always dominated and controlled by some factors that are interpersonally devoted for attracting the public audiences' attention. Bednarek and Caple (2017) proposed some basic features controlling mainly the structuring of foreign news as: negativity, receny, proximity, consonance, un-ambiguity, unexpectedness, superlativeness, relevance, personalization, eliteness, attribution and facility. (p.158) Also they argued that journalists and foreign news makers usually work on reframing various events and distant news on one side as focusing on its newsworthy and what ultimately attracts the audiences' consumers. According to Bednarek and Caple (2017), they identified the structuring and constructing of foreign news texts through the various news media outlets, hence the audiences are always regarded as the most significant target for grapping their attention and interests.

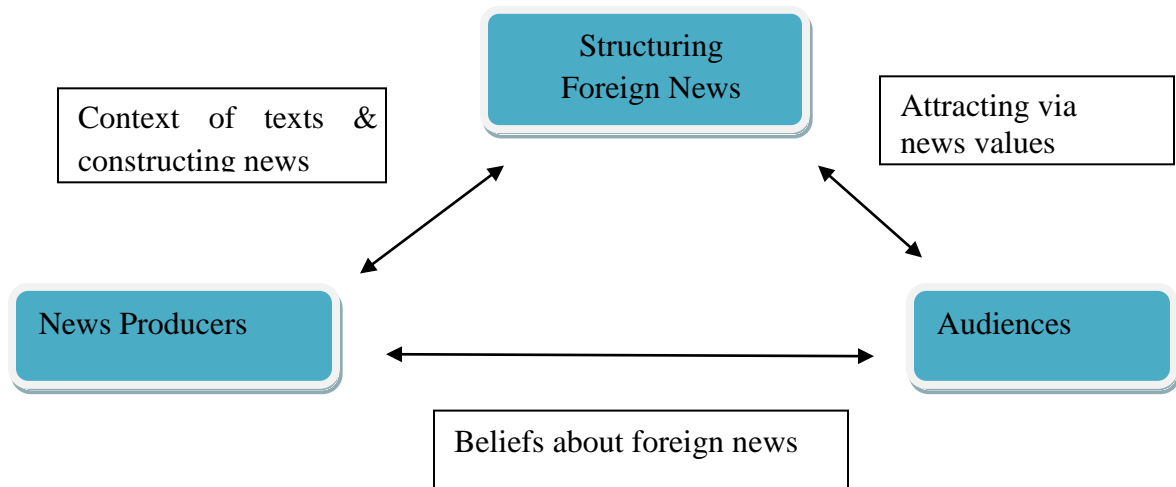


Figure 1: The Context and the Construction of Texts in Foreign News

This figure proposes that, major foreign news organizations are interested about covering every day’s significant stories and events gathered from the various parts of the world to grape mainly their public consumers’ attention. In fact, foreign news coverage competition has become increasingly keen in the area of international mass communication as they keep seeking the attention of the readers. However, these media -makers behind structuring and publishing those international foreign news and events are important too hence this foreign news is focusing mainly on their thoughts and the journalistic criteria they adopt to provide the news context and structure that adequately devoted to the audiences’ desires. While Ornebring et al. (2018) added that, “journalists are not equal in terms of status, influence, work tasks, and working conditions, hence they are engaged in a job characterized by shifting work tasks and work roles, in which dropping or rising in status is the norm, rather than the exception” (p.2) Thus, journalists in elite news organizations in covering foreign news are basically regarded as part of a community whose members share common values, beliefs, and perceptions. Based on such assumption, we can propose that foreign news coverage and structuring global news are correspondingly embedded within broader social, cultural and political contexts that deal with many news values. And thus controls news structuring and framing of international foreign news reflected through the various foreign news channels and elite press.

During the past decades, many mass media researchers have identified some basic determinants and news values that helped the evaluation and the restructuring of international news media flow and foreign news. Obviously, journalists also might have their political views that shape their structuring, selection and framing of foreign news. Thus, they also have the profound ethical principles and regulations about news fairness and reporting everything that is relevant, although they might deviate from these values and principles when the competition of international news coverage is fierce. In fact, the selection of foreign news is mostly based on the concept of *newsworthiness*, i.e. what they believe the audience finds interesting. (Gans, 1980) Initially, Galtung and Ruge (1965) asserted that, most of the international news coverage in major countries are mainly dominated and controlled by some profound social, economic, political, and geographical characteristics and variables. Moreover, cultural differences and countries’ location ultimately affect the structuring of foreign news and its selection.

Many researchers declared that most deviant news covering international social and political events happened in countries that are economically and politically associated by the US administration

and thus covered more by most prominent foreign news agencies. While Chang et al. (2000) proposed that “most developed countries dictated the flow of international foreign news and covered more stories from developing countries than vice versa”. (p.505) that among the various news world issues that happen daily, only some of this news are covered as top news, prevailed by some news values. Therefore, the process of structuring international news would be differently presented by foreign news makers and gate-keeping procedures of the various news outlets.

In this regard, structuring international foreign news is ultimately based on the process of selecting which events become topic news and this is called news selection or news gate keeping. Many studies suggested that journalists and reporters are mainly responsible for the news selection and its structuring while referring to them as ‘gatekeepers’. Especially that news editors and journalists are controlled by the news organizations’ political and ideological directions and priorities. There is a basic part of foreign news coverage process is dominated by a relatively limited number of journalists whom work as gatekeepers shaping the general flow of foreign news. In fact, most of major international news organizations while publishing foreign news they operate in a network of various news channels based on social connectivity. Thus, the gatekeepers are one of the most significant divers that control the structuring of international foreign news, where their political, ideological and cultural orientations directly influence their professional work in publishing foreign news.

However, there are some other factors that obviously affect the structuring of foreign news reporting in international media channels including the global trading interests and the high national and international news agencies presence. Some studies asserted that geographic proximity is very relevant in controlling foreign news selection, and their representations. Moreover, political and economic conditions of the various nations are also parts of the significant factors that are controlling the structuring of foreign news and the way of framing it to be represented to the audience. Censorship is another distinct and extreme type of regulation that highly affects international foreign news structure especially in times of political crisis. And it is always regarded as a vital control over the activities pursued by news media organizations, which is based on the regulation of news content and its structure as well. Finally, it is crucial to indicate that media censorship is also affecting the structuring of foreign news hence it is mainly conducted by governments, political parties or state authorities. That is to control foreign news structuring according to their political interests and ideological orientations to direct mass opinion to specific social or political direction. Hence, it is mainly dominated by an authority, or government which aims to approve the activities of those news media organizations.

To sum up, the media coverage in foreign news reporting is mainly based on some specific variables and journalistic news values that can be regarded as a powerful media tool used in framing and publishing most significant international news. Structuring foreign news is mainly based on deploying some journalistic norms, organizational practices, and media ethics, where all correspond together to cope with the continuous changing of the global media coverage. It is significant to shed light on foreign news selection process by examining the notion of news values currently operational in international media coverage and foreign news. And to clarify the basic criteria of foreign news coverage while focusing on its values and how they are highly interrelated together in publishing significant political news stories in foreign mass media channels and journalism.

4. Criteria of Foreign News Coverage

Interestingly, foreign news coverage is to be evaluated and examined on grounds of the professional journalistic performance based on the specific criteria of news values. Since long, the profound criteria of foreign news coverage in international news media were mainly addressed as a controversial mass media concept in journalism and in mass communication research. However, it is crucial to clarify to what extent and in what ways do the criteria of foreign news coverage affect and control the international media coverage and foreign news reporting. Initially, the basic criteria of foreign news coverage dealing with specified news values remained controlled and enclosed on those of the 1960s. Hence, the study in hands proposes Galtung and Ruge's (1965) widely cited news values as it reviews their original study as well, to be followed by many other sets of news values postulated by many other researchers. Although recently, many researchers declared that proposing and limiting fixed criteria of news values for controlling foreign news coverage and its structuring is impossible. As, Bednarek and Caple (2017) argued that those most used criteria of foreign news coverage are not viewed cognitively that it depends also on various news organizations and journalists' ideological and political affiliations. Moreover, it is crucial through the current chapter to inquire more about the role of foreign news values' regulations as professional journalistic codes controlling the international media coverage especially in that age of new media and the internet, where anyone can have a voice offered in the public debates.

In fact, many researchers presented various sets of journalistic news values as basic criteria for foreign news coverage dominated by particular choices of news language and context in journalism. And they classified these values according to the international foreign news cycle and some other media market factors as well. Thus, it is crucial to investigate most relevant foreign news values that control foreign news coverage and international journalism. According to McCluskey (2019), "news values identify the basic characteristics that make events and issues more (or less) likely to be newsworthy; journalistic values, reflecting the norms and ethics of individuals who work in the news business; and organizational practices, including ownership choices, internal policies, and commercial concerns". (p.2) However, understanding what news values are, and how they are used to dense complicated political and social issues is significant to focus on its general patterns in mass media research and journalism.

Evidently, many preceding studies tried to specify some basic criteria that control the out framing of foreign news coverage for international news stories, and the main factors that affect its representation to the public. Previous news media research proposed several key arguments based on various theories in journalism and communication, such as news values and its criteria. (Gans, 1979; Gitlin, 1980; Nosske, 1990) Hence, the basic criteria of foreign news coverage and the way how foreign news stories and international events are framed, structured and interpersonally positioned is highly associated with understanding carefully those journalistic news values and its main characteristics. In fact, news values explain what makes news. (Caple, 2013, p.23) These news values can determine the selection and the structuring of foreign news in international media coverage and press. According to Harcup and O'Neill (2017), "News values are worth studying because they inform the mediated world that is presented to news audiences, providing a shared shorthand operational understanding of what working journalists are required to produce to deadlines". (p.2)

During the past 20 years there has been a crucial tendency to revise the notion of news values in foreign news coverage and journalism that caused many changes to the journalistic practices and norms especially recently in the age of digital media and social media. In fact, in publishing international foreign news some journalists, news organizations, and media professionals might separate or overlap those profound principles of what constitutes a moral choice through their framing of news. Thus, many

researchers argued that applying news values based on specific criteria help journalists and editors in presenting objective media coverage and enhance their journalistic professionalism. Accordingly, foreign news editors and journalists used these sets of news values to control their professional practice of foreign news coverage. As Cotter (2010) proposed that, “news values govern each stage of the reporting and editing process” (73) because they are basically regarded as ethical guidelines for the political decision-making news in published texts. In this context, the criteria of foreign news values can be defined as the set of values which contribute to the newsworthiness of the news story genre, while related by the reported news stories and news actors, that is, contextually and interpersonally bound. In this sense, journalism and communication studies, news values are typically defined as properties of events or stories following the criteria or the principles applied by journalists to select events or stories as news.

Moreover, based on Richardson (2005) approach, “the application of news values in news organizations usually stems from the newsroom culture hence news values are learnt by journalists as part of a ‘socialization tool’ that takes place in newsrooms”. (p.67) It is significant also to focus on defining the criteria of foreign news values in relation to international news media coverage and journalism. Hence, major foreign news organizations and press are following these moral principles while informing the audiences how to justify its usage, making decisions as based on some contextual elements such as people involvement in politics where profanity is never used. (McCluskey, 2019, p.4) Especially that foreign news reporting is mainly influenced by many political, ideological and cultural variables added to the recent advent of the new digital media that changed the profound role of media coverage for foreign political and social news through the international context. Thus, recently foreign news coverage researches proposed several dominant arguments identifying this notion of foreign news values and the criteria of foreign news coverage as a basic concept in international news media. As based on the fact that; the presence or absence of these values decides its relevance and thus guarantees the mass audiences’ attention.

Remarkably, international foreign news reporters and professional journalists are using these news values representing the basic criteria of foreign news coverage as a checklist to help introducing professional journalism for publishing and evaluating significant events and issues. They specified some lists of these news values including mainly these basic elements as timeliness, impact/magnitude, prominence, proximity, unusualness/oddness, and conflict/controversy (Bender, et al., 2016, pp. 13-16). Moreover, these criteria of foreign news coverage can be effectively observed through the news framing diversity across international media coverage. And thus, can be profoundly studied under specific values that illustrate the ways in which foreign news is structured and published. For this, many foreign news journalists specified some sets of values to their professional practice hence they work for the various news media organizations, while having their own political directions and priorities. The profound influences of these foreign news values, journalistic norms, and organizational practices are playing a remarkable role in presenting and framing most significant news through international news media channels and journalism.

It is crucial to declare that initially the criteria of foreign news coverage were based on those “news values” that were widely credited to Galtung and Ruge in (1965), hence they proposed that the main criteria that control foreign news coverage are based on the range and proximity of the various political foreign news sources and reporting. Also, through their study they proposed that the more an event was understood clearly without ambiguity, the more likely it is to be considered newsworthy. In fact, the re-evaluation of Galtung and Ruge’s work is highly significant; hence their taxonomy was developed at a time when the media landscape seemed completely different from today’s global digital

media environment. Correspondingly, it is crucial to shed the lights on Galtung and Ruge (1965) news values taxonomy hence they are regarded as one of the oldest popular journalistic criteria of news values that was for so long used as the most adopted values in international news reporting through mass media and journalism.

Scholarly attention dealing with news values taxonomies dates back for Galtung and Holmboe Ruge (1965), hence they proposed 12 characteristics in foreign news media selection; (frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to persons, and reference to something negative). However, during the past period there was a great research interest to update these profound news values, regarding the apparent diversity in news media coverage and the continuous changing norms of the journalistic practices that recently was highly affected by the newly rise of digital journalism and social media. In this regard, Deuze (2005) presented five core foreign news journalistic values including: public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, and ethics. While Frey, Rhaman, and El Bour (2017) through their study they proposed a list of nine common news values including; truth, providing information to the public, autonomy/freedom/independence, immediacy, watchdog/Fourth Estate, objectivity/neutrality, accuracy, verification, and balance. All these profound values and factors radically shaped and controlled the structuring of foreign news coverage, as they demonstrated also the various systematic patterns and criteria within the international media coverage.

In fact, these criteria of foreign news coverage directly influence the selection and presentation of most significant social and political foreign news events and issues published through the various foreign news outlets. It helps explaining what makes an issue or event as "newsworthy" to be covered by the foreign news media, while neglecting the other. Harcup and O'Neill (2001) while reexamining those profound news values, they also created a new revised updated set of factors affecting the foreign news coverage including: the power elite, magnitude, relevance, celebrity, entertainment, surprise, bad news, good news, follow-up, and newspaper agenda. Interestingly, their values are concerned mainly by the 'social change' frame, and the type and the variety of information people need and want as it is central to their approach. The factors or the news values proposed through their study in (2001) did not perceive the audience as a passive recipient of news but rather they acknowledged the audiences as an active participant in the news production process. Hence, they asserted that personal prospect or the audiences are regarded as basic factor affecting the structuring and the framing of foreign news coverage. And they also argued that it remains valuable to unpick the criteria involved in the selection of news since this "is one of the most important areas of journalism studies [. It] goes to the heart of what is included, what is excluded, and why" (O'Neill & Harcup, 2017, p.162).

Moreover, most published news about other foreign countries is mainly based on the notion of newsworthiness of these social and political events and issues. In fact, many studies varied about defining this notion of 'newsworthiness' in relation to foreign news coverage, except that it is what makes events become news'. Newsworthiness model can be applied to foreign news across different countries, although foreign news values may differ, or have a different weight in news selection across different foreign media outlets. Thus, many preceding studies have also shown that some news values are rather consistently applied to foreign political events across a range of news organizations: in general, events that involve powerful actors or institutions (power/influence), have an entertaining or dramatic (negativism/conflict) element, or are perceived as relevant to a significantly large audience (relevance), are more likely to be selected than those not featuring one of these factors as proposed by O'Neill and Harcup (2017).

Later, Harcup and O'Neill (2017) revised and updated their initial study and included an additional preview, as they stated that: "any explanation of new values can only provide a partial explanation of what lies behind journalistic news decisions". (p.2) that they added: "No theory of news values can explain everything, not least because arbitrary factors including luck, convenience and serendipity can come into play" (p.3). Thus, Harcup and O'Neill's list added more five news values to their profound news values compilation which is regarded as the most widely used in international journalism. Especially for including especial values of: exclusivity, audio-visuals, sharing, conflict and drama. They included these news values as based on the increasing role of social media platforms in the news publication based on distant foreign news and stories characterized by: Exclusivity/ Bad news/ Conflict/ Surprise/ Surprise/ Audio-visuals/ Share ability/ Entertainment /Drama /Follow-up/ The power elite / Relevance /Magnitude/ Celebrity/ Good news/ News organization's agenda. (Harcup, & O'Neill, 2017, p.13) Hence, foreign news coverage of specific international distant issues is always targeting grappling the public attention, which obviously affected by many other values and tailoring news to suit the various public audiences. In this regard, foreign news values should involve understanding the information needs to be represented to their audience hence it can be seen less as a reflection of the type of news that people need to know. And thus, it is regarded as a reflection of the organizational, sociological and cultural norms of the person or the company producing the news.

To sum up, after going through exploring most of these foreign news criteria affecting the international news media coverage, it is clear that most of these studies concerning foreign news coverage their proposed criteria are used differently from one study to another depending on the purpose of their research. Also, they used various exhaustive lists of news values to appropriate their media coverage of the various news topics. Moreover, there are many journalistic variables that are classified as internal and external factors affecting the foreign news media framing. Mainly as those social, economic, and political relations between individuals, media institutions or elite nations, this also played a profound role in shaping the final framing of international news coverage. For this, foreign news values in international media coverage are representing a significant factor that highly controls the foreign news making process that can never be limited in specific limited criteria. When an event has been successfully covered by foreign news media a clear combination of various news values are used.

V. News Fabrication

During the last years, international media coverage and framing political news have changed radically. It is often charged by its lacking of journalistic objectivity and having many covert political biases that directly encourage the spread of fabricated news. Fabrication of news can be regarded as a very powerful weapon that could threaten and destroy the social life and the political systems of many nations. Fabrication, as the term suggests, it implies those international efforts to reframe an event in order to mislead about its true nature. (Hallahan, 1999, p. 211)

In fact, fabrication of news can be detected easily even in the way of structuring significant news, mainly to sell the issue to the public. Hence, major news agencies their first target was to attract the attention of the largest numbers of audiences to follow their media channels or newspapers as trusty sources of information. As Richard Gray (2017) asserted that "The major new challenge in reporting news is the new shape of truth". (p. 16) where this statement from Kevin Kelly of Wired magazine in March (2017), focused mainly on the great challenges facing both journalists and news agencies for publishing true news. As defining the "truth" through the media channels is becoming more complicated and difficult

to detect hence "for every fact there is a counter fact". (p. 16) And, in many cases, the counter facts of false news are seemed more persuasive and effective than the truth.

There is always a kind of fabrication in the presentation of significant political news to the public. Remarkably, most vital news published through international media organizations is like a prefabricated material, to be reshaped and reframed further. This prefabricated part is basically tailored by journalists and editors, whom work on reframing news into its final representation according to their political interests and ideological views. Especially that; the journalists' various levels of their editorial autonomy and their working stability in terms of daily conditions are thus positively related to the various measures of democracy quality (Hamada et al. 2019) and thus affect their representations of accurate news. Their main reason for spreading fake news is to bring attention to the fake stories or simply for achieving more amusement and to grape more consumers. A very popular way always used by many elite news media outlets, that to present a very catchy title about an event or a piece of news that is fabricated or untrue. And that is to drag the audience to read and search about its details through following their extended news media sources.

In the same context, fabrication of news especially in electronic and print media is very common, hence within the news industry, there is a clear link that exists between electronic and print media. In fact, the Internet facilitated the spread of fake news by providing a host of low-cost distribution channels that are user friendly. As, the posting of fabricated and fake news on discussion forums, blogs and social media sites requires very little personal technical knowledge, as instantly spreading and reaching enormous audiences over the course of a few hours. (TechTarget, 2017) In this sense, fake news, rumors, and gossip are not new issues for society and journalism but the news fabrication during the recent years took on a new significance especially because of the rapid advent of online press and new media, which seems is a new resonance with the public. Although Olubela (2018) through his study proposed that the media by its significant role could create a safe haven for like-minded people by reinforcing their political views and believes, while it also could create silos of inherently different people living in their bubbles.

However, fake news can be interpreted in many different ways; hence such fabricated news is often used in defense of an unfavorable story. In fact, fabrication of news could be done through some journalistic violations for the profound criteria of news values: such as using selective reporting, or putting a positive or negative undertone of the news being reported. Stanford University defined the fabrication of news as fake "news articles that are intentionally and verify-ably false and could mislead readers." (Allcott, H. & Gentzkow, M., 2017, p.213) Hence it is the age of globalization, and the international news media industry recently witnessed many radical changes through its coverage and tangled by that rapid emerge of new media technology. According to Van Aelst, et al. (2017), "These changes have major ramifications for the political information environments and the extent to which they aid people in becoming informed citizens". (p.3) News media coverage is directly affected by many factors such as the media gate keeping, censorship, ownership systems, correspondent with the changes in the political and social hemispheres around the world.

According to Ceron et al. (2019), "political journalism as affected by economy argue that media owners try to influence the process of media production by providing career incentives to like-minded journalists and adjusting the level of professional autonomy granted to them". (p.5) prominent countries and great nations are fighting each other politically and economically through spreading fake news and fabricated mass media strategies as news sources. Fabricated news based on many unclear sources of information that can ruin the economy of any country through claiming fake news against it. Wars between

nations can be aroused based on fabricated news. In the current age of fake news accusation levied against news media coverage, it becomes necessary to examine how news agencies frame certain incidents.

As mentioned above, the news media coverage may be represented as the best example of gate-keeping, thus a piece of news is almost compared to a piece of goods or products. Remarkably, news makers are dealing with news as goods that are produced, distributed, and sold, to be finally used by customers. In other words, news information is prepared to be delivered to the audience at different speeds, in various packages, and with different forms of shelf lives. Evidently, the main target for presenting news is mainly for reflecting an event that occurred somewhere, however such event or piece of news might even be fictitious or a result of a deliberate forgery or even an unconscious mistake. Hence, the disinformation carried by fake news can spread quickly when it is aligned with the point of view held by the audience because such content is likely not to be questioned.

To sum up, news fabrication with its various notions ultimately play a critical role in international news media systems and managements. There is no news media coverage that is clear from a kind of fabrication in representing their news. Therefore, it plays an important part in controlling the political and economic relations between the various nations. The next chapter represents the literature review including the incidents of the 25th Jan. events. In addition, this part discusses the various social and political conflicts that were accumulated during the recent period of Mubarak's regime that are regarded as the main causes that drove the Egyptian population for the 25th Jan Events and the toppling of Hosni Mubarak in (2011).

Chapter Three

Literature Review

This chapter presents a general review about the Arab spring uprisings as a controversial socio-political crisis, where it focuses on international media coverage diversity for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. Moreover, it highlights the journalistic objectivity and framing of its daily incidents through the various newspapers during the eighteen days of the 25th Jan. public demonstrations. This part also addresses the impact of the various news sources and the basic motives behind the framing of these same events regarding its possible implications. Then, it ends by a brief background about online newspapers focusing on its main features and significance, since it is the main subject to be analyzed in this study.

I. Introduction

At the beginning of the year (2011), the Middle East Arab Region and North Africa faced a massive wave of public demonstrations that roughly raved most of its countries. People across this region pushed their angry uprisings and asked for some specific demands of democracy, justice, and equality. Evidently, the Arab Spring Uprisings burst out in the course of a deep social structural transformation for the whole Middle East region. Hence, most of these public awakening demonstrations mainly aspired at changing the deep-rooted authoritarian corrupted regimes, founded by Arab presidents and leaders for many years ago. Their aim was to establish new democratic ruling systems based on social equality, political freedom and justice. According to Sapsford et al. (2019), political corruption provokes much anger in the Middle East and North African and was important in the Arab Uprisings; it was government corruption that sparked the greatest anger among the population. In this sense, these powerful social movements succeeded to overthrow those prolonged existing dictatorship regimes that had been in power for long years. The success of the Arab Spring in many countries as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen reflected how those various rotten regimes collapsed in the face of the people's revolutions. In fact, during the recent era many of the Arab countries were suffering from various political conflicts and unstable conditions, as social crises, military coups, civil wars, and revolutions. However, Egypt through all its long history and the various controversial political incidents stands out with such brave persistence fighting for democracy, social justice and political change.

These contemporary social movements in the Middle East region provide a rich opportunity to investigate the international media coverage diversity and testing journalistic objectivity in covering the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. Demonstrating how new media and digital press have wide appeal especially in times of social and political crisis. As Kim and Lim (2020) commented that, in most contemporary social movements throughout the world, digital media technologies are increasingly utilized to plan and implement large-scale collective action. Hence, this study is concerned by analyzing the Egyptian 25th Jan. social movement as a socio-political conflict; it is particularly focusing on how the protesters and the former regime are quoted and framed through the various Egyptian and American newspapers. It discusses the relationship between news media sources and framing of these events, as many studies declared that during times of social conflicts and wars, the most commonly used sources are the country's government officials. According to Alshareif (2016), the media is obviously used as a tool to direct people towards certain attitudes and opinions which correlate with the government's wishes and expectations. This implies that media can be politicized with concomitant effect that some researchers claim that the media has a strong influence on violence.

In fact, Egypt during its recent history has passed through several political and economic problems, followed by many social changes that recently ended by this massive public anger of the 25th Jan. (2011) crisis. After long decades of oppression and suffering from many social and economic problems extended through various corrupted ruling systems and governments, the Egyptian people were finally in the streets demanding for freedom, democracy and social justice. Their voices were highly wagging through the 25th Jan. events, and were heard all over the world at the various extended international mass media channels and press. It was revealing an ultimate controversial social crisis. In this sense Abbott et al. (2020), through their study based on analyzed data from the Arab Transformations Survey declared that; those young people demonstrating against autocracy were over-represented through the international media as participants and basic motivators for the success of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. However, these social movements of the Arab Springs as in Egypt included all the categories of people within the internal societies, as the youth, the people of middle age and older participants. Hence, their public demonstrations and streets protests aimed less at political rights and more of social justice.

The power of the international media coverage supported by the new media technology and internet connectivity made it possible for the Egyptian people to share their revolution with the world and to extend their dream of democracy and political change. Through the international media coverage, the public learns and forms an opinion about actions its government takes, and the government also in turns figures out what the public thinks of its plans and actions. New media and digital journalism is regarded as a basic catalyst that instantly connected, organized, and expedited matters between the various angry mass populations during the incidents of the Egyptian 25th Jan. social movement. Hence, Badr (2019) commented that, “in line with the modernization plans under former President Mubarak’s rule, in the early 2000s the state announced and invested in an ambitious Internet and Communication Technologies (ICTs) plan”. (p.69) While Hamdy (2009) asserted that, the substantial access to digital media among the Egyptian citizens was available mainly because of Mubarak’s regime developing media strategy to expand the state’s new media IT capabilities. And that was mainly to encourage foreign investments in Egypt and to attract major international companies that serve as a significant tool for socioeconomic development. Hence, these investments in the internet and the technology infrastructure supported Mubarak’s purpose of making Egypt an attractive spot mainly for major foreign investments and industries. Although these technological media developments achieved recently during Mubarak’s era were turned to be the first weapon used against him by the protesters to topple his government and his former regime in (2011).

Remarkably, the rapid incidents of the 25th Jan. events were mainly empowered by the mass media and those extended international foreign news channels. They were regarded as the basic motivating driving forces for the millions of the Egyptian ordinary people whom gradually filled the squares of Egypt during the eighteen days of the revolution that toppled Mubarak in (2011). Many of the Egyptian youth whom were not politically engaged or even interested about the political issues of the country, after being dragged by the media are becoming the most affected by political news media as indulged through social activism. During the incidents of the 25th Jan events, the majority of the Egyptian people were depending on new media connections that succeeded in carrying out their peaceful struggle for their freedom. A case that revealed a new model of political change that involved the mobilization of various sectors of the society of mass protests in the streets and especially the youth using the social media as an innovative tool of political activism. In fact, these growing public demands for following international media channels took place throughout the 18 days of the revolution’s events. And it continued due to the growing interest for millions of Egyptians who want to keep track of the transitional

phase of the government and the new regime policies. During this period, ordinary people and simple citizens were always waiting for foreign media and online news to explain for them such complicated political conditions. And that is especially during political conflicts and social movements, to get a clearer vision and more updated information covering the rapid events of the 25th Jan, (2011). Online news and mainstream media channels have always been the primary news sources during social movements to inform the public about much updated covering news that is matching with their especial views and ideologies.

With thousands of Egyptians protesting against the former regime on the 25th of January (2011) events seeking Mubarak's resignation, the demand for the digital media and internet news radically increased. They follow these easily accessible extended digital news sources to gain more updated stories and information that happened dramatically during the events. Media coverage and digital news were regarded as basic instruments for motivating social movements seeking political change and democracy especially during this recent era. In this context, Kim and Lim (2020) postulated that, "ICTs can provide an "economically cheap" tool in tipping the decision calculus in favor of participation". (p.4) Hence, these coming new Egyptian generations and the majority of the youth were highly attached and very interested to access more new digital media channels and devices of technology. Such recent technological flourishing of new media specifically online press and social networking have provided the ordinary citizens with various opportunities and more space to become easily involved within political issues and conflicted scenes during these social movements. As based on a research, proposed by members of the Reuters Institute of Oxford (2017) they asserted that: "Broadcast and print organizations are forced to adapt such rapid changes in various audience consumer behaviors including a greater reliance on mobile and social media as a basic significant source of updated news." (Digital News Report, 2017) Thus, we can assume that mass media ultimately play a clear vital role in transferring information and instantly connecting the various societies and the angry populations during social movements. New media and digital technologies also contribute to the instant success and the social spread of the Egyptian movement, displaying that online news in general has the power to alter the political sphere.

In this sense, it is crucial to point out that such recent technological innovations and these new digital media channels have altered the structure and content of the political and social presentations in significant international media coverage. And this was especially obvious during these incidents of Middle East social conflicts of Arab Spring Uprisings seeking political changes. Evidently, now in the age of new media and social networking, the world now became linked as a small village. Such new media technology invasion in to the deep societies and the Egyptian communities has raised the horizons of these new generations of the Egyptian youth to be opened more on the external world and to become more ambitious for having a better free democratic future. This was evidently one of the main causes that triggered the sudden down falling of Mubarak's regime. Hence, the appearance of these new excerpts of "smart-phone citizens" and "digital activism" attached to the online media, are new recent media aspects that affected clearly contemporary international media coverage and the media consumers as well. For this, the governments in most elite nations always try to control and dominate the media coverage and especially foreign political news reporting, their activity and their professional journalists. Based on Alrowaiti's (2016) notion, people fight for revolutionary causes because they believe that their motives and causes for struggling are right. And, those recent new media outlets and social networking apparently facilitated their connections and interactions while gathering to protest as one forehead to succeed their powerful social movements.

II. The Arab Springs

In the early months of (2011), the world witnessed a series of controversial political events in North Africa and the Middle East area that was known as the “Arab Spring Uprisings”. These unfinished series of revolutions and unstable political conditions happened in these countries as a result of many social unsettling conditions such as; sectarian wars, counter-revolutionary wars, proxy wars and transitional democracies. (Labidi, 2019) In fact, these correspondent public social movements in the Middle East area which brought down most of the authorization regimes, not only gripped the minds and hearts of the world audiences, but it also captured the interest of most national and international mass media coverage as well. Saidin (2018) commented that, these Arab Springs are by no doubt regarded as one of the most controversial social events that happened in the 21st century. It is crucial to point out that, the Middle East before the Arab uprisings seemed like a dissimilar security system, as each country was having its own social and political internal problems. Most of these Arab countries were profoundly characterized by totalitarian regimes and unlimited authorities of countries heads. And these uprisings came to bring together and unify all the internal dynamics of protests and political transformation in most countries of the region, a matter that impinged on the political order in the Middle East countries.

According to Abbott et al. (2020), fundamental political changes have been expected in the Middle East and North Africa which would sweep away autocratic rule in favor of democratization. Thus, to define the Arab Springs, it is known as significant contemporary social movements that suddenly aroused among most of the Middle East Arab countries. As it is seen as a prolonged series of anti-government protests, public revolutions and armed rebellions that spread across the Middle East area. Interestingly, the term “Arab Springs” was radically popularized by the Western media, which means “beginning a new democratic life” although scholars debated that Tunisia and Egypt is today in such different places on the road to democracy. These powerful social movements began first in Tunisia then moved to Egypt and the rest of the Middle East region. Hence, the “Tunisian wind” success to sweep President Ben Ali from power on 15 January (2011) ultimately inspired the whole Arab world from Bahrain to Morocco to proceed through their public demonstrations. Moreover, what was really striking about these social movements as a general public phenomenon was not only its instant spread and great succession across many countries in a short time. But also the contradicted way in which the international mass media and press covered its events, which revealed a great lacking of professional news media coverage objectivity and transparency.

Definitely, the story of the Arab Spring Uprisings as recent extended public demonstrations against autocracy and former regimes was not an overnight event. But rather it is a long complicated social conflict caused by many common factors and motivated by a number of economic and political actors that agitated the angry Arab youth and populations. (Saidin, 2018) In fact, the Arab Spring Uprisings began in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya then continued in Yemen and Syria where the internal war between the government and opposition groups were arousing. (Dukhan, 2014) It was clear that these extended movements were normal results of the combination of many economic, political and social deficits in most of these agitated countries ruling systems. The Arab awakening has managed to create a new socio-political complicated reality in the region while transforming the balance of power, not because some nations became stronger, but rather because other nations became weaker and fragile. And although there are many similar circumstances in quite a lot of the Arab countries, the responses of their regimes were dissimilar and thus creating different models of social conflicts.

In this regard, Sapsford et al. (2019) through their study proposed that, “the initial public focus on corruption leads to consideration of what people think they can reasonably expect from governments”.

The Arab uprisings occurred after many long years of political oppression and public dissatisfaction of these prolonged corrupted regimes within most of these authorization Arab nations. However, Kim and Lim (2020) postulated that; through all these correspondent uprisings, civilian protests erupted in unlikely places, undermining some of the then most oppressive dictatorial regimes in the world. Also many contemporary scholars debated about why and how these uprisings came on, hence the majority of the Middle East populations started to form ideas for overthrowing their spoiled governments. Even if it accordingly meant that violence would play a role in reaching their goals. Moreover, these radical breakthrough of mass media with its different extended foreign news channels in that age of new media and digital technology, people everywhere in the world became more involved and interactive in many distant issues specially the political and social ones.

Initially, the first spark of the Arab Spring appeared in Tunisia, the first Arab country that began to explode out of anger from its despotic regime. In fact, 17 December (2010) was widely cited as historical political change moment; that the story began when an impoverished angry fruit seller named Mohammed Bouazizi publicly set himself on fire. He desperately has done this after being mistreated by the Tunisian authorities. These incidents began on that day by a simple story of oppression for one Tunisian citizen Bouazizi. A 26 year old street vendor whom went to his work in a very poor small town called Sidi Bouzid, which lies at the centre of Tunisia. In fact, Bouazizi was a simple Tunisian citizen whom suffered much in his life. His problem was that he was not having a license to sell goods to earn his living. On that day a policewoman destroyed his cart and slapped him, spat in his face and insulted him in public. She was very rude to him and her actions were to have a lasting effect on him. He felt humiliated and infuriated, Bouazizi returned to the headquarters, doused himself in flammable liquid, and set himself in fire. (Sharp, 2011a) Interestingly, the situation itself was very erupted and brutal as Bouazizi subsequently died of the injuries he sustained. Actually, this was the initial spark from which greater forms of indignation would emerge. In a way, one man's self-immolation appeared to sum up the whole sense of frustration which had been buried deep down inside many young Tunisians concerning a broad scope of social issues and long suffering. And, out of this great public anger, many violent demonstrations and riots erupted throughout Tunisia in protest of many social problems; as unemployment, corruption, food inflation and the lack of political freedom.

However, Kim and Lim (2020) argued that, "during the Arab Spring incidents individuals exposed to more politically active members of their community (neighbors, friends, and family who were active in online political activities) would be subject to greater pressures to partake in anti-government demonstrations". (p.6) That, the decision to protest was spatially or geographically rooted, at least in part, that the intensity of the Tunisian protests and the great public anger pushed President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali for stepping down on January 14, (2011). As Alrowaiti (2016) through his study commented that; this was a sudden series of events that in just a matter of weeks, a regime, which had enjoyed 23 years in power, had been ousted by a fierce current of anger and popular pressure. Ultimately, public violence happened as a direct response to the youth frustration that is interfering with goal-engaged actions. The Egyptian 25th Jan. events were deemed to be a continuation of the Tunisian movement success, which had been motivated by its political accomplishments. Hence, it was profoundly frustrated by the same social deficiency factors including mainly the high rates of unemployment and the lacking of political freedom.

The Tunisian Wind was viewed as an important test case for the democratic transitions within the Middle East region, where protesters demands were very straightforward, as translated into provision of jobs and economic opportunity, political freedom and self-dignity. (Saidin, 2018, p.70) In fact, this phenomenon of great public anger and desire for political change did not remain limited to the Tunisia's

boundaries only, but it rather swept across most of the Arab world countries with unprecedented speed. That after the success of the Tunisian revolution, the motives of public demonstrations against other neighboring corrupted regimes spread all over the Arab world. The public anger and ruptures of the events in Tunisia seemed to echo everywhere in the region, where the “Tunisian wind” expanded across North Africa and the Middle East. And a huge current of unrest in the region, exposing many demonstrations and protest took place in countries such as Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Bahrajn. While Issawi (2018) added that, “the political transition in Egypt might be considered the most complex and fast moving of the Arab post-revolution political processes”. (p.10)

It is worth mentioning that, through all these unstable social conditions and public activism at most Middle East countries there were two basic geostrategic consequences and repercussions which would contribute to the re-shaping of the power balance in the region. These are the emergence of populations as the basic key catalyst for those states' internal dynamics and the ultimate usage of new media technology and internet connections to facilitate their gathering and order protest activism. These social movements in the Arab world were a result of combination of a number of social problems and political corruptions related to basic economic, political and social deficits in most of these countries. As Sapsford et al. (2019), through their study commented that “the spread of political corruption ultimately divides the society into those who extort bribes or dispense favors and those who are required to pay bribes and are excluded from favor – in other words, there is a breakdown of social inclusion”. In this regard, it is important to clarify that as there were many similar circumstances in quite a lot of Arab countries but the responses of their regimes were different. Thus, it helped creating different reactions and models of conflicts and the outcomes of protests transmitted from one country to another differed totally.

Evidently, countries as Egypt and Tunisia were characterized by such smooth democratic transition from the bottom up, while in contrast some other countries, as in Morocco, Jordan and the Gulf Cooperation Council, gradual changes were performed from the top down. While Kim and Lim (2020) commented that; through the duration of Arab uprisings, the tide shifted dramatically, that although the Egyptian 25th Jan. events did not happen in an identical way as in Tunisia. It seems that people across the Arab world were actively taking the opportunity to get rid of their corrupted governments as following the same path of demonstrations expressing their embedded anger. Remarkably, Egypt the most populous county in the region and one of the most politically influential countries took the same track. At the time the Tunisian people got their freedom and get rid of President Zine El Abidine by the victory of their uprisings, the general conditions in Egypt were in unrest and got worse. Many protests aroused in Egypt against Mubarak’s ruling system. Correspondingly, in Egypt most of the ordinary people as hundreds of thousands have joined activists in street protests. Men and women, old and young, all gathered with great bravery against beatings, tear gas, and bullets hence they were protesting corruption and authoritarian rule, seeking bread, housing, livelihoods, dignity, freedom and justice.

To sum up, the study in hands is mainly concerned by analyzing these contradicted news media coverage of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) and how news media framing may contribute to trivialize or marginalize the events of the crisis in some prominent Egyptian official newspapers as compared to its coverage through the foreign news media channels. Hence, the Egyptian crisis witnessed a serious social conflict between the Egyptian people, the protestors in one side and President Mubarak’s government, the former regime on the other. Whereas the mass media framed the same incidents contrastively, according to each newspaper ownership, news sources and political motives, this revealed some apparent journalistic biases. From this point, the study predisposes to uncover these journalistic biases focusing on

the relationship between news media coverage, and news objectivity regarding political backgrounds, ideologies, and news sources, while discussing the real causes and the motives that pushed the 25th Jan. events to arouse.

III. Causes of the 25th Jan Events (2011)

There are many causes that worked on manipulating the Egyptian 25th Jan. events to arouse. Mass media and foreign news coverage are regarded as basic factors for the instant spread of this public social movement within the Egyptian societies. Hence, it is the age of digital media and online news they profoundly worked as basic catalyst that empowered most of the Egyptian population for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. And that is why the Egyptian regime during Mubarak's presidential period was always keen to keep mass media with its various outlets under its restrictions and governmental control. In fact, "Egypt is a pioneer of media industries as media beginnings are among the oldest in the Arab region", as asserted by Badr (2019). Thus, media coverage and press are always regarded as one of the most powerful driving forces in Egypt, especially during political or social unstable conditions. It helped changing the political scene, and directing the mass population, although the members of the media and the journalists are neither elected nor selected. These prominent media figures hold a significant dominating power over the political system and keep in check those elite in power too. (Olubela, 2018, p.6) Correspondingly, it is plausible to suggest that the internet and news media connectivity played such significant role in spreading the Arab Spring revolutions among the various Arab countries as in Egypt. According to Kim and Lim (2020), through their study they asserted that "online political activism specifically, rather than Internet and social media use in general, is associated with higher odds of protest involvement during the Arab uprisings".

Interestingly, since ages Egypt was profoundly known for its long history as a proud nation with an ancient civilization. Moreover, it enjoys many diplomatic and strategic relations with great nations and with its neighboring countries hence it lays at the heart of the Middle East Arab region. That with a population about 100 million, Egypt is always regarded as an over dominating political power that radically affects the social and economic conditions of the whole region. Its strategic location connecting both Africa to the Middle East and the Mediterranean to the Red Sea helped it to dominate most significant socio political and economic conditions among the Middle East Arab countries and through the external world as well. (Sharp, 2018, p.3) Thus, it is very significant to declare that during Egypt's recent era under Mubarak's ruling system there were several social, economic and political problems that ultimately caused his sudden down fall and the ending of his regime in (2011).

We can summarize these causes of the 25th Jan Events (2011) in some focal points through asserting those external and internal factors that ruined Mubarak's ruling dynamics. It is ultimately clear that Mubarak's strategy was based mainly on maintaining external political foreign relations with the biggest economic and politic countries, which he definitely succeeded in. Evidently, Mubarak during his first presidential years was very popular between the public and also among the various nations and neighboring countries. He was always keen for strengthening his political presence and the strategic existence of Egypt within major international political communities and foreign debates. In this regard, he ultimately succeeded to maintain all his foreign diplomatic relations and external policies with biggest prominent countries and especially the U.S. administrations. Mubarak was completely convinced that, by winning the U.S. administrations support and ally, they will secure his extended presidency and keep him in ruling Egypt as long as he can and even his son Gamal after him too. Correspondingly, on the internal social level Mubarak's ruling strategy was not concerned enough by improving the inner deteriorated

social conditions of the Egyptians. His regime was ultimately negligent for most of the prominent social problems that the Egyptian people were suffering for many years. Mubarak's politically corrupted regime and the neglecting of the inner social problems were regarded as his primary points of weakness that pushed his former governments for losing its public support. And this was one of the main motivating factors that derived the Egyptian public anger of crowds and demonstrations to pull against Mubarak and his government recently in Jan. (2011), and calling for their freedom, social justice, and democracy.

Mubarak's ruling strategy all through his era was like any president having many good social, political and economic accomplishments but also having some points of weakness and defaults in his ruling dynamics. In fact, Mubarak's presidential era was marked by clear radical economic inclination, which was caused mainly because of his inappropriate adaption for the various exported foreign economic programs. This was added to his continual shifting between these various unsuitable economic systems that was seen as one of the main causes for the ultimate falling of his regime. It is crucial to point out that, these various unsuitable economic systems applied in Egypt during Mubarak's era all proved its clear failure through all his ruling years. Mubarak through the thirty years of his ruling era was shifting between adopting three different economic programs. First, the Openness program or the "Infitah" during the 1980s, then the Privatization program in the beginning of the 1990s and finally the Neo-liberalization program by the end of the 1990s till his resignation. Evidently, all these exported economic programs failed to rescue that profound deteriorated economic status of Egypt or to improve the exhausted social conditions of the simple populations. Interestingly, its flop was mainly because those exported economic systems do not fit with the nature of the Egyptian economy and its social and political conditions.

In fact, during the first half of the 1980s, the Egyptian people were full of hope and satisfaction of Mubarak regime, as it was focusing on maintaining the inner social conditions in Egypt and reinforcing economic stability. This period was complicated where the simple people were suffering from various social and economic problems as the high oil prices which raised the prices of all the living expenses. And this was because of the "Infitah" economic strategy which proved its radical failure in lifting the Egyptian economy. While during the 1990s, the new privatization economic strategy was adopted by Mubarak's system and was having also many negative economic impacts on the Egyptian economy and societies too. And soon it proved its radical failure where its economic flop was directly reflected on the inner Egyptian social life, and mainly the clear neglecting of the poor lower classes and marginalizing the middle classes. During these years of Mubarak's presidency, there were many protests and resistance movements in the first half of the 1990s that were mainly initiated by the suffering poor urban classes and the middle classes. The simple Egyptian societies and lower classes were completely excluded from the major neoliberal reforms in Egypt.

Such public dissatisfaction and social anger correspondingly increased by the approval and signing the Economic Restructuring and Adjustment Program with the IMF in (1991). The shifting for this neoliberal economic program was having a great negative impact on the Egyptian society. As it was mainly calling for the liberalization of the national trade and prices, privatization, and labor 'flexibility', hence these steps were mainly based on the removal of several social safety net measures. Moreover, this economic program implemented by Mubarak in the 90's helped the appearance of some new social classes of economic elites whom extremely surfaced in Egypt and persisted to control the political decisions. As the IMF's program of the 1990's was completely dominated only by the ruling party, the National Democratic Party (NDP), and Mubarak's son, Gamal, who headed the party's policies committee.

It is highly significant to point out that when Gamal, the elder son of President Mubarak was imposed in the National Party the most dominating political party in Egypt (2000); the Egyptian Military

and most of the public citizens were not satisfied at all. That is because of his unjustified political rise and attaining presidency. In fact, this general public dissatisfaction was mainly because the Egyptians viewed this as a step back towards the familial rule and this was also of the main causes that pushed the people to revolt against Mubarak's regime in (2011). The Egyptian people realized that Gamal was being politically prepared to be the next president for Egypt after his father. This means that after more than half a century as a democratic republic, Egypt will once again be ruled by a family. Thus, by the year (2000), Gamal took his first steps in the political scene when he became the Assistant Secretary- General of the (NDP), as third in command to the chairperson (Hosni Mubarak). The military establishment saw with increasing opposition to the rise of Gamal Mubarak as his father's heir apparent. (Ahmed, 2017, p.21)

Gamal's political imposing within the ruling party was very rejected for the public, especially in (2002), when he was appointed as the chair of the Policy Secretariat. This position gave him a complete free political opportunity for applying new policies serving his personal interests and relations. In fact, Gamal Mubarak was always criticized for his distortion, that he used his power in supporting most of the Egyptian prominent businessmen, his friends to take part in the Policy Secretariat. These businessmen soon occupied key posts within the National Democratic Party and began to enter the parliament using their political power. By this Gamal helped to compile both money and power only in the hands of a group of limited people to be his allies and destroying the idea of social justice. Of course, this increased the great public anger especially for the Egyptian youth and this was regarded as one of the main causes for the 25th Jan. demonstrations against Mubarak in (2011).

Another motivating factor for Mubarak's quick down fall was the clear governmental withdrawal from most governmental projects and the national economic arena during the last ten years of his ruling period. That most of the authorization business men were mainly dominating prominent governmental organizations and national projects. The appointment of Ahmed Nazif as a prime minister on 14 July (2004), was another very unpleasant action for the public hence he was a very famous business man dominating many private economic projects and big institutions. Moreover, he is one of Gamal's businessmen allies. In this sense, Mubarak's government in (2004) encouraged the political imposing of most of the prominent businessmen and technocrats to his ministry to couple both: the power and money, authority and wealth in hands of some limited figures working in the government. And this helped spreading the general public feeling of inequality and social injustice. Adding to such unfair social policies that led to many severe political corruptions, Nazif's government adopted also the strategy of selling off most of the public sector companies of all kinds, including energy, petrochemicals and financial institutions. Consequently, many of the simple citizens and workers lost their jobs and thus deteriorated the economic conditions of most of the middle and lower classes.

Taking all these pieces together, correspondingly by the year (2007), there emerged more angry populations expressing their anger and desire for real political change because of the general deteriorated social conditions and the feeble economic status of the country. They started by peaceful requests for increasing their incomes but ended by public violence and strikes against the government. Remarkably, during the last years of Mubarak's era, political conflicts was the basic feature of the Egyptian general social life that was based on contradicted social levels and life styles variations, pushing the social risks in Egypt to the political risks. According to Sapsford et al. (2019), "political corruption destroys trust between people and trust in social institutions, which breaks the cords that hold modern societies together- it is an attack on social cohesion". (p.1) However, these extravagant unfair social policies adopted by Mubarak's governments helped widening the gaps between the various Egyptian social classes and increased variations among the public standards levels between the poor and rich people.

Evidently, there appeared different ranks of poor classes that were swelling, and this derived the public for the (2011) demonstrations.

On the social level, Mubarak's economic policies were based on the neo-liberal strategy that supported the rich businessmen and the elites to increase their power and wealth. It encouraged the general public feeling of social injustice and inequality. And this was another basic reason behind the repeated protests against his regime especially during the last five years of his presidency. In this regard, the upper high classes in Egypt of prominent businessmen and elites became more influential in the political life and the policy-making circles, as this encouraged the sever spreading of many political corruptions which aroused great public dissatisfaction. That the Egyptian population felt that they are ruled by a very limited number of elite political figures grapping both power and money, while the rest of the people are deprived from any appropriate living conditions. In this sense, Mubarak's regime strategy while giving the impression of creating a better balance among the various power branches of the government actually reinforced its authoritarian character by keeping power in the hands of the president and the ruling party. (Brown, Dunne, & Hamzawy, 2007)

Another prominent factor that helped the quick down fall of Mubarak's regime was the world economic crisis that began in the late (2008), which was ultimately regarded as a basic external economic factor that caused the quick ending of Mubarak's regime. In fact, it was a heavy blow to the Egyptian economy that it directly affected the already exhausted economic conditions in Egypt and the social life. And what make it worse were the repeated public strikes and violent confrontations between the government and the angry populations. Especially that, by the year (2010) during the parliamentary elections, the government arrested many people of dominant oppositional leaders and educated youth to control the inflaming situation. Thus, it was evident that the last two years of the Mubarak government (2008–2010) witnessed an increase in the number of demonstrations, protests, sit-ins and strikes by workers. (Joya, 2011) During this flamed period, the military advised the government to implement more wage increases and subsidies to compensate the growing economic shortage and to minimize poverty rates where the simple Egyptian populations by the year (2011) were earning less than two dollars a day.

Political corruption was regarded as main basic catalyst for motivating the arousal of the 25th Jan. events, hence it was a general trend and not limited within central institutions, but it extended to the local authorities as well. In fact, these corrupted political systems that had been created by Mubarak's regime were very strong and secure that it managed to uproot the public opposition. It was obvious that during the recent years of Mubarak's ruling period Egypt was suffering from radical political corruptions that increased the social gaps between the various political parties and the ordinary people. However, there were many significant causes for the internal spreading of political corruption, such as the lack of the mechanisms of accountability, the receding respect for the law, as well as the deteriorating financial conditions of a large number of state employees. Moreover, during this period personal enrichment without cause never ever stopped and especially during the past twenty years. Outright corruption as well as deficiencies in the regulation of public and private sector business practices provided great opportunities for enormous fortunes in a short time span. This increased public anger and frustration among the poor lower classes of the Egyptians. As commenting on Egypt's corrupted policies during Mubarak's presidency, the famous Egyptian writer Mohamed Hassanein Heikal described the socio-political eroded conditions during the 30 years of Mubarak's ruling era in one of his famous articles as "a process of erosion for all the land valid for cultivation". (Al Shorouk, 2011)

All these deteriorated social features worked as primitive factors laid the groundwork for the (2011) popular movement. The Egyptian people were feeling general dissatisfied with the corrupted

policies that were deployed by the Government during that last period of Mubarak's presidential era. In fact, the last ten years of Mubarak's ruling witnessed clear imposing of some neoliberal order of ultra rich people and crony-capitalists. The government was relatively including mainly corrupted bureaucracies and suppressive police apparatus. To complete thirty years of severe poverty, polarized wealth and power, where labor instability became more in tension. As there was a general public feeling of dissatisfaction for a number of reasons, especially because of the political corruption, lack of freedom in speech, in addition to many domestic economic issues that the Egyptian society was suffering from. Such as the high food prices, unemployment, low wages and the obvious enrichment of the ruling elites. These negative social and economic conditions were accumulated through many years pushing the Egyptian people to protest and to express their anger to end Mubarak's corrupted regime. In this sense, Ahmed (2017) commented that, the government succeeded in bottling up the anger temporarily, but citizen's tolerance for the status quo grew shorter by the day, as the social upheaval was brewing, as they just needed a spark.

By the year (2011), there was a general current of public anger within the Egyptian societies and the main streets. That the labor turmoil persisted all over the country, and public demonstrators realized that Mubarak's government and his regime is based on the marriage between authority and money. All these factors encouraged many public strikes, involving tens of thousands of workers in the largest strike wave that Egypt had witnessed in decades. And by the beginning of (2011), Egypt was obviously on the verge of a revolution; it just needs a 'spark' which came in the form of the Tunisian uprising in December of (2010). Interestingly, the overthrow of the Tunisian president Ben Ali, motivated Egyptians to mobilize their anger in opposition to Mubarak's system. Many scholars as Cook (2011), Sharp (2011a) and Witzel (2012) and others argued that; Ben Ali's fleeing was of the major triggers of the Egyptians revolution. That it is a strong evidence for those regimes of the Arab World and Egypt that they are not strong and can be overthrown under the strength of demonstrations, as was the case afterwards in Egypt. Moreover, Alshareif (2016) commented that, "Ben Ali's fleeing was not significant for the course of Tunisian revolution only but also to trigger and strengthen the other revolutions in the Arab World". (p.181)

To sum up, there were many motives that pushed the sudden arousal of the 25th Jan. events in (2011), where it goes back to many reasons, on top of them were the incumbent corrupted longstanding regime. Hence, this was a basic matter that encouraged the mobilization of people against the former regime. Especially that, Mubarak's governments and his regime failed to absorb the anger of the people and youth especially these new generations, whom hoped for a more prosperous future than that of their parents. That finally after 18 days of public demonstrations, on 11 February (2011), President Hosni Mubarak announced his resignation and handed over Egypt's ruling to the military which promised the smooth legal transition to a new regime. Consequently the Egyptian Armed Forces seized power from President Mubarak to begin the November elections for assigning the new chosen president for Egypt.

IV. Egyptian 25th Jan. Events (2011)

On January 25, (2011), thousands of Egyptians were dramatically gathered and filled the streets of all the cities of Egypt, seeking specific demands of "dignity, freedom and social justice". These massive public protests, out of which the Egyptian 25th events was born and continued for eighteen days, led to the quick removal of the former President Mubarak who had been president for Egypt for 30 years. During these events, many young Egyptian activists were calling for a powerful social movement that primarily protest against police brutality, government corruption, and power abuse where on top of them was the autocratic rule of Hosni Mubarak and his regime. (Saidin, 2018, p.74) Interestingly, the last years in Egypt, while President Mubarak and his government were bragging and propagating about their great

economic achievements and future prosperity through the various mass media channels, the majority of the simple ordinary citizens did not feel that progress in their real life. These bad economic conditions during the last period of Mubarak's presidency were regarded as a basic factor that motivated the Egyptian people to protest against his regime. Hence, these radical economic deficiencies encouraged the exceeded widening of the social gaps between the Egyptian communities which aroused public despair and dissatisfaction. Hence, Dunne and Hamzawy (2019) commented that, "Some have left based on a general sense that the political climate had become hazardous for them, while others left because of specific fears due to court convictions, lawsuits, job losses, attacks in the media, or direct physical threats related to their political, journalistic, or civil society activities".

The eruption of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events started on 17th January (2011). That day many Egyptians realized that for ending such long corrupted ruling regime would be only possible through their unity. During this period, some people tried to commit suicide imitating the suicide of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia. Interestingly, through an editorial written by John Chalcraft (2011) arguing about the implications of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events for the rest of the Arab world, that he discussed how the youth activists and political groups encouraged the mass population to collaborate and join the 25th January "National Police Day". Political violence and social anger were seen as over actions that were used to justify the clear public aggressive attitudes toward the former Egyptian regime and government. Especially that, these contradicted ideologies and political affiliations are also regarded as significant factors behind this obsessive violence for rebel groups in the 25th Jan. demonstrations. Importantly, new digital media and online activism encouraged the whole Egyptian population to protest against the political, economic and social corrupted policies and the rotten regime in Egypt. However, Badr (2019) commented that; "Despite the Internet censorship and limited speed, these investments in ICTs paved the way for the evolving blogging and citizen journalism activities that contributed to the (2011) Tahrir Revolution". (p.70) In this regard, the 25th Jan. events was seen persistent for achieving a radical authorization transformation in two steps; ending the existing political order and endowing those new political actors to the irrupted scene in the country.

On 25th January (2011), protesters from different social, political, and, religious backgrounds were all gathered at one place for pushing their public revolution. Definitely, they were all seeking the same aim the overthrowing of President Mubarak and his corrupted regime. As Panetta (2019) commented that "Egypt has fallen on hard times wracked by ongoing state instability and the unraveling of its economy". (p.1) The Egyptian people were mostly gathered in Tahrir Square, a major public town square in Downtown Cairo in Egypt. It was occupied by millions of protesters and it was seen as the symbol of liberty and people's power. In fact, at that day, the police forces killed about 840 people and injured 6,000 in their efforts to confront the angry demonstrations. Correspondingly, on the following night of 'Anger Friday', Mubarak left the authority and assigned a representative president for the first time. He assigned the chief of the Egyptian General Intelligence, Omar Suleiman, to be the vice president. Also, he appointed the former minister of civil aviation Ahmad Shafiq, as a prime minister, although the people refused to recon ciliate or to give up their powerful social movement. Thus, finally they succeeded their social movement and eliminated the formal ruling regime. But that was after the consideration of the massive numbers of victims of a bloody slaughter by the police when they gathered in Tahrir Square.

In a way, Egypt's powerful 25th Jan. social movement was characterized by some shades of violence and drama, as the clashes between the police and pro-democracy protesters on one hand, and between the latter and pro-Mubarak revolutionists on the other, which thus resulted in the killing and injury of number of civilians. (Hemaid, 2017, p.187) During these first days of the 25th Jan. events, the

majority of the Egyptian populations were following the various live foreign news channels covering those erupted events of violent confrontations between the simple Egyptian citizens and the government forces. People were tracing these sudden public demonstrations through the various internet news sources and digital news media devices hence most of the local governmental news media outlets were blocked. Evidently, the whole world witnessed the 25th Jan. events and its continual public struggles within the main streets of Egypt through the international online news channels and the various foreign news media sources. In this sense, Kim and Lim (2020) through their study they asserted that; online political activism specifically by using the Internet and social media, is associated with higher odds of protest involvement during the Arab Uprisings and the Egyptian demonstrations. In addition, they declared that the positive linkage between individual online activism and protest is weaker in communities with a higher proportion of politically cyber active residents.

During the incidents of this social crisis, the majority of the Egyptian people did not know what was going on around them, as they turned to the various news media sources searching for news to understand what was happening. Remarkably, most of the Egyptian media sources were governmentally blocked such as the Television, and the online media, hence the internet was shut down for five days during the crisis. And by this the radio and newspapers were the main sources of information at that time. On 25th Jan. (2011) Egypt witnessed huge anti-government public demonstrations which extended to continue for the next few days. The government authority blocked digital media and social net-works as Face book and Twitter on the 27th Jan. It also cut off all access to the internet and shut down mobile phone services companies on the next day that was known as “Anger Friday”. That “Anger Friday” witnessed mass revolutions across the streets and the major squares of the country. During these events, the official Egyptian television ignored the protests entirely by directing its cameras on the River Nile and the Cairo Tower instead of airing the unfolding events in Tahrir Square. Correspondingly, the first governmental newspaper Al Ahram tried to trivialize the social crisis by giving them a small space on the front page published on January 26, (2011). (Al- Ahram, 2011) Revealing such apparent journalistic bias to the former regime and Mubarak didn’t change the public persistence and their demands for democracy and political change. The Egyptian people supported by the Stance of the United States for the events in Cairo, continued their demonstrations hence Washington boldly retreated its demands for the peaceful transfer of power within a time framework.

On 1st February (2011), over a million people gathered to participate in a powerful massive demonstrations in the Tahrir Square, as a symbol of their public unity. Where President Mubarak declared that night, he would not nominate himself for his sixth term at the next presidential election. In the same token, we cannot deny the significant role of the Muslim brotherhood in the arrangement for the 25th Jan. events (2011), although boldly some of its leaders declared that they would not participate in the demonstrations against Mubarak regime. However, the role of the Muslim brotherhood group was revealed later either with their participation via the armed members in the raiding of the different jails and taking part in the assassinations and killing of the protestors in a number of squares in Egypt. Interestingly through the next day, Mubarak’s supporters of elite figures attacked the square on camels and horsebacks to fear the protesters of citizens and simple people. And this brutal battle lasted till the next morning infusing the people, whom were insisting on continuing their revolution. It was regarded as a very important event in the Egyptian 25th Jan. events when the camels and horses were used among the people to attack the demonstrators. Hence, this Camels occasion has been widely investigated in the related literature with other events in the Egyptian revolt, that this occasion was a step from the then regime to fight the demonstrations via the use of camels to frighten the demonstrators. And although there

were many people died in this occasion, the Egyptian people did not give in and continued demonstrating against Mubarak's regime. This brutal occasion was very significant since it mirrors the strong persistence of the angry people to overthrow Mubarak's regime at that time.

Finally by the end after 18 days of this public anger, on the 11th of February (2011), Mubarak gave up and handed over the power to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. Thus, the Egyptian people after only eighteen days of continual demonstrations succeeded to resign President Mubarak who had been in power for 30 years through rigged elections. That is to say, with all pressures exerted domestically and globally, Mubarak finally surrendered to his own people and passed the power down to the Egypt's Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. In that context Saidin (2018) commented that, Egypt through its past history has experienced a number of public revolutions which successfully led to the regime change as occurred in (1919) and (1952). However, the 25th Jan. events (2011) as a public revolution by no doubt has brought those memories alive after being dormant for a long period, that is was seen as the most unexpected progress in modern Egyptian political history. (Sharp, 2012, p.48) Correspondingly, Storck (2011) added that, "Although the removal of Mubarak took nearly three weeks, the protests social movement that dragged him down was a product of a much longer process of buildup and planning, a powerful product of many long ruling years of dictatorship and repression that had ignited such social revolution". (p.19) In this sense, the 25th Jan. events was seen internationally as an extraordinary contemporary social movement as it was the first time, attending hundreds of thousands of ordinary people of citizens and non activist of Egyptians whom took the streets to demand for ending this autocratic regime and they successfully gained it.

Accordingly, Hemaïd (2017) through his study he asserted that; the Egyptian social movement including those competent institutions and substantial middle classes were characterized by having the potential for achieving safer political transition without violence. That such brutal aspect of aggression and bloodshed was not an element in the revolutionary attitude of the people in Egypt. The masses just wanted to face the authoritarianism and repression by demanding "bread, freedom, social justice and dignity". Evidently, in a trial to pacify the angry protestors, President Mubarak declared three speeches where each speech carried more concessions to contain the situation and stop growing protest movement, although he showed desire to remain more Egypt's leader. Thus, by the end, after eighteen days of public demonstrations, on February 11, (2011), the appointed Vice President Omar Suleiman declared in a televised speech the resignation of President Mubarak, and delivering power to the Supreme Council of Egyptian Armed Forces (SCAF).

In fact, after more than one year of Egypt's 25th events, the ruling's military generals were in charge, as they intended to hand the power and government to an elected president by June (2012). It was clear that the anti-government movement was more complicated than the U.S. media portrayed it such as the Muslim Brothers, the Islamic party in Egypt. Moreover, the international media and American press framed them as traitors from day one, as they were presented through the same frame also through most of the Egyptian media officials where they clearly downplayed them politically. Although these Muslim Brothers groups gained more power later after Mohamed Morsi was elected as the new president despite it was for a very short period, only one year. By the year (2013), during Morsi's ruling, all the Egyptian people agreed to deposed Morsi and his regime in another great public social movement, the 30 of June (2013). For this, the Egyptian people again demanded for another new transparent presidential election, that here were some basic reasons for the public demands for Morsi's resignation. On top of them was because of his accusation of radical authoritarianism and his involvement with Islamist agendas neglecting the rules of the Egyptian laws. In fact, these, continual movements paved the way for electing

President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi through very neutral and transparent public elections, to become the current chosen president of Egypt on 18 June (2014).

To sum up, the Egyptian 25th Jan. events aimed at restructuring the Egyptian social conditions and change corrupted policies. Hence, it opened the door towards laying down the principles and foundations of a genuine democratic transition, which was seen as a matter that formulates the foreign policy to be perfectly expressive of the collective conscience of Egypt as represented by the popular will. Its public aspirations were mainly to achieve democracy, domestic peace and political change that would fulfill the ambitions of the Egyptian people. Thus, international news media through covering its incidents played a vital role in directing the political scene in Egypt. The next part focuses on the significant role of new media and online journalism, especially regarding social movements, as it sheds the lights on the most significant Egyptian and American online newspapers tracing their journalistic background and main features.

V. New Media and Online Journalism

At that age of digital media technology and the internet, new media is regarded as one of the most important means of communication in today's societies. In fact, the term "new media" is referring to the media that mainly depend on these recent digital technologies including many features not normally found in the traditional media. Such as online interactivity and social networks that depend on the digital distribution and computing technology. And the rapid evolution of internet connectivity globally, encouraged more people to access those many online news pages and to deal with the digital media more easily. Of course this was through using these various popular developed technological devices such as mobile phones, or gadgets. Badr (2019) commented that, "Brief intermissions of liberalization allowed some dynamism for journalists to push for freedoms and reflect on their profession. The latest window was the transformation phase 2011–2013 after the Tahrir Revolution". (p.70) Moreover, many contemporary researchers argued that media and journalism are responsible for supplying the information and images that people need to understand their lives. (Gitlin, 2003) New media and online journalism are profoundly used as dominant controlling tools by elite nations and governments to direct any social or political erupted situations. That is because of its powerful ability in shaping the public perception and the citizens' awareness through various international social and political campaigns. Such as these many extended social movements that suddenly happened at various parts of the world as in the Middle East region during this recent era.

New media represented by digital media and online journalism play a profound communicative role internationally among major countries, as it controls their political and economic relations and affects their social lives and political views. As recently, this was very clear especially in manipulating international controversial politics during social movements especially by creating the national unity and directing the public during serious global conflicts. According to Trampota (2010), these recent new media outlets guide our perception of the world around us, our civic attitudes, electoral and consumer behavior. Although Newman et al. (2019) commented that, "One of the biggest implications of the shift to online news has been the weakening of the direct relationship between readers and publishers". (p.3) Thus, we could assume that these global new media outlets are regarded as basic social institutions that in a large scope provide an ultimate communication on the public sphere.

Moreover, sharing these new media outlets internationally also contributes to the development, establishment and transformation of different cultures and ideologies among the nations. Hence, they radically affect human values and shape the personal interpretations for most contemporary significant

political issues and conflicts that happened around the world every day. According to Saragih and Harahap (2020), “the internet opens a public space for citizen participation, whether professional or amateur in information dissemination. Information is no longer exclusive to journalists and the media. Journalistic work is now also carried out by the public”. (p.540) In fact, those global new media channels ultimately help breaking down most existing geographic, political and stylistic borders between the worlds’ regions and countries while bypassing different ideologies, strategic relations and political interests. In other words, these radical changes of news representation of digital media and online journalism, is ultimately reflected not only on news forms, language features, and updated use of multimodality, but also on the way these stories affecting its readers interpersonally interpretation. With the rise of digital media and the emergence of Smart phones, social networking and 4Gcoverage, these digital new media utilities transformed the access to online news proliferated. Hence, all these online media evolutions have affected the way of perception for the audience and the news reporters as well and their resultant frames.

Today in our modern societies, digital media and online news has become basic parts of our daily life. Nic Newman (2020) commented that, “the power of tech platforms remains an issue of great concern for most publishers. But there are mixed views on regulation”. (p.7) However, the evolution of new media and social networking ultimately imposed a great challenge to the older systematic media channels as printed newspapers. Many researches asserted that, with each passing year, people are more attached to deal with new media technology and digital news channels in searching and consuming updated news. They remarkably prefer these various technological social media platforms, where online media and digital journalism are apparently blemishing traditional media forms such as radio, print, and television for tracing significant updated news.

In the same vein, online journalism, like most types of news media outlets, they are never simply a text-based affair. Instead, it has become a commonplace mainly to use the “news media multimodality” that could characterize all sorts of communication we could find online and especially journalism. Moreover, it is crucial to shed the lights on the importance of online newspapers as one of the most recent and popular types of new mass media outlets. Hence, the aim of this study is to investigate mainly how online newspapers are essential trusty sources of information for a wide range of audiences especially in times of political unrest and social movements. In fact, such recent public shift for the online journalism led to clear radical change within the public perception while receiving and consuming the various news and stories. Especially that, these various online new media modes is in constant circulation and change as clearly reflected in a well-known adage among the news media makers and professional journalists. Hence, recently the global media never rests. (Molnar, 2017, p.4) Correspondingly, no one could deny the impact of online news as online journalism on the social scale. Hence, it is utilized by prominent news media makers and professional journalists to calm the audience during social cresses as to direct and encourage them to take positive actions during complicated political conditions. The greatest role of new media and journalism coverage lies in its direct impact on the public audience everywhere. That it could affect both individuals and the society at large. On the individual level, its effect might happen in different attitudes after receiving certain news. While on the societal level, the way of the media coverage and framing of news could affect the public actions such as political socialization and collective activism. (de Vreese, 2005, p.51)

In this regard, new media coverage and online journalism have changed the world news coverage map hence these digital platforms as online newspapers and social media connectivity captured the interests of millions users around the globe. Newman et al. (2019) asserted that: “people are still using

computers and tablets for news but when we ask about *preferred* device the convenience and versatility of the smart-phone tends to win out”. (p.9) Moreover, these new media outlets transformed our daily forms of communication with others; hence they provide these instant accesses to online information, images, and opinions of all sorts or events from around the world. Numerous studies argued that, by each passing year more and more people preferring consuming news through the online channels and the internet platforms of news sources in contrast to many other traditional news media outlets such as radio, print, and television. Of course such recent public audiences’ shift to new media led to that clear changing in the public perceptions of political news through international journalism. By these growing numbers of digital news consumers and online media audiences for the various updated news sources are currently limited to what they "like" on their personalized news feeds. (Pew Research, 2016)

To sum up, digital media and online journalism coverage are basically playing a special and critical role in providing information and making people aware of daily events especially during social and political conflicts. It is arguable that; most international new media outlets are used both as a tool for transmission of communications (from one place to another), and also as a news source that confirms the validity of certain ideology. Hence, these new media technologies and online journalism have made the whole world as one small village while covering most significant daily news that are circulated faster and farther than before. And that is especially after the appearance of what was called “citizen journalism” that is characterized by deploying mainly news blogging. The next part focuses more to clarify the notion of digital journalism, its main features and social impact.

1. Digital Journalism

Hence it is the age of technology and digital media, major international foreign news entities appreciate the value of these recent extended online platforms offering digital news and journalism. According to Allam (2018), although the profit from digital platforms does not currently exceed 15-20 percent of the total revenue, figures of digital penetration and usage indicate an ultimate change in the future. Interestingly, with the rapid advent of new technology, print media organizations have had to develop and embrace the digital news channels and online journalism. Recently, most prominent press organizations now offer online subscriptions to their papers, as well as paper subscription, in order to reach the most increasing number of people whom could read news online. Digital journalism could examine much of the vital socio political issues because of their daily publishing wide, albeit declining, circulation which allows them to disseminate relatively timely news information to millions of people each day. In fact, Alejandro (2010) defined news outlets in general as any organization that gathers, writes, broadcasts, and distributes news reports and that are obtained directly from the source or scene. Importantly, news outlets can be divided to three types: broadcast, print, and new media. Broadcast media consist of radio and television, while print media consist of newspapers and magazines. But new media consist of online newspapers, news blogs, news apps, etc.

Digital journalism and online newspapers are particularly known to lead the initiation of covering the daily news events and the most important political issues. Hence, it exerts great efforts in reframing its incidents and directly exposes them to their readers. Moreover, digital journalism is always regarded as basic key component dominating most studies in modern mass media researches. Especially that journalism coverage can have a positive or negative impact on the image of any significant political event or a current social movement. Hence, most important news topics always remain on the journalistic agenda for a continuing period, where journalists and reporters write additional news articles covering the same issue. In other words, “Internet is driving convergence in the news media with daily unique users

accessing news products across converged media platform”, as asserted by Gary Graham in his book “Content is King: News Media Management in the Digital Age”. (Graham, 2015)

Thus, to put it more pointedly digital journalism is working on facilitating the access to news windows to get more information from various social members as; policy makers, managers and citizens alike. And with much more updated news to be gathered and distributed for public audiences everywhere in the world. Especially that, foreign news sources regarding new media as digital journalism channels are considered as the most common and trusty sources of information for the majority of mass population. Hence, they depend on it to gain vital knowledge for their everyday lives, as information about the weather forecasts, traffic news, price news, upcoming events and vacant jobs. According to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) indicators (2018), there are 99.82 million mobile subscriptions, which mean that mobile internet access counts for 110.37 percent. Correspondingly, many studies focused on the impact of digital media on protesters decisions based on the concept that media influence attitudes as being biased to one party rather than the other.

However, through all these contemporary social movements as the Arab Spring Uprisings, Kim and Lim (2020) declared that, “in the face of brutal regimes ready to squelch any sign of dissent, ICTs can provide an efficient and safe outlet for potential participants to mobilize themselves”. (p.4) Major differences in audience’s preferences to search and share online news content are based on the news values related to their country or origin. In this regard, many scholars commented that, “Affective news streams” based on new media outlets and digital journalism, work on composing news, opinions and emotions that are spread through the web. In this sense, tracking significant political news represented through the various digital news channels makes it possible to identify easily the various contradicted journalistic ideologies, and political directions of news organizations. Hence, new media coverage and digital press mainly reveals the state of various societies whether they are constant or in a state of change. Moreover, online newspapers also present an available journalistic forum for many types and styles of news, features, editorials, comment, and letters to the editor, comment, advertisements and cartoons and all in the same publication. In fact, when reading online newspapers, the reading tends to be multimedial, and intertextual (Erdal, 2009), where it is mainly based on network of links. Thus, it is crucial to investigate closely the main features and the significance of online newspapers as stemmed from new digital media and online journalism hence it is the subject under examination through the current study.

2. Online Newspapers

Online newspapers through developing these recent new technological devices with online platforms are ultimately providing multi extended communication channels for the public audiences everywhere in the world. During unstable political conditions or social movements, they facilitate protest participation by transmitting most updated information they need through these easily accessible news channels. Online newspapers are characterized by providing news assurance to public participants while helping them forming this sense of solidarity. Moreover, this varied news published through online newspapers as foreign news is presented at several levels of details. Its design achieves a balance between a focus on the minimalist data chunk and a view into the store beyond as it follows that content which is layered. Online newspapers with its news styles seems to be in a state of flux, as it clings to the traditional news article genre on one hand and the hypertext experiments on the other.

It is arguable that online newspapers styles and digital news genres are mainly evolving in response to both new technological constraints and changing audiences as basic consumers. In fact, there are several features of electronic communication that are particularly relevant to news disseminations in

online journalism. Correspondingly, Molnar (2017) through his study proposed that there are three basic features dominating online newspapers; first, a single coding mechanism integrates writing, sound, image and video. Second, an unlimited amount of diverse information objects that can be accumulated in a single textual space, as electronic transmission favors bite sized chunks of information in unbounded quantity. Third, the new means of communication results in different patterns of interaction especially among the various changing sets of users. However, such recent new public media shift to the online newspapers and digital journalism created a highly competitive news market in international news media coverage and international journalism.

Major news media organizations have recognized the value of the internet and started to establish their news outlets online through online journalism. Although, on the same line most prominent news media researchers and profound journalists ultimately propose that; “Electronic newspapers are so far no serious competition to print papers” both are important, each of them are having its popularity and especial demanding audience. (Krunsvik, A.H., 2006, p.282) Such recent change of media networking technology, especially over the past two decades helped the flourishing of online newspapers between the various news consumers and social communities. It is crucial to point out that initially news has been online since the 1970s. The first official newspaper service that is on America Online was then launched by Chicago Tribune exactly in May (1992). And, not until (1995) was the first online newspaper as a concept of today developed, and was featuring among the others of CNN as a prominent global news engine. However, six years later, specifically in April (2001), the American trade journal Editor & Publisher Interactive has registered within its formal databases 12,878 of news media online. (Rasmussen, 2002, p.33)

In the meantime, digital new media and Internet press has changed the way individuals access the information and the way they use it. International prominent news organizations are trying to find new ways to attract the public interests and become better than their competitors in order to keep their existence and survive. However, major news media organizations realized that by the end of 1990s most of the prominent newspapers would ultimately publish their online copies or newspapers’ replicas, although the first online newspaper appeared in (1980). In fact, the first newspaper to go online was The Columbus Dispatch that was part of the CompuServe and Associated Press experiment about the potential of online newspapers. Hence, this online newspaper worked with the help of dial-up service, which played an early role in the development of online communications and it displayed only texts. Thus, it is crucial to assert that recently most prominent international newspapers are regarded to be followed by their online counter parts versions that were called the replicas. Peng, Tham and Xiaoming (1999) commented that, all newspapers in Western developed countries have their online editions as depending on online journalism.

Online newspapers are mainly characterized by some significant features, as being mostly popular hence they are still free of charge, while offering many updated news and various types of information along the whole day. They are also known to be user friendly and easily accessible for everyone with an Internet connection hence they can be used while working at one’s PC anyway, and anytime. In this regard Martin A. Nisenholtz, the president of *The New York Times* Electronic Media Company commented on the online press popular usage, he declared that: “To the extent that readers choose to use the Internet to get their news. We need to become that choice to be the greatest ‘newspaper’ in the cyberspace world.” (Dunlap, 2017) Especially that recently, many of international elite newspapers organizations have started to publish online newspapers versions of their newspapers (replicas).

However, online newspapers differ also to some extent from any other type of new media form because they allow its readers and viewers to become more actively involved in the text rather than being just passive observers. The existence of internal hyperlinks, that connect a given article to other content within the newspaper's own website, with such probability and flexibility of usage represent the most interesting advantage through many online news that always attracts its audience. And this especial trend was termed contextual journalism in the field of news journalism, which is potentially an important evolution in recent digital news media reporting.

The Internet and the digital new media technology are the latest to challenge traditional news delivery channels hence it is more efficient and less expensive than print media, when it comes to both volume of texts and the saturation of visual content it can provide. Thus, online newspapers can be defined as the online electronic editions of daily newspapers, but not branch specific or other papers. This makes online journalism the most appropriate news media medium with greater multi-modal potential than any other. Another feature typical of the genre of online newspapers lies in the presence of an additional textual level to the news story, which is the front page news preview. As this news preview as a basic feature of online newspapers usually consists of a headline and a lead, which takes the reader by way of a hyperlink to the news story page with a full news story. (Molnar, 2017, p.31) Moreover, online journalism also allows visuals to be applied more efficiently, at less cost and in greater amounts than ever before. It is crucial to clarify that internet media is mainly characterized by allowing more visuals and images to develop through its news pages. In this regard, this interactive nature of online newspapers is mainly regarded as a basic positive characteristic of new media technologies.

Comparing the usefulness of online newspapers for specific areas of information with printed newspapers and other news sources of information channels, ultimately online newspapers cannot compete with printed newspapers or television. Both are considered more suitable for all kinds of information. However, online news press was the only medium that saw public appeal year-over-year; from radio to television to printed newspapers and magazines, as all these other news media mediums registered a noticed decline in attracting more audiences. (O'Dell, 2017) In the same line, based on aforementioned statistics reports, it proposed that online news already excelled print media at consumption. Hence, many updated researches proved that even TV, as the most massive media channel, took second place to the online news media in terms of attracting more public audience and followers. (Pew Research Centre, 2017) Ultimately, that is because the Internet offers users more broad freedom of choice between the various updated news offered to them in comparison with television as some researches from (We Are Social) declared that: "It is clear that digital and social media should be a central part of every news media toolkit". (We Are Social, 2017) Moreover, online newspapers in general do not seem to diminish other traditional news media outlets hence, they are not capable of substituting a whole range of information proposed by printed newspapers or television.

After exposing all these significant features of online newspapers, it is crucial to conclude that, online journalism will not entirely replace printed newspapers or other traditional news forms hence it is mainly regarded as a growing significant part of prominent news media systems production and dissemination. Thus, it is ultimately redefining older news structures and conventionalized features, as directly changing the way we receive and infer news. However, online newspapers are as important as printed newspapers and other news media channels, but can better be described as more updated news complementary. Printed newspapers or its online replicas both are regarded as an essential part of our daily life, as they are having powerful social impact on directing the public perception especially in times of political conflicts and social movements. Thus, to get a clearer view it is significant through the next

part to shed the lights on elite Egyptian and American newspapers hence they are concerned in this study to be examined and compared through their news coverage for the 25th Jan. events.

VI. Brief Overview on Egyptian & American Newspapers

During many current unstable social and political conditions for elite nations around the world, each country develops its own news media system and supports its published vested foreign news. This mainly corresponds while framing most significant international political events and conflicts. However, recently most elite news media systems and major newspapers organizations are dominated by certain constrains as based on their reporting methods, organizational routines, organizational culture, national interest and many other factors. Badr (2019) commented that, “the Egyptian print media show three forms of ownership: state-managed print media, party owned media and privately-owned print media”. Hence, the purpose of this study is to examine the journalistic objectivity and the news framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) through different elite newspapers. For this, it is crucial to represent a general review about these four Egyptian and American newspapers: the local Egyptian newspapers Al Ahram online and Al Masry Al Youm compared to foreign American newspapers the New York Times and the Washington Post. Hence, they are representing different news media categories. As they belong to two contradicted news media systems of two different countries Egypt and the U.S. This part explores different Egyptian and American newspapers orientations and their main characteristics that identify their journalistic stance.

The study works on examining and comparing the way each portrayed the same 25th Jan. events using various news frames. Also, it chooses to deal with the online versions (replicas) of these four newspapers under investigation hence it is the age of digital media and the public mostly usage. Because such recent evolution of new media channels and the increasing access to the Internet by the audiences every day, completely changed the way people prefer to consume foreign news stories and updated events. In this regard, Allam (2018) asserted that the percentage of reach and degree of online interactivity in Egyptian societies varies between public and private media, as it is estimated that 85 percent of the website visitors come from smart phone. Thus, it is crucial to explore the framing of the Egyptian social movement (2011) in prominent international American press as representing foreign media coverage for developing countries like Egypt.

Recently, all prominent printed newspapers have online editions distributed over the Internet which, depend on the country’s politics and governing system that may be regulated and controlled by major journalism criterions. Thus, the study focuses on the electronic copies (replicas) of these elite official Egyptian and American newspapers in covering the incidents of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. As based on the notion that; for analyzing social movements or political news coverage; official sources are always the most preferred sources. It is crucial to point out that most Egyptian news organizations at that time during Mubarak’s era realized the great significance and need for online platforms that offer timely news, which ultimately urged new restructuring for their business models. Thus, recently most prominent Egyptian newspapers have a print and a digital version which is called (replica). In this regard, Allam (2018) commented that, evidently in Egypt the private media have more presence on the digital platform than the public media. And that is because of the more developed infrastructure that helps attracting a wider range of visitors, and high levels of educated audiences’ engagement and following up.

This research focuses on these four Egyptian and American online newspapers: Al Ahram , Al Masry Al Youm, The New York Times, and The Washington Post. Hence, their choices ensure the adequate analysis of a wide range of news covering the 25th Jan. events, representing various news media

categories for such comparative study. And to establish a balance between their different countries' social and intellectual orientations and their published media purposes. Specifically, Al Ahram and Al Masry Al Youm newspapers are chosen because both are considered to be the most prominent local Egyptian newspapers published during the incidents of the 25th Jan. events in (2011). According to Allam (2018), "Egypt is the third largest media market after Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)". (p.2) Moreover, they are representing two different Egyptian news media categories; the official governmental Al Ahram and the private independent Al Masry Al Youm, both are known as top-quality daily papers in Egypt due to its popularity and effectiveness while covering various national social and political issues.

Moreover, recently the Egyptian media landscape and national news sources are interestingly offering varied perspectives, based on their various affiliations with the government, political parties, and news sources within the Egyptian media system. Issawi (2018) commented that "Since independence from the United Kingdom in (1952), Egypt's media has been largely state-owned". (p.18) In fact, these few years before the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, the Egyptian national media have witnessed so many political and ideological changes through its news coverage landscape. These transformations within the Egyptian media system that happened during the last years of Mubarak's era are normal results of many changes in contemporary new media constructions and journalistic novelties. Such as globalization, emergence of new media channels, dominance over media ownership systems and changes in the political and social hemispheres.

In fact, Egypt is profoundly known as pioneer of major media industries where media beginnings regarded among oldest media in the Arab region. (Badr, 2019) However, during Mubarak's era, the media freedom was obviously flourished to some extent in comparison to the times of the previous presidents of Egypt; Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar El-Sadat. Mubarak has stressed the idea of citizen liberalism and free press during his era that he gave more space for the journalists and allowed all writers and newspapers that were banned during Sadat's era to proceed again. Although for many decades, mass media and journalism in Egypt was governmentally controlled and restricted under specific tight laws. ElMasry (2011) at his research commented that: "Producing News in Mubarak's Egypt" Mubarak's regime utilized various processes to impose limitations to press freedom in general. These methods include: the law of shame, the emergency law, the regime's official rights on approving/discarding publishing permits as well as the press law of (1996) that suggests taking actions against reporters of "false news". The national media and state-owned newspapers in Egypt were directed and developed for the mission of promulgating the government news and the regime's messages, while enhancing its images and asserting its leadership in the Arab world.

In this regard, Badr (2019) postulated that, "Egypt's media system was affected by many times of conflict, fragmentation and political parallelism". (p.68) since then, the exceeding propagandistic journalistic purposes and the news media politics of parallelism are never hidden. During Mubarak's era, the Egyptian newspapers were divided into three main types; governmentally owned, privately owned and government opposing newspapers. In fact, the most widely spread daily newspaper in terms of readership and circulation until the year (2010) was Al Ahram newspaper. That, Al Ahram newspaper basically categorized as a semiofficial newspaper that is controlled by the government and tends usually to report favorable news about the previous regime only, while burring others that are anti-regime. All other media outlets under the former Mubarak's regime were under government control and law restrictions, especially when it comes to writing and reporting any news stories that are against the government or its policies. Most privately owned news organizations and opposing media in many times were trying to escape those restrictions through publishing true reporting of events without being influenced by the government.

However, they cannot be counted as objectively reporting news, as they have to follow the beliefs of the publisher and the editor of the newspaper, whom are having the upper hand and the ultimate control over all what is being printed in his medium. Today, in Egypt the most popular privately owned daily newspapers according to recent figures of reach and readership are Al Masry Al Youm and Al Shorouk newspapers.

On the other side, it is significant also to provide a brief background about the international elite American newspapers represented by the New York Times and the Washington Post. In fact, they are chosen for the study due to their high circulation numbers and their big amounts of international news coverage and publishing. Moreover, they are chosen because of their great influence and updated news specifically devoted to the international foreign affairs as the Middle East issues. They are known by their wide popularity mainly because of their easily user friendly accessibility to their online pages and archives. However, in terms of their political and ideological leanings, these publications of the New York Times are generally known to have more liberal stance, compared to the covert political orientations of The Washington Post that is harder to reveal clear liberal or conservative label.

To sum up, elite Egyptian and American newspapers their primary goal in covering the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was to establish a specific point of view as the appropriate frame for the issue. And that was through focusing on certain aspects of the issue and ignoring others, affected by their different ideological backgrounds and news sources. However, street demonstrations of the Egyptian 25th Jan events in (2011) were framed contrastively through these various elite newspapers. News media and online newspapers all over the world portrayed this issue through different frames especially in the Egyptian and American press. And this reflects severe journalistic biases and clear lacking of news objectivity, as Van Gorp (2009) stated that; each frame offers a different view point, which can help in understanding complicated conflict issues. These variations in elite newspapers coverage of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events lead people to feel confused which news source to trust as true transparent ground for the story. The next part is specially concerned by representing a closer review about the four Egyptian and American newspapers that are chosen for the study. It is comparing the local governmental Egyptian newspapers to the privately owned independent newspapers and the Foreign American newspapers. Hence, they are representing three different news media categories to get a clearer picture about international journalistic coverage for the 25th Jan. events.

1. Al Ahram Newspaper (Online)

Interestingly, Egyptian printed media is exceeding than 200 years old. Hence Badr (2019) commented that; “since declaring the Egyptian Republic in (1952), all private media were nationalized and transformed into state-run institutions”. (p.73) In fact, Al Ahram newspaper is considered as the first official governmental daily newspaper that was initially founded by Selim and Bishara Tikla on 27th December (1875). Al Ahram newspaper is always known as the most popular Egyptian newspaper, where it achieves the largest circulation figures within Egypt. Its first edition was issued on 5th August (1876) in Alexandria. However, on 24th May (1960), the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser passed a law for transferring the ownership of the private newspapers, including Al Ahram, to the National Union which was the only political organization in Egypt at that time. That, the ownerships of all published newspapers during this era 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 most national newspapers including Al Ahram to the Egyptian state.

Recently, during Mubarak's era although most of the state owned media organizations and press as Al Ahram newspaper were over controlled by the government, it is significant to clarify that its prominent editors are chosen and assigned by the Egyptian Shura Council. In this sense, Al Ahram is significantly regarded as the most important official and state owned newspaper hence it is supported by both the government and by being the hot spot for the advertisement. Allam (2018) commented that, in Egypt, most prominent news media organizations depend mainly on advertisements as a profound source of revenue. And most elite national newspapers like Al Ahram have additional sources, such as government subsidy and the subscription of other newspapers (80 percent) on Al Ahram on print and distribution services.

Moreover, Al Ahram is ultimately represents a powerful Egyptian news media organization that produces several types of publications in different languages. It has a large special publishing house, where the majority of media publications are printed. Thus, it is crucial to point out that Al Ahram is always known for its generous journalistic offering of such broad spectrum for various areas of opinions and negotiations especially through its daily editions and commentary pages. That most of the intellectual and prominent Egyptian writers are always keen to be part of this governmental media organization. Most of elite contemporary Egyptian writers are used to take Al Ahram as their special platform to express their views openly, although this has been changed recently by time especially after the emergence of some new privately owned newspapers during Mubarak's era. However, by the appearance of these private owned news organizations, many significant writers left Al Ahram to work in those newly established private newspapers, seeking better offers and wider ranges of freedom for their writings.

Interestingly, Egyptian media was affected by many unstable times of conflicts, fragmentations and political parallelism. (Badr, 2019) And, since long the Egyptian government has the major control over the mass media in general, more specifically on journalism and the licensing of newspapers. No newspaper is allowed to get published without an official governmental license. As, Talaat Pasha (2011) declared that: "Egyptian media, including Al Ahram, falls under the authoritarian type, where the ruling regime and the elites monopolize media outlets. The authoritarian type indicates that journalism is subservient to the interests of the state in maintaining social order and achieving political goals. Saying that Al Ahram is under the authoritarian type implies it avoids criticism to the President, the government policies or officials, and it censors publishing any material that challenges the established order." (Pasha, 2011) In addition, Al Ahram's policy for covering significant issues was allowed only for critical opinion pieces but not for news that criticizes the government or the status cue. And the only exceptions for this general rule were the great events that were widely known and spread amongst the Egyptians and covered virtually by all news outlets, where the competition at that time was the only element that was forcing Al Ahram to cover the events.

However, Al Ahram newspaper in covering the incidents of the Egyptian 25th Jan. (2011), through these incidents many reporters working for it reported that they were pushed for making heavy propaganda to support the former regime and president Mubarak. And during the Egyptian 25th Jan. protests, most of the local official Egyptian press and mainly Al Ahram were not allowed mentioning neither anti-president chants nor slogans. In fact, profoundly through most official Egyptian journalism, state owned media, and governmental newspapers; not only Mubarak was a non-touched issue, but also all the political leaders and particularly the ministers were handled with much more care in their representations through the various news media outlets.

2. Al Masry Al Youm Newspaper (Online)

Steering the discussion to Al Masry Al Youm newspaper, in fact it is also known by (Egypt Independent) today. This recent daily newspaper was founded in the late (2002), as it was first published in June (2004). Initially, private independent newspapers were introduced into the Egyptian press market in (2004) through Al Masry Al Youm newspaper. According to Allam (2018), it has been able to compete with Al Ahram newspaper in a very short time to get almost similar circulation rates. And that is due to its especial news agenda which enjoys more space of freedom hence it was completely different from the protocol news format of other elite national newspapers. Currently, Al Masry Al Youm newspaper is regarded as one of the main dominating popular privately-owned daily newspapers in the Egyptian press market. Hence, recently in Egypt, the most prominent existing three private newspapers in the local press market are Al Masry Al Youm (2004), Al Youm7 (2008), Al Watan (2012). That, Al Masry Al Youm newspaper since it began it was always trying to file transparent objective news coverage. And after only two years of its first edition's launch, this privately-owned daily newspaper Al Masry Al Youm represented a great threat to Al Ahram newspaper. This is because of its instant occupying the status of being the most popular local newspaper within the Egyptian societies and known by representing significant elite national papers of record.

Remarkably, Al Masry Al Youm newspaper was the first private newspaper to operate under a license in Egypt during Mubarak's era. As Badr (2019) commented that, "Egyptian journalism was caught within a restrictive political reality so that journalists saw it as their duty to drive political change, demand political reforms, fight for the poor". (p.71) In fact, as a significant independent newspaper it usually employs a mix of journalists and freelance writers, ranging from state media and press writers to activists. These different writers are characterized by representing an exceptional merge of contradictory political and ideological beliefs and mindsets. However, it is crucial also to point out that Al Masry Al Youm was first published in Arabic editions while currently it has both Arabic and English news portals. In this sense, it also represents a multi-service multimedia news organization, distinguished by its special schematic structure for texts representation. Importantly, it deals only with published texts and articles to deliver its messages and journalistic views objectively.

According to a content analyses study done by Cooper on (2008) on Egyptian newspapers, he proposed that throughout a period of two and a half years, the emergence of independent papers brought on some significant changes within the Egyptian news media system. His study focused on the journalistic news coverage variations among the governmental and the independent Egyptian newspapers. And he identified how Al Masry Al Youm newspaper was more likely to feature stories related to domestic politics, human rights and corruption, along with being less likely to depend on quoting governmental officials unlike Al Ahram newspaper.

According to Issawi (2018), "Egyptian media is heavily controlled by a variety of legal provisions that prevent Egyptian journalists from operating freely". (p.21) However, Al Masry Al Youm as the first prominent independent newspaper is ultimately known for providing a glimpse of unbiased journalism in comparison to many other partisan newspapers and state owned media. Moreover, during the last period in Mubarak's era, unlike most of the official state owned press and media's propensity toward varnishing the government and the regime, it was very clear that Al Masry Al Youm through its coverage for most updated events was for many times reliant on criticizing the government and elite political figures. In this regard, Al Masry Al Youm as a very especial independent newspaper is known by its free reporting and objective coverage. Badr (2019) commented that, "private media institutions have a history of tolerating margins of freedoms and are run as purely profit-oriented business models". (p.74) Thus, it is

identified by giving a wider platform to many political opposition voices for expressing their views in comparison to Al Ahram and other state owned press and official news media.

Although Al Masry Al Youm is owned by a team of some wealthy business tycoons, several reporters and elite editors whom declared that there are limits to what the newspaper may write. (Ibrahim, 2012, p.14) Topics like protests, workers movements, and opposition parties' activities are mostly mentioned in private media but not discussed with the same details in state owned media. Correspondingly, Allam (2018) added, "the political unrest in (2011) followed by the economic recession and the Central Bank decision of floatation of the Egyptian pound have dramatically affected the printing and circulation rates of the national and private newspapers". (p.5) Beyond all these governmental constraints over journalism in Egypt, and these strict imposed 'red lines' as detailed above, many journalists working at Al Masry Al Youm declared that they felt mostly free in their reporting. Hence, one of the most influential additional constraints that affect Egyptian news coverage is the newspaper's ownership.

3. The New York Times Newspaper (Online)

With its great journalistic worldwide influence and exceeding public readership, the New York Times newspaper is considered as the first elite American paper based in New York City. Initially, the New York Times was founded in (1851). This paper remarkably won (127) Pulitzer Prizes, which is more than any other international newspaper. In fact, it is the third largest circulated newspaper in the United States, according to a report compiled by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (2011). And as being one of the leading international news organizations and the American news media, it helps set the global and the national news media agendas. In this regard, the New York Times is selected for this study because it is identified to be a apart from its professional international news coverage. Hence, it is characterized by having in-depth analysis and professional reporting especially in covering foreign political and social issues which is very relevant for the purpose of this study. Also, as elite American daily newspaper, the New York Times offers the most up-to-date news that help readers everywhere to track the latest developments in the world's most significant political issues and conflict. It is crucial to clarify that this paper is one of few mainstream media organizations in the United States that consistently has been reporting news on foreign political affairs. Such as these contemporary extended social movements and political conflicts within the Middle East area as many other regions around the world since long time ago. Further, the New York Times is widely distributed around the world and has a tradition of excellence in foreign news coverage as for the Middle East region with its continual unstable political conditions.

The New York Times is a very popular American daily newspaper in New York City that has extended wide international distribution. It is well known for its considerable influence and great credibility in the United States news media system and internationally. Hence, it is one of the oldest continuously published newspapers where it lies at the top of the most elite tier of newspapers. Moreover, the New York Times has a great reputation and publicity through the international media coverage and journalism more than any other American newspaper. Thus, it won many significant international prizes for its achievements in journalism in a large range of categories. In fact, the New York Times is always regarded as a dominant news indicator where it has great impact on other national and international news sources and newspapers. In other words, its political and ideological directions through its news coverage for various significant international critical issues always dominates and shapes most international news coverage and journalism. As McCombs (2005) argued that, the New York Times often sets the agenda for other newspapers' content, which is a critical phenomenon known as inter-media agenda setting.

Interestingly, the New York Times is the third in the national American press circulation, after USA Today and The Wall Street Journal. However, it is also the most widely read digital newspaper, with millions online subscribers, where it is profoundly known for its liberal slant that formerly targets audiences mostly drawn from upper economic levels.

In this regard, the reason behind choosing the New York Times newspaper to be analyzed through the current study was mainly because it is known for its boldly sticking to fair journalistic norms. Hence, it is generally considered to be a standard bearer of the American journalism, with a nexus to American foreign policies. And, this was perfectly clear through its news coverage of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011), that it was more inclined to consolidate the Egyptian demonstrations and the angry protestors objectively than other alternative news media outlets. And this was obviously one of the main causes that triggered the quick success of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events of getting rid of Mubarak and his former regime. Even though, the Egyptian President Mubarak was a profound ally to the U.S. administration since long, many scholars argued that the American news coverage of the Egyptian crisis (2011) as compared to other countries depends on the U.S. government's foreign policy toward this foreign government.

Evidently, the New York Times' coverage openly showed a great consolidation to the Egyptian 25th Jan. demonstrations (2011) from its very beginning which dragged most elite international media channels and newspapers to follow its political path in supporting the Egyptian revolution. As asserting that, if the American administration and its news media entities attack a foreign government or its policy like the case in the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, the whole world mass media sources would follow the same track. While in contrast, if the American administration support this foreign government, its social movements against it may not even be highlighted through the international media coverage and press.

4. The Washington Post Newspaper (Online)

Interestingly, the Washington Post is a famous American award winning press leader. Its first mission is simply to connect and inform all the national, local and global news audiences and readers with accurate trustworthy updated news reporting as stimulating public opinions. In fact, the Washington Post as a special international paper combines both the world news journalism with the public use of the latest technology, as based on various journalistic tools that helps readers to interact with the published news. The Washington Post known also by its skillful handling of various complex publishers and audiences needs everywhere in the world and especially by the Arc Publishing. Hence, it is supported by the company's awards winning and the state of art as its basic digital platform and many other developed technical tools. Initially, the Washington Post newspaper was founded in (1877) and considered to be the most widely circulated newspaper published in Washington, D.C. This American newspaper is owned by the Washington Post Company, which is mainly an educational media Company that owns many other media businesses rather than the Washington Post. According to Venkataraman & Campbell (2018), "The Washington Post has also been an industry leader in embracing new technologies that help tell stories in new ways and across new formats". (p.3)

Moreover, the Washington Post as a profound winner for 65 Pulitzer Prizes, it is responsible for covering many crucial moments for the American investigative news and journalism. In this sense, the Washington Post is defined also by its clear dedication for the transparent news and exceptional reporting. In recent years, it is obviously identified by its skillful combination between rigorous reporting through using these recent digital innovations while shaping the future of professional journalism. Many mass media researches and journalism critics ultimately classified the Washington Post as the first American

liberal newspaper with some covert Left-leaning political directions. In fact, it never made any clear endorsements for political candidates, although by (2000) it showed some consolidations toward Republican politicians. (The Washington Post, 2006) Interestingly, the reason behind choosing the Washington Post newspaper for this study lies in that it mostly shows apparent political inclinations toward supporting President Obama, (The Haffington Post, 2008) mainly supporting his political directions whom was the president of the U.S. during the incidents of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011).

However, taking into account that the Egyptian President Mubarak whom was a profound ally to the U.S. administrations during all his ruling years, boldly most of the American news outlets such as the Washington Post through their coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events they did not support him against the public demonstrations seeking his resignation. And this was a great political hit to Mubarak and his regime that caused his quick down fall in (2011). In fact, the Washington Post's coverage for most foreign political issues always takes the liberal direction, such as in covering the Egyptian revolution (2011). Hence, it showed a clear propensity toward overlooking or demonizing Egypt's protests against the former regime. Thus, it is crucial through the current study to choose the Washington Post newspaper for representing the foreign American press along side with the New York Times newspaper to insure foreign journalistic coverage variation.

After exploring the general backgrounds and the main features of these four chosen elite Egyptian and American newspapers, it is obvious that these contrasted newspapers in question are having different orientations, ideological backgrounds, agendas and political affiliations. However, they are chosen because they are papers of record in their countries and also widely read internationally, so their frames have strong influence on the social and political reported news. In this regard, the press analysis through this research is based mainly on the premise that news media outlets can influence the public interpretation of different issues regarding various ideological, social, and political factors. As Heikka (2017) commented that, news media research helped break geographic, political and stylistic borders and by pass censorship.

Thus, the aim behind choosing these four elite newspapers not only rests on the fact that the comparison between the Egyptian local newspapers and the international American newspapers. But also because of their high popularity in their countries which may indicate their powerful impact on the readers whom consider them as trusty news sources to understand many complicated political conflict, as the 25th Jan. events. Thus, it is crucial through the next part to investigate closer the Egyptian and American news media systems and to examine the foreign media coverage for the 25th Jan. events as compared to the Egyptian media coverage.

VII Egyptian and American News Media Systems

Over the past few years, international media systems of major countries have developed its existence as in Egypt and the U.S., hence they provide a basic significant communication channel that links between the governments and the public. In fact, the news media system for any country is profoundly known as one of the four pillars of its modern democratic society. In this regard, these news media systems ultimately provide the check up and balance for the other three pillars of any modern democratic society namely, the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. Hence, it serves as the public's representative and acts as a watchdog. (Francke, 1995) Interestingly, both Egyptian and American news media systems and journalism are always seen as the profound bridge that links between those elite people in power and those democratically elected officials representing the governments with the majority

of simple public citizens. Although the members of major news media organizations are neither elected nor selected, they hold significant power over the governments' political systems and keep in checking these ruling administrations in power. Accordingly, it is crucial to admit that through international news media coverage and online press, the public learns updated news and forms opinions about actions its government takes. And the government also in turn figures out what the public thinks of its plans and actions. In addition, these dominant news media systems in various countries around the world play a crucial role to ensure that the public is aware of what is happening around them locally and internationally as well.

In fact, Egypt and the U.S. hold different political, cultural and intellectual backgrounds added to many contradicted ideological points of views. They have completely different news media systems and this was clearly reflected through their media coverage for most recent political and social conflicts especially in the Middle East region and Egypt. After a long history of supporting Mubarak, the U.S. clearly voiced its strong support for an orderly transition in Egypt, ('US calls for "orderly transition"', 2011). During the incidents of the 25th Jan. events (2011), most elite American newspapers took boldly the Egyptian demonstrations side while at the same time most of the Egyptian governmental newspapers started delegitimizing and fighting it. However, the U.S. news media may have covertly accentuated the importance of press and online news as a leading condition in these events compared to other news sources. In this regard, it is very obvious that these elite Egyptian and American media and online newspapers in framing the Egyptian 25th Jan. events were contrasted based on their political affiliations with the Egyptian government, ideological backgrounds, political interests, and private news sources. Such clear news coverage diversity guides the study to focus on how the portrayal of the 25th Jan events differs greatly from one news media system to another affected by news media ownership and news sources used in both local and international press.

It is very obvious that there are many differences between Egypt and the United States in many areas especially their news media systems. Hence, international news organizations and press always operate under specific social and political variables affected by the countries' cultural, ideological and strategic backgrounds. Evidently, the United States has several components that control its social, political, and economic stances, and mainly through its news media system and press coverage, (Joseph, 2017) However, it is crucial to clarify that America and the American news media system became a prominent world power in the 1880s and a Superpower in (1898) (Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, n.d.), when America declared its political dominance and concerned itself mainly for helping, controlling, and maintaining the balance of power between the various nations. Moreover, it declared its profound role for leading and directing the international news media coverage.

Initially, Fred, Peterson and Wilbur Schramm (1956) distinguished four press models or news media theories. They are Authoritarian, Libertarian Communist and Social responsibility. In a way, the U.S media operate under the assumption of media independence and freedom hence they are largely considered as following the social responsibility model. Under this model, news objectivity is a journalistic standard that is highly respected and valued, as it is expected that news coverage give voice to all stakeholders in an issue or problem without taking sides, as avoiding any journalistic bias. Especially that in news media coverage and journalism, objectivity comes into play in information collection, processing and dissemination hence it is always linked by freedom and equality, (McQuail, 2010, p.203) which is unfortunately hard to fit with the Egyptian news media system. According to Badr (2019), "The Egyptian media system shows a stark paradox" (p.11), it is obvious that the Libertarian theory no longer applies to it completely. And unlike the American press where ownership by personal traded agencies had

been rapidly increasing over the last decades until reaching higher levels of much private ownership flourishing recently. While in the Middle East, news media systems and especially in Egypt including various official and independent news media ownership do not having the enough freedom and space through its journalistic coverage.

By reviewing the profound features of the Egyptian news media system, it is crucial to point out that there are three basic elements that affected the performance of the country's news media system. According to Badr (2019), these are the geo political conditions that motivated the early contact with the colonial French expedition as dragged printed press technologies, these many restrictive political roles for all subsequent rulers Egyptians or foreigners for controlling and shaping various media outlets, and Egypt's recent evolution of these global new media communication technologies. The Egyptian news media system in particular has both national official governmental newspapers and private independent newspapers. In fact, recently these independent media agencies and private ownership of major newspapers continue to flourish, and they are represented by *Al Ahram* and *Al Masry Al Youm* newspapers representing two different news media categories. Hence, during Mubarak's era there are limited critical voices in the mainstream media. (Allam, 2018) Khamis (2011) in his study described most of the Egyptian newspapers published during Mubarak's regime as pluralist, especially with the recent emergence of several opposition newspapers in Egypt along with other semiofficial dailies. Hence, these last years of Mubarak's era before the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, the Egyptian press has passed through a great liberal transformation and journalistic values clear change. That is from the complete dominance of state ownership and total governmental control, toward a remarkable inclusion of private ownership and individual or party control.

In Egypt, news media and journalism are always seen as important vehicles for building national sovereignty, solidarity, and stability. Although Egypt is regarded as a developing country, it is throughout history has lead the Arab countries in the field of mass media by influencing the development of broadcast, press and social media. (Papp, & Alberts, 1997) Recently, the government control was still manifesting in the form of censorship, media regulations, economic subsidies, and governmental media ownership, especially over broadcast media and most of the national daily newspapers. According to Badr (2019) criticizing the Egyptian media system, she asserted that; "Despite its long history and pioneering position in the Arab media landscape, under the current authoritarian trends today the media system has extremely blocked potentials for the possibility of independent media and journalism". (p15) While Rasha Allam (2018) commented that, the Egyptian media system can be classified as an authoritarian model and completely contradicted with American model that as following the social responsibility model. Hence, prominent national newspapers depend on government subsidy and advertisements as funding mechanisms, that the government owns controlling stocks in the three main daily national newspapers in Egypt *Al Ahram*, *Al Akhbar* and *Al Gomhuriya*. Correspondingly, the Egyptian regime still counts on the government print media as a tool for public mobilization of popular support for its political programs and for delivering the official line for creating a favorable public opinion.

Remarkably, the foreign media coverage for the 25th Jan. events was completely contradicted with the local Egyptian media coverage for the same period and events. And that is mainly because of the great clear differences between the two news media systems the Egyptian and the American despite their profound social and political relations since long. Historically, Egypt as an ancient country was such a very important ally and a significant strategic country for the U.S. national security interest, which was basically affected by its geography, demography, diplomatic relations and strategic position. In fact, for many years the United States provided Egypt much significant military and economic aids and financial

supports from the late of 1970s. These continuous economic consolidations from the U.S. Administrations have profoundly justified its aids to Egypt as a significant investment for insuring the regional stability. Moreover, that was built mainly for long-running dual cooperation with the Egyptian military forces and for sustaining also the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty (1979). However, during the last years during Mubarak's ruling era many U.S. leaders have continuously expressing their political concerns about Egypt's autocratic governance and the human rights investigations in Egypt, despite their political differences over issues mainly concerning the lacking of social justice and democracy.

To sum up, there are many differences between Egypt and the United States in many social and political areas, especially their news media systems. This was very clear through their changing tone through the international news media coverage for the 25th Jan. events. Hence, it is very obvious that all international media channels were following the American news media and journalism. The American press is regarded as the dominant driving leader for the political news coverage of most international news media organizations to be followed on the same attitude and political support. This study examines the framing of the Egyptian revolution while identifying the various socio-cultural orientations causing media coverage diversity. Thus, it focuses on the changing tone of the international U.S. press compared to the local governmental Egyptian press in covering the incidents of the 25th Jan. events. The next part presents a closer overview on the foreign media coverage for the 25th Jan. events compared to the Egyptian media coverage through their online news media and press.

1. Foreign Media Coverage for the 25th Jan. Events

International media coverage for the 25th Jan. Events and the framing of its public demonstrations obviously varied among the various global foreign news media channels and the online press, it also varied throughout the 18 days of the revolution. When international news and foreign media find access to a political event, they may be able to win visibility for their selective issue definition. Especially, by exceeding its coverage and exposure through various mass media channels as the importance of an issue increases the amount of its news coverage. (Chyi & McCombs, 2004, p. 22) In fact, most important topics remain on the foreign news agenda for a continuing period, where journalists and reporters write additional news articles covering the same issue. Interestingly, during the beginning of the eruption of the 25th Jan. demonstrations, most of the official Egyptian media and newspapers framed the events as "riots" and the protesters as "violent". While, in contrast most foreign news media and elite American newspapers framed the same events as a "protest" and the protesters as "the people." (Johnson, 2011) Evidently, this foreign media coverage contradiction reveals the great journalistic bias of the American foreign news towards the Egyptian social movement and the Egyptian people against Mubarak's regime from the very beginning of the social crisis.

According to Sharp (2018), during the 25th Jan. events (2011), the United States encouraged Egypt's long-serving President Hosni Mubarak to step down in the face of a popular uprising, hence revised U.S. assistance programs two years later, when the Egyptian military intervened to oust Mubarak's elected successor, Muhammad Morsi, amid popular demands. This was a great blow for the former Egyptian government and the international political parties as well. Remarkably, most prominent American press framed the Egyptian social movement as a powerful popular movement that supports liberation, democracy and social justice. Accordingly, all the international news media and press took the same political path in supporting Egyptian 25th Jan. events, focusing on the reasons behind it and what are the requirements of the protestors from the government. The same attitude of supporting the Egyptian 25th

Jan. events was followed by the rest of the international foreign news media and press taking the same political strategy of ultimate presidential change in Egypt.

However Panetta (2019) commented that, against the backdrop of political and economic turmoil, Cairo has emerged as an object of renewed interest and attention. The Egyptian social crisis; the 25th Jan. events (2011) was covered internationally in different ways throughout all media outlets as, press, TV, radio, social media or others. Foreign news media and especially online press ultimately played vital role in revealing each news source's political support, and it reflects also the standards of the controlling groups in society. According to Labidi (2019), most of the international news media systems of both US and Arab news through their responses towards the Egyptian revolution failed to find the effective words to describe this social conflict and underlying its geopolitical implications. They were confused whether to name them 'protest' or 'unrest'. In fact, the American mainstream news coverage initially welcomed the erupted events with a clear cautious curiosity, while correspondingly most of the Egyptian and Arab news coverage favored romanticized representations.

By comparing the foreign media coverage to the local Egyptian media coverage through various elite printed media, it was clear that most of the local Egyptian newspapers were lacking news coverage objectivity in framing the events of the 25th Jan. crisis as "a conspiracy on the Egyptian state". Hence, most of the national press and state media were warning from economic decline while directing blame and responsibility for the chaos on others. In contrast, the foreign international American press was at the same time apparently politically biased to the protesters, hence framed the same event as a powerful revolution for freedom and social justice. Thus, the study sheds the light on the contradicted journalistic biases as most of elite international newspapers and especially the American press framed the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as a popular movement and a revolution that supports liberation and social justice. Moreover, the United States boldly asked Egypt's long-serving President Hosni Mubarak to step down in the face of the popular social movement (Sharp, 2018, p.2)

Thus, in covering the erupted incidents of the 25th Jan. events, the New York Times wrote: President Obama declared on Tuesday night that an "orderly transition" in Egypt "must begin now," but he stopped short of demanding that President Hosni Mubarak leave office immediately. In fact, President Obama proposed his strict speech from the Cross Hall of the White House to embrace the cause of the protesters in Egypt far more fully than he has at any previous moment since the demonstrations against Mubarak's 30-year-rule began. (Fitzgerald, 2015, p.163)

With the American bold political support to the 25th Jan. demonstrations and the protesters, Mubarak and his former regime were completely shocked. They were highly disappointed by the American administration political reaction towards the 25th Jan. events and the Egyptian public demonstrations. According to Brands (2018), he asserted that; since long the United States' Presidents worked to maintain the image of America on the international stage and strengthen its reputation for steadiness and reliability. For this most of the countries around the world especially the developing countries as Egypt considered America a dependable ally which is profoundly committed to the global political order. That is through the over advancement of universal values and by solving the world's toughest problems. In this light, through the various Egyptian presidential eras, since long, the Egyptian presidents and their ruling systems especially during Mubarak's era and even before; they were always keen to keep strong good relations with the American Administrations and its various presidents on the strategic and political levels. They were completely convinced that the American support would ensure their prolonged ruling regimes existence and foster their policies despite their corrupted ruling systems.

On the same line, The American administrations also were doing their best for manipulating efficient strategic and political connections with the Egyptian governments. They were mainly aware of the great significance of such dual relationship based on mutual interests, in evaluating Egypt's significant strategic and political situation among the Middle East Arab countries. Thus, during the 25th Jan. events Mubarak and his government were completely disappointed by the American Administration support to the public demonstrations and their consolidation for the protestors from its very beginning. There was a clear American media journalistic bias towards the revolution and against the former regime calling for Mubarak's quick resignation from ruling Egypt replying the public demands.

Most of the foreign media coverage as the American news media outlets and especially press during the 25th Jan. events was focusing on elaborating Mubarak's corrupted policies and spoiled regime. Hence Labidi (2019) argued that, "as the protests spread fast and continued a more dominant popular narrative in the US media shaped by the 'exceptionalist' perspective about Egypt and the Middle East emerged. Moreover, the American media and the foreign news channels were sending clear messages to Mubarak and his government to surrender and resign". (p.455) In fact, the foreign media coverage and the clear American political support for the Egyptian protests were regarded as the basic reason for the fast success of the revolution and for the Egyptian people in getting rid of the former regime through only eighteen days. Hence, this duration of the 25th Jan. events through 18 days is regarded as a very short period of protests compared to the other Middle East countries social movements that was aroused during this same period.

In covering the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, foreign news media was highly realized by the great use of these online digital new media and the internet social networks for communication. This was mainly for insuring public social connections which is regarded as basic tools for the recent evolution of digital activism and counter-surveillance acting against the authorization abuse of power committed by many government forces.(Hermida, & Hernandez, 2018, p.416) Correspondingly, based on a study done by Andrea Guzman (2016), he proposed that; the demands of the anti-Mubarak opposition protesters during the Egyptian 25th Jan. events were framed in the foreign media as completely biased towards the revolution which was portrayed as rational by many foreign elite news channels such as CNN and Fox News. While in contrast, these political actions of Mubarak and the Egyptian government during this social movement were casted and framed as irrational through the same foreign media news. Accordingly, all the international foreign news media and press took the same path of the American news coverage and its political direction in supporting the public demonstrations. Hence, obviously all the foreign media outlets were openly biased towards the Egyptian revolution and supporting the reasons behind the Egyptian 25th Jan. events focusing on the demands of the protestors from the government. Interestingly, the same attitude of consolidating the Egyptian events of the American press was followed by the rest of international foreign news organizations.

Historically, Egypt has been an important country for U.S. national security interests based on its geography, demography, and diplomatic posture. (Sharp, 2018, p.2) In addition, since long Mubarak's regime was always revealing its strong relations with the American presidents and administration all through his governing period that he assured and consolidated his existence in ruling Egypt through his constant good relations with America. Openly, the United States' Presidents are always saturated by their dominating political ideology for being the world superpower helping, controlling, and maintaining the balance of power between the various nations, which is apparently reflected in their foreign policies. Most foreign American newspapers were consolidating the Egyptian 25th events from the very beginning; hence, the New York Times representing a leading foreign American paper reported what happened in

“Tahrir Square” objectively. It published that the volatility of protesters was much more important than the causes of the demonstrations hence it is very biased towards the 25th Jan. social movement; especially they mentioned the causes of the protests but focused more on the protestors.

In addition, the extension of the demonstrations throughout the country convinced the United States that the Mubarak regime in Egypt has come to an end, a matter that urged President Barak Obama to congratulate the Egyptians immediately after the stepping down of the Egyptian president Mubarak on February 11th (2011). Based on the result ensued from the New York Times’ coverage press, which showed such great journalistic and politic bias to the Egyptian protests. And this was very clear through using some journalistic hegemony such as the “spectacle” frame over “injustice”, “sympathy” or “legitimizing” frames. This indicates that “the excitement, fever, and even volatility of the protests were more newsworthy, and thus important, than the underlying causes of the protests or the plight of the protestors.” (Harlow, & Johnson, 2011)

Referring to Harlow and Johnson’s study (2011), it is clear that the portrayal of the 25th Jan. crisis and the protesters through foreign media and international news press was positive approximately half of the time. This reflects that the New York Times was adhering to the objectivity credo, even if there is a consensus that the protesters are fighting for their freedom. Moreover, they asserted that the New York Times’ propensity towards including in-depth background about the aims and causes of the popular movement were in “slightly less than a third of articles” (p.67), which reveals that the New York Times’ as a prominent American international newspaper of being objective through its media coverage as sticking to fair journalistic norms. It is clear also that the American media used the US administration statements that reflected the apparent change in its news media coverage situation on the daily basis gradually. For example, on the 28th of January (2011) The American Administration expressed openly its wishes that the violence in Egypt will come to an end soon. While in contrast, few days later, on the 30th of January (2011), through the foreign American media channels and press Obama’s administration expressed its hope to transfer the power peacefully. And of course this weakened the political situation of the Egyptian system and Mubarak during such significant transitional period. This is although President Mubarak was for many years a profound ally to the American administration, as relishing profound relations with its presidents. According to Anand (2017) asserted that “U.S. media has come under intense scrutiny, with analysts, politicians, and even journalists accusing it of bias and sensationalism”. (p. 2)

In their study Harlow and Johnson (2011) also conclude that: the New York Times, in general extended in its Egyptian 25th events coverage as publishing adequately news explaining why there is a problem that has driven citizens to protest. The New York Times used routine and formulaic reporting, while highlighting the drama, violence, and spectacle of the uprising while reducing protesters’ grievances to one or two sentences about Mubarak’s autocratic 30-year reign. Despite having reporters on the ground in Cairo, and despite thousands of citizens demonstrating in Tahrir Square, seemingly readily accessible for interviews, the New York Times still privilege official sources over citizen sources. And this reveals that it does not appear that mainstream media coverage has changed much since the U.S. sit in movement of the 1950s and 60s. In this regard, the foreign American media showed a great political support to the Egyptian revolution which was clearly revealed through its conservative journalistic status in declaring that the 25th Jan. events was an internal Egyptian affair and this matter should not be interfered in from any external part, as it only concerns the army and the people. In the same vein, the American elite newspaper The Washington Post’s article, was on the same track as it was also entitled by: “Mubarak Steps Down, Prompting Jubilation in Cairo Streets”, the scene of “victory” was introduced through using various significant biased verbs like “triumph” and “surrender” as in the phrase: “Egypt

triumphed Friday as President Hosni Mubarak surrendered to the will of a leaderless movement”, where the image of “victory” showed how Mubarak “succumbed” to the demand of the “leaderless revolution” and “his people’s powerful fight for freedom”. (Selim, H., 2012, p.105)

Following the same path, most prominent European news press publications especially those with strong U.S. ties framed the 25th Jan. events in terms of its causes. Hence, they were very objective through their foreign news coverage for the 25th Jan. events. In fact, most of the European Union countries and news media systems tried to keep a balanced situation through its news media coverage since the beginning of the 25th Jan. Egyptian crisis. For example, the UK international newspaper The Telegraph through its coverage revealed its great support to the public demonstrations and its clear journalistic bias to the protestors as it framed the 25th Jan. protests positively. That it published in its first page “Egypt in Crisis: Vigilantes and Prisoners on the Streets”, published on January 30, (2011), which is a familiar journalistic technique of not putting the events of the Egyptian 25th Jan. movement in a negative frame or blaming them for their violence. The newspaper’s editors were very politically biased towards the democratic change through their news reporting. Hence, they replaced the compound noun “Egypt Protests” or sometimes “Egypt Crisis”, followed by a colon which appeared in the headlines of many covering of the British newspaper at issue, for the phrase “Egypt in Crisis”. The significance of using the preposition “in” shows how Egypt was dragged into disaster and disorder which reveals a journalistic bias in the British news coverage to the Egyptian 25th Jan. movement.

From this perspective, based on Selim’s (2012) research it is clear that most of the international foreign media coverage including the British newspapers as The Telegraph and the American newspapers as New York Times, and The Washington Post, were revealing their great journalistic bias to support the 25th Jan events as being against the former regime and Mubarak. Their journalistic bias in reporting the Egyptian events was clear also by referring to the Egyptian protesters as “Us” in their prominent news articles in covering the events day by day, although referring to the government, and President Mubarak as “Them”. In fact, this was clear in many news articles published through The Telegraph an elite British newspaper , as that was entitled by: “Egypt: Cairo Protesters Tell of their Fight for Freedom”. The reporter tried to choose words completely biased and consolidate the Egyptian protests as framing them as being “heroes”, “fighters for freedom”, and “sacrificing their lives for freedom”. While in contrast, in referring to the former regime as there were “regime thugs”, “(Mubarak) the dictator who had oppressed his nation for thirty years”, “Islamic extremists”, and “the (military) generals who may be tempted to become new dictators themselves”. (Selim, 2012) In this sense, most of the international foreign press and world news were very apparently biased through its media coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events

The journalistic bias of the foreign news media coverage to the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was apparent in foreign news reporting. And that is clear especially when journalists write stories that come under the news category which is usually designated as foreign, overseas or international news. In addition, it is evident that the U.S. press was always regarded as an international guiding news source and powerful journalistic leader especially in covering social and political international conflicts such as social movements. Hence, they consistently express their continuous following up concerns about political issues of governance as concerning the human rights as in Egypt. Thus, international arguments and debates over these socio political issues have tested the obvious bilateral relations among these political foreign relations especially during these recent unstable years. (Sharp, p.2018, p.2)

On the other side, most of the Egyptian governmental media and national newspapers were apparently biased towards the former regime and against the Egyptian 25th Jan. events through their press and news media coverage. In fact, they lost their credibility for the public, that even to journalists who

were working inside the news media institutions themselves. And this pushed the Egyptian people and the audiences around the world to follow the updated news about the 25th Jan. events through the various foreign news media channels and foreign press. Hence the Egyptian people during the incidents of the 25th Jan. events lost their trust in their national and official news media sources and press. These extended foreign news media sources and press freedom is always a significant part of the very definition of democracy, the more democratic the regime, the greater space exists for various competing frames in the media coverage of democratization conflict and political issues. In Fact, in Egypt the private newspapers have an edge through their presence on the digital media which attract many audiences of readers. While, national press institutions suffer from overstaffing, in addition to the recent reduction of the government subsidy and advertising expenditure. (Allam, 2018)

During this period of the 25th Jan. events (2011) the Egyptian people inspired that by getting rid of the president and his former regime, things in media would change, and the framing of news would be more objective in revealing the truth. But it was noticed that even after their resignations the trend in reporting news across all Egyptian media outlets did not change. Moreover, it is crucial to point out that during the 25th Jan. incidents the Egyptian audiences' usages and preferences of following news media channels have changed. The following part examines the Egyptian media coverage for the 25th Jan. events as compared to the foreign media coverage for the same events.

2. Egyptian Media Coverage for the 25th Jan. Events

The Egyptian media coverage for the incidents of the 25th Jan. events shows clear journalistic discrepancy in framing same news events, which eroded the public audiences' trust towards the Egyptian media channels and the national press for understanding this complicated social event. Hamdy and Gomaa (2012) commented that; "The discrepancies in presenting the Egyptian 25th Jan. ongoing events in the mainstream media verses independent and social media are huge, resulting in offering different tales, making significantly different news choices especially in terms of the way each source framed these tales and events". In fact, during these chaotic incidents, most of the Egyptian populations were either eye witnesses on Tahreer Square or some other spots within main streets all over the country. They were attentive news followers as reading and watching the various news channels outlets. At that time, people mainly relied on foreign news media outlets as flipping between the various TV channels, reading different newspapers and surfing blogs. They excessively accessed online social media websites on the internet in order to gain a complete picture about the real events that were taking place in the Egyptian squares and the streets. In fact, all the national media including the official government newspapers and the state TV station hardly presented any news about the public demonstrations. While these independent media channels and press tried to be somehow objective and showed more support to the protests than the official government media.

On the day of January, 25 (2011), Egypt witnessed huge anti-government public demonstrations which extended to continue for the next few days. The government authority blocked digital media and social net-works as Face book and Twitter on the 27th Jan. In addition that it cut off all access to the internet, it also shut down all mobile phone services companies on the next day, which was known as the "Anger Friday". That "Anger Friday" witnessed mass revolutions across the streets and the major squares of the country. During these events, the official Egyptian stat television ignored the protests entirely by directing its cameras on the River Nile and the Cairo Tower instead of airing the live events in Tahrir Square. Moreover, prominent national press as the first government newspaper Al Ahram tried to trivialize these public social gatherings by giving them a small space on the front page published on January 26,

(2011). (Al-Ahram, 2011) This revealed its apparent journalistic bias to the former regime and President Mubarak. During the first days of the public demonstrations, most of the simple Egyptian citizens did not understand what was going on and this state of social chaos, as they turned to the national news media channels and the state television searching for live news. But, at that time most of the Egyptian media sources were governmentally blocked such as the Egyptian Television, and internet online media. In fact, the government cut off even the internet for five days during the crisis. By this the radio and newspapers were the main sources of information at that time.

During the eruption of the 25th Jan events, the Egyptian state cracked down on freedom of expression and suspended the potential for professionalization of an autonomous media system, despite the high profound potentials of the Egyptian news media system. Issawi (2018) commented that, “Yet media reform during this complex political transition was slow, stalled by brutal political struggles”. (p.10) consequently, most of the Egyptian population and audiences were tracing these sudden public demonstrations through the internet news sources and the digital news media devices hence most of the local governmental news media outlets were blocked. However, Hamamou (2011) proposed that; Egyptian state television had spent the last eighteen days spreading incendiary, highly exaggerated, and at times even staged reports about the by-then vast protests. (One such report featured a “protester,” her features obscured, confessing to having received training from sundry nefarious foreign organizations. She turned out to be a journalist at a state newspaper).

On the afternoon of 11th Feb. (2011), many of the public citizens had been gathered around the state Radio and TV Building near the banks of the River Nile at the center of Cairo. These protesters were gathered outside this iconic building since the previous night while following Mubarak’s famous announcement declaring that he would not, as everyone expected, be stepping down. However, boldly a presenter from the Egyptian state television spoke in his microphone with a polite manner asked them what defaults or “mistakes” they would demand their publicly financed presenters and broadcasters to correct. This was a clear warning from the public how superficial and speedy a volte-face Egypt’s state media was in trivializing the public demands and anger.

Evidently, the revealed message of the gathered citizens to the government’s mouthpiece the national media was clear and direct, which is “Stop Lying be Fair”. Hence, the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was covered in different ways throughout different media outlets, press, TV, radio, social media or others. In most of the national media forms, reporting news stories that are against Mubarak’s government had many restrictions. That, despite Egypt’s long history and pioneering position in the Arab media landscape, recently under Mubarak’s authoritarian system, the Egyptian national media was completely controlled and over compiled in covering the daily news incidents of the 25th Jan. demonstrations. In a way, Egypt is being defined as a Transitional Media system by William Rough. (Rough, 2006) Although recently it may not play the same type of leading political or military role in the Arab world as it has in the past. In this regard, Sharp (2018) commented that, Egypt may retain some “soft power” by virtue of its history, media, and culture. During Mubarak’s era, the official governmental news media system was profoundly marked by high political centralization and high executive control over national media coverage for most significant state news and elite figures in power.

In fact, the country has been under emergency law for almost half a century in order to maintain national security and printed media system falls within the restructuring as well. The way of framing news of the national Egyptian newspapers coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was controversial, that it was based mainly on their pertinence with the government, political parties, and private news sources. Even those newspapers privately owned or supported by the Egyptian political parties though

have been limited in terms of its independence, couldn't freely express their point of view in covering the crisis incidents. Under Mubarak's regime, the media in Egypt in general was more likely to be suppressed, especially for those outlets that were state-run or controlled primarily by the government. During the period of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, government authorities increased their restrictions on elite national press and journalism. In most of the media forms, reporting news stories that are against Mubarak's government had many restrictions.

The framing the Egyptian 25th Jan. events took different shapes by the various Egyptian news media channels and national press which aroused international criticizing debates about the Egyptian news media system. Especially, that during Mubarak's era the regime counted mainly on the government print media as a basic tool for guiding and directing public opinion against supporting these public demonstrations. Moreover, the Egyptian government during this erupted period engaged legal authoritarianism to apply strict media rules of laws for limiting freedoms and controlling the Egyptian media and journalism. In addition, during the 25th Jan. protests for example journalists were not allowed mentioning neither anti-president chants nor rejection slogans, that for the state owned governmental media, not only Mubarak was a non-touched issue, but also political leaders and particularly the ministers were handled with much care. Ibrahim (2012) through his study added that; "The space of media freedom in Egypt has not only widened due to Mubarak's laws but also because of the changes in the Egyptian media landscape that took place during that time. The rise of privately owned media has played a major role in freeing the press, many changes did not only occur due to the embracement of new laws.

The Egyptian press coverage played a significant role in directing the internal political scene in Egypt especially during the 25th Jan. crisis that goes beyond transmission of news. It was within the battle of the Egyptian social movement that the voices of the Egyptian activists grew louder for the whole world through the various mass media channels and especially foreign elite international newspapers. The government during this social crisis, the 25th Jan. events has extremely blocked all state media potentials for the possibility of representing fair media coverage by most governmental or independent news media outlets and journalism. With increasing fear that free media would affect the political control of the regime, Egypt has allowed private media under strict rules as the amount of freedom varied over the years. This defines how governments control news media organizations that can shape mass opinion by using various frames to guide readers to understand their entire messages and political objectives. News media system always manages the mobilization of the public support for its political programs and especially in delivering the official line for creating a favorable public opinion. In Egypt, elite national newspapers depend mainly on government subsidy and advertisements as its basic funding mechanisms. In this regard, reporters working for the national newspaper Al Ahram as the most important Egyptian official newspaper declared that they were responsible for making heavy news coverage propaganda supporting the former president Mubarak and the accomplishments of his regime.

This drove many Egyptians to lose faith in the Egyptian national media due to what it demonstrated from untruthfulness in portraying the 25th Jan. events. Which not only resulted in a huge shift to social media with thousands of new subscribers on social networks, such as Facebook, Twitter and various independent blogs, but also in a shift from state-run newspapers to privately owned newspapers and the emergence of many new mediums (Daily News Egypt, 2011). Therefore, the usage of online media and the independent media has grown widely ever since the revolution took place, while the credibility in the public national media was profoundly shaken. That recent rise of Internet gained information and communication technologies (ICTs), drove many scholars to link between the active involvement through the Internet with online social media and social movements participation. Digital

revolution profoundly changed the way in which citizens became more interested and engaged in politics. Evidently, social media during the 25th Jan. demonstrations has witnessed an emergence of a concept called citizen journalism, which can be counted somehow credible as they are entirely independent with no hidden political agendas, or can open space for doubt about the credibility of the sources of the piece of news or points of view posted by anonymous individuals on the web.

In fact, the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was named by the “Internet Revolution” or the “Digital Revolution” hence the majority of the Egyptian population through the incidents of this social movement were mobilized mainly through the Internet connections and online social networking. During this crisis (2011) most of the Egyptian people relied mainly on using online media and the various social media platforms to follow the updated events and to voice out their anger. In fact, such recent digital revolution and the internet social connectivity profoundly altered the ways in which how ordinary citizens became interested and engaged in criticizing their governments’ politics and thus empowered those recent social movements to extend. According to Kim and Lim (2020), “the rise of Internet-based information and communication technologies (ICTs), many scholars explored the link between active involvement in Internet and online media and social movement participation”. Hence, digital media provides a good opportunity especially for the young generations to gather virtually and to talk freely about their concerns. As demonstrated by these demographic data that reflected the youth bulge in particular, and how this dropped the regime and caused the political change in Egypt. (Saidin, 2018, p.76) That the Egyptian people under all these kinds of political pressures, social frustration, and public anger finally found these online connections to support them through their activism to evolve their great 25th Jan. events.

Focusing on the Egyptian press which is our main concern in this research, it is significant to point out that the Egyptian governmental, independent and oppositional newspapers are representing the various ranges of the Egyptian press ownership categories. National press variations during Mubarak’s era are significantly classified as a transitional democracy; hence Egypt features a media landscape which has witnessed many changes and challenges since the January 25 revolution in (2011). (Allam, 2018) The leading Egyptian newspaper in the governmental dailies is Al Ahram newspaper. In fact, it was the most widely spread daily newspaper in terms of readership and circulation until year (2010). In fact, Al Ahram newspaper is locally defined a semiofficial newspaper that is controlled by the government and tends usually to report favorable news of the previous regime only, while burring others that are anti-regime. In contrast, Al Masry Al Yom newspaper is regarded as the leading and the first Egyptian independent newspaper in 50 years since Mubarak granted its license to a group of businessmen in (2004). Thus, Rasha Allam (2018) through her study asserted that, the Egyptian print media during the recent period of Mubarak’s ruling era was facing a real challenge with a sharp drop in the number of papers’ circulation and advertisements’ expenditure, and a migration to the digital platforms. Yet sales from the printing copies still dominate the revenue sources (80-85 percent). The private newspapers have an edge through their presence on the digital media which attract a good number of readers.

The flourishing of the various oppositional and independent newspapers during Mubarak's era, as well as other reforms, were regarded by many scholars as part of Mubarak's strategy for moving the country recently towards freedom, and democracy through allowing such free privet owned media systems to operate and extend. Hence, most of the private and independent Egyptian newspapers as Al Masry Al Youm, took the side of the demonstrators; it was defining the reasons behind the protests and what are the requests of the protestors from the government. That Al Masry Al Youm published a story entitled “Crisis Follow-Ups: ‘Transportation’ (Sectors) Daily Losses LE15 Million, Remittances Ceased...Stock Market, Banks Remain Closed for the Fifth Day”, which was published on February 3,

(2011), as following the same journalistic footsteps of Al Ahram's preceding stories. In fact, the writers of this story used many negative expressing words against the Egyptian 25th Jan. events such as "crisis", "daily losses" and "repercussions", along with transitive verbs such as "warned", "deprive" and "halt", to depict the harrowing economic situation. (Selim, 2012, p.86) Which reveals that, Al Masry Al Youm as a private, independent Egyptian newspaper changed its tone of supporting the former regime that it later took the side of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events; as defining the reasons behind the protests focusing on the requests of the protestors from the government.

On his research that examined mainly the production of news in prominent newspapers regarding the range of ownership categories in Egypt, ElMasry (2012) concluded that; journalists of most of the leading oppositional Egyptian newspapers Al Ahram and Al Masry Al Youm, have encountered numerous obstacles in accessing information and were entirely banned from crossing specific rules concerning legal and cultural issues in their reporting. Moreover, ElMasry added that, through the various controlling mechanisms that were used by Mubarak's regime, news stories were entirely filtered to guarantee that only news content abiding by the standards of political, legal and cultural acceptability appears to the public. While, Asal et al. (2018) commented on the Egyptian news media openness, they declared that democracies afford media outlets and provide journalists more opportunity to investigate sensitive topics, including crime, corruption, or officials' abuse of public office. that even these newly established presses were not entirely free from Mubarak's restrictions, for the fact that they were not only receiving subsidies from the government, but also that the government had strict regulations that were imposed on the establishment or approval of any political party, and thus, any oppositional one.

All other media under the former Mubarak's regime were suffering many restrictions, especially when it comes to writing and reporting any news stories that are against the government or its policies. For example, Osman and Samei (2012) clarified through their study the huge differences between the coverage of two prominent Egyptian newspapers Al Ahram and Al Shuruq. Interestingly, Al Ahram, which is owned by the Egyptian government tried to halt the 25th Jan. revolution and to frame it as a movement motivated by foreigners wanting to undermine the Egyptian regime. While, in contrast Al Shuruq a private paper supported the Egyptian 25th Jan. movement via publicizing the actions of the protestors and referring to the dead people of the revolution as martyrs. In this sense, it is crucial to clarify that during the 25th Jan. events most governmentally owned newspapers has witnessed a sudden drop in its total reach to the population, especially in Al Ahram daily newspaper with a total drop from 21% to 19% after the revolution. while independent newspapers had increased in its total reach, such as Al Masry Al Yom that has increased from 10% before the revolution up to 37% year end 2011 (Ipsos-Starcom).

Remarkably, Al Ahram newspaper represents the state owned media, usually aims at delivering what the government wants to deliver. That Al Ahram newspaper tried to represent the 25th Jan. events as a conspiracy against the state and also publishing opinions of the three groups that were participants in the Revolution: the youth, the army and the masses. However, it described the army as the integral partner to the Revolution; youth were described to be mobilizers of masses towards accomplishing the revolution. In fact, Al Ahram as a governmental newspaper excluded this news that was known to be against the regime and the president. It was focusing on the regime positivity and on the police taking care of the demonstrations and protestors. Moreover, Al Ahram did not separate between the protestors and the police officers; it did not want to concentrate on the protestors and didn't even mention the word protestors in its articles except for fewer times. It described the live public demonstrations as bluster and a threat that we should avoid in order not to be harmed and to insure out national security. Ibrahim (2012) commented that, in the middle of the 18 days Al Ahram started taking the side of the protestors and

started mentioning the reasons behind the demonstrations. It reported events that actually happened in Tahrir Square and Mohamed Mahmoud Square, that it finally changed its tone. Hamamou (2011) asserted that; “The next day, the flagship national newspaper, Al Ahram (which on the first day of protests ran a front-page story about political unrest in... Lebanon), splashed a huge picture of rejoicing protesters across its top fold, accompanied by the misty headline: “The People Brought down the Regime.” (p.56)

In fact, in the same day that President Mubarak stepped down the ruling, Al Ahram in a topping news, portrayed two big opposite pictures, one from Tahrir square, captioned by “the Uprising”, and the other for the newly-in charged Vice President Suleiman who was assigned by Mubarak to conduct a negotiation with the opposition representatives, captioned by “the Legitimacy”. In other words, the government and the regime wanted to deliver a certain message to the Egyptians, whether to be with “Us”; the civilized, rational and legitimate elite, or with “Them”; the chaotic, irrational and illegitimate, albeit patriotic group. (Al-Ahram, 2011) Thus, through this biased news media coverage the local Egyptian press played a vital role in directing the public audience to specific political directions supporting the former regime. In the same context, according to a study done by Naila Hamdy and Ehab Gomaa (2012) examining the framing of Egyptian 25th Jan.(2011) in the independent and government owned newspapers, they asserted that; as the state controlled the newspapers’ production and had a huge impact on framing political issues in Egyptians' minds for many years. However, the privately owned newspapers and the social media that appeared recently represented reality in a way or another, as causing public audience shift; from depending on getting news about the 25th Jan. events from governmental official news media as a trusty source of information to independent news and social media which started to be perceived on the time of the crisis by many citizens as more credible and more transparent.

Chapter Four
Theoretical Framework
& Methodology

This chapter prudently examines the theoretical and methodological conceptual components germane to this study; hence it is divided into two significant parts. The first part is the theoretical framework which proposes a general review about news framing and the framing theory as being the overarching theory of the study on one hand. And it deals with the previous research studies within the boundaries of the field in question, on the other. The first part mainly sheds light on the framing theory which is inextricably linked to the research questions in specific and the thesis in general. It focuses on the work of Robert Entman verbal-visual framing approaches as stressing on the key concepts related to news framing variables and the most common news frames. The second part clarifies the basic methodological steps that are adopted through the analysis to come up with adequate research results. .

I. Statement of Research Problem

During the Egyptian 25th Jan. events 2011, there was a sense of opinion split over understanding and defining this revolution as a powerful public social movement focusing on its main actors creating two main groups. One group supports the protesters and the revolution while condemning Mubarak and his regime, whereas, the other group defends the former regime while criticizing the revolution and the protesters. Both sides continue to represent narratives and other counter narratives mainly to suit their own interpretations of the event. Both sides' narratives and framing of events are built around evaluative alignment and ideological positioning. As the news media consumers and the press audiences were stuck between these various news sources and media channels in covering the Egyptian crisis, confused which news media channel was to believe as a trustworthy source of information. This puts a significant question; where did the press and digital media stand today at this point in its credibility and trust, especially in the portrayal of such recent public social movement as the 25th Jan. events.

International media coverage for social movements in recent social and political conflicts reveals various political biases in news framing and journalism. They present news information in a way that colors the picture they want to the audiences through their ideological and political vision. Some pictures are about the same idea, but they are proposed in two very different presentations and interpretations. This study's goal is to define the communications theory of news framing and to establish an understanding of its scope, application also to highlight its effect on international media coverage for political issues. By defining news framing, its background and application in media coverage of social movements, the theory should be examined and clarified tentatively.

However, some recent studies suggested that new media and online press played a vital role in supporting the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as a public social movement to continue, spread and to achieve its success in getting rid of the former corrupted regime. During the recent years there was a great evolution in the internet and new media technology, especially the recent emerging of many new media genres (e.g. online journalism, social networks, online forums ...etc.). These digital media genres are mainly based on the incorporating of both verbal with visual tools and frames through their news representation for the public communication. Powel et al (2019) asserted that, "importantly, the modality (verbal or visual) in which these arguments are communicated matters for the way in which they are processed by audiences". (p.12) Thus, it is significant through the current study to explore verbal visual

framing news coverage in new media and online press to investigate the basic characteristics for recent genres, focusing on their special schematic structures.

II. Significance of the Study

There is a limited amount of studies written on comparing international media coverage and the framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as focusing on the journalistic objectivity and bias of news. This study is regarded as one of the rare researches that trace the special correlation between the news media coverage, news media ownerships and political biases in journalism. It examines the news framing for first month of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) and its coverage in prominent Egyptian and American newspapers. Both Egyptian and American newspapers are having different orientations, ideological backgrounds, and hidden agendas that lie in the covert motives of their political interests. Which justify their framing variations in their news coverage lacking objectivity and revealing covert political biases through their journalistic media coverage. However, some researchers showed that “Since mainstream media outlets have the ability to impact multiple audiences, it is a common trend among these conglomerates to frame the news in a way that matches their own agenda. That today, we refer to this as media bias”. (Joseph, 2017, p.2)

Examining international media coverage and journalistic news framing for social movements, can also be very closely related to the goals that mainstream media outlets strive to achieve, hence Tewksbury and Scheufele (2009) proposed that “news frames can exert a relatively substantial influence on citizens’ beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors”. (p.19) Although news-making routines contain a number of elements promoting objective reporting “journalistic production processes cannot guarantee permanently equal dealing of competing frames when competitors’ skill differs and relevant facts change frequently” (Entman, 2010, p.392). International media coverage plays a profound role in the development and success of social movements, that news framing revolves around the manner in which an event or phenomenon is presented to the public. Thus, “framing research argues that news frames function to suggest how audiences can interpret an issue or event”. (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009, p.19) The public regards the media as being subjective – reflecting their beliefs in order to build their reputation, sacrificing accuracy for gains as political, commercial or personal. As the majority of population during social movements and political crisis mainly consume news from various news media sources they trust and ignore other sources that differ from their opinions and those apparently biased. Hence, they do not have direct contact with these foreign events, so they depend on news media coverage to infer daily political complicated issues.

In this regard, the media coverage and controversial political framing of many significant contemporary global political and social conflicts and vital daily issues have become eroded in its presentation of trusty information. Where certain political directions and deviated viewpoints are often revealed “by selective omissions and differing emphasis, the different impressions created from an objective event by *slanting* information is what we call media bias”. (Xiang & Sarvary, 2007, p.611) Thus, the study focuses also on the great media coverage diversity in international online press in framing social movements while expanding its instant spreading among many countries in the Middle East region. Hence, the general objective of this study is to examine the framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. Events in prominent international newspapers evaluating their news coverage objectivity.

The study is based on comparing the various news frames used by four Egyptian and American online newspapers investigating whether different media ownerships, political and ideological orientations and nationality affect the media coverage framing and portrayal for the Egyptian events in international media and press.

III. Previous Studies

This part spotlights the previous studies of media coverage of social movements, where new media and online journalism play profound role in motivating public demonstrations against profound corrupted regimes. Before going into previous studies that tackle the clear direct impact of new media and digital news on public activism and political participation in times of social movements, it is important to understand the reason why such online digital news channels managed to have great audience credibility and popularity. In fact, regarding the sudden incidents of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events it is crucial to point out that since long the simple Egyptian people and the youth wished and tried to be active partners in the political issues of their country. It was always difficult for them to participate in the political life hence they were mostly excluded from sharing their political or ideological views or expressing their demands within their country. In fact, by the appearance of these recent digital devices, online media and internet social connectivity they finally found the way to unify and to share in the political life. Such massive social gathering and the obvious public solidarity they gained through digital media activism gave them a great push and a political consolidation in order to have brave behavioral changes toward their countries policies and their corrupted regimes. That is exactly what international digital new media and online press have done: they helped these simple Egyptian population and youth to "develop a consciousness of their common interests and to form group solidarity to harness their collection power" (Herrera, 2012).

This strongly applies to international new media coverage and online newspapers great impact in support for social movements during times of political unrest. Hence, it is regarded as one of the basic factors that direct and shape the general political scene in Egypt during daily street demonstrations of the 25th Jan. events. International media coverage and online press helped creating new genres of digital online activism where the simple people are transformed to be active actors within their country's political transformation and sharing in its democratic shifting. The Egyptian 25th Jan. events that took place suddenly by the beginning of the year (2011) are profoundly regarded as vital public demonstrations that represent a rapid extension to the 'Arab Spring' in the Middle East region. In fact, it represents good examples of other extended social movements motivated and initiated by international news media coverage and online sources. Hence, it is mainly motivated by those online activists, calling the Egyptian simple people to take the streets and to revolt against tyranny. They deemed to get rid of the 30-year-old autocratic regime, torture and social injustice by the aid of using online media connectivity and support.

In the same vein, it is crucial to highlight that many recent new media popular terms as "Digital revolution", "Online activism", and "Facebook revolution" has been widely circulated through the various international news media channels on the global level. This came as a result of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as being mainly triggered by international online media coverage channels diversity in presenting the same news and events. Hence, each news media source framed the same events of the 25th Jan. demonstrations according to its view based on their political and ideological directions. Such contradicted media coverage chaos among the various different news media channels representing different new media sources and categories such as the local governmental or the independent media and the foreign news media outlets ultimately uncovered many great journalistic political biases. And how these international media coverage and various news sources lost its trust and credibility among their audiences especially in times of political conflicts. By time people started to follow the demonstrations incidents through the various digital channels and online foreign news that agrees to their political and ideological beliefs.

In fact, the recent technology and internet communications played a key role in the process of mobilization and preparation for public revolutions not only in Egypt but also in the various Arab countries. Such profound role digital media coverage and online news played in triggering the incidents of

the 25th Jan. events and in motivating its quick sudden success in getting rid of the profound corrupted regime pulled the attention to the true vital impact of new online media coverage. This was especially in covering contemporary social movements and the democratic political change like in Egypt and the Middle East region. Consequently, there were many studies from different countries that are covering this specific area of media coverage objectivity, its direct impact and role in times of democratic change which is necessary to get a broader view during political unrest.

In order to discuss such new areas that can add to the interesting body of knowledge in this chosen topic and to highlight the great significance of the issue, a review of previous studies locally and internationally should be done. For this, the next part will deal with previous studies carried out in the Arab world and in different parts of the world. These previous studies are presented chronologically, starting with the latest. It is also divided into studies that are carried out in the Arab world and studies that are carried out in other countries.

1. Studies Carried Out in the Arab World

Badr (2020) carried out a study on the liberalizing role of the media in relation to the Arab Spring debate. She discussed the relevance of new digital media in Egypt that had increased recently in past 15 years. As attributing the Tahrir 25th Jan. events in 2011 mainly to the rise of the Internet, hence it was widely known by Facebook Revolution. However, her study maintains that this is a simplified point of view about the events and its clear interactions among media, politics and the online sphere. Moreover, she argued that this recent semi-liberal phase in Egypt during the mid-2000s and the emergence of new technologies ultimately led to a vibrant blogosphere. Hence, there was a strong backlash awaits any attempts for challenging the corrupted regime that, recently situated within the persistent socio-economic problems that caused the Tahrir Revolution in the first place. Moreover, she discussed how the political system in Egypt since long feared potential opening of the media system and attempted at keeping a fragile stabilization at any cost. Thus, after the 25th Jan. revolution the Egyptian system while it is clinging to the national security concerns as harboring internal stability at any cost, it is encouraged by the current global political rise of right-wing authoritarianism.

In her study, Hemaïd (2017) investigated how recent technology and communications revolution have played a significant key role in the ultimate process of mobilization and preparation for various revolutions not only in Egypt but also in most Arab countries. Through her study, she focused on the changes that took place in the Egyptian external foreign policy during the aftermath of the Arab spring uprising that suddenly erupted in the Middle East region by the year 2011. She asserted that the Egyptian revolution that toppled the 30 years old Mubarak regime, aspired at accomplishing specific principles of freedom, dignity and social justice in the Egyptian society. The Egyptian 25th Jan. revolution of 2011 has embraced its own characteristics of its pacific and peaceful nature, despite all attempts of various ruling systems for representing as branding rebellions with violence. Findings of the study have indicated that, the most significant feature of this public uprising is that those young people and the middle classes have represented its basic fuel for its massive outbreak.

Rasha Abdulla (2014) carried out a study on Egypt's media in the midst of revolution where her research investigates the uses and effects of new media, particularly the Internet. It focuses on the link between social media, political activism, and public service broadcasting. Through her study, she asserted how social media played key role in covering the January 25 revolution, and how this platform has offered many new avenues used for expressing various critical views. Hence, most of these opposing views were covertly challenging established governmental media entities, and thus organizing against the

government. Also, she declared through her study that these profound successive Egyptian regimes have taken steps to limit freedom of expression and control news narratives in the Egyptian news media coverage. That after the success of the 25th Jan. revolution, the Egyptian people were aspiring for a more professional media sector hence it was lately dashed by a state media apparatus controlled by its interests and purposes to follow whatever regime is in power. She also criticized how private media outlets influenced by wealthy owners having strong ties to Mubarak's regime, and the severe polarization among the Islamist and the non-Islamist news media outlets. And she finally concluded that as long as Egypt was governed by presidents who aim at controlling the media is in their ruling, reform will only release through those few dissident views and voices in media sources that are backed up by supports from various civil societies and masses.

Tayie (2014) carried out a study to investigate the possible roles of social media during the transitional process to democracy in Egypt. Her study was based on questioning the ability of online social media that act as collective platforms where all citizens are existed and empowered enough to transfer their virtual online discussions in to their real life actions. The study basically examines the role played by the social media for encouraging the Egyptian people and the youth for the political participation. The study was carried out on a purposive sample of 400 young Egyptians aged 18-30 based on the statistics of social media users in Egypt. A sample of opinion leaders and elites in the field was also studied. The results of this study indicated that, media coverage and online social media became most prominent among the Egyptian people and the youth especially in times of the January 25th Revolution. The study also revealed that most Egyptian youth use the digital media and the social media on a daily basis. Hence, they consider social media as an available platform through which they can share and discuss their common concerns and can turn it into collective real-life actions.

In his study, Ibrahim (2012) analyzed the different frames used by popular Egyptian newspapers Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Yom in covering the January 25 revolution. The study applied a content analysis on news stories and features for both newspapers during the days of the uprisings. The researcher examined 241 stories in Al-Ahram and 174 stories in Al-Masry Al- Yom during the protests period. The study aimed at exploring the framing of each newspaper. The results indicated that the coverage of both newspapers varied along the 18 days of uprisings. Al-Ahram supported the protesters side during the last period, while Al-Masry Al-Yom delegitimized the protesters during the same period that he indicated that the type of media played a significant role in the way of framing of the Egyptian January 25 revolution.

Another significant study proposed by Hamdy and Gomaa (2012) explored the media framing of Egypt's 2011 protests in Egyptian newspapers, and some other social media postings. Their chosen samples were all from the Egyptian media platforms and they were written in Arabic language. The study focused on the profound role played by digital media and press in covering the incidents of the Egyptian revolution and focused on its news framing variations among the various news media outlets. The researchers made use of quantitative content analysis of 800 news stories, opinion columns and editorials that were taken from those semiofficial newspapers: *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Akhbar*, *Al-Messa* and *Al-Jomhorya*, added to another sample of 800 documents extracted from two independent newspapers *Al-Shorouk* and *Al-Youm-Al-Sabee*. Interestingly, the results of their study showed how the protests framed by each medium, where the dominant frame in the semiofficial newspapers were the *conflict* frame. Other frames like *economic consequences*; to magnify the threats of the protests on the country's economy, and *human interest*; to sympathize with the 82-year President aging Mubarak, were dominated as well in the semiofficial newspapers' coverage. However, *responsibility frame*; blaming the protesters for the violence was limited to only 40 articles or 5% of the samples taken from the government-owned newspapers.

Another study focused on the role of media coverage in mobilizing social movements that reached the same findings is (Alia, 2012). The study aims at exploring characteristics of digital media and the most common issues and topics discussed through them. The study was based on analyzing a sample of 200 chosen from those whom participated in the Tahrir Square revolution in January 2011, during the first celebration of the anniversary for the January 25th revolution. The study proved that more than 70 percent of the respondents were participated hence they were motivated through discussions using online media. The respondents declared that the most significant characteristic of this online news medium was that it was a direct and fast tool used for the transformation of news and events. And their main reason for using social media was seeking information where determining locations of places where gatherings and demonstrations were held. The study proposed that the participants also mentioned few other reasons for their sharing in the demonstrations that included their public feeling of injustice and their defending of responsibility.

2. Studies Carried Out in Other Countries

Kim and Lim (2020), in their study on the role of online political activism in protest participation during the Arab Spring, they sought to make sense of this empirical phenomenon. They were focusing on the role of the digital media, the Internet and the social media in protest participation during Arab Springs. Their study examined the relationship between online news media use and protest participation during demonstrations of the Arab Spring. They mainly focused on those pro-democracy movements that radically swept across many countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Through their research they tried to focus on the role online communication media play in directing individuals' decisions to participate in these demonstrations. They addressed such investigations by drawing on specific micro-data from the Arab Barometer Wave III (2012–2014), based on a large cross-national survey of citizens nested in administrative divisions across a dozen Muslim-majority countries. Their study examined those multilevel associations among online activities and the anti-government protests. It revealed that online political activism specifically, rather than Internet and social media use in general, is associated with higher odds of protest involvement during the Arab uprisings. Moreover, their study indicated that it is also possible that protest-prone individuals are drawn to participate in online discussion to find more information about protest opportunities in the first place.

Fitzgerald (2016), in his study on media framing of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution within British and American print media investigated how British and American newspaper coverage of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution framed the protest movement. Through his study he focused on how foreign newspapers coverage through its news framing led to the sudden resignation of Hosni Mubarak as the President of Egypt. He also focused on presenting those previous studies examining Western media coverage of domestic protests which indicated that news media often covered the movements and the protesters with an expectation of exceeding violence occurring while revealing hidden motivations, aspirations, and actions. These were mostly trivialized and marginalized through the Western media coverage for the Middle East and North Africa news that are often contextualized these region's nations, peoples, and politics in ways that promoted negative stereotypes. Results based on content analysis from British and American newspaper samples offered evidence that not only reassessing the dominance of the reportorial paradigms by which the news media covers political and social dissent, but also normative Western media portrayals of the nations and people within Middle East and North Africa.

Another significant study proposed by Chung and Cho (2013) to evaluate the various critical roles of mass media messages and social networking services(SNSs) in the Middle East. They focused on

examining a complicated region largely ignored in this context; hence they worked on considering four major U.S. newspapers covering the Arab Spring movements and mainly the issue of SNS-driven changes within those various authoritarian countries. The researchers through their study used a mixed-method approach combination among those traditional contents and the semantic network analyses. The results of their analysis clearly indicated a dramatic increase during those recent years in attention to use Facebook and Twitter as new digital media instruments. Hence, they were ultimately deployed for supporting political revolutions in the Arab world and in several other authoritarian countries in Asia and Africa. Their study revealed that those major U.S. newspapers varied in their presentation of the Arab Spring demonstrations, but they all framed the recent advent of SNSs as new online media and technologies used for information seeking and public communication.

According to the findings of another important study conducted by Tufekci and Wilson (2012), the new advent of the various news outlets based on online social media channels were used as a very important tool in organizing and planning demonstrations during the January 2011 events in Egypt. Their study was based on a sample of some chosen young people who took part in the public demonstrations in the Tahrir Square in Egypt during a peak period of two weeks in February 2011. Their findings have shown that the social media represented by those various channels using new media and new sources of information and news, the old regime failed to control. They also proposed that social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter profoundly played a critical role in organizing and motivating public demonstrations which led to the fast sudden toppling of President Mubarak on February 11th, 2011.

Interestingly, Harlow and Johnson (2011) through their study they examined the impact of the social media coverage on the Egyptian Revolution hence they focused on the relationship between the media and protest groups in the light of the *protest paradigm*. Through their study they illustrated how social-media driven protests erupting across the Arab world. It analyzed the Egyptian protest coverage in *The New York Times*, the Twitter feed of *Times* reporter Nick Kristof, and the citizen media site Global Voices. Their study mainly investigated whether the delegitimizing “protest paradigm” found in mainstream media was replicated in social media and blogs, and what impact their protest coverage has on their credibility. Remarkably, the results of their analysis showed that *The Times* adhered to the paradigm by emphasizing the spectacle, quoting official sources, and de-valuing protesters as reporters maintained an impartial role. While in contrast, Global Voices and Kristof’s Twitter feed took different approaches, legitimizing protesters and serving as commentators/analysts, even actors, in the unfolding events. Global Voices also provided more opportunities for reader interactivity. The researchers also traced the sources being cited as well, to know whether the journalists/reporters used official, citizen voices or both sources together. Thus, the study concluded perfectly clear that the *NYT* was more inclined to the *protest paradigm* than other alternative social media it examined.

Storck (2011) also presented a very significant study that investigates the role of the Internet and its tools of social media that have been heralded as instrumental in facilitating the uprisings specifically in light of the Arab Spring revolutions of early 2011. His dissertation examined closely to what extent did the Egyptian activists used the various social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. How weblogs were also used as active tools for organizing and generating public awareness in political mobilization during the mass uprisings that took place in Egypt in January and February 2011. In fact, Storck’s dissertation was based on established theories of communication that were developed long before the advent of social media, to place its use within a wider context of communication, and to explain how the inherent characteristics of social networking that made it appealing to the activists in Egypt. However, it focused on the incidents of the uprisings in Egypt, which have been widely publicized

and followed by the international communities. The results of his study indicated that it was long aimed to demonstrate while possessing various enormous potentials to facilitate and expedite political mobilization; the Internet is an inherently dialectical force that should not be treated solely as a liberator or oppressor.

Based on the previous studies, a conclusion can be drawn: the international media coverage and online press ultimately played a significant role in encouraging and motivating the Egyptian people to carry on their powerful revolution and to be politically active for achieving its success. Applying this to Egyptian and American newspapers coverage for the 25th Jan. events, some areas need to be examined further through this study by comparing the various news media categories and ownerships to uncover covert political biases in journalism. Some areas need more investigation as which news media system was having the greatest dominance over the international media coverage for the events; the local Egyptian media or the foreign American media. And whether the various Egyptian and American newspapers revealed any political biases towards the former regime or they covered the daily events professionally and fairly. The next part presents the theoretical framework and methodology of the study to answer the previous inquiries about the current study in hand.

IV. Theoretical Framework:

Framing can have great impact in shaping our evaluations and interpretations for many significant political events and international issues. Hence, framing is prevalent in all aspects of media and online news, specifically “in the culture, in the minds of elites and professional political communicators, in the texts of communications, and in the minds of individual citizens”. (Entman, et al. 2009, p.176) Framing suggests “that how something is presented to the audience (called “the frame”) influences the choices people make about how to process that information”. (Davie, 2017) Mass media framing has remarkably become a normalized factor in our society, as it controls not only the political scene in the nations, but also it shapes all our everyday forms of communication. In fact, framing is one of the most used mass communication theories, hence framing studies are by their nature a hybrid of quantitative and qualitative research. (Weisman, 2017, p.13) Many researches in mass media communication and journalism have worked on examining how news media framing can influence public perceptions or attitudes toward certain issues especially in covering social movements and political conflicts by the using various news framing aspects.

According to D’angelo (2019), “framing research on news and journalism rests on the metatheoretical proposition that framing is an integrative concept”. Entman (1993) asserted that “media frames suggest how the public can interpret an issue or incident, and framing involves selection and salience”. However, framing has been defined differently by many mass media scholars and has been a significant subject of study for a very long time. Hence, framing news events are similar to framing a picture, where the frame ignores certain aspects and directs the audience eyes to focus on particular aspects. In news media coverage journalists use certain news frames to direct themselves to what to focus on, what to link with each other, and how to react based on current perception and previous experience.

In this context Davie (2017) stated that, "framing occurs when the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning and frames are information processing schemata that it is mainly operate by selecting and highlighting the specific features of some reality while omitting others of it". (p.53) International media profoundly deliver information in frames, as frames are heuristics way the public process information. That the selected frame always excludes certain things while directs the eyes to focus on particular things. For this, human use frames to direct themselves to

what to focus on, what to link with each other, and how to react based on current perception and previous experience. Thus, the mass communication theory of framing can be proposed as a process through which media emphasize aspects of reality and downplay others.

Interestingly, various news messages can be framed within three framing techniques. They are valence framing, semantic framing, and story framing, in this sense, the media can simply frame any story either in a positive or negative light, by changing the phrase of certain terms, or selecting key ideas and fashion the story to fit the selected theme. And, this can be performed through applying these four framing structures: syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical. (Hallahan, 1999)

Therefore, the effects of framing occur when the reporter or the writer provides – sometimes minor- changes in presenting an issue or an event, which may produce – often large- changes of opinion. And framing occurs when minor changes in portrayal of an event result in developing a particular conceptualization of a significant issue or re-orient of people’s thinking about an issue. Since an issue can be seen from many different perspectives, it can be construed in a certain way that results implications for various values or attitudes for the public.

1. Framing Theory

Evidently, many mass media researchers find the framing theory helpful when analyzing the variations and underlying power structures that mediate important events, as controversial political issues. Framing theory aims to identify schemes in which audience regard and understand the world, as frames help us to interpret and reconstruct reality. Framing theory is mainly adopted by communication professionals and news journalists to help in direct the audiences towards certain beliefs and political directions. And this may result that the audience move to complete a specific action or the frame is to shift some mental thoughts processes of the audiences. Thus, throughout the years many scholars have provided many definitions to the framing theory and participated in its development. In this regard, this study adopts the *Framing Theory* which states how media frame events in a certain way to affect the perception of the audiences. (Entman, 1991; Scheufele, 2000) Miller (2005) argued that the framing theory is ultimately based on the assumption that news media organizations are gatekeepers who wield immense power that can directly influence the way the public interprets information, and occurs over a period of time wherein the media grow its reach by reinforcing each frame continuously.

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. (Entman, 2004) Moreover, recently many scholars are interested in studying social movements as examining news framing and activism hence there is a strong tradition of using framing analysis to expose the underlying ideological structures represented through journalism. In fact, the framing theory has continued to evolve through many years, leading to how we understand it today, where framing can be characterized as a theory that emphasizes how media agents highlight some aspects of a situation or individual and downplay others.

According to Scheufele (2000), the framing theory refers to the media’s ability to direct attention to certain things and influence how the public interprets these situations. Correspondingly, many scholars have provided many definitions to the framing theory and continued developing it, all are based on describing how a particular content can be placed in a specific context to deliver a specific meaning in any given society. In fact, the study of framing as a mass communication theory can be traced initially to Goffman (1974), hence he argued that humans frame their experiences in order to organize such experiences and to better understand the world around them. Thus, the framing theory is suitable to explain variations in various news media coverage across different countries.

- Goffman & Gitlin approach:

Goffman (1974) first developed the framing concept in his book, where he initially proposed a definition for what is called the general frames of any given society or culture; these frames are mainly regarded as basic cognitive structures which guide the perception and representation of reality. (Goffman, 1974) While Gitlin (2003) defined frames in another way by saying that “Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters.” Thus, framing refers to the ways in which mass media organize and present issues and events, in terms of “patterns of presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion”. (Gitlin, 2003)

- Gamson & Modigliani approach:

Correspondingly, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identified their especial approach of ‘framing devices’ that condense information and offer a ‘media package’ of an issue. They specified; (1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images as framing devices through their approach. As they proposed that framing is an additional level of the agenda-setting theory, and they added that to create new report, "Journalists decide which facts to include or emphasize, whom to use as sources, and what is really 'at issue'". (Gamson, & Modigliani, 1989, p. 37)

- Cappella & Jamieson approach:

As Cappella and Jamieson (1997) stated that, considering any production feature of texts as an effective tool for news frames is a too broad view. They suggested four specific criteria that a frame must meet. First, a news frame must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics. Second, it should be commonly observed in journalistic practice. Third, it must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames. Fourth, a frame must have representational validity (be recognized by others) and not be merely a figment of a researcher’s imagination. (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, pp. 47-89)

- Kellow & Steeves approach:

By the same token, Kellow and Steeves (1998) also used the prepackaged frames to define news frames that are similar to those of Entman:

- The Risk and Danger frame,
- The Violence frame,
- The Victim’s frame,
- The Powerful and Wicked frame.

These prepackaged frames are more correspond to Entman’s definition of news frames. Hence, the Risk and Danger and Powerful and Wicked frames emphasize threats. The Risk and Danger and Powerful and Wicked frames correspond to Entman’s first function of a news frame, defining the problem. The threats are the problems; also the Victim’s frame emphasizes the victims and corresponds to Entman’s definition of the second function of a news frame, defining the effect of the causal agent of the problem. The victims are the effect of the causal agent of the problem.

Then, Scheufele (2000) asserted that; many factors may influence the news media’s selection of issues to report, as, framing discusses how the news media select specific frames in presenting the issues. Hence, the most comprehensive empirical approach was offered by Tankard (2001) that he suggested a list of 11 framing mechanism or focal points for identifying and measuring news frames: (headlines - subheads- photos - photo captions – leads - source selection - quotes selection - pull quotes –logos - statistics and charts, and-concluding statements and paragraphs). (Tankard, 2001, p. 101)

- Entman approach:

Later on, new approaches to define the framing process in media have been adopted to be more specific and to identify how the framing process presents the news in different interpretations. For Entman, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.” (Entman, 1993, p.52) Moreover, he added that the media highlight a certain piece of information about a main topic of a news story, which raises the salience of the issue. The term salience means “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audience” (p. 53), that the increase in salience affects the probability that the audience will remember the information, especially that the information can be added or taken out according to the message that media want to deliver to the public.

Entman defined four basic roles that news frames play: “Substantive news frames perform at least two of the following basic functions in covering events, issues, and political actors”, these roles:

- Defining effects or conditions as problematic
- Identifying causes
- Conveying a moral judgment of those involved in the framed matter
- Endorsing remedies or improvements to the problematic situation

In recent years, this definition is changed and updated to be as following: “Framing is selecting and high lighting of facts of events and issues and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solutions”, (Entman, 2004) Where, the framing process is used in defining the process, identifying the reasons of the problem, evaluating the effects and offering solutions. In this sense, framing can support existing beliefs, by creating new beliefs or making certain beliefs available at certain times.

After going through all these definitions and classifications of the framing theory, it is evident that the media uses frames to reinforce ideas and shape public discussion, which in turn affects public perception. Regarding news framing, Claes H. de Vreese (2005) in his approach, he proposed that; framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue. As Scheufele, and Tewksbury (2007) added that “different presentations of essentially identical decision making scenarios influence people’s choices and their evaluation of the various options presented to them”. (p. 11)

Many scholars tried through their approaches to measure various frames as they all mostly agreed that frames are ‘specific textual and visual elements’ or ‘framing devices’, and these elements are essentially different from the remaining news story which may be considered important news facts. Baumgartner and Jones (2009) stated that "frames are a tool that actors within coalitions, as well as decision makers, can strategically employ to sway policy and influence outcomes". (p.447) While Van Gorp (2010) asserted that framing studies can be broken into two perspectives: constructionist — in which texts possess elements such as metaphors, keywords, and linguistic structures that create meaning — and constructivist — in which meaning is revealed through an interaction between the text and reader. Later, Tettah & King (2011) clarified the concept of framing that “it is how an idea, issue or personality is presented (framed) in the media influence how people think about that issue or personality”. (p. 505) And, the way the media frame certain message influences how it is filtered through the public’s already developed frame. Thus, it is crucial to focus more on exploring various verbal and visual framing approaches and their correlation through media coverage to deliver complete messages for the public audiences.

a. Verbal Framing

Verbal framing is the way by which information is represented to its audiences in order to communicate efficiently. Frames help the individual to interpret data and this can be widely seen in today's society. Journalists and writers use various news media frames to provide information flow to their audiences through their views. In framing critical international issues or political events, the framing process occurs in this manner: the media deliver information and direct people on how to perceive this information. Hence, framing is used in defining the process, identifying the reasons of the problem, evaluating the effects and offering solutions. Audiences everywhere in the world depend on these frames to create ideas about daily news information or to reinforce preconceived ideas. However, news information is perceived and manipulated within the frames of the public's already existing beliefs and the media's frame. Thus, in covering controversial significant issues interested for the audiences, media can set the various frames, directing the audience in what and how to think, and affecting their overall interpretation of a news report.

While, Cacciatore, Scheufele, and Iyengar (2016) argued that Entman's heavily cited definition contributes to the confusion of framing scholarship because the conceptualization focuses on emphasis or salience of certain points (*emphasis framing*). The authors, instead, present several examples of dichotomous frames, arguing these types of frames are the more methodologically sound approach to understanding framing, for example, as gain/loss frames or episodic/ thematic frames. (Cacciatore, et al., 2016) Moreover, to assist in the understanding of verbal framing, Entman (1993) explained four basic points in mass communication studies that first discuss the audience autonomy. One of the key concepts to the framing theory is dominant meaning. "From a framing consumption, dominant meaning for a specific message consists mainly of the problem, causal, evaluative, and treatment interpretations with the highest probability of being noticed, processed, and accepted by the most individuals". (p. 56)

In this sense, many mass media scholars asserted that frames are interpretive values that all people use when making sense of most complicated social events and political crisis in world around them, by focusing attention only on certain features that are important while neglecting others. Interestingly, D'angelo (2019) through his study investigating framing effects on social entities on the individual, organizational, and cultural levels, he identified two main agendas stand out: audience frames shape opinion formation and journalist frames shape issue cultures. Moreover, different audiences see certain dimensions of issues in very different ways especially in covering international news. What is regarded very important to one stakeholder may not be important at all to another. In covering significant events or political issues, framing works on the filtering of essential news information, it also can generate conflicts through differing interpretations of a certain issue, and disagreements over the importance of its main parts. Thus, verbal framing can be regarded as a fundamental part in all news media sources that we cannot avoid news framing, which is clear in politics as politicians attempt to characterize political events or social conflicts; we find it in all fields.

To sum up, our understanding of the relationship between media, audience, and frames and how the audience interprets information, verbal coverage and textuials remain a primary consideration for mass media and scholarship. However, recently the use of visuals and multimedia in the digital age of news media and online press is increasingly important. In fact, digital audiences always prefer those visually oriented media of news content to other isolated written words. (Morrison, 2016) Thus, a brief overview about visual framing approaches is ultimately very crucial to be discussed through the next part.

b. Visual Framing

As the following research is based on the combination between both verbal and visual framing analysis, thus the study focuses on clarifying the various verbal -visual framing approaches' as being the theoretical approach of the study. Initially, Gitlin (1980) provided guidance for visual framing studies that directly addresses the role of visuals, explaining that frames serve as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual”. Referring to Entman’s (1993) most popular framing identification to visuals, he stated that; “visual framing also is conceptualized as the process that is based on selecting some aspects of truth and perceived reality as highlighting them above other aspects”. In this regard, analyzing visual framing as stated by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) is a significant contribution to the critical news journalistic disciplines. Hence, they perceive images as being in the realm of the realizations and instantiations of ideology, as means that always helps for the articulation of ideological positions. However, visual framing approaches were further discussed by some other scholars as Serafini (2010) declaring that, visuals are thus highly influenced by social contexts since they are significantly nested within the ideological or social structure of situations in which they are basically utilized.

Despite the scientific and anecdotal evidence for the importance of employing visual effects and images to be attached to the articles and texts in most of the news reports in various news media outlets and newspapers, visuals did not receive the same level of any systematic research attention that has been given to the verbal, or textual, news features. Indeed, recent studies have shown that the presence of visuals in news can encourage the sharing and selection of news stories on social media. (Casas & Williams, 2019) This includes the use of visual effects, which visually promotes and stresses on certain aspects, interpretations, or even evaluations for the proposed issue or item presented. While, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) proposed that, framing is used to connect or separate the different elements on the page. They can join elements inside a visual composition and inside a written text, especially that images and texts are being combined in news media framing, and readers in today’s world need new skills and correspondent strategies for constructing the general meaning in transaction with these texts articles hence they are mainly encountered during the social practices of interpretation and representation.

Therefore, examining images and especially in journalism and press helps in revealing the implicit ideological message whether it is racial, religious or philosophical. Hence, analyzing visual framing in press ideologically is an attempt to provide the ‘why’ behind every element in the photos being analyzed. As answers to those significant questions reveal and clarify how those represented news images are employed as basic tools of power used in shaping public consciousness, dominant beliefs and opinions especially during political conflicts and social movements. Moreover, visuals have the power of hiding some facts while highlighting the others. Thus, the power of visuals exceeds the power of verbal. As Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) through their approach comparing the visual framing representations of images to that of the written texts, they asserted that, “images are powerful framing tools because they are less intrusive than words and as such require less cognitive load”. (p. 50)

Interestingly, in new media and digital news, visuals fulfill a unique role in shedding light on international conflicts and critical events as well as bringing social movements and political conflicts stories to life. News visuals has seen a shift toward contemporary formats, in which eye-catching images are represented with accompanying text kept to a minimum means that an image’s impact when viewed alone is no longer unimportant matter. Of course, news images still typically appear in the context of a report and therefore should also be attached with text. Visuals, like texts, can operate as framing devices

insofar as they make use of various rhetorical tools as metaphors, depictions, symbols; that purport to capture the essence of an issue or event graphically. Through the application of these devices, Entman, (1991) proposed that a salient idea becomes easier to understand and easier to remember than other ideas.

Remarkably, scholars have paid considerably less attention to visuals than they have to texts, especially in issues of protests and social unrest. Although recently, most academic mass media research is becoming more concerned with the fundamental association between visual and verbal framing in presenting a complete news message, hence we organize our needs and pleasures, preferences and fears, with great dependence on what we see. Moreover, visual framing in news media offers a large amount of details into practical frameworks that are relevant and appropriate to people's understanding of the everyday world. However, the concept of visual framing analysis in relation to media and conflict provides a relatively new method in approaching the study of visual texts. In fact, visuals and images are capable of producing to support the background claims of ideology, and in turn to use the very appearance of factual representations to support historical, and social backgrounds of ideology.

It is crucial to point out that visuals play an important role in the framing effects of the various news media outlets. Hence, visual frames derive power when they carry specific, accepted, and shared meanings that stimulate related ideas or thoughts commonly held within a culture. Images tend to approximate reality and thus have the power to create stronger emotional and immediate cues. Moreover, visual frames apply various rhetorical devices or condensing symbols such as metaphors, catch phrases, and depictions that graphically evoke the core frame. In their study (2015), Thomas Powell, Hajo Boomgaarden Knut De Swert, and Claes Vreese; they proposed that, when images and texts are presented together, as in a typical news report, the frame carried by the text influences opinions regardless of the accompanying image, whereas the frame carried by the image drives behavioral intentions irrespective of the linked text. The researchers explained these effects by the salience enhancing and emotional consequences of visuals (Powell, et al., 2015).

In this light, it is interesting to propose a study which investigates visual framing analysis coupled with verbal framing analysis in the news media discourse to analyze the different newspapers frames of texts and images to complete their intended meanings through its news media coverage. Hence, visual framing as a theoretical approach is regarded as a useful tool for newspapers' analysis as it helps in applying those frames in a variety of topics, such as conflict, human interest, and economic consequence. By understanding the various frames that news media sources use to distinguish important from unimportant information, then it is convenient understanding people respond when interpreting a particular situation. Verbal and visual frames are mainly represented as abstract notions which are used to organize and structure social meanings, influencing the audience perception. Whereas, various frames are imposing central specific focus placed on a significant aspect of any message that can help the audience consumers to infer meaning and to construct profoundly their social reality in relation to a particular topic of media coverage.

Thus, through a specific view or angle the media tells a certain story from a specific point of view; where the various selected frames, influence the public. News frames are cognitive shortcuts also where many people use to understand complex information, and help in interpreting the whole world through a coherent image. Where, various news frames give meaning by selective simplification, as filtering people's conscious perceptions when providing a clear view about a problem. Thus, the next part presents a short hint about framing variables and the five most common news frames used mainly in international news media coverage.

2. Types of Frames and Framing Variables

The framing theory has been extensively searched by many scholars in examining and identifying the various types of frames that international news media commonly use that were mostly drawing from established schemas. However, Iyengar (1991) identified two basic types of frames; the episodic frame which is generally focusing on a singular event or issue, and the thematic frame that is focusing on a larger number of incidents as social conflicts to draw out contexts and trends. In the same context, many scholars asserted that the framing process in international news media depends on some variables, hence a specific complicated event, such as the “Egyptian 25th Jan. Events” is framed as a thematic issue in representing a social movement. D’angelo (2019) commented that; “doing framing analysis does not presuppose a universal theoretical framework or a unified conceptual definition of “frame” and “framing.” News framing also depends on some other variables related to the news content and the media working field. And these variables differ completely from one country to another based on the following variables.

There are at least five basic factors influencing the news framing of a given issue.

- Media independence and freedom from any political control or influence.
- Cultural, ideological, and political orientations (references) of each country.
- Various patterns of media practice and performance.
- News types, sources, and journalistic routines.
- The event’s significance and popularity. (Scheufele, 2000, p.107)

Each one of these variables is responsible for the choosing and manipulation for specific frames used profoundly in the news. The first variable “The degree of media independence from any political control or influence”, is based on how powerful is the governmental media systems and censorship, and how directing the public view through manipulating specific frames for an issue. The second variable “The cultural ideological and political orientation that belong to each country,” refers to the effect of the social values, can be reflected through the news frames. The other variables “Various patterns of media systems and performance, The News types, sources, and journalistic routines, and The event’s significance and popularity”, are based on how popular is the event and how it is framed according to its type and source.

3. Most Common News Frames

When analyzing the news content of different news organizations from other countries, the most commonly used two frames are always the conflict and the consequences frames. (de Vreese et al., 2001; Gamson, 1992) Hence, most media outlets more often used these two frames the responsibility and the conflict frames in the presentation of news. While in contrast many other sensationalist media outlets used more often the human interest frame through their coverage.

• Conflict frame

This frame is mostly used in the criticism of political or media performance hence it contributes to the specific attribution of blame in crisis situations. It emphasizes mainly conflicts between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of dragging public attention and capturing audience interest. (Neuman et al, 1992, pp.61-62) Also this frame is presented in news articles when there is at least two sided oppositional depiction of contradiction or disagreement among individuals or groups regarding a specific

issue. When emphasizing a conflict the news media is criticized for inducing public mistrust of political figures and conflict leaders.

- **Morality frame**

This frame was popularly used mainly in the news reporting, that it puts the event, problem, or issue within the moral or the religious context. However, journalists mainly use this morality frame in an indirect manner by way of quotations or inference, rather than relying on journalistic norms of objectivity. For instance, most news stories mainly related to preventable crises were intended to be framed in terms of morality than stories about other types of crises. (An, & Gower, 2009)

- **Economic frame**

This frame is mainly used in reporting events, problems, or issues in terms of consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, and country. When crises include larger economic consequences, the frame will be more common in the news. (Nijkraak, et al., 2015)

- **Attribution of responsibility**

This frame presents a significant issue or problem in a way to attribute the responsibility for its causes or solutions to the governments, or the individuals, or the groups they are involved with. It shows the responsibility of a government, an individual or a group related to an issue or problem. (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000)

- **Human interest frame**

This frame uses a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of a problem, issue, or event. This frame works on personalizing the news, dramatize or “emotionalize” the news, in order to capture audiences’ attention. Thus, the human interest frame covers issues as individual examples with a focus on personal problems and responsibilities. (Aalberg, & Beyer, 2015)

In fact, all these common news frames can be used in communication context, on social media or in social and political news stories, about debates, etc. They can also be applied to social issues like revolutions, which this study is asserted around, albeit not directly. They are also commonly suggested through their frames researchers track text tones: positive, negative, or neutral tones.

After examining all these definitions and classifications of these most common news media frames, it is evident that framing ultimately reflects the objectivity and bias in news media journalism hence it is a useful tool for analysis in mass communication research. Although the theory is less than fifty years old, its effects have been prevalent since ancient times. Framing theory is the focusing of attention on certain events, and then placing those events in a specific field of meaning”. Thus, understanding the various frames that the press and media coverage use to distinguish important from unimportant information is highly significant that it will be easier to detect news framing diversity in covering social movements and political events. In this sense, media frames influence directly the way people receive and infer any message. In this case study, we are trying to identify the types of frames, which the news media emphasize and how these frames were used by the various Egyptian and American newspapers in covering the 25th Jan. events (2011).

V. Research Questions and Hypotheses

Various studies have examined the deep correlation between media coverage and news framing regarding social movements, but few focused on the impact of press media ownership and nationality on the journalistic objectivity and the existence of political bias through news reporting in print media, such as the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. According to the previously reviewed literature and studies, there is only a limited amount of studies done on examining the framing and the journalistic objectivity in comparing Egyptian and American online press coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. Focusing on international media coverage diversity, it is crucial to study specific areas and examine these various prospects of online press coverage for social movements, especially regarding media ownership, political biases, and different culture contexts and ideologies between the various sources.

This study investigates international media coverage for political issues, and explores the basic crucial role played by digital new media including online newspapers in motivating social movements causing its ultimate public success in getting rid of former corrupted regimes. This content analysis examines mainly the media ownerships impact on the news framing of the 25th Jan. (2011) events. As analyzing the revolution's details aftermath and political players across four Egyptian and American newspapers dailies representing different news media ownerships and contradicted ideological political categories. Moreover, it is trying to create a panoramic view of international media coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, through investigating a number of research questions and hypothesis. As based on the notion that; "a hypothesis is a proposed solution for a yet-unexplained occurrence that does not fall under into any current scientific theory or study. Hence, the central idea of a hypothesis is that there is no pre-determined result, that to be termed a scientific hypothesis, it needs to something that can be supported or refuted through experimentation or observation, and this is called falsifiability and testability. (Bradford, 2017)

Therefore, the following Research questions and Hypotheses will be tested.

- Research Questions

RQ1: How were the Egyptian 25th Jan. events framed by the Egyptian and American newspapers?

RQ2: How were the protesters portrayed through the Egyptian and American newspapers?

RQ3: Which newspapers were biased towards the Egyptian government and the former regime?

RQ4: Which newspapers defined the 25th Jan. events as a (Revolution) through their coverage?

RQ5: To what extent do the Egyptian and American press framed the Egyptian 25th Jan. events fairly and professionally?

- Research Hypotheses

H1: There is a profound correlation between the news media ownerships, nationality and the way of framing and portraying the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) in the Egyptian & American newspapers.

H2: The foreign American press was having more journalistic dominance over the international media coverage for the 25th Jan. events than the local national Egyptian press.

VI. Methodological Steps

The following figure (Fig. 2) illustrates the steps carried out through this study:

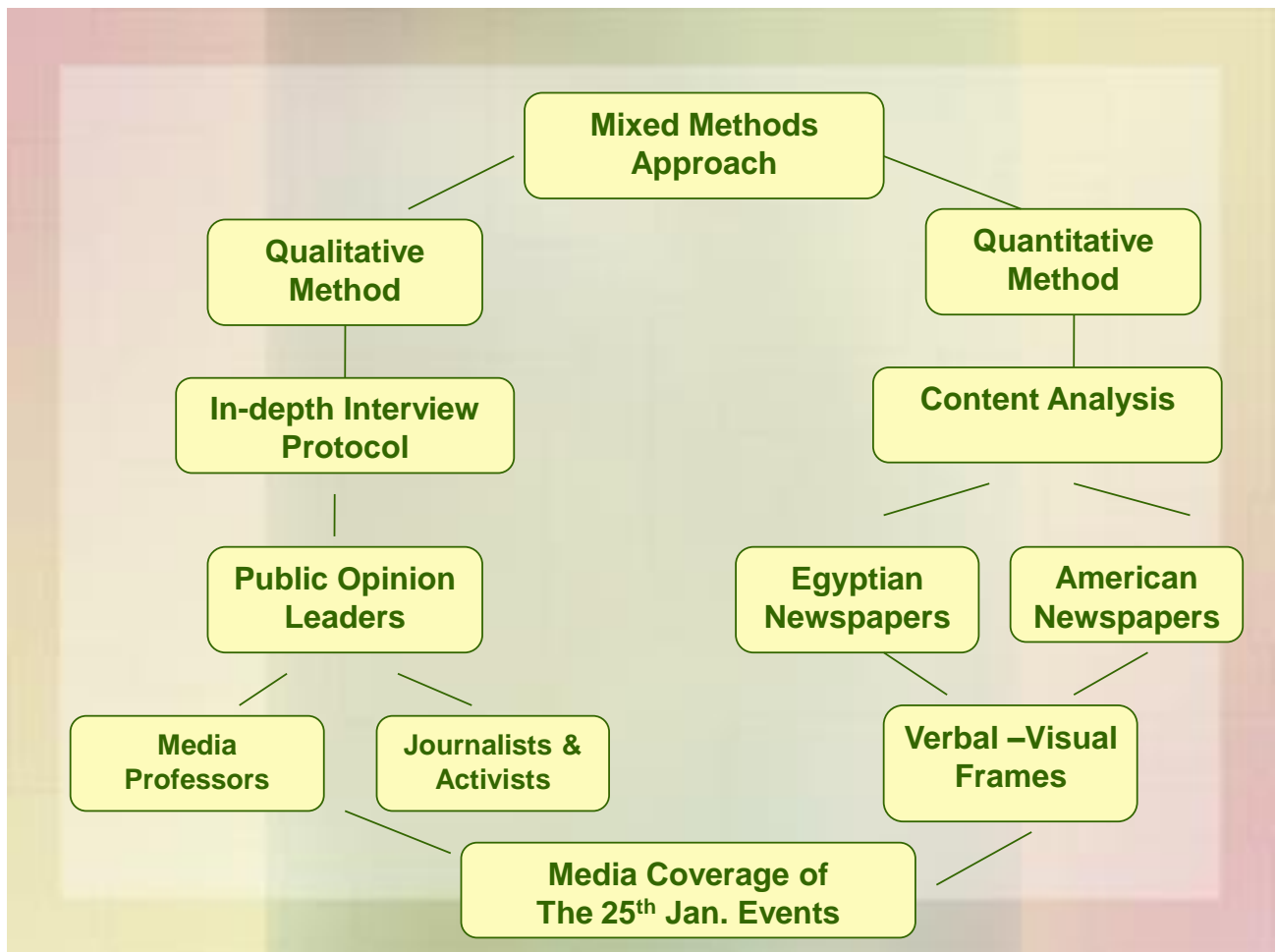


Figure (2): Steps carried out through this Study (designed by the researcher)

Demonstrated by the following figure (2), a triangulation mixed methods research design is appropriate for this study. Because the results are significant to investigate the framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events in various Egyptian and American press while identifying the various news frames used by each of them. That, a mixed methods approach of qualitative and quantitative research designs can involve multiple phases, with each phase building on the previous one. Hence, Askun and Cizel (2020) postulated that, “as a design, the mixed methods involves many stages of the research process and includes philosophical assumptions that guide the management of data collection and analysis operations with a mixture of quantitative approaches”. While, Creswell and Clark (2018) illustrated that, the flexibility and significance of the preferred research approach procedure that starts with qualitative data collection as a preliminary phase to be followed by the quantitative data collection and analysis in the second phase. After the combination between qualitative and quantitative, results are established. The next part proposes the methodology of the study, as for testing the theoretical assumptions of the research.

VII. Methodology

This part clarifies the adopted methodological approach of the study. It proposes a general review about mixed methods approach that combines both qualitative and quantitative analysis together based on the In-depth interviews technique and the Content Analysis. It presents first the In depth interviews with interviewing some media professionals of public opinion leaders, activists, and journalists. Then, the content analysis as it aims at presenting the analytical framework through which the objectives of the study are achieved. Moreover, it includes all the materials and methods of data collection especially that the analyzed data are articles and images all extracted from online newspapers.

The study begins by the In- depth interviews with media professionals of public opinion leaders journalists and activist then the content analysis on published newspapers articles covering the events. Content analysis is mainly used for analyzing the verbal and visual frames conveyed through both Egyptian and American newspapers. Content analysis is used in order to define the ‘News Frames’ used by the various newspapers identifying cultural differences hence content analysis has a “potential to identify developments over long period”. (Wimmer, & Dominick, 2011, p. 152) This method helps in determining contrasts in media coverage of different media systems in two countries Egypt and the US. Content analysis is used for analyzing the ideological and political news frames conveyed by both Egyptian and American newspapers in their online pages in covering the 25th Jan. events. Based on Wimmer and Dominick (2011) approach, they proposed 10 steps in applying content analysis which are (1) developing the research questions, (2) defining the study’s ‘universe,’ (3) picking up a sampling frame, (4) choosing the unit of the analysis,(5) constructing specific categories, (6) developing 20 quantification of system, (7) training the coders and establishing the reliability, (8) completing the coding procedures, (9) analyzing the data collected finally (10) draw the conclusions from the results.

In doing so, the following steps are conducted through this study:

1. For the In-depth interviews; the researcher begins by constructing specific questions for the interviews to measure Journalism Experts’ (including 6 Media professionals of journalists, professors and Political Activists) eliciting their views and political perceptions about international media coverage and the framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events.
2. Conducting the interviews, transcribing, building categories, analyzing, and interpreting results.
3. For the Content analysis; the researcher begins by collecting samples of the newspapers articles and their related images of online pages from both Egyptian and American press. That is to identify the different news frames and narratives offered by them, which in turn help in determining the agreement and support for the in-depth interviews categories and questions.
4. Identifying the unit of analysis for the online newspapers, which is the article and its related image.
5. Decide on the coding scheme and constructing specific questions for the coding sheet to measure the used frames. And how these frames affected media coverage fairness in Egyptian and American newspapers.
6. Training the coders and measuring inter coder reliability.
7. Running statistical analysis and interpreting the results.

Correspondingly, as mentioned above this study adopts a “Triangulation” mixed methods approach hence it combines both qualitative and quantitative methods together. To get a more clear idea, the following part explains the triangulation mixed methods approach in more details, and then it defines the universe and the sample of the study.

1. Mixed Methods Approach

In particular, this study chooses the “Triangulation” mixed methods approach as an appropriate method, as it combines both quantitative and qualitative methods together. Creswell (2014) recommended researchers instead of focusing on methods; they should emphasize more the research problem and use all approaches available to understand the problem as using a philosophical underpinning for mixed methods studies. Thus, through the current study to analyze the data collected, mixed methods approach is adopted in the form of a quantitative content framing analysis accompanied by a qualitative interview analysis using “In-depth interviews”. Hence, it is significant that both the methods and methodology should be built in relation to each other for getting more accurate research results. Cronholm and Hjalmarsson, (2011) illustrated that; mixed methods approach not only employs and integrates quantitative and qualitative methods in the collection and analyzing of data, it also offers a particular vision of the world and helps researchers to obtain more accurate results, compared to the result achieved when approaches are used separately. Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) described mixed methods as being in a reflection and refinement period.

Further, Askun and Cizel (2020) defined mixed methods research as a research design with philosophical assumptions and a research method. Accordingly, the practical application of this study adopts a triangulation mixed methods approach for a clear understanding of news media journalistic objectivity in covering social movements as the 25th Jan. events. Thus, it focuses on news framing presented to the public through international media coverage of various elite newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times, and The Washington Post, where the study is focusing on their news sources, ownership and political affiliations in framing the same news events. The study conducts a mixed methods approach based on the combination between quantitative and qualitative methods together. This combination, of mixed methods techniques would allow the study to present deeper understanding of particular issues, trends and relationships that are basically encountered in the data.

In doing so, the study works on two levels of analysis; first the qualitative analysis using “In depth Interview” with six public opinion leaders of media professionals, journalists and political activists. And, the second quantitative content framing analysis of press for various texts and images represented in the media coverage of the Egyptian 25th Jan. Events. Askun and Cizel (2020) commented that, “Nowadays, researchers use different qualitative and quantitative literature approaches to understand and interpret the results of the published studies using their previous findings. Moreover, the thesis focuses on the various verbal-visual framing techniques used in the four newspapers chosen for the study. And how they affect the representation of the 25th Jan. events in news media, based on the framing theory for identifying which news media source, and newspapers were biased to the former regime against the protesters, as various news sources and reporters can change the frame of stories, resulting in media bias. In this regard, framing theory can be seen in several different mediums of communication throughout the world, one of the most prevalent areas of it is seen in online digital media coverage for social movements.

Askun and Cizel (2020) commented that, “research subject of the mixed methods has been in high demand for academic research in the last 30 years. This interest leads to an ever-increasing scientific study of mixed methods and requires a comprehensive perspective on the subject”. In this regard, this study methodologically operates on the combination of two levels of analysis; first, using the “In depth Interviews” as a qualitative technique, hence by definition, a qualitative research examines and analyzes words to elicit empirical knowledge of how humans produce, experience, interpret and understand the social world around them. Thus, the interviews are held with six people of selected public opinion leaders of media professionals, journalists and political activists, talking about their experiences and expressing

their ideological and political views of the media coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events regarding press. Second, the quantitative by applying content analysis, for analyzing the various newspapers articles and images under the umbrella of the framing theory. Where, content analysis is used in order to define the ‘News Frames’ of the various news organizations, to investigate what is already there in the articles and their attached images and how the events were framed which is the main concern of this study, without detecting the effects of the messages on public opinion. Such qualitative technique was correspondent to the quantitative content analysis. Hence, Bryman (2012) stated that, “it is difficult to draw a clear and unambiguous line between qualitative and quantitative basic research methods”.

The following part explains the two levels of analysis; the in-depth protocol and the content analysis, as it defines the universe and the sample of the study. The In-depth protocol is clarified properly in more details, hence it is the first level in the study then it is followed by the content analysis. Because content analysis is a long-standing method for analyzing the content of textual material as it relates to spoken, written, and visual texts. By combining these two methodological approaches within one study is very appropriate as a practical application deployed to examine the media representation of the various factions involved in covering the Egyptian 25th Jan. events.

a. The In-depth Interview

In-depth Interview is the most commonly used technique in news media communication researches. Hence, it is regarded as an essential qualitative method because it is capable to collect a great amount of information and insights from a small sized sample. (Wimmer, & Domminick, 2011, p.139) And that is for several reasons:

- It helps exploring the boundaries of a problem, then evaluating potential solutions.
- It works on obtaining context for a problem or issue.
- It facilitates managing the research process by supporting the interpretation of results from surveys and other quantitative methods.

In fact, a significant type of qualitative research is the In-depth interview. Hence, it is regarded as a profound qualitative methodological technique that is used specifically for gathering specialized or expert information where it combines structure; as represented in the questions with flexibility. It is also represented in the time and freedom the interviewee has, while responding to the questions to answer. (Katz, & Lazarsfeld, 1955) Many scholars argued that a qualitative research examines and analyzes words to elicit empirical knowledge of how humans produce experience, interpret and understand the social world around them. Hammersley and Campbell (2012) identified the qualitative research as a form of social inquiry that tends to adopt a flexible and data-driven research design, to use relatively the most unstructured data specifically to illustrate the essential role of subjectivity within the research process, based on studying small numbers of the naturally occurring cases in detail, and to use verbal rather than statistical form of analysis.

From this perspective, in order to get a more comprehensive view about the profound correlation between news media, media ownerships and the framing of the 25th Jan. events in international media coverage, conducting in-depth Interviews would be necessary among media professionals of journalists and political activists. Running interviews with six journalists and media professors selected according to their specifications and areas of expertise to elicit their reviews and experience concerning international media coverage diversity of the 25th Jan. Events. The in-depth interview is based on purposive sample that includes six persons; it will be run with: three journalists chosen from each of the selected Egyptian

governmental, independent and foreign American newspapers, and three media Professors, interviewed as public opinion leaders, to be divided equally. And the interviews were carried on in November 2019.

In fact, mixed methods mainly focus on deploying analysis through blending both the qualitative and the quantitative data collections in a research or a series of studies. (Askun, & Cizel, 2020) In this sense, on the second level; the study uses the content analyses as its basic methodology to investigate what is already there in the articles and their related images focusing on how the events were framed. Especially that, content analysis is regarded as a significant quantitative and qualitative approach which involves systematically looking at body of texts to make it more valid and replicable for inferences. As Rose (2016) stated that, content analysis offers a basically systematic application with analyzing copious amounts of texts and images which is the main concern through this study. Moreover, the content analysis is mostly used as a vital means by which to understand how news media report on social phenomena (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 52), such as newspapers coverage for political protests. The study works to identify how these various newspapers framed the 25th Jan. events, and which were more biased to the former regime against the revolution, as exploring whether the newspapers' source and ownership affect the quality and fairness of news coverage through reporting the crisis events. Content framing analysis was found to be more appropriate and thus conducted to determine the dominant trends and frames presented within the news coverage that was examined over the course of the sampling period.

b. The Content Analysis

Content analysis technique is one of the major quantitative news media research methods, hence it is defined as: “a research technique used for objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. (Baxter, & Babie, 2004, pp.230-245) The classical definition of content analysis is: “a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables,” as defined by Kerlinger (2000). Moreover, the content analysis is a highly flexible research method that has been widely used with varying research goals and objectives. It is regarded as a basic accurate quantitative method, and thus, as a non-biased research method. (Rose, 2016)

In this study, the researcher finds it appropriate to use the “Content analysis” method to help in exploring various variables, describing the nature of content, to create interpretive assumptions. Hence, content analysis basically works to gather large amount of data and use wide range of data analysis process. (Wimmer, & Dominick, 2011, pp. 184-187) According to Dudovski (2017), “quantitative research is research on the basis of numbers and calculations”. Thus, quantitative content analysis is the chosen method for the research problem of the thesis because it is essential to find patterns and helps researchers can methodically evaluate news media and its use of framing. And this allows for the comparison of possible media framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. event. In fact, content analysis is very useful in studying the changes in media policy towards a certain topic or group, which is one of the concerns of this study (Wimmer, & Dominick, 2011).

In the same vein, the quantitative part of the analysis stage content analysis was properly conducted, which can be described as a research technique used to systematically analyze the content of written or otherwise recorded text, hence researchers make sense of data by quantifying content into themes. (Bryman, 2012, pp. 289-290) As Rose (2016) suggested that, content analysis helps to reveal the influence on the sites of production, circulation and audience of the message, since it almost utterly focuses on the site of an image itself. Thus, it is an extremely useful method for identifying latent and

manifest messages in media texts that allows to infer who is responsible for helping to construct the messages, either journalists, editors, media owners, government, and spokespeople.

From this perspective, this work is based on examining newspapers articles and their related images extracted from; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times, and The Washington Post, covering the revolution. A content analysis of 190 news articles and 137 images drawn from four daily national and foreign international elite newspapers, representing news stories that were produced during this period covering the 25th Jan. Events.

2. Data Collection and Choosing Media

As mentioned above, the empirical data of this study were collected through a mixed methods approach combining In-depth interviews and content analysis together using a convergent parallel design. Based on this approach, first, qualitative and quantitative data were collected concurrently to complete each other; later the data were separately analyzed to achieve the purpose of the study (Creswell, & Plano Clark, 2018, pp.77-81). The data collection tools are; the In-depth interviews guide and the coding scheme for the content analysis. First, the In-depth interviews were based on preparing different sets of questions: general questions to all three calibers, political media professors, journalists and activists, and then a set of questions designed to each caliber. The interviews were carried out in May 2018.

Second, the quantitative phase of this study was deployed to investigate the research questions that were based on analyzing articles and images extracted from four online newspapers. The data of the content analysis were gathered from online newspapers articles and images covering the incidents of the 25th Jan. events during its peak period. Newspapers from the USA and Egypt were chosen since these are two different countries with different ideological and cultural contexts. These papers are regarded as 'elite' or 'quality presses' and the finest models of local national versus foreign international journalism. The decision to focus on digital copies of newspapers rather than on printed newspapers or broadcast media however resulted from the fact that, in an era of advanced communication technologies, digital media and online journalism ultimately provide a wider basis and a best model for professional journalistic norms across all mass media outlets on the global level. Another relevant parameter of the quality of online press is the prominence it gives to foreign news coverage, in particular political and social conflicts in international news.

It is important to note that the incidents of the 25th Jan. events (2011) occurred in Egypt, which means that it is local news for the Egyptian press while it is foreign news for the foreign American press. Thus, the following newspapers were selected: Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, The New York Times and The Washington Post. All four Egyptian and American newspapers are considered elite, veteran and prominent publications in their field and in their countries. In fact, Al Ahram, and Al Masry Al Youm are regarded as the most professional and popular national governmental press in Egypt, while The New York Times and The Washington Post are regarded as role models for foreign coverage newspapers worldwide and considered as high quality press in the USA. For covering the 25th Jan. events, each of the newspapers was scoured for several days in the first month of the Egyptian revolution, searching for relevant news items including articles and images published in these chosen papers during the peak period of the erupted social demonstrations. According to Cozma (2014), "source selection is ... a key component of the final news product, and using the same sources over time has important implications". (p. 5)

The study focuses on the deep relation between the news outlets ownership, cultural context, ideological background and the way of the media coverage for significant political international issues. And how new media and digital journalism are regarded as a significant tools in shaping and directing

public conscience for raising political awareness during social movements. Saragih and Harahap (2020) commented that; such rapid development of digital media and the internet encouraged more people to access online media easily through their mobile phones, or gadgets. In doing so, the study uses a content analysis on four elite Egyptian and American newspapers to examine their coverage through analyzing the various news frames they used to cover the 25th Jan. events. To come up with how the schematic structure of these frames functions to convey evaluative stance and align the audience with the stated proposition.

3. Universe and Sampling

a. Defining the Universe

Ultimately, before selecting the sample of the study, the Universe should be identified which is vital in specifying the limits of the study. (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011) That one of the basic steps of content analysis is defining the universe. In fact, the study at hands is concerned by examining two types of universes, the (public opinion leaders) of the “In depth interviews” and the (newspapers) of the content analysis. Thus, it is crucial to point out that this study is concerned by two different types of universes: First, the public opinion leaders; as a purposive sample of 6 people representing media professionals, journalists and political activists are to be interviewed within In depth interviews for getting information about their ideological and political views about international media coverage diversity for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. Second, the newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times and Washington Post, based on the notion that elite newspapers “provide significant cues to other types of news organizations about what is newsworthy. Their importance therefore extends beyond their own readership to the content of other news media” (Lawrence, 2000).

By considering the location, circulation, and the political orientations of these chosen newspapers, two media categories are specified for the analysis: The Egyptian national newspapers (Al Ahram, and Al Masry Al Youm) and the foreign international American newspapers (the New York Times, and the Washington Post). Hence, these newspapers are available at the search databases that are mainly used to find newspapers articles and images of the 25th Jan. events coverage to be extracted for this study. And they are published during the period between 25th Jan. and 25th Feb. (2011). As, the study examines the articles and images published through various frames in hard news, and editorial articles focusing on the used photos, phrases, headlines, and portrayals of events covering the first period month of the crisis.

The research focuses on analyzing four elite local national and foreign international dailies representing different news media categories;

1. Al Ahram (online), representing the national Egyptian governmental press.
2. Al Masry Al Youm (online), representing the Egyptian private independent press.
3. The New York Times (online), representing the foreign American press.
4. The Washington Post (online), representing the foreign American press.

In fact, it is significant to point out that these four daily newspapers were specifically selected because they are having the higher circulation rates in their countries and internationally, and therefore, they can be argued. Also, they have a great impact on the public perception especially in covering significant global social and political issues. For each newspaper included in the research sample, the researcher codes all stories where the beginning of the text of the story appears on the front page of the

day's hard copy edition. If a story has a picture, caption to text inside it has the priority to be included for the analysis. The coding was only for all the stories and pictures that were published on the front pages within both the national and the international papers. Hence, international elite newspapers "provide a cue to other types of news organizations about what is newsworthy, and their importance" (Lawrence, 2000).

In this regard, the study is based on collecting texts and images of the front pages of four newspapers; on their online pages covering the first month of the 25th Jan. events from its beginning at 25th Jan. (2011) till 25th Feb. (2011). This period is specifically chosen as it covers the peak period of the revolution events. Moreover, it focuses on the various frames, narratives and counter images offered by the various newspapers, which in turn helps in applying verbal and visual analysis of total selected 190 news articles and 137 images. Interestingly, the reason behind choosing the Egyptian newspapers Al Ahram and Al Masry Al Youm for the study not only rests on the fact that the former is a state-run newspaper and the latter is a privately-owned newspaper, but also because of their high circulation rates as official and private Egyptian newspapers which may indicate their great impact on the readers who consider them as popular trusty sources to obtain news from. Each of these two selected Egyptian newspapers is highly distinguished through its schematic structure and the way of its coverage for the events. On the local and national level, Al Ahram newspaper represents the first Egyptian semiofficial governmental press coverage, where the term "semiofficial" is used to describe it because of the strong government influence on its content and framing. (Amin, 2002) While, Al Masry Al Youm newspaper represents the most influential Egyptian independent press coverage for the crisis (2011). Especially during this erupted period, it employed a mix of journalists and freelance writers, ranging from state-media writers to youthful activists punctuated with fresh ideological views and anarchistic slants.

On the other hand, the foreign international press coverage for the 25th Jan, events The New York Times was chosen. Because of its international journalistic dominance and popularity, as it is the third in the national American press circulation, after the two newspapers USA Today and The Wall Street Journal. Moreover, it is known as the most widely read digital newspaper, with high online subscribers. And similarly the American newspaper The Washington Post is also chosen for the study hence, it is regarded as the most widely circulated newspaper published in Washington, D.C, that many media critics classified it as a prominent American liberal newspaper. In terms of the political leanings of these American newspapers publications, The New York Times is generally known to be specialized in covering foreign news events with liberal stance, while the political orientations of The Washington Post harder to assign a distinctly liberal or conservative label. That is to say, these two American newspapers The New York Times and The Washington Post are specifically included within the data set due to their prominent circulation numbers. And the influence of their coverage is highly devoted to foreign affairs, especially including the Middle East region. Also they are chosen because of their popularity and advanced accessibility of their online pages and archives.

Further, the study chooses the online electronic copies for these newspapers, as based on Baker's study (2015), he asserted that online news media and social networking remarkably increased 90% over the last two years, allowing audience to search for updated news content without television or radio. Whereas, each news source affects directly the public audience perception according to its political agendas and interests, hence contemporary news media systems all over the world demand for more objective beats, investigative articles reportages, and topics that are profoundly connected to the sphere of public infotainment correspondent with more choices for the audiences. These newly evolved digital media as online journalism landscape, and these prominent newspapers are chosen for the study that they have 24/7 newsrooms, hence they always try to be first and to have a continuous flow of information.

Thus, the study focuses on the online copies or replicas of the four newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times and The Washington Post, hence new media and digital journalism is ultimately forcing international news organizations and elite press companies to implement online owned media in covering most significant international issues. In addition to the content analysis of these newspapers articles and images, the study also includes in-depth interviews with media professionals and public opinion leaders divided into journalists, activists and professors.

b. The Sample

After defining the universe, the sample of the study is to be drawn. Initially, sampling technique first emerged during the 18th century with the evolution of the probability theories. A sample is “a finite part of a statistical population sample whose properties are analyzed to gain detailed information about the whole”. (Webster, 1985) Moreover, it is drawing a certain group of the population that is representative to it. As Wimmer and Dominick (2011) commented that, a unit of analysis in a content analysis can be defined as the smallest item that the researcher counts as he or she comes across it. (p.87)

For the present study, the unit of analysis is the newspaper article and its related image extracted from the following newspapers: Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times, and the Washington Post specifically, through their coverage for the 25th Jan. events within a limited period. It is the peak month of the events starting from 25th Jan. till 25th Feb. (2011). Correspondingly, a purposive sample is useful in this research because it basically provides a wide range of non-probability sample of techniques for the researcher to draw on. In fact, purposive sample is also based on the judgmental, selective or subjective sampling, that profoundly reflects a group of sampling techniques rely mainly on the judgment of the researcher when selecting the units of populations are to be examined.

In this regard, this study adopts a non probability sample, specifically a purposive sample hence it can provide researchers with the justification to make generalizations from the sample that is being studied, whether such generalizations are theoretical, analytic and logical in nature. (Sharma, 2017, p.751) Moreover, respondents of the Purposive sample are selected according to certain characteristics and those who do not include these characteristics will be excluded out of the sample. (Wimmer, & Domnick, 2011)

A purposive sample technique is thus used to select news stories to be studied from each of the four papers. A purposive sample is found the most appropriate technique to be used hence the research is analyzing the newspapers articles and images extracted from prominent international newspapers covering the events of the 25th Jan. revolution. The sample was selected from published articles in the 30 days that witnessed the erupted events of the social movement

i. In-depth Interviews

In the in-depth interview study, the Purposive sample includes six Media Professionals of Newspapers’ journalists and Media Professors as public opinion leaders divided equally.

The Newspapers’ Journalists includes:

- Gamal Zayda, Managing Editor and Columnist at Al Ahram newspaper.
- Mesbah Kotb, Editor and Journalist at Al Masry Al Youm newspaper.
- Abdel Latif Wahba, Journalist at Bloomberg LP at New York Times newspaper.

The Media Professors includes:

- Mona Makram-Ebeid, Professor of Political Science at the American University, Egyptian senator and Former Member of Parliament.
- Hannan Farouk Geneid, Professor in Mass Communication and Public Relations, at Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University.
- Nermeen Nabil Alazrak, Associate Professor in Journalism department, Mass Communication Faculty at Cairo University.

It is highly significant to point out that, all the above chosen media professionals including journalists and public opinion leaders are deeply involved with public audiences of citizens and youth through their jobs and media specializations in the mass media field and journalism. Through their jobs and public representations they are all characterized by having a great opportunity in connecting with people; especially the youth and the power for addressing the public and citizens. As expressing their interpretations and political views for the various social and political issues regarding their experiences and political vision about the 25th Jan events. Hence, they are having a great direct contact with the mass population especially the youth through their media working fields; as journalists, professors, media professionals or activists. Through this study it is very significant to run an in depth interviews with them to investigate their political and ideological views about the international media coverage diversity and the great role of online journalism for motivating the Egyptian 25th Jan. events.

ii. Content Analysis

A quantitative content analysis is conducted through this study to explore how elite Egyptian and American online newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times and The Washington Post framed the 25th Jan., (2011) events. A purposive sample of 190 news stories and 137 images of each of the above mentioned four dailies online newspapers, extracted mainly from the front pages to be analyzed. In the content analysis, the Purposive sample included articles and images extracted from the four newspapers coverage during the peak period, the first month of the revolution starting from 25th Jan. till 25th of Feb. (2011). The sample was chosen according to previous research that the first month of (2011) is the peak period of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. In fact, the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) witnessed the use of digital media and online press in a very powerful way; hence it was utilized as an effective tool to sell the issue to the public. Egypt's movement for popular democracy represents a defining moment for news media, especially in the context of international newspapers' coverage of the events. Hence, newspapers always represent a cornerstone institution within the country, that struggled long to direct and shape mass opinion especially by framing these events in their own preferred ways. (Hamdy, & Gomaa, 2012, p.195) This online media coverage and digital activism, as stated by Khamis et al (2011) ultimately paved the way for regime change in January (2011) in Egypt. Thus, digital press is regarded as a major tool triggered for street demonstrations and aiding the mobilization and organization of protests and other possible forms of public political expression.

The study adopts a quantitative content analysis to study a purposive sample of Egyptian and American newspapers coverage published between 25 January and 25 February, (2011). The chosen material collected consisted of two manually filtered purposive samples of 190 texts and 137 images all extracted from Egyptian governmental and independent newspapers, and foreign American newspapers.

The first group consists of two Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram, and Al Masry Al Youm, as the term “governmental” referring to Al Ahram newspaper is used to describe it because of the strong government influence on the newspaper’s content. (Amin, 2002) While, Al Masry Al Youm is known to be the most popular Egyptian independent newspaper which reveals its free stance and clear objectivity in covering the revolution incidents without any governmental tendencies or biases. The search yielded of total 78 news stories extracted with 20 images from the two Egyptian newspapers included for the analysis. From Al Ahram 52 articles and 20 images were examined while from Al Masry Al Youm 26 articles only hence the schematic structure of Al Masry Al Youm as an independent Egyptian newspaper is based on focusing and presenting news texts and articles only without attaching any images to its texts.

It is crucial to point out that from the Egyptian newspapers, the researcher selected articles and images only from the front pages of each day, starting with the first articles. There are several reasons behind selecting the front pages only of these publications. First, front pages always include the most crucial news stories of the day. Second, due to the newsworthiness of the events, as well as being inevitable and unexpected, almost the entire issues of each of these local papers were focusing on the revolution; this in turn makes it difficult for us to select articles from the whole issue of each day. Therefore, to limit the number of articles and images from the two Egyptian newspapers that were to be analyzed and have a feasible study, only the front pages were selected.

The second group consisted of New York Times and Washington Post newspapers as the most foreign liberal influential American newspapers. Using the same criteria, the search for news coverage articles and images yielded a total of 112 news stories articles and 117 images for inclusion in analysis. From the New York Times 26 articles and 53 images, as from the Washington Post 86 articles and 64 images were currently extracted for the content analysis as a purposive sample selected. Yet this time the sample selected from each of the entire issue of the whole first month covering the main events of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. It is crucial to point out that we have not picked the front pages only, as the number of news stories that talked about the 25th Jan. revolution were limited, given that they are international newspapers that are concerned with various other global events and issues that were taking place at the meantime.

The unit of analysis is the newspapers articles with its attached photos and images. Therefore, a purposive sample of 190 news stories texts and 137 images taken from the above mentioned four dailies, adding up to a total of 327 of texts and images to be analyzed.

4. Coding Procedure

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2011), there are two ways to establish content categories. The study at hands used the Emergent coding, which is based on identifying the categories after a preliminary examination of the data. (Wimmer, & Dominick, 2011) Accordingly, the coding sheet was conducted when the researcher was better informed by the data under investigation, to be capable to prepare relevant and useful categories. As explained by Chong & Druckman (2007), the best way to examine the framing in communication is to use content analyses after developing a coding sheet for the articles being studied. The coding sheet and the coding scheme are attached to the Appendix of the study.

As mentioned before, the unit of analysis employed is the news article and its attached image as extracted from four Egyptian and American newspapers, and published during the peak period the first month of the 25th Jan. events, from 25th January till 25th February (2011). In fact, the search yielded a total of 190 articles and their including 137 images – extracted – from the chosen newspapers. The study produced a manageable purposive sample of total about 327 articles and images from the four papers. The

study excluded unrelated stories where the Egyptian 25th Jan. events were simply mentioned without being the main focus or where reported in other area of approach. After excluding these unrelated articles, a total of 190 articles and their attached images were analyzed. For analyzing the various verbal visual news frames used, the overall newspapers articles along with the images were closely analyzed and coded. Coders then look for the framing patterns according to the categories mentioned in the codebook. Two coders of research colleagues were trained by the researcher to code the sample. The coding instrument was developed through a comprehensive review of various newspapers coverage and previous studies. In this sense, the coding was conducted by the researcher and two research colleagues, where the coders first read the article carefully, and then decided the main frame of each story by examining what was the main focus, then analyzed its attached image and decided its frame and type.

Correspondingly, more than 190 news articles and their attached images were carefully reviewed to find out the most dominant news themes in newspapers coverage stories related to the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as focusing on journalistic objectivity and political biases through their news reporting. Hence, this comparative research relies mainly on comparing the various used news frames by the various newspapers based on the framing theory as a significant backdrop for the study. Thus, a coding scheme addressed all four newspapers' definition of the problem, reliance on sources theme, news frames and suggestion of remedies. Nonparametric statistics, in the form of Chi-Squared analysis, was used to check the significance relationship between the variables chosen for the study.

The coding categories included the article title, lead and first paragraph of the articles coupled with its related image if it is available. In other words, the coding categories used in this study included the article title (Headlines and kickers (small headlines over the main h. l.), the lead (the beginnings of news stories), the images, the caption, and the first paragraph of the articles. Also, the study in hand developed for the analysis a coding sheet for the coders to answer a set of questions that were mainly based on a nominal level of measurement to rate the attributes mentioned in each article and to analyze its related image of the sample. A coding scheme was also developed and attached to the coding sheet that was given to the coders which provide an in-depth explanation of the questions and the answers of some questions that need further elaboration in order to minimize any confusion and acquire accurate coding results.

5. Variables and Operational Definition of Research Questions and Hypotheses

- Research Questions

RQ1: How were the Egyptian 25th Jan. events framed in the Egyptian and American newspapers?

Independent Variable: Egyptian and American newspapers

Operational Definition: It refers to the different nationalities and the different media ownerships of the four newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times and Washington Post. Hence, they belong to two different countries Egypt and the U.S. with different news media systems, cultural contexts and different political agendas.

Dependent Variable: Usage of frames

Operational Definition: It refers to how the Egyptian and American newspapers covered the 25th Jan. events on their online pages and the most dominant frames used by each of them.

RQ2: How were the protesters portrayed through the Egyptian and American newspapers?

Independent Variable: Egyptian and American Newspapers

Operational Definition: It refers to the different nationalities and the different media ownerships of the four analyzed newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times and Washington Post. Hence, they belong to two different countries Egypt and the U.S. with different news media systems, cultural contexts and different political agendas.

Dependent Variable: Portrayal of the protesters

Operational Definition: It refers to the way of the various newspapers structures its news representing the protesters (Egyptian people demonstrating against Mubarak's regime) in positive, neutral or negative portrayals through their verbal and visual press coverage.

RQ3: Which newspapers were biased towards the Egyptian government and the former regime?

Independent Variable: Egyptian government and the former regime

Operational Definition: It refers to the former political system and Mubarak's government, its corrupted policies which the Egyptian people mobilized their demonstrations to end this regime in (2011).

Dependent Variable: Newspapers biased

Operational Definition: It refers to the journalistic political biases by over mentioning of words that support the Egyptian government and Mubarak's regime more than words that support the protests and protesters, or concealing information that is against the regime to sway public opinion. Through the framing of the 25th Jan. events in Egyptian and American newspapers (Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times and Washington Post).

RQ4: Which newspapers defined the 25th Jan. events as a (Revolution) through their coverage?

Independent Variable: The various newspapers

Operational Definition: It refers to the different nationalities and the different media ownerships of the four analyzed newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times and Washington Post. Hence, they belong to two different countries Egypt and the U.S. with different news media systems, cultural contexts and different political agendas.

Dependent Variable: Defining the 25th Jan. events as a Revolution

Operational Definition: It refers to the way of the representation and the description of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as a revolution through the published articles in the four newspapers hence the word 'revolution' indicates a positive connotation and a covert political support for the Egyptian public demonstrations and the democratic change.

RQ 5: To what extent do Egyptian and American press framed the Egyptian 25th Jan. events fairly and professionally?

This research question does not include measured variables, thus the researcher depends on the In-depth interviews to answer this question, proposing it in question no. (3) at the sheet.

- Research Hypothesis

H1: There is a profound correlation between the news media ownerships, nationality and the way of framing and portraying the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) in the Egyptian & American newspapers.

Independent Variable: News media ownerships and nationality

Operational Definition: It refers to the different newspapers' nationality the Egyptian and the American press and also the various newspapers ownerships of foreign, governmental or independent press.

Dependent Variable: Used frames and the portrayal of the 25th Jan. events

Operational Definition: It refers to how the Egyptian and American newspapers covered the 25th Jan. events on their online pages and the used dominant frames and portrayals for the protests, protesters and the Egyptian government through their coverage.

H2: The foreign American press was having more journalistic dominance over the international media coverage for the 25th Jan. events than the local Egyptian press.

Independent Variable: The foreign American press and the local Egyptian press.

Operational Definition: It refers to the American newspapers that are chosen through this study the New York Times and the Washington Post, compared to the Egyptian newspapers Al Ahram and Al Masry Al Youm; representing the three different media categories ownerships; the foreign, the governmental and the independent media.

Dependent Variable: More journalistic dominance over the media coverage

Operational Definition: It refers to the exceeding number of the newspapers' articles and images that were published through these American newspapers covering the events during the 25th Jan. revolution compared to the Egyptian newspapers coverage during the same period.

6. Testing Hypothesis and Research Questions

The Content Analysis, both the coding sheet and the coding scheme are attached in Appendices D and E, in addition to the in-depth interviews question which is attached in Appendix B.

- Research Questions:

RQ1: How were the Egyptian 25th Jan. events framed in the Egyptian and American newspapers?

This research question aims at examining the framing of the 25th Jan. events (2011) in elite Egyptian and American newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, The New York Times, and The Washington Post; that were chosen for the study. This will be tested by investigating the data counting numbers of the published articles and texts through the four newspapers based on (tables 1, 2) in the part of “Characteristics and data counting of newspapers articles and images”. Also some questions in the part of “Analysis of the newspapers articles” including the types of articles and texts will be analyzed and the attached images published in the four newspapers as examining the correlation between texts and articles (questions 4, 5, 6, 12). Moreover, to answer this research question; identifying the dominant verbal and visual frames used by the four Egyptian and American newspapers is crucial. That, the researcher examined each article and its attached image represented through the various newspapers based on (questions 15, 16). In this question, the coders had the chance to select from a variety of frames including (demands for Mubarak stepping down, angry protests, calls for revolution, freedom and democracy, chaos of protesters, threats of economic instability, complains of poverty, and accusations for belonging to a third hand) to identify the dominant used frames by the four newspapers. Focusing on the correlation between the verbal and visual frames through the published articles and their attached images if they are available based on (questions 6, 12). And also examining the visual framing through the newspapers photos, the type of the photo and its elements for their representations in covering the same events (question 7, 8, 9, 10, 11), to indicate its way of visual coverage and framing.

RQ2: How were the (protesters) portrayed through the Egyptian and American newspapers?

To examine the portrayal of the protesters through the various newspapers, it is essential to gauge how they were defined by each newspaper and this is based on examining the main themes represented through the various newspapers’ articles as identifying the protesters whether being; heroes, thugs, revolutionaries, peaceful, demanding their rights, chaos, third hand, and minority. (Questions 17, 18, 20, 21) Thus, to focus on the way of the portrayal of the protesters through the various articles and their attached images whether it is portrayed (positively), if the article is generally supporting the protesters and the attached image representing them in success and victory as heroes. Or through portraying the protesters (neutrally), when the article was generally balanced neither supporting nor opposing the protesters but moderate through its representation for them. Or portraying them (negatively) when the article and its attached image representing the protesters as uncivil chaos and destructive vagabonds, by referring to them using words like; chaos, third hand, foreign agendas, minority, oblivious or any disgracing wording when referring to them. Also, through examining the most dominant verbal and visual frames used through the four newspapers based on (questions 20 & 21). Comparing the various portrayals and dominant used frames through the four newspapers the media coverage diversity would be apparent to clarify the political biases towards the Egyptian 25th Jan. events and the protesters in media coverage.

RQ3: Which newspapers were biased towards the Egyptian government and the former regime?

This research question aims to uncover the various newspapers political biases towards the former regime and whether supporting the Egyptian government as based on the results elicited from (research questions 1, 2, 3). To answer this question we have to refer to the answers and results indicated from the previous questions and comparing those to how the Egyptian government was portrayed in the four newspapers articles based on (question 19). Moreover, it is crucial to examine the quoting for the Egyptian government through the four newspapers and the quoting for the public also, in order to maintain balance in the news stories. (Question 27 &28) In addition, to the above mentioned results concerning how the protesters were portrayed in these different newspapers, this examination took place by analyzing the framing of the protests and protesters through the various newspapers to reveal which ones were supporting the protests, framing them positively and which of them were against the protesters and supporting the government. (questions17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22) Also, examining the most used dominant frame of the Egyptian government through the various newspapers articles based on (question 22). By comparing the various used frames used by the newspapers in (question 15, 16) it would be clear which of them were apparently biased towards the former regime.

RQ4: Which newspapers defined the 25th Jan. events as a (Revolution) through their coverage?

In order to indicate the representation of the 25th Jan. events through the four newspapers, it is significant to examine how it was defined through these newspapers; whether as a revolution or not. It is crucial to investigate whether the articles described the public demonstrations as a revolution through its representations referring to (question 23 & 24) where these questions are focusing on how the public demonstrations and the events were represented through the various articles. And whether they referred to the events by using other words like; (historical, protests, powerful, spring, uprising). Also, examining the number of quoting for the words (revolution) and (injuries) through the various newspapers articles based on (questions 25 &26).

RQ5: To what extent do Egyptian and American press framed the Egyptian 25th Jan. events fairly and professionally?

In order to investigate this research question; whether the Egyptian and American press framed the Egyptian 25th Jan. events professionally and fairly a direct question stating, “In your opinion, do you think the Egyptian and American press covered the incidents of the 25th Jan. events objectively, without being biased towards any of the revolution conflicted parties? And why?” will be asked to the chosen media professionals of journalists and media professors to know their views and political opinions through the in-depth interviews (Question 3).

- Research Hypotheses

H1: There is a profound correlation between the news media ownerships, nationality and the way of framing and portraying the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) in the Egyptian & American newspapers.

In order to test this Hypotheses elaborating the relation between the news media ownerships, nationality and its way of framing and portraying the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) through the various

Egyptian and American newspapers, coders were first asked to analyze the most dominant verbal and visual frames used by each newspaper through its published articles and images. (Questions 15, 16) Afterwards, they were asked to examine the relationships between the articles and their attached images (Questions 12, 13, 14), to investigate the correlation between them and how they are affected by their different nationalities and media ownerships. Then, identifying the most dominant frames used for presenting the protesters and the government through the various Egyptian and American newspapers' published articles and images. (Questions 15, 16, 20, 21, 22) Thus, through examining the dominant frames used by each newspaper and comparing their ownerships and nationality, the correlation and differences between them would be apparent. Also, to investigate whether the protesters compared to the Egyptian government were portrayed (positively, negatively or neutral) through the various Egyptian, governmental and American newspapers articles and images.(Questions 17,18, 19) Moreover, to examine the events portrayal, the coders were asked also to analyze how the Egyptian government and the public were quoted through the various newspapers articles (Questions 27, 28) which reveals how the newspapers ownership affects their portrayal for the revolution events as these newspapers are having different political, and ideological backgrounds from two different countries Egypt and the US, that basically reflects their contrastive affiliations. By examining the portrayal of the protests, how each newspaper described the 25th Jan. events whether as (revolution) or as an uprisings or protests or chaos in (Question 23) which clarifies how the news media ownership controls its way of portraying the same incidents of the Egyptian crisis.

H2: The foreign American press is having more journalistic dominance over the international media coverage for the 25th Jan. events than the local national Egyptian press.

This hypothesis aims at investigating the foreign American press' dominance over the international media coverage representation for the 25th Jan. events as compared to the local Egyptian press. It measures the data counting of the newspapers articles and images published through the four Egyptian and American newspapers during the same specific peak period covering the events. To examine this concept, the coders were asked to represent an accurate data counting numbers of the published newspapers' articles and images presented in the part of "Characteristics of Egyptian and American newspapers" (Table 1 & 2). Based on analyzing and comparing the numbers of data counting numbers of articles and images published by each newspaper, it indicates the journalistic dominance on the media coverage for the events. Also, to examine this variable, the coders were asked to investigate some questions including the type of the article whether it is text only or text with attached images and the elements included in each story. (Question 4, 5, 6, 7)

7. Variables of the Study

There are two main variables in the study “Media Coverage for the Egyptian 25th January Events in Egyptian and American Newspapers: A Comparative Study”; independent and dependent variables.

The following figure illustrates the variables of the study:

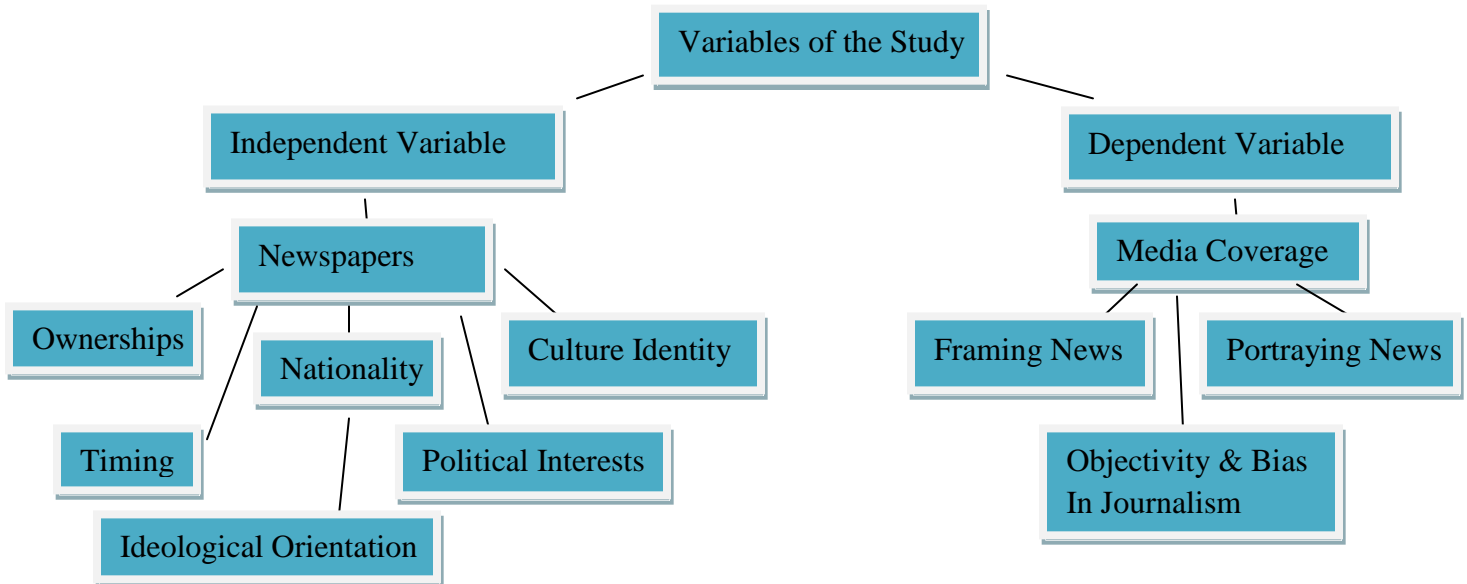


Figure 3: Illustration of the variables of the study (designed by the researcher)

Demonstrated by figure (3), there are two main variables in this study:

- **Independent Variable: Egyptian and American Newspapers** will be examined through the following basic indicators:
 - Newspapers nationality: - Egyptian newspapers.
 - American newspapers.
 - Newspapers categories: - Foreign media (American newspapers)
 - Governmental media (State-owned newspaper)
 - Independent media (Private-owned newspaper)
- **Dependent variable: The Media Coverage for the Egyptian 25th January Events** will be examined through the following indicators:
 - The Framing of the (protests & protesters); Dominant frames in articles and images.
 - The Framing of the (Egyptian government); Dominant frames in articles.
 - The Portrayal of the (protests & protesters) in articles and images (positive, neutral or negative).
 - The Portrayal of the (Egyptian government) in articles (positive, neutral or negative).
 - The definition of the protests as a (revolution) in articles.
 - The Quoting of the words (revolution, protests, government, injuries and public) in articles.

The coding categories also included other standard variables such as the name of the newspaper and the story type. The coders examined the material for uses of various frames, as checking for journalistic biases through the represented texts, phrases, headlines, images and the way of portrayal for the events through the different papers. The study detects different frames based on previous research of (Entman) to examine if they were applied or not in covering the 25th Jan. events. The coders identified the correlation between the various articles and images represented through the four newspapers focusing on their used dominant frames and indicated their social and political affiliations with the former regime and Mubarak's government.

Framing categories have been conceptualized, based on the notion that journalists have the power to use various types of frames to represent the news. Hence, the most commonly used themes in this type of news, covering social movements; mainly depend on emphasizing conflicts, emotional aspects of stories, and those grim economic consequences that could result. (Entman, 2004; Severin & Tankard, 2001) Such dominant news frames are always promoting particular public interpretations and thus it affects the political outcomes and the structure of news. In addition, most of the contemporary international debates about social conflicts or movements were highly associated and affected by these commonly used news media frames. The researcher worked on identifying the various most common news frames; the conflict frame, the responsibility frame, the economic frame, the human interest frame through the content analysis of the study.

8. Reliability and Validity

Based on Ellen A. Drost (2011) approach; reliability is “the extent to which measurements are repeatable; as when different people perform the measurements, on different situations, under different conditions, with used alternative instruments that measures the same thing”. (Drost, 2011) Thus, when applying any scale or test there are some measures that are significant to be considered for guaranteeing consistency. And this measurement is taken reliable when it gives consistently the same answer each time it is tested because reliable measurements help in detecting the various relationships among the variables. For achieving reliability and validity the researcher applied inter coder reliability test. If it is rated high then both raters can be used interchangeably without the researcher having to worry about the categorization being affected by a significant rater factor. (Gwet, 2014) The study used Cronbach's alpha test to assess the internal consistency of a measure, hence it is always considered to be an applicable measure of scale reliability.

Before starting the content analysis of the study the researcher was accompanied by two coders for specifying and limiting the chosen sample of the study. The sample was limited in (190) newspaper articles extracted from the four Egyptian and American newspapers published during the specific limited period of time covering the first month of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events in (2011).

In order to measure the inter coder reliability to guarantee accurate coding results, we conducted an inter-coder reliability test by using the Cronbach's alpha test. To measure the reliability of the content analysis, two research colleagues accompanied the researcher for coding the sample. The first coder was enrolled in Journalism and Mass Communication program at the Sainai University and the second coder was enrolled in Radio and Television department in the faculty of mass and communication at Sewis University. They were both trained on the coding scheme attached in appendix (E) to ensure their perceiving of the study requirements. During the coding procedure, it was crucial to add more explanation to the different themes of the article and the used frames in the coding scheme.

For measuring the internal consistency for the analyzed categories we adopted Cronbach's alpha using SPSS for testing the coefficient reliability of the sample before performing the content analysis. The researcher and the two coders used to test the specified categories and identified the average inter correlation among these categories hence the newspaper article is the unit of the study.

For achieving reliability, the researcher and the two coders followed these procedures:

- 1- The coders began by pre testing the entire sample of the study which is 190 newspaper article. The first coder, who is the primary coder, coded only 10% of the total sample (19 articles) on a random basis, chosen to represent the whole sample of the study, all extracted from the four newspapers through different periods and intervals of times.
- 2- The secondary coders accompanied the researcher for coding the sample hence they had their copies of both the coding sheet and the coding scheme including the procedure definition of the study. The coders were trained well to answer the coding sheet questions after studying the coder scheme and the procedure definitions to ensure their perceiving of the study requirements. The coders depended on the coding scheme for having a comprehensive explanation for the questions in the coding sheet especially the points that need more elaboration to minimize any confusion for acquiring accurate results.
- 3- The researcher and the coders sat together for specifying the testing data of the chosen sample and the categories of newspapers articles that were to be tested. They negotiated and discussed these categories of analysis or any remarks related to them and the procedure definitions as well.
- 4- The coders began by analyzing the selected specified sample (10% only of the total sample) of 19 articles, all at the same time synchronously.
- 5- Then for applying the reliability statistical test the researcher collected the results of analysis from the first primary coder and the secondary coder added to his data too. These results of the analysis were in the form of raw data appropriate to be used in applying the reliability statistical test.
- 6- The data collection from each of the three coders including the researcher were gathered by using the Data Entry Sheet SPSS, hence each of the three coders was given a number.
The researcher - - - (1)
First coder----- (2)
Second coder - - - - (3)
- 7- We adopted Cronbach's alpha using SPSS for measuring the coefficient of reliability for testing the correlation between data presented by the researcher and the data presented by the two coders for all the categories to indicate the total reliability value.
- 8- Measuring the Coefficient of reliability test for all the categories of the data analysis each separately. Hence, the unit of the study is the newspaper article it is more appropriate to use the SPSS where the coders finally measured the average inter correlation among these analyzed categories.

The researcher indicated that the results of the alpha coefficient for the 19 articles was (9 %), suggesting that the analyzed categories were having relatively clear high internal consistency among each other and considered acceptable for applying the content analysis. Alpha test showed that the reliability factor was 0.93 which is an indication that the coding categories were reliable. Inter coder reliability test is a research method that involves a single coder's consistency in the coding process over time, which aims to establish a high probability that relationships exist between content analyzed. (Lacy, et al., 2015)

After assessing the research reliability, validity also should be ensured, according to Wimmer and Dominick (2011) validity deals with the significance of research components. (Wimmer, &Dominick, 2011, p.57) To assess the internal validity based on Figenschou (2010); he proposed that; research categories should be exhaustive; categories should be mutually exclusive, and each variable should be measured with categories that are the highest level of measurement possible. (p.17) Peer review was significantly applied on the coded material to make sure that the received results were the correct ones as serving the purpose of this study, and acquiring its validity.

- **Expert Validation**

In addition, the measurement must have external validity also in order to use it efficiently in studying the variables. A valid measuring device usually measures what it is supposed to measure (ibid, p. 59.) Thus, the researcher relied on testing the In-depth interviews questions, the coding sheet and the coding scheme validity through resorting to four media professors and experts for the assessments of the In-depth interviews questions and the coding sheet. They were given a brief introduction about the background of the study and the research problem, then they were asked to give their recommendations and comments on the prepared In-depth interviews questions and the coding scheme. After discussion and getting their feedback, the In-depth interviews questions and the coding scheme and their specified categories for data analysis were then validated and considered ready for the data analysis on both levels the qualitative and the quantitative. The researcher relied on the opinions of expert media professors to assess the In-depth interviews and the coding scheme categories. Their reviews and comments were taken into consideration before finalizing the in-depth interviews questions and the coding scheme to be ready for the actual data analysis.

9. Data Analysis

After the data collection procedure was finished from the content analysis of the four Egyptian and American online newspapers, the researcher began the next phase, the data analysis process. That with the help of a professional statistician the collected data were accurately analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Science- SPSS (version 23).

The researcher used the following treatments:

- 1- Simple frequencies, repetitions & percentages.
- 2- Chi Square Test for good corresponding of the statistical denotation between the theoretical dispensation & actual theoretical for one of the nominal factors. The test result has been accepted upon 0.5 level of the statistical denotation to least.

3- Contingency Coefficient to determine the relationship strengthens between the theoretical dispensation & actual theoretical for one of the nominal factors. The statistical tests results have been accepted upon 95% confidence degree to more, upon 0.5 statistical denotations to less than it.

10. Operational Definitions

- **Media Coverage:** In this study it refers to the online press representation and the news framing for the same events of the Egyptian 25th Jan. revolution, some newspapers were biased towards the former regime of Mubarak while at the same time others were oppositely biased towards the social movements and supporting the political change.
- **The 25th Jan. Events:** In this study it refers to the public social movement of millions of the Egyptian people demonstrating in the streets against the former Mubarak regime seeking to end his ruling government and to achieve specific demands of freedom, democracy and social justice.
- **Egyptian and American Newspapers:** In this study it refers to the online newspapers' nationality, category and the ownerships of the four chosen papers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times, and Washington Post.
- **Objectivity:** In this study it indicates the transparent media coverage for the 25th Jan. Events in international press without being biased to the former regime or against the revolution. Hence, it is a journalistic criterion for revealing reality based on truth to deliver accurate news for the public audience regardless to any personal or political interests or affiliations.
- **Bias:** In this study it means mentioning words that are apparently supporting the former regime more than words that are supporting the 25th revolution, or concealing information that is against the regime. It will be defined through the prominent frames used in the newspapers articles and images.

Chapter Five

Findings and Analysis

This chapter discusses the main findings of both the in-depth interviews and the content analysis which was carried based on purposive samples. The sample of the in-depth interviews included public opinion leaders of three media professors and three journalists declaring their critical political reviews and experience about the media coverage for the 25th Jan. events in media and elite newspapers. Correspondingly, the sample of the content analysis was conducted on 190 newspapers articles and 137 images extracted from four elite Egyptian and American online newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, New York Times, and Washington Post. The research examined the international media coverage and the framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events during the peak period month; starting from 25th Jan. till 25th Feb (2011). The data were classified for the analysis according to the way of framing for the social actors and the portrayal of the 25th of Jan. events through the various papers. The content analysis was conducted statistically through SPSS.

I. Findings of the In-depth Interviews

The following section discusses the findings of the In-depth interviews which were carried out with six media professionals from different calibers, including three media professors specialized in mass communication from the Cairo University and the American University in Cairo, and three journalists from Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm and the New York Times newspapers representing the three different news media categories; the local Egyptian governmental, the Independent and the foreign American newspapers. The In-depth interview is a very significant qualitative technique hence it allows the researcher to get more deep and insightful information about the examined topic as it enables the researcher to gather a great amount of information from a small sample through simple procedures. According to Creswell (2014), the qualitative research is interested in investigating the events and data through observation and analysis of events, attitudes, photographs, and verbal and non-verbal communication.

Thus, complying with the main purpose of the current research, a set of pre-arranged in-depth interviews with both journalists and media Professors were conducted. The Journalists included: Gamal Zayda, Managing Editor and Columnist of newspaper Al Ahram; Mesbah Kotb, Editor and Journalist at Al Masry Al Youm newspaper; Abdel Latif Wahba, Journalist at Bloomberg LP at New York Times newspaper. The Media Professors included: Mona Makram-Ebeid, Professor of Political Science at the American University, Egyptian senator and Former Member of Parliament; Hannan Farouk Geneid, Professor in Mass Communication and Public Relations, at Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University; Nermeen Nabil Alazrak, Associate Professor in Journalism department, Mass Communication Faculty at Cairo University.

In order to conduct these interviews, certain steps were carried. First, selecting and specifying the names of the media professionals and journalists based on a (purposive sample). Second, those media professionals were called by phone to contact with them to arrange personal appointments. Third, the interviews were taken place in the universities and the news media organizations. Each interview of conversation lasted for about 20 to 30 minutes in average time. After finishing recording the various interviews, it is crucial to transfer it from audio to a written format easy for the process of analysis.

Certain significant issues were discussed through the interviews mainly including:
(These issues were taken as the In-depth Interviews Categories)

- The significant role that international media coverage and press played in triggering the 25th Jan. events and stimulated its ultimate success in getting rid of Mubarak's former regime.
- The reasons behind these clear controversial media coverage diversity for the 25th Jan. events in international media and press.
- The media coverage professionalism and fairness for the 25th Jan. events in Egyptian & American Newspapers.
- The effect of the different news media ownerships, nationalities, political and ideological orientations on framing the 25th Jan. events through international media and press.
- The efficiency of the Egyptian newspapers coverage for the 25th Jan. events to the public audiences during the revolution period.

The significant role that international media coverage and press played in triggering the 25th Jan. events and stimulated its ultimate success of getting rid of Mubarak's former regime.

When asked about the significant role played by the international media coverage for the 25th Jan. events triggering its ultimate success, it was argued by Gamal Zayda, Managing Editor and Columnist of newspaper Al Ahram that we are living now in the age of the digital media and online news. The Egyptian people were following the international news media channels and online news tracing the sudden rapid incidents of the Arab Uprisings through the various Middle East countries. The Egyptian people were highly motivated by the success of the Tunisian Wind in Syria in getting rid of the corrupted regime. The international media coverage and online press played a vital role in transmitting the idea of social movements and achieving political change within the Middle East region. In times of social movements, people are always panic and confused; they always search for more updated information through the various international media coverage channels to understand such complicated events. Digital media and online journalism, ultimately in that age of the internet and technology provided the audiences with the easiest and fastest sources of information and especially in times of political conflicts. During the 25th January events, the Egyptian people and the youth depended mainly on the international media channels and foreign news coverage to understand what was happening around them and to gain the daily information about the conflicted parties the former regime and the protesters hence they have no direct contact with the real events. Also most of the simple citizens depended on the online media and the social networks to communicate and to contact with each other through online activism to arrange and support their public demonstrations against the former corrupted regime.

Emphasizing on this, Mesbah Kotb, Editor and Journalist at Al Masry Al Youm mentioned that international media coverage and the various foreign news channels played a vital role during the 25th Jan. events hence it was the main source of information to the majority of the people in Egypt and even to the audiences around the world to trace the rapid developments of the incidents of the revolution. Because during the sudden eruption of these public demonstrations, the Egyptian government cut the internet

connectivity in the country and thus the international media coverage of foreign news channels and press were the main sources of information to the public. That the Egyptian Government used these media outlets to deliver their political messages to the public, even President Mubarak used the various news media channels to deliver his speeches of reconciliation with the Egyptian people and the public demonstrators. While on the other side, the foreign media and the elite American and western news media channels and online press were supporting the revolution and the protesters against the former regime. Hence, millions of the Egyptian citizens depended on the international media coverage for gaining information and interpreting this unstable political condition during the 18 days of the revolution.

This was confirmed by Abdel Latif Wahba, Journalist at Bloomberg LP at New York Times that the international media coverage played a significant role in shaping the political seen in Egypt during the revolution period as it helped directing the Egyptian people to insist on gaining their rights and achieving their demands of freedom, democracy and social justice. Egypt's movement for political change was regarded as defining point for media coverage and journalism, mainly through the political context of a transformative presidential system. That since long the Egyptian government worked on manipulating many rules and restrictions over major national news media organizations for controlling the public and the state. The more recent decades during Mubarak's era witnessed the erupted relation between the public audiences, the former regime and the media coverage. The spread of new media channels and online press created a wide opportunity for the Egyptian people to participate in the political life in Egypt, which is regarded as one of the basic reasons that triggered the arousal of the 25th Jan. events of public demonstrations. Also these media coverage extensions helped the instant success of the revolution in getting rid of Mubarak and his former corrupted regime. That through these various international media channels and press the voices of the Egyptian people and youth were heard louder to the outer world wagging about their success and dreams of better democratic future.

Congruently, Mona Makram-Ebeid, Professor of Political Science at the American University, Egyptian senator and Former Member of Parliament, mentioned that international media coverage for social movements and especially the 25th Jan. revolution was very critical in directing the Egyptian people and shaping the general political scene in Egypt for a better future political change. Hence, these various media outlets and journalism coverage became significant tool for spreading political and ideological views, updated information and interesting news to the public every day shaping their views and political directions. This popularity of international media coverage and foreign news outlets could be linked to the availability of online news and digital media in Egypt which increased political awareness of the simple citizens about their rights and gave them hope to change. In this regard, no one could deny the critical role played by the international media coverage for the 25th Jan events in helping for its social public success.

According to Professor Hannan Farouk Geneid, Media Professor at Mass Communication and Public Relations, in Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University, argued that international news media channels and journalism recently became very popular among all the people especially in times of unstable political conditions such as during the 25th Jan. events. And of course it was one of the basic reasons that motivated the eruption of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events added to many other social and political causes such as political corruptions, poverty, unemployment and social injustice. The Egyptian people also depended on the international media coverage in following these recent social uprisings that aroused in other countries in the middle-east region such as the Tunisian Wind and was motivated by its incidents and success of changing its regime. That the international media coverage helped in shaping the political vision of the Egyptian young generations and the simple people that they could gather as one hand to change their prolonged corrupted ruling system and aspiring better future of democracy and social

justice. Even during the period of the 25th Jan. demonstrations the international media coverage played a vital role in transmitting the information to the public and revealing reality and true incidents that all the local Egyptian media during these chaotic times were compiled and over controlled to reveal reality about the protests incidents or the political decisions. Thus, the international media coverage, foreign news outlets and journalism were the only mirror for the Egyptian people to interpret the complicated conditions of the revolution.

From the perspective of Professor Nermeen Nabil Alazrak, Associate Professor in Journalism department, in the Mass Communication Faculty at Cairo University, the strong political support of the international media coverage of the foreign news channels and press for the Egyptian demonstrations as framing the incidents as powerful movement for democracy and social justice, was one of the main significant causes that triggered the instant public success of this revolution. It was clear through the international media coverage for the Egyptian revolution that the American administration were preferring the political change in Egypt, that through the various news channels and press it was continuously sending clear political messages for encouraging the Egyptian people to continue their movement and achieve their demands of freedom and democracy. And was asking boldly President Mubarak to leave and resign immediately in achieving the people's demands. That the international media coverage was obviously supporting the Egyptian revolution apparently from its very beginning which motivated the Egyptian people to proceed till achieving its aims in getting rid of Mubarak and his former regime. Thus, it ultimately played a vital role in shaping the political scene in Egypt and bringing a new system that gratify the Egyptian people.

The reasons behind such clear controversial media coverage diversity for the 25th Jan. events in local and international media press.

According to Journalist Gamal Zayda, the Egyptian 25th Jan. events were strikingly covered differently through the various news media channels and press. During the peak of protests, each news media source used its way in framing and portraying the same events according to its political views and interests. Each news medium tells different tales about the same events and making various news choices in its framing for the events. People were confused which news media channel they could trust and follow to interpret this complicated social crisis hence they have no direct contact with the real incidents. It was clear that most of the Egyptian national media sources and press were completely under the governments control and media restrictions as it presented only what the former regime needed to deliver to the Egyptian people. That it even ignored the public demonstrations completely through its media coverage and was publishing irrelevant issues far from the reality and the incidents in the streets. This pushed the Egyptian population to follow the foreign media channels and online press to interpret this crisis. Emphasizing on this, Professor Hanan farouk mentioned that, obviously the majority of public audiences lost trust in the international media coverage not only in Egypt but everywhere in the world. In times of political conflicts and these contemporary social movements such as the 25th Jan. events, this eroded public trust particularly towards the local national media outlets as polarized media coverage increased radically. Each news media organization had its own political and ideological directions and affiliations that affected its way of framing for these recent significant political issues. And this was clear in the controversial media coverage for the 25th Jan. events hence elite international and national news channels and press framed the same events in a completely contradicted way. The Governmental news media framed it as a conspiracy against the Egyptian state. In contrast to, the foreign media framed the same events as a

powerful social movement for democracy and freedom, which drove the public audiences to be stuck between the various news channels confused where, is the true story of the real events as if they were not covering the same incidents and revolution.

Professor Nermeen Nabil stated that “the media tailor the events to suite every audience consumer ideological and political beliefs”. International media coverage for the 25th Jan. events was obviously controversial for several reasons, the most important of them the media ownerships and the different political and ideological orientations of the news media organizations. Each Government and news organization has the power to direct and shape the way of framing for the news and this was very clear in regard to the Egyptian media coverage for the 25th Jan. events. That at first, it was spinning the truth about the public demonstrations presenting the protesters as thugs and traitors portraying them in Tahrir square as foreign agents paid to destroy the country’s stability. But, later after Mubarak’s resignation when the media was free from the former regime restrictions and control it became more objective in its coverage and supported the protesters and the political change. Emphasizing on that, Journalist Mesbah Kotb mentioned that most of the independent news media channels in Egypt are owned by elite political figures or businessmen. These privately owned news organizations always publish news according to their ideological beliefs or serving their political affiliations and interests of its owners. Thus, local media organizations in Egypt do not have the enough space to cover political issues freely or to criticize any of the government figures or political elites. During the eruption of the 25th Jan. events these independent media in Egypt though they were very significant sources of information to the public, they lost their news credibility and the audiences’ trust. Hence, they failed to cover the demonstrations events truly and objectively. They could not criticize the Government or support the public demonstrations which eroded the public trust for respecting its news coverage hence they failed to present the real events in the streets to the public audiences or to help them interpret this conflicted social condition. Moreover, Journalist Abdel Latif Wahba added that although the international media coverage for the 25th Jan. events was contradicted but most of the public audiences were following its incidents day by day through the foreign news media channels that proved to be more transparent and true in its coverage for the events and the political situation. The foreign media was having more freedom and journalistic space in criticizing the former regime and asking boldly for Mubarak’s resignation derived by its political interests and seeking democracy in the Middle East region. He stated that, the greater variety of framing the incidents of the 25th Jan. events in international foreign media outlets reflects a clear attempt to provide more balanced objective coverage and adopting more journalistic principles than those used by the local Egyptian media.

From the perspective of Professor Mona Makram Ebeid, the international media coverage diversity for such significant contemporary social political issue as the 25th Jan. events uncovered these polarized journalistic coverage and contrastive news framing diversity. Each news media source was basically motivated and directed through the political interests and ideological beliefs of its news media system Hence, each news media organization is affected by its cultural context, political direction, ideological beliefs of its journalists and ownerships to publish news through its vision to direct the public audiences and to shape their political decisions.

The media coverage professionalism and fairness in presenting the 25th Jan. events through Egyptian and American Newspapers.

According to journalist Gamal Zayda, the international media coverage for the 25th Jan. events in prominent news media channels and online news were obviously lacking these journalistic fairness and news objectivity values through their unprofessional representations for the events. Each news media outlet was directed by its political and ideological affiliations in covering the same events in a contradicted representation. As referring to the Egyptian and American press their framing and publishing for the various news stories of the public demonstrations were clearly colored by apparent political biases and ideological directions. The local Egyptian newspapers framed the events as an act of chaos and a foreign conspiracy against the state. That during this period the national press was completely politically biased towards the Egyptian regime and President Mubarak. In contrast to, the foreign American newspapers they were supporting the demonstrations and pushing Mubarak towards the immediate resignation. This reveals great journalistic discrepancies among the various news media systems and newspapers publishing lacking the journalistic objectivity as a basic news value through their coverage. In addition, today's media coverage environment is increasingly changing to be more fragmented, and news organizations are mainly competing for grabbing more audiences' attention by presenting updated news based on unbiased reporting. While according to Journalist Mesbah Kotb, recently people grow more dependent on media outlets to comprehend these contemporary complicated political issues. People expect from the news media presenting objective journalism revealing reality of the incidents without any political biases to any of the conflicted parties, especially in times of social movements such as the 25th Jan. events. During the incidents of the demonstrations people turned to the various foreign news media channels and international press to interpret such complicated political situation. They followed only the objective news channels and transparent newspapers that covered the real events without biases, which they missed radically in their local national media outlets and governmental newspapers. Although the Egyptian system deployed many laws that restricted the freedom of media and journalism in Egypt for a long time, the Egyptian youth recently increased their demands of free speech and political participation. Governments in general use their news media systems to control and direct the people of their nations as a power to abide to their ruling strategies and policies. This by imposing their full control over the news media flow of information about critical political issues regardless of following objective journalism values.

According to Professor Mona Makram Ebeid, today, we see more people depending on news media for comprehending the most significant political issues that arouse in their local public communities or within the international debates. And that happened through the incidents of the 25th Jan. events, one of the biggest challenges for the media in Egypt was to prove its transparency and worthy of people's trust in times of social movements and political change. Unfortunately, most of the national media and elite newspapers in covering the incidents of the 25th Jan. events obviously lost its objectivity, accuracy and professionalism through their reporting. During the demonstrations the local Egyptian newspapers were misleading the public and publishing fake news as spinning the reality of the incidents, they referred to the protesters as foreign agents paid to destroy the stability of the country. The people chose to follow the foreign news channels and American newspapers to gain trusty news information about the real events than their local newspapers and channels. The foreign newspapers were more objective in its coverage they were publishing incidents and stories extracted from the streets and the squares on their real scenes unlike to the Egyptian newspapers that were completely biased to the former government and ignoring the crowds in the squares and their demands.

According to professor Hanan Farouk, During Mubarak's era the Egyptian regime have taken many critical steps to limit freedom of expression and control the narrative in Egyptian media coverage. The Egyptian media coverage and official governmental newspapers lost its credibility and objectivity in covering the incidents of the revolution. Nevertheless, in some countries, particularly the developing countries as Egypt the undergoing of democratization through media coverage still state-controlled or have close links to state authorities. Hence, during the 25th Jan. events the Egyptian government was having the upper dominant power over the Egyptian news media system and journalism as it exerted many pressures on news providers and journalists on behalf of the authorities. Emphasizing on that, Professor Nermeen Nabil mentioned as long as Egypt was governed by rulers whom believed that by controlling the media they achieve their best political interests, the Egyptian media coverage and journalism would profoundly lose its transparency and journalistic objectivity. And that was clear in the national press coverage for the 25th Jan. events they were derived by the governments authority to publish what the former regime and government wanted to deliver to the public. During the events of the Egyptian revolution the Egyptian media and press were spinning the truth of the real events and was openly warning the public from joining these demonstrations to keep the stability of the state and to protect the Egyptian economy of being collapsed. This pushed the Egyptian people to trace the foreign media and the American newspapers which were more objective in its coverage although it was also derived by its political biases towards the political transformation in the Middle East region seeking democracy and political change.

On the other hand, Journalist Abdel Latif Wahba mentioned that international media and journalism played a key role in pushing the 25th Jan. revolution for success. Hence, this controversial coverage has provided new avenues for the expressing of various critical views, that challenged established news media entities, and thus organized against the Egyptian government. During the thirty years of presidency for Hosni Mubarak, Egypt continued to struggle with an authoritarian media sector and constraints on freedom of expression. And this was exceedingly obvious in covering the Egyptian social crisis the 25th Jan. events hence most significant local newspapers were lacking journalistic objectivity values in covering these events. This led the Egyptian people to lose their trust in the local national media outlets because of its apparent biases towards the government and the former regime elites. The Egyptian media and the national newspapers were trivializing the public demonstrations and they framed the protesters as traitors against the Egyptian state. While in contrast the American newspapers although it was politically biased towards the political change and supporting the demonstrators they framed them as peaceful heroes seeking freedom and social justice. They obviously won the audiences trust and succeeded to grape their attention to follow their channels and publications as an objective media outlets revealing reality and respecting their audiences.

The effect of the different news media ownerships, nationalities, political and ideological orientations on framing the 25th Jan. events through international media and press.

When asked about the impact of different news media ownerships, nationalities of journalists and the discrepancies among the various news media systems of political and ideological orientations on international media coverage of the 25th Jan. events, it was argued by Professor Nermeen Nabil that these variations among the different countries and news media systems basically affected the way of framing and portraying significant contemporary political events in the world and especially in the middle east region. And this was very clear in covering the Egyptian 25th Jan. revolution through the various news

media outlets and international journalism; hence each news channel framed the events through its political and ideological vision and serving its interest. There is a deep direct relationship between media coverage in journalism as a specific type of socio-cultural practice and the media ownership and its cultural and political orientation. No one can deny the critical role played by new media and on line news in covering the 25th Jan. events, that it was the only channel for the Egyptian people to express their anger to the world in evolving their revolution to achieve democracy and political change. The foreign international media supported the protesters to resist for achieving their demands in getting rid of the former corrupted regime. These various foreign media outlets serving its countries' policies and news systems were derived by its ideological orientations and political affiliations for sending their clear messages pushing President Mubarak and his government to resign and to reply the Egyptian people demands of having new system and transparent elections. And this was regarded as one of the basic reasons that triggered the quick success of the Egyptian revolution.

Journalist Gamal Zayda mentioned that; each country uses its news media system as a profound tool to manage its foreign relations with the other nations and to direct its citizens in shaping their political and ideological vision. This was very clear in the coverage of the 25th Jan. revolution hence it was obvious how the Egyptian governmental news media system was used as a tool to derive the people against the public demonstrations. The Egyptian media during the days of the revolution was presenting what the government and the former regime wanted to deliver to the citizens of not participating in the revolution and warning them of economic deteriorations because of the chaos. In contrast to elite foreign news media that was supporting the demonstrations pushed by their foreign ideological views and political affiliations of their countries and news media systems and ownerships that were supporting the democracy wave in the Middle East region and the political change for its countries. Zayda believes that, each news media system is completely dominated and controlled by its country to manage its policies and relations with the public citizens by shaping their views. Emphasizing on this, Professor Mona Makram mentioned that in international media coverage for political issues as the 25th Jan. social movement the choice of frames, the use of sources, the transparency of newsgathering and the journalistic rules embedded in news coverage and how they are related to reality were all attached to the news media ownerships, the journalists' nationalities and their ideological and political orientations. When it comes evaluating the media coverage for the 25th Jan. events in prominent local Egyptian and Foreign American press; the journalistic discrepancies in framing the same events was very clear. During the events of the revolution each newspaper framed the same events in a completely different way as if they are not covering the same revolution. Each news source was directed by its news media system and country in publishing the news through its political interests. The American press was supporting democracy and the political change in the whole Middle East region not in Egypt only, while the Egyptian press was consolidating President Mubarak and his former regime and was against the public demonstrations. The American press called the protesters as heroes and peaceful citizens while the Egyptian newspapers described them as traitors with foreign agendas against the Egyptian state.

According to Professor Hanan Farouk, newspapers coverage of contemporary social movements in the Middle East region that was known by the Arab Springs was deemed to be biased towards the former regimes even though they are corrupted and dictatorized. On the other hand, Farouk believes that in covering the 25th Jan. revolution it was hard to find a journalist or an editor that works for the Egyptian governmental news media system that could criticize President Mubarak's policies or the former regime figures, hence it was used to twist the real incidents of the revolution. This reveals how the news media ownerships compile the transparency and credibility of journalism during political conflicts in delivering

the truth to the public audiences. Journalist Mesbah Kotb agreed that the various news media outlets covered the incidents of the 25th Jan. revolution in a completely contrastive way affected by its different media ownerships, and political interests. That after the resignation of President Mubarak and the former regime these governmental state owned press changed its way of coverage and portrayal for the events in supporting the demonstrations and the political change. However, the American press in serving its policies of its news media ownerships of achieving democracy and the political changes in the middle east region, they were boldly criticizing the Egyptian system and the government its corrupted policies freely without any journalistic restrictions. Kotb also mentioned that these news media coverage discrepancies pushed the public audiences not only in Egypt but everywhere in the world to follow these foreign news channels and the American press to perceive the real situation among the conflicted parties to form their political views and decisions.

From the perspective of journalist Abdel Latif, news media ownerships, journalists nationalities and different political and ideological orientations are significant variables that always controls the way of framing for significant political issues in the world that helps directing the public audiences and shaping his political vision. The audiences depend mainly on news media channels to comprehend complicated events and political conflicts that happen in the world every day hence they have no direct contact with the real incidents. During the Egyptian revolution the people turned to the various news media outlets to understand this social event regardless to its political affiliations or contradicted political views. They chose the foreign news sources hence they were more objective and comprehensive in its coverage as compared to the local media. Each news source was dominated by its media ownership and nationality in framing the events, that the governments use their media systems to control the minds of their people through shaping their views and directing their political participations.

The Egyptian newspapers coverage efficiency for the 25th Jan. evens to the public audiences during the revolution period.

When the interviewees were asked about the journalistic performance and the news coverage efficiency of the Egyptian press for the 25th Jan. events during the peak of protests, Journalist Gamal Zayda stated that most of the Egyptian newspapers during this unstable period of public demonstrations and chaos lost their credibility and trust among the Egyptian people and even for the audiences internationally whom were interested to follow the sudden incidents of this social crisis eagerly day by day. The Egyptian media and specially the local press were obviously spinning the truth and the real events on the ground whether they are state-owned papers or privately-owned papers. The Egyptian government was compelling the journalistic freedom for these local news sources. They were only allowed to publish what was against the demonstrations and consolidating President Mubarak and the former regime. At the beginning of the incidents they were completely ignoring the massive people protesting in the streets and the squares of Egypt, they called the protesters foreigners, traitors and thugs and warned the public to participate in the protests against the government.

Emphasizing on this, Journalist Mesbah Kotb mentioned that there was clear political biases in the Egyptian media and press coverage for the 25th Jan. events. All the local media in Egypt were obviously politically biased towards President Mubarak and supporting his government although they knew there sever political corruptions and spoiled policies. From the perspective of Journalist Mesbah Kotb, the Egyptian regime was having the over dominance over the state news media system and journalism in

Egypt which pushed the Egyptian populations to follow the various foreign news channels and press to learn and comprehend the real political conditions of the Egyptian state. The foreign newspapers were covering the local events of the Egyptian revolution more objective than the local newspapers in Egypt.

According to Professor Mona Makram, during the last years in Mubarak's presidential era the Egyptian media and journalism lost its trust and credibility for most of the Egyptian people as a trustworthy source of information especially in covering significant political issues or social conflicts. The Egyptian government for many years tried to control the people and their political thoughts and activism through controlling the Egyptian media system. And this was very clear during the 25th Jan. events that happened suddenly and was developing very quickly through its incidents. The Egyptian media failed to supply the people with the enough true information about the real daily incidents in the streets. They were mainly keen to distract the people attention away from the real objective of the revolution of the future political change and democracy. Most of the Egyptian people realized that the Egyptian media and press were not enough for them to get the significant information they need to know and to comprehend, thus they directed their attention to the international news sources and foreign press to satisfy their needs and enquiries.

Emphasizing on that, Professor Hanan Farouk mentioned that during social movements people are always depending on the media to infer these complicated political situations to build their political views and to make their decisions. During the 25th Jan. events the various news sources were covering the same events in a completely controversial way; each was presenting the erupted events through its political views as serving their political directions. The Egyptian media and national newspapers were very superficial in its coverage for the events they published it as a conspiracy against the Egyptian state and warned from collapsed economy. In addition to this, elite foreign newspapers were more comprehensive in its coverage for the 25th Jan. events; they were supporting the protests and protestors following the American Administration policy of political change in the Middle East region. Professor Nermeen Nabil agreed to the idea of international media coverage discrepancies for the Egyptian revolution that she stressed on how the public audiences were completely stuck between the various news channels and newspapers which of them to follow to find the truth of the real events in the streets. That the people chose the foreign media to provide them with the adequate information they need to know to build their political views and directions hence they do not have the direct contact with the real conflicts on the ground.

From the perspective of Journalist Abdel Latif, there is no doubt the Egyptian media and local elite newspapers were very weak in their journalistic coverage for the 25th Jan. events as compared to the international media coverage and foreign press for the same incidents. During the peak of the protests the Egyptian regime blocked the internet connections and the mobile companies from 28th Jan. till 1st Feb. which shows how the Egyptian government realized the crucial role of online news and digital media in Egypt. The Egyptian system was always keen to keep the media system under its complete authorized dominance to eliminate citizens' activism through shaping the political views and ideologies of the youth and the simple people whom depend on the media in getting information and inferring the political issues and problems of the country. The Egyptian newspapers coverage for the 25th Jan. events was insufficient to the people hence it was not transparent through its coverage for the events. Elite state owned newspapers and independent newspapers were trying ignoring the demonstrations and the protesters through their publishing and coverage for the revolution they tried to trivialize the events and the demands of the people. The former Egyptian government used the local news media system as a tool to overcome the public demonstrations against it and its corrupted policies. Most of the Egyptian people during this period turned to the out foreign sources of news and press, to interpret this complicated social conflict and to form their

political views and decisions about this critical issue. The Egyptian media lost its credibility and trust among the Egyptian people and even for the audiences everywhere in the globe. That the Egyptian people were full of hope that after the success of their revolution of getting rid of the former regime the national Egyptian media system would change by the political change of their country to be more objective and trusty through its coverage especially regarding the local political issues of Egypt.

II. Summary of the In-depth Interviews

In conclusion, the in-depth interviews were conducted with six participants divided into three newspapers journalists and three political media professors. They were asked to give their opinions on certain issues including the significant role that international media coverage and press played in triggering the success of the 25th Jan. events, the reasons behind these clear controversial media coverage diversity for the 25th Jan. events in international media and press, the journalistic objectivity in media coverage for the 25th Jan. events in Egyptian & American Newspapers, the effect of the different news media ownerships, nationalities, political and ideological orientations on framing the 25th Jan. events, the news coverage efficiency of the Egyptian press for the 25th Jan. events during the revolution period.

When the interviewees were asked about the significant role international media coverage and press played in triggering the success of the 25th Jan. events in getting rid of the former regime. All of them agreed that foreign media and online journalism offered a wide platform for the people to interpret the rapid events of this critical social movement and facilitated the citizens' activists to communicate efficiently for achieving their success and political change. International media coverage and online press also helped in sharing the news and participating with the public protesters as it paved the way for many youth to be peaceful activists sharing in the political change for democracy as action and achieving the social justice. While some of them mentioned that, the quick success of the 25th Jan. events and Mubarak's resignation was mainly motivated by the international new media coverage and online press, hence people at this time used digital media and online news to persist through their revolution after they lost trust on the national state-media.

As for the reasons behind these clear controversial media coverage diversity for the 25th Jan. events in international media and press, most of the interviewees agreed that all the prominent national and international news media channels and press framed the same events of the 25th Jan. in a completely different way as if they are not portraying the same incidents of social demonstrations. Since most of the state-owned Egyptian media and press presented the protests as a foreign conspiracy against the Egyptian regime and threatens the country's stability and its economic state. In contrast all the international media led by the American Administration policies supported the public demonstrations and presented it as a powerful social movements for achieving democracy, freedom and social justice. On the other hand, Professor Mona Makram believed that each news media source was basically motivated and directed through the political interests and ideological beliefs of its news media system to publish such biased and polarized news information in covering these significant contemporary social movement.

Accordingly, interviewees argued that the journalistic objectivity in media coverage for the 25th Jan. events in Egyptian & American Newspapers was mostly eroded, hence the media coverage for this social crisis was colored by many political biases that was very clear through the various news media sources and newspapers as the Egyptian and American elite papers. However, it depends on the newspapers' ownerships, its political interests and ideological tendencies, especially in online news that had a great power in establishing ideologies and spreading information to mobilize the young activists to take their political decisions and to interact with the public demonstrations. As this was extended through out the

revolution when digital new media and online news were used as a tool behind mobilizing and protesting of thousands of the Egyptian people and simple citizens. On the other hand, online news is mostly accused of its credibility and objectivity in covering political issues or social movements as the 25th Jan. revolution for spinning the truth and tailoring news that serves the news media system or the ownerships it belongs based on its political affiliations and interests.

When the interviewees were asked about the effect of the different news media ownerships, nationalities, political and ideological orientations on framing the 25th Jan. events, they mostly confirmed that there is a clear deep correlation between the way of framing most significant political issues in press and these different journalistic variables including the media ownerships, nationalities of the journalists and the cultural and ideological orientations of the news organizations added to the political directions and affiliations that controls the portrayal for various contemporary socio-political issues as the 25th Jan. revolution. They argued that this was very clear in the international media coverage diversity of the Egyptian revolution hence each news media outlet framed the events through its political vision and polarized towards the conflicted party it supports. Since the Egyptian government drove its local media channels and press to publish stories against the demonstrations and the protesters, while in contrast the foreign media as derived by its political direction of achieving the political change in the Middle East region were obviously supporting the protesters and their reasons for the revolution. They all agreed that each of the conflicted parties the Egyptian government or the protestors was motivated by a different news media system that serves the government and the country it belongs to hence this led to the recent public distrust and loss of credibility in international media coverage especially in covering political issues and social movements.

As for the news coverage efficiency of the Egyptian press for the 25th Jan. events during the revolution period, the interviewees mostly agreed that the local Egyptian media coverage and press for the incidents. The local media coverage was mostly insufficient to the Egyptian public audiences or even to the international audiences around the world whom were eager to interpret these rapid complicated events of this social crisis. The public audiences during the peak of protests were pushed to search through the foreign news channels for the adequate information and subjective news covering the real events on ground of the demonstrations. They preferred to follow the foreign news media channels and elite international press to understand what was running through the streets and the squares of Egypt. To understand the reasons that caused these chaotic circumstances as carried by the angry masses of Egyptian youth and the simple citizens. Evidently, the foreign news channels succeeded to fulfill the gap that the Egyptian local media had left for the public audiences. Hence, it was more free and professional in covering the events, but of course through its political vision also. The next part illustrates the findings of the second level of analysis, the content analysis.

III. Findings of the Content Analysis

Findings of the Content Analysis will be divided into three parts; first, presenting the main characteristics and the data counting of the newspapers articles and images in the four papers. Second, verbal visual framing analysis of the articles and images extracted from Egyptian and American online newspapers, including the statistic results. Third; the hypothesis and research questions of the content analysis covering the Egyptian 25th Jan. events during its peak period starting from 25th Jan. till 25th Feb. (2011).

1. The Main Characteristics of the Egyptian & American Newspapers' Articles and Images

- **Data Counting of the Egyptian and American Newspapers Articles**

Table (1): Newspapers Article Sample

Newspaper	f	%
Al Ahram	52	27.4%
Al Masry Al Youm	26	13.7%
New York Times	26	13.7%
Washington Post	86	45.2%
Total	190	100%

Focusing on the main characteristics of the verbal coverage for the 25th Jan. events through analyzing the various articles extracted from the four Egyptian and American newspapers and indicating the data count of the sample. Table (1) and figure (4) show that the study is concerned by analyzing a total of 190 articles extracted from the four Egyptian and American newspapers. From the Egyptian press; Al Ahram representing the official governmental newspaper published 52 articles (27.4%) from the total sample, while Al Masry Al Youm the most prominent independent newspaper published 26 articles (13.7%) of the total sample under investigation. As for the foreign American press; the New York Times published 26 articles (13.7%) from the total sample, while the Washington Post newspaper published 86 articles (45.2%) from the total sample.

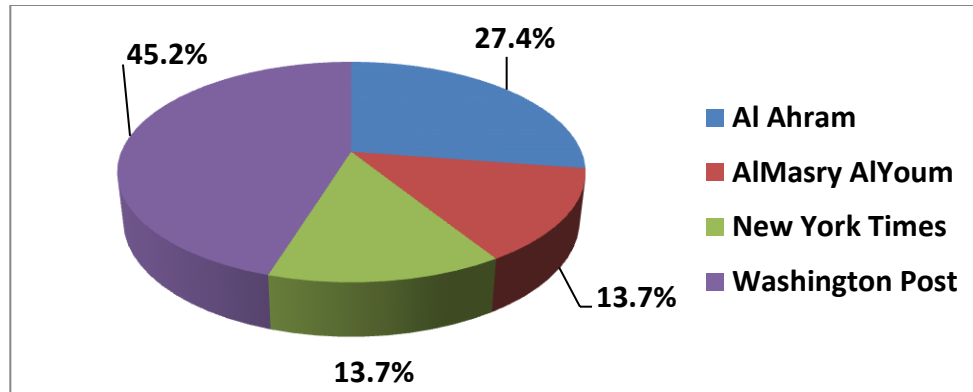


Figure (4): Article sample

Thus, by comparing the percent of the verbal newspapers coverage through the table data counting for the Egyptian and American newspapers used articles, it shows that the Foreign American newspapers; the Washington Post and the New York Times were having the dominant verbal coverage for the 25th Jan. events. Hence, it published 112 articles (60 %) from the total coverage which exceedingly more than the Egyptian coverage of Al Ahram and Al Masry Al Youm which published 78 articles (40%) of the total coverage. In this sense, the results of the data count reflected the foreign American press dominance of the verbal framing for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events internationally, as compared to the local Egyptian press coverage that was governmentally limited and restricted by the Egyptian regime during the revolution period.

- **Data Counting of the Egyptian and American Newspapers Images**

Table (2): Newspapers Image Sample

Newspaper	f	%
Al Ahram	20	14.6%
Al Masry Al Youm	-	-
New York Times	53	38.7%
Washington Post	64	46.7%
Total	137	100%

Focusing on the main characteristics of the visual newspapers coverage for the 25th Jan. events based on the numbers of the used images published through the four Egyptian and American newspapers as analyzing the data count of the photos sample. Table (2) and figure (5) show that the study is concerned by analyzing total of 137 photos extracted from three newspapers only, one governmental Egyptian and two foreign American; Al Ahram, the New York Times, and the Washington Post. In fact, the Egyptian independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm was not included in the visual coverage; hence it did not use any images or published any photos through its press coverage for the 25th Jan. events during the peak period of the revolution. However, Elmasry and El Nawawy (2016) through their research

asserted that, “media coverage was more legitimizing by the regimes especially during peaks of intense conflict, that many studies were limited; neither of these studies included visual elements”. Thus, the research indicated that Al Masry Al Youm, the privately owned newspaper represented images (0%) of the total sample. Regarding the Egyptian press visual coverage and the used photos for presenting the 25th Jan. events, the study indicated that Al Ahram as a prominent Egyptian governmental newspaper published 20 images of (14.6 %) from the total sample which is apparently less than the foreign American visual coverage for the same events in their used images.

On the other hand, the foreign American newspapers the New York Times published 53 photos of (38.7%) from the total sample, while the Washington Post published 64 photos of (45.2%) from the total sample. That is revealing the high foreign American newspapers dominance over the newspapers’ visual coverage for the 25th Jan. events as compared to the Egyptian Al Ahram (14.6%) and El Masry Al Youm the lowest visual coverage (0%). Another significant point was to be mentioned related to table (2) also is that the American newspaper the Washington Post was rating the first between the four newspapers in depending on the visual framing for the incidents through its coverage. Due to its exceeding usage for photos attached to its published articles. That one article in the Washington Post newspaper might include two or more attached images to reveal and elaborate more its meaning and messages.

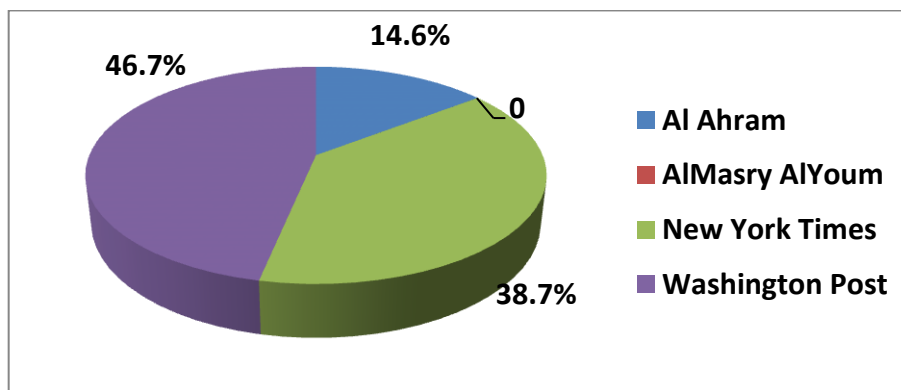


Figure (5): Photos sample

Thus, based on the analysis of the data count, as comparing the percentages of the used visual images through the media coverage for the 25th Jan. events for both Egyptian and American newspapers images indicates that the Foreign American newspapers were having mostly the greatest dominance over the international media coverage. The Washington Post and the New York Times depended mostly on the visual representations and images as it used 117 photos of (86 %) from the total visual coverage for the Egyptian revolution which is highly exceeding than the Egyptian visual coverage. Hence, Al Ahram represented 20 photos or (14.6 %) only of the total coverage which reflects the foreign American press visual dominance of framing the Egyptian 25th Jan. events, while the local Egyptian coverage was limited and restricted by the Egyptian government during the revolution period. In addition, it corresponds also with the verbal textual coverage ratio of the American press that was exceeding the Egyptian verbal textual coverage also. In general, the analysis of the data count for both the articles and images published by both the Egyptian and American newspapers reveals the foreign American media coverage dominance over the international media coverage for the Egyptian revolution. That was more exceeding than the local Egyptian newspapers coverage in both levels verbally and visually of the used texts and images in covering the same events.

2. Analysis of the Egyptian and American Newspapers Articles and Photos

Through this part the researcher represents the statistic results of the verbal visual content analysis for the four Egyptian and American newspapers covering the Egyptian 25th Jan. events during the peak period of the revolution starting from 25th Jan. till 25th Feb. (2011).

Type of the Story

Table (3): Type of story

Newspaper		AlAhram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
Text and photo	F	20	-	21	56	97
	%	38.5%	-	80.8%	65.1%	51.1%
Text only	F	32	26	5	30	93
	%	61.5%	100%	19.2%	34.9%	48.9%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=46.412, df=3, sig.=0.000, contingency coefficient=0.443)

Table (3) and figure (6) indicates the verbal-visual coverage for the 25th Jan. events as focusing on the type of the story published by the Egyptian and American newspapers on their online pages, whether it includes articles (text only) or articles with attached images (texts and photos). The findings have shown that in the Egyptian newspapers, Al Ahram most of the news stories represented by it was mainly verbal framing (texts only), that of 32 articles of (61.5%) of the total sample, while the stories that included both verbal and visual representation of newspapers (texts and photos) are of (38.5%) only of the total sample. In contrast to Al Masry Al Youm, as a leading independent Egyptian newspaper, as mentioned before it was focusing only on using verbal coverage (texts only) of (100%) through its coverage without using any images or visual support, which reflects its special schematic journalistic structure that it focuses mainly on representing articles and texts to deliver its messages and views for the events. On the other side, as compared to the verbal representation of the foreign American newspapers, the findings indicated that the New York Times represented the highest usage for both verbal visual coverage of using both texts and photos of (80.8%) of the total sample. Which reveals how the foreign American press were keen to cover the 25th Jan. events skillfully and represented its news both verbally and visually to support its political views and to deliver clearer messages to its public audience. The same path was followed by the Washington Post newspaper, as it represented also a very high level of using both verbal and visual framing through its coverage for the 25th Jan. events. Its used articles attached with photos of (65.1%) which reveals its clear journalistic tendency of supporting its news coverage verbally and visually to guide its audience, and to deliver clear messages too. Thus, the findings as a whole indicates that the foreign American press coverage was mainly based on stories combining both verbal

and visual elements (texts and photos); the New York Times published 21 (80.8%) and the Washington Post published 56 (65%) news articles with attached images of the total sample. While compared to the Egyptian newspapers, they both used 20 only (38.5%) of (texts and photos) from the total sample. Which reveals that the Egyptian press focuses mainly on verbal coverage using (texts only) and articles, without or even with a very weak visual representation, that Al Ahram used (texts only) (61.5 %). Hence, Al Masry Al Youm used (100%) mainly the verbal coverage (texts only) through their coverage from the total sample as they represented a higher level of 58 (texts only) of total sample of represented articles attached with photos 93 article. Compared to the American newspapers used less (texts only) in covering the 25th Jan events of 35 (text only) coverage out of the total sample 93 of articles attached with photos.

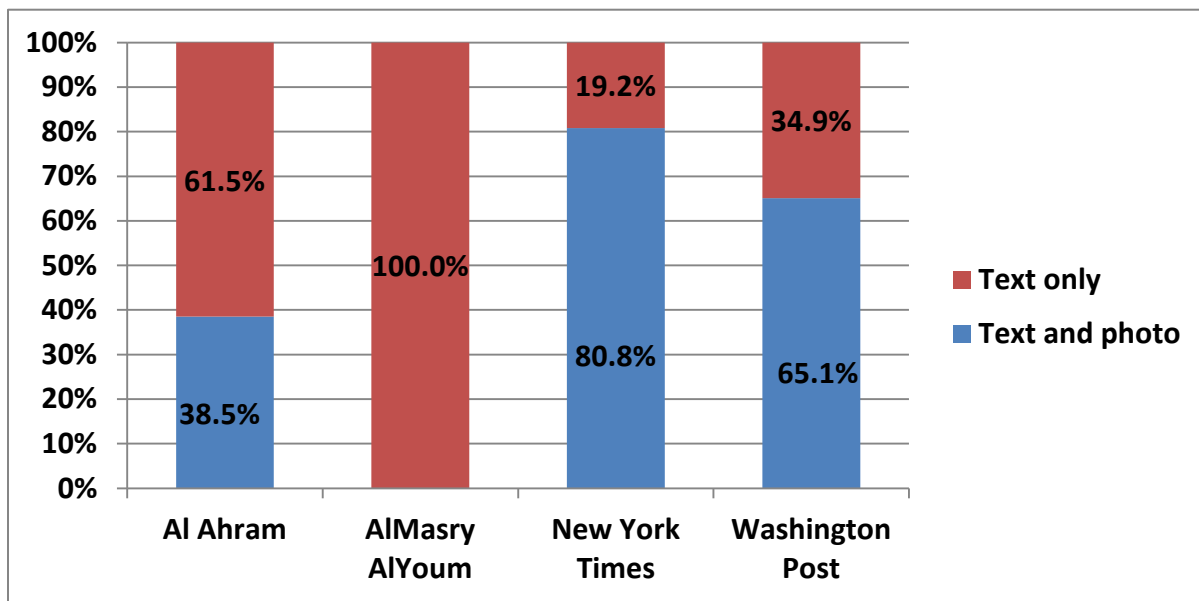


Figure (6): Presence of photos with texts

In sum, based on the analysis it indicates that the American press used both texts and images to support its coverage verbally and visually, while the Egyptian press depends mainly on verbal representation of news (texts only) or articles to deliver its news coverage to their audience, as using very weak visual coverage through its press. Correspondingly these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (3). Which is supporting the statistical significant correlation between the newspaper and the type of story, as the result of Chi square is (46.412) which statistically significant at the degree of freedom (3), and significance level (0, 00). As referring to the degree of relation, based on the contingency coefficient which is (0.443) shows that it is moderate in its relation.

Type of the Text

Table (4): Type of text

Newspaper Type of Text		AlAhram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
		News	F	28	15	2
	%	53.9%	57.8%	7.7%	24.4%	34.8%
Report	F	9	4	8	28	49
	%	17.3%	15.4%	30.8%	32.6%	25.9%
Opinion article	F	5	5	8	21	39
	%	9.6%	19.2%	30.8%	24.4%	20.5%
Investigation	F	1	1	1	13	16
	%	1.9%	3.8%	3.8%	15.1%	8.4%
Announcement	F	7	1	2	3	13
	%	13.5%	3.8%	7.7%	3.5%	6.8%
Diaries	F	-	-	5	-	5
	%	-	-	19.2%	-	2.6%
News Analysis	F	1	-	-	-	1
	%	1.9%	-	-	-	0.5%
Dialogues	F	1	-	-	-	1
	%	1.9%	-	-	-	0.5%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=77.278, df=21, sig.=0.000, contingency coefficient=0.538)

Table (4) and figure (7) indicates the verbal representation of media coverage through analyzing the type of texts published in the four Egyptian and American newspapers. To be compared of its type; whether it was (news, announcement, opinion article, report, diaries, investigation, news analysis, or dialogues). The findings have shown that the majority of the verbal press representations was based on the type of text the (News) (34.8%) from the total analyzed sample, then to be followed by the most used text type (Reports) (25.9 %) from the total sample. While, the text type (Opinion article) came in the third order with 20.5% of the total sample. The Egyptian newspapers' most usage for the various types of texts, we find that Al Ahram used mainly the type of text (News) (53.9%) to be followed with a big clear variation the (Report) (17.3%). The same was Al Masry Al Youm newspaper, where it used mainly the type of text (News) (57.8%) of the total sample then comes with big realized variation the (Opinion Article) (19.2%) of the total analyzed sample. That is to be followed by using the (Report) articles (15.4%)

of the total sample. It is clear that the Egyptian press during covering the 25th Jan. revolution was more focusing on presenting updated news and report articles through its coverage, and that is because of the complicated nature of the demonstrations events as a local social crisis that was developing and changing rapidly through a very limited period of time. On the other hand, the foreign American coverage and the type of the used texts; we find that the New York Times used the text type (Report) (30.8%) which is the highest of the total sample, then comes the (Opinion articles) (30.8) with the same ratio with the (Report) of the total sample. While the Washington Post used the type of text (Report) with the highest ratio of (32.6%) of the total sample to be followed by the (News) (24.4%) and (Opinion article) (24.4%) both are equal of the total sample.

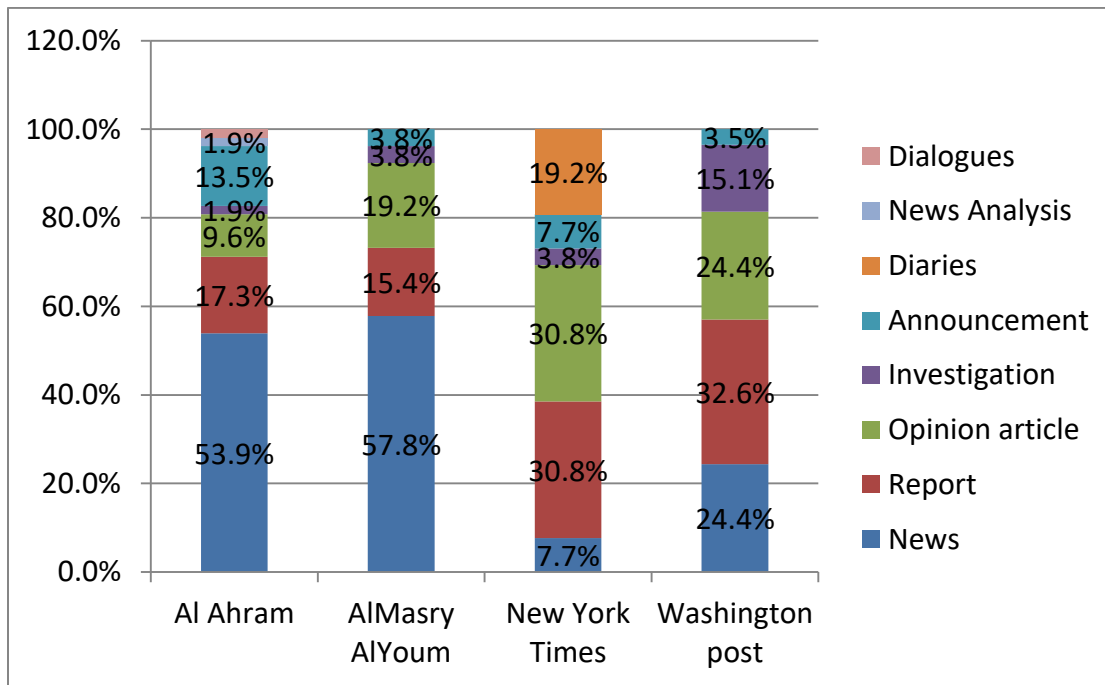


Figure (7): Type of text

Based on the analysis, it reveals that while the Egyptian press was focusing on texts types of news and report articles the American press was using the report, and opinion articles in covering the 25th Jan. social crisis. This clearly indicates that the Egyptian press was keen to inform the public audience with the updated news and reports of the daily events according to its view, as they were restricted not to present any free journalistic opinion articles, while the American press was focusing on representing the news and reports and the opinion articles without any restrictions or journalistic limits to guide the public opinion and to direct the international media coverage for specific views of political change. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (4). And it agrees with the statistical significant correlation between the newspaper and the type of text, as the result of Chi square is (77.278), which statistically significant at the degree of freedom (21), and significance (0, 00). As referring to the degree of relation, the contingency coefficient (0.538) shows that it is moderate in its relation.

Presence of Photos with Articles:

Table (5): Article includes a Photo

Newspaper		Presence of Photos				
		AlAhram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
Yes	F	20	-	21	56	97
	%	38.5%	-	80.8%	65.1%	51.1%
No	F	32	26	5	30	93
	%	61.5%	100%	19.2%	34.9%	48.9%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=46.412, df=3, sig.=0.000, contingency coefficient=0.443)

The analysis has shown through table (5) and figure (8) that the American press was focusing more on using visual framing and presenting more images and photos attached to their articles. Hence, it is clear that the majority of the Egyptian and American newspapers focused on visuals and combined both verbal and visual framing together. They used mainly attached photos with articles of (51.1%) from the total sample of analysis. That in the four newspapers the coverage was (48.9%) of the total sample does not include photos attached to its texts, especially through the Egyptian press coverage of Al Masry Al Youm newspaper. In a closer look through the Egyptian newspapers, Al Ahram used photos (38.5%) of the total sample which is very low compared to its ratio of not using images combined with texts (61.5%) from the total sample. This shows that Al Ahram as a governmental newspaper focused more on the verbal coverage of publishing texts and news articles in covering the 25th Jan. events, than using visuals of attaching photos to its articles. Correspondingly, Al Masry Al Youm the independent newspaper, (100%) it did not use any visual representation of images in its journalistic coverage for the events, although during this period of the revolution it was regarded as a very important privately owned news source as the most popular independent newspaper that covered the events objectively without any governmental biases. On the other side, the foreign American press recorded the highest usage for visual framing and images, combining both verbal with visual press coverage as it used mainly photos to be attached with its news articles in covering the 25th Jan. events. That the Washington Post newspaper used photos of (65.1%) of the total sample while it used only (34.9%) of the total sample texts without images, which reveals its strong dependency on the visual framing for the events. The same was the New York Times used mainly the visual representations of images (80.8%) of the total sample which is the highest of all as recorded only (19.2%) of the total sample as verbal coverage of presenting articles only without images.

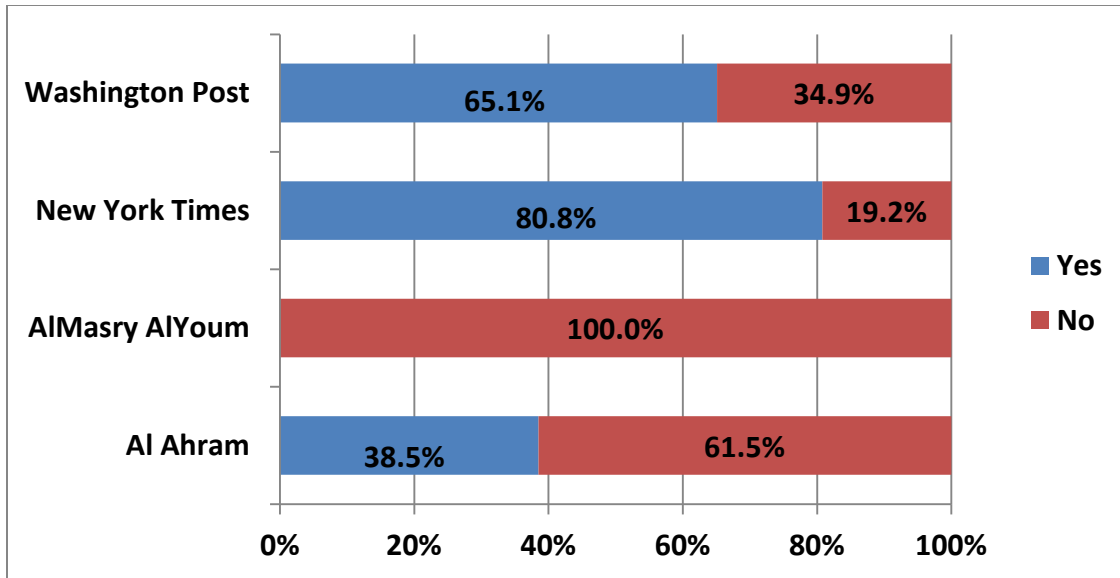


Figure (8): Presence of Photos

Thus, the analysis indicates that the American press combined mainly both verbal and visual frames together as used mainly photos to be attached with its articles to support its journalistic coverage for the 25th Jan. events, an article might include more than one photo to help deliver its messages and political directions clearly. As compared to the Egyptian press coverage for the events it focused mainly on the verbal framing and mostly it used articles and news reports with little dependence on visual representations of photos. It mostly published articles without any photos. However, these results are matching with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (5). That it generally agrees with the statistical significant correlation between the newspaper and the presence of images and photos attached to the texts, as the result of Chi square is (46.412), which statistically significant at the degree of freedom is (3), and significance (0,000). As referring to the degree of relation, the contingency coefficient (0.443) shows that the relation is moderate.

Elements of the Photo:

Table (6): Elements of the photo

Newspaper Photo Includes		AlAhram	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
Public Image	F	12	16	19	47
	%	60%	76.2%	33.9%	48.5%
Personal Picture	F	7	5	34	46
	%	35%	23.8%	60.7%	47.4%
Slogan	F	1	-	3	4
	%	5%	-	5.4%	4.1%
Total	F	20	21	56	97
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=12.639, df=4, sig.=0.013, contingency coefficient=0.340)

Table (6) indicates the elements included in the used images through the visual coverage of the four Egyptian and American newspapers, whether it includes a (Slogan, Personal picture, or Public photo). The findings have shown that the usage of (Public photos) (48.5%) of the total sample. Which is very close to the newspapers usage of (Personal photos) (47.4%) of the total sample, then comes the (Slogan) by (4.1%) of the total sample which is very rare to be used in the images used by the various newspapers coverage. The analysis has shown that the (Public photos) was the highest used by the Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram (60%) of the total sample, then comes the usage of (Personal pictures) (35%) of the total sample. That it was focusing mainly on representing the general scene of the angry citizens inside the big squares and areas of public protests rather than presenting personal photos of the political leaders and the protesters. As Compared to the American newspapers visual coverage, it was clear that the New York Times scores the same high percent of mostly using (Public photos) (76.2%) of the total sample, while its usage of (Personal pictures) (23.8%) of the total sample. But in contrast, the Washington Post newspaper was completely different in its used images elements, that its highest percent was for using the (Personal pictures) (60.7%) of the total sample. That is due to the exceeding repetition of publishing the same personal pictures with different articles through the various days of the coverage, as it also used the (Public photo) (33.9%) of the total sample. Thus, it was clear that the variation was apparent between the two American newspapers that the New York Times focused more on using the (Public photo) through its visual coverage, that it focused more on the general public scene for the events the crowded squares with the angry protesters. While the Washington Post which used mainly the (Personal photos) through its published images focusing mainly on persons and prominent public figures presenting political figures and the personal photos for the activists and protesters. These results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (6). Which agrees with the statistical significant correlation between the newspaper and the elements of images, as the result of Chi square is (12.639), which statistically significant at the degree of freedom (4), and significance (0,013). As referring to the degree of relation, the contingency coefficient (0.340) shows that it is moderate in its relation.

Type of the Photo:

Table (7): Type of photo

Type of Photo \ Newspaper		Newspaper			Total
		AlAhram	New York Times	Washington Post	
Personal photo	F	8	10	38	56
	%	40%	47.6%	67.8%	57.8%
Themed photo	F	8	11	8	27
	%	40%	52.4%	14.3%	27.8%
Descriptive photo	F	4	-	10	14
	%	20%	-	17.9%	14.4%
Total	F	20	21	56	97
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=15.673, df=4, sig.=0.003, contingency coefficient=0.373)

Table (7) indicates the type of photo published in the four Egyptian and American newspapers through their visual coverage for the 25th Jan. public events. The results have shown that the (Personal) photo represents (57.8%) of the total sample that the American press scored the highest; where the Washington Post used (Personal) photo of (67.8%) from the total sample, followed by the New York Times (47.6%) of the total sample which is obviously high too. As compared to the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram used the (Personal) (40%) of the total sample which is significantly high also. In this regard, the analysis reveals that the personal photos were mainly used by the American press through its visual coverage for the 25th Jan. events more than used by the Egyptian press. Correspondingly, the (Themed) photos usage was (27.8%) of the total sample, where the American newspapers, the New York Times (52.4%) represents the highest of the total sample including the (Themed) photos, as compared to the Washington Post it scores a lowest percent of (14.3%) of the total sample that included themed photos. Then comes the Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram (40%) of the total sample used the (Themed) photos, which is relatively high too as compared to the American newspapers. While through the Egyptian and American newspapers, the (Descriptive) photos represented only (14.4%) of the total sample, which is a very low percent. That the Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram used the (Themed) (20%) of the total sample which indicates a high percent, as compared to the American newspapers, the Washington Post (17.9%) of the total sample of (Themed) photos. From the previous analysis it is clear that the (Personal) photos whether for political or government leaders or leaders from the Egyptian army or for the protesters angry citizens were highly published in both the American and the Egyptian newspapers, as they are more impressive to clarify the conflicted situation and the various conflicted opposite parties of the 25th Jan. crisis. Then it is followed by the (Themed) photos, which was high used through the visual representation also in both the American then the Egyptian newspapers the New York Times and Al Ahram, as revealing the public social anger and clashes between the conflicted parties, the government forces and the

protestors. Finally come the (Descriptive) photos in both Egyptian and American newspapers, that the analysis indicates that Al Ahram and the Washington Post to be the less type of photos that were used in both Egyptian and American newspapers. Hence, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (7). That it generally agrees with the statistical significant correlation between the newspaper and the type of image. The result of Chi square is (15.673), which statistically significant at degree of freedom (4), and significance (0.003). As referring to the degree of relation, the contingency coefficient (0.373) shows that it is moderate in its relation.

Elements of a Personal Photo:

Table (8): Elements of Personal photo

Newspaper Personal Photo Includes		AlAhram	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
		Protesters	F	5	5
	%	62.5%	50%	68.4%	64.2%
Politicians, Government Police Leaders	F	2	3	6	11
	%	25%	30%	15.8%	19.6%
Revolution Icons and Activists Leaders	F	-	2	2	4
	%	-	20%	5.3%	7.1%
Military Soldiers	F	-	-	2	2
	%	-	-	5.3%	3.6%
Sarcasm of Mubarak	F	1	-	1	2
	%	12.5%	-	2.6%	3.6%
Foreign Responsible Figures	F	-	-	1	1
	%	-	-	2.6%	1.8%
Total	F	8	10	38	56
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=8.104, df=10, sig.=0.619)

The analysis has shown through table (8) that the most included element in the personal photos published through the verbal framing of the Egyptian and American newspapers was the (Protesters) (64.2%) of the total sample. Followed with a big noticed variation by the (Government and Police Leaders) (19.6%) of the total sample. In the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram the personal photos used by it included mostly the (Protesters) (62.5%) of the total sample, then comes the (Government and Political leaders) (25%) of the total sample. As compared to the American newspapers; their personal photos included mainly the (Protesters) also; in the Washington Post was the highest percentage (68.4%) of the

total sample, then followed by the (Government and Police Leaders) (15.8%) of the total sample included in its used personal photos. Then the New York Times newspaper used (Protesters) (50%) of the total sample mostly included in its used personal photos. Then comes the (Government and Police Leaders) (30%) of the total sample included in its used personal photos. Based on this analysis, it is clear that both the Egyptian and American newspapers have agreed in choosing the same visual frame of the (Protesters) as a basic element through their used personal photos. Especially the Washington Post newspaper, it scored the highest percentage of using the element of the (Protesters) frame through its used personal photos in covering the 25th Jan. events. Then, followed by the next most used element in the personal photos presented by the Egyptian and American newspapers, was the (Government and Police Leaders) frame, as it is mostly used by the New York Times newspaper. These two significant visual frames the (Protesters) and the (Government and Police leaders) are regarded as the most dominant visual frames used by the Egyptian and American newspapers. Hence, they mostly represented the two conflicting parties of the Egyptian revolution the (Protesters) and the Egyptian (Government and Police leaders), that the newspapers were focusing on the main struggling parties of the social movement. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (8). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and the elements of a personal photo, that the result of Chi square is (8.104), which is statistically insignificant ($P>0.05$).

Elements of a Themed Photo:

Table (9): Elements of Themed photo

Themed Photo Includes		Newspaper			Total
		AlAhram	New York Times	Washington Post	
Crowded Squares & Streets	F	6	7	6	19
	%	75%	63.6%	75%	70.4%
Fires & Damaged cars	F	-	2	1	3
	%	-	18.2%	12.5%	11.1%
Offences of Protesters	F	1	1	-	2
	%	12.5%	9.1%	-	7.4%
Flags & Bursa	F	-	1	1	2
	%	-	9.1%	12.5%	7.4%
Official Pages	F	1	-	-	1
	%	12.5%	-	-	3.7%
Total	F	8	11	8	27
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=8.637, df=10, sig.=0.567)

Table (9) indicates the elements included in the themed photos published in the news stories of Egyptian and American newspapers covering the 25th Jan. events. The analysis reveals that the most dominant visual frame used by the Egyptian and American newspapers represented through the themed photos was the (Crowded Squares and Streets) (70.4%) of the total sample. Hence, the Tahrir Square and the main streets were the main location of the public demonstrations. To be followed with a noticed big variation by the frame of (Fires and Damaged Cars) (11.1%) of the total sample, which is very symbolic of representing the public anger and the general scene of protests. To be followed by the frame of (Protesters) (7.4%) of the total sample to clarify the dramatic role of the angry citizens. Comparing the Egyptian to the American newspapers; the Egyptian press mostly used elements in its themed photos. The analysis shows that both Egyptian and American newspapers were equal; Al Ahram used (Crowded Squares and Streets) (75%) of the total sample in its themed photos, and the Washington Post newspaper used also (Crowded Squares and Streets) (75%) of the total sample in its themed photos. Then comes by a slight difference with the New York Times newspaper, which used (Crowded Squares and Streets) (63%) of the total sample in its themed photos. Such results indicate that both the Egyptian and American newspapers were focusing mainly on the central place of the revolutions' events that were in the main squares and streets of Egypt. That is to shed a closer view on the details of the crisis stressing on its especial location and to represent a vivid updated image to the audience. The next element the newspapers used through its themed photos was (Fires and Damaged Cars) in the American newspapers, the New York Times (18.2%) of the total sample, while the Washington Post (12.5%) of the total sample, which reveals a slight difference between them. As compared to the Egyptian newspaper, the second used element in its themed photo was completely different hence it used (Protesters) (12.5%) of the total sample. This indicates that it focused on both the place of the revolution and the citizens protesters also, as vital actors for the events. The New York Times also used the element of the (Protesters) (9.1%) of the total sample through its themed photos, which is relatively not a high percent that it was focusing mainly on the location and the area of the struggle of the revolution events. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (9). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and the elements of a themed photo, that the result of Chi square is (8.637), which is statistically insignificant ($P > 0.05$).

Elements of a Descriptive Photo

Table (10): Elements of a Descriptive photo

Descriptive Photo Include	Newspaper	Al Ahram	Washington Post	Total
	Leave Now Do not Involve the Army	F	-	4
	%	-	40%	28.8%
A Tank and a Man Praying	F	-	2	2
	%	-	20%	14.4%
Dove of Peace	F	1	-	1
	%	25%	-	7.1%
Face Book Role in the Revolution	F	1	-	1
	%	25%	-	7.1%
Get Out -Leave Egypt	F	1	-	1
	%	25%	-	7.1%
Get Out Mubarak/ Screw Mubarak	F	-	2	2
	%	-	20%	14.2%
Leave Today Before Tomorrow	F	-	1	1
	%	-	10%	7.1%
Get Away ,, My hands are getting tired	F	1	-	1
	%	25%	-	7.1%
We are Patient till the Victory, Not Leaving the Square	F	-	1	1
	%	-	10%	7.1%
Total	F	4	10	14
	%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=23.182, df=30, sig.=0.808)

Table (10) indicates the elements included in the descriptive photos through the visual representation published in Egyptian and American newspapers. The results have shown that the elements of the descriptive photos in the Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram were divided along a wide range of elements equally; (Dove of Peace) (25%), (Facebook Role in the Revolution) (25%), (Get Out Leave Egypt) (25%), and (Get Away.. My hands are getting tired) (25%) of the total sample. This reveals how

the 25th Jan. revolution was very peaceful social movement carried by the simple people and the ordinary citizens of Egypt. On the other hand, all the descriptive photos represented through the American newspapers were mainly by the Washington Post newspaper, that the New York Times does not use any descriptive photos (0%) through its visual coverage for the events, in contrast to the Washington Post that depended mainly on using descriptive photos through its visual coverage. Hence, the majority of its descriptive photos includes (Leave Now, Don't Involve the Army) (40%) of the total sample, followed by (A Tank and a Praying Man) (20%) of the total sample. Then comes equally other elements with low percent as (Get out Mubarak & Screw Mubarak) (20%) of the total sample. Then it used (Leave Today before Tomorrow) (10%) of the total sample, and (We are Patient till the Victory, Not Leaving the Square) (10%) of the total sample. And this reveals also the peaceful movements of the public Egyptian social movement. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (10). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and the elements of a descriptive photo, that the result of Chi square is (23.182), which is statistically insignificant ($P>0.05$).

Correlation between Articles and Photos:

Table (11): Correlation between articles and photos

Newspaper Article Photo Relationship		Newspaper			
		Al Ahram	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
Related	F	17	16	35	68
	%	85.0%	76.2%	62.5%	70.1%
Not Related	F	3	5	21	29
	%	15.0%	23.8%	37.5%	29.9%
Total	F	20	21	56	97
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=4.034, df=2, sig.=0.133)

Table (11) and Figure (9) indicates the verbal visual relationship between texts and their attached photos in both Egyptian and American newspapers coverage for the 25th Jan. events. The results have shown that the majority of the newspapers articles and their attached photos represented through the various newspapers were (Related) (70.1%) of the total sample. In the Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram, texts and photos are (Related) (85.0%) of the total sample which is very high. The same was in the American newspapers, that the articles photos relationship were mostly high in the New York Times scoring (76.2%) of the total sample. And the Washington Post texts and images were (Related) (62.5%) of the total sample.

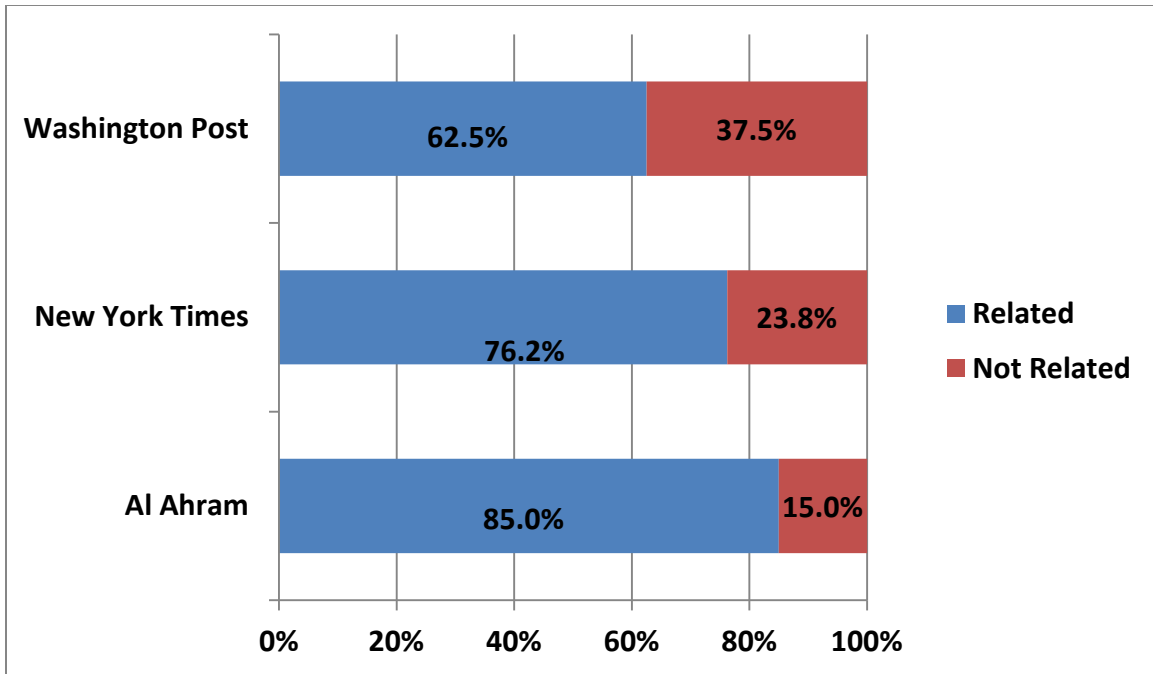


Figure (9): Correlation between Texts and Photos

The analysis reveals that; both the Egyptian and the American newspapers used images and articles that are highly related and correspondent to each other in framing the same events. This verbal visual framing correlation helps supporting their news coverage for delivering their specific news messages. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (11). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and the articles images relationships, that the result of Chi square is (4.034), which is statistically insignificant ($P > 0.05$).

Article's Location to the Photo:

Table (12): Article's location to the photo

Article's Location to the Photo		Newspaper			Total
		Al Ahram	New York Times	Washington Post	
Below the photo	F	19	8	56	83
	%	95%	38.1%	100%	85.5%
In Centre	F	-	12	-	12
	%	-	57.1%	-	12.4%
Above the photo	F	1	1	-	2
	%	5%	4.8%	-	2.1%
Total	F	20	21	56	97
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=53.265, df=4, sig.=0.000, contingency coefficient=0.595)

Table (12) indicates the verbal visual newspapers coverage relationship as it focuses on the location of the texts to their attached images in both Egyptian and American newspapers. The results show that the majority of the newspapers articles were mostly below the photos (85.5%) of the total sample. In the Egyptian newspaper, Al Ahram mostly used the articles below the photos (95.0%) of the total sample which is very high, to focus on the used images to catch the readers' attention for the events. The same was in the American newspapers that they presented the articles mostly below the photos; as in the Washington Post was (100%) of the total sample, that all its articles were presented below the photos, which reveals its great focusing on the visual representation for the news in supporting the texts. On the other hand, we find in the New York Times used mostly photos to be located at the center of the texts (57.1%) of the total sample. And it used the articles presented below the photo of (38.1%) which indicates also that the New York Times also focuses on the visual support to their coverage. Also it is using the images in the center of the text to illustrate its visual representation of the events through its articles to catch the readers' attention. The analysis reveals that both the Egyptian and American newspapers used the articles mostly below the photos through their verbal visual news coverage to grape their audience attention and to deliver their messages clearly through focusing on the visual representations. Hence, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (12). That it generally agrees with the statistical significant correlation between the newspaper and the news article's location to the image, the result of Chi square is (53.265), which statistically significant at the degree of freedom (4), and significance (0.000). As referring to the degree of relation, the contingency coefficient (0.595) shows that it is moderate in its relation.

Article's Size to the Photo:

Table (13): Article's size to the photo

Newspaper		Article's Size to the Photo			
		Al Ahram	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
Bigger than Photo	F	13	19	40	72
	%	65%	90.5%	71.4%	74.3%
Both same Size	F	7	2	15	24
	%	35%	9.5%	26.8%	24.7%
Smaller than Photo	F	-	-	1	1
	%	-	-	1.8%	1%
Total	F	20	21	56	97
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=4.678, df=4, sig.=0.322)

Table (13) indicates verbal visual newspapers coverage relationship as focusing on the texts' size to their attached photos in both Egyptian and American newspapers. The results show that, through the majority of the newspapers the articles are mostly bigger than the attached photos (74.3%) of the total sample. In the Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram mostly the articles and the photos are of the same size (35.0%) of the total sample which is very high that it focuses on presenting both the texts and photos equally. On the other side, in the American newspapers the published articles are mostly bigger than their attached photos; in the New York Times it used mostly the articles bigger than the photos (90.5%) of the total sample. This reveals that it focused mainly on the published texts and articles news for the verbal representation for the events as it was followed with big variation of (both articles and photos in the same size) of (9.5%). This indicates that the New York Times focused mainly on the articles and the verbal representation of the events through its coverage beside its visual representations. Correspondingly, in the Washington Post it used mainly the articles bigger in size than the photos (71.4%) of the total sample, then comes using (texts and photos of the same size) (26.8%) of the total sample, which reveals its great focusing mainly on the verbal representation for the news and supporting it by the images. The analysis reveals that in the Egyptian press mostly the articles and the photos are of the same size, while in the American press mostly used the articles bigger than the photos that they depend mainly on the verbal framing and articles representation through their press coverage. Hence, it is supporting its verbal framing by the visual coverage to deliver their specific messages and news. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (13). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and the article's size to the image, that the result of Chi square is (4.678), which is statistically insignificant ($P > 0.05$).

The Dominant Frame in the Article

Table (14): The dominant Frame in article

Newspaper The Used Frame In the Article		AlAhram (n=52)	AlMasry AlYoum (n=26)	New York Times (n=26)	Washington Post (n=86)	Total (n=190)
Protests	F	23	3	13	31	70
	%	44.2%	11.5%	50%	36%	36.8%
Revolution	F	19	5	11	24	59
	%	36.5%	19.2%	42.3%	27.9%	31.1%
Demands for Mubarak's Resignation	F	11	2	11	29	53
	%	21.2%	7.7%	42.3%	33.7%	27.9%
Democracy	F	7	-	11	23	41
	%	13.5%	-	42.3%	26.7%	21.6%
Economic Instability	F	9	3	3	18	33
	%	17.3%	11.5%	11.5%	20.9%	17.4%
Chaos	F	5	1	2	13	21
	%	9.6%	3.8%	7.7%	15.1%	11.1%
Official Feedback /Gov. oppression	F	1	4	1	8	14
	%	1.9%	15.4%	3.8%	9.3%	7.4%
Celebration	F	2	2	1	3	8
	%	3.8%	7.7%	3.8%	3.5%	4.2%
Dictatorship	F	1	1	-	5	7
	%	1.9%	3.8%	-	5.8%	3.7%
Army Authority	F	1	-	3	3	7
	%	1.9%	-	11.5%	3.5%	3.7%
After Revolution	F	4	1	2	-	7
	%	7.7%	3.8%	7.7%	-	3.7%
Public Discontent	F	-	1	1	3	5
	%	-	3.8%	3.8%	3.5%	2.6%
Vicious Assault	F	3	2	-	-	5
	%	5.8%	7.7%	-	-	2.6%

Newspaper		The Used Frame In the Article				
		AlAhram (n=52)	AlMasry AlYoum (n=26)	New York Times (n=26)	Washington Post (n=86)	Total (n=190)
Reforms	F	1	2	-	1	4
	%	1.9%	7.7%	-	1.2%	2.1%
Freedom	F	1	1	-	2	4
	%	1.9%	3.8%	-	2.3%	2.1%
Poverty	F	-	-	1	2	3
	%	-	-	3.8%	2.3%	1.6%
Living Effects	F	-	1	-	1	2
	%	-	3.8%	-	1.2%	1.1%
Political Corruption	F	-	-	-	1	1
	%	-	-	-	1.2%	0.5%

* The total is more than the real number as more than one item was mentioned

Table (14) and Figure (10) indicates the verbal framing for the 25th Jan. events as presenting the most dominant frames used in articles published by Egyptian and American newspapers. The results have shown that the dominant verbal frame through the four newspapers were the (Protests) (36.8%) of the total sample, followed by the frame of (Revolution) (31.1%) of the total sample. Then, comes other frames of (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) (27.9%) of the total sample and the frame of (Democracy) (21.6%) of the total sample. The analysis reveals that both Egyptian and American newspapers were sharing mostly the same dominant verbal frames of (protests, revolution, demands for Mubarak and democracy). The Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram used the verbal frame (Protests) (44.2%) of the total sample, that it described the public demonstrations as destructive protests against the state warning the people to join it. Then, later it changed its tone radically and used the frame of (Revolution) (36.5%) which is very high too, when President Mubarak declared his resignation. Al Ahram also used the frame (Economic instability) (17.3%) of the total sample through its coverage, that it used this frame to warn the people from the negative economic impact of the demonstrations on the Egyptian state. As for Al Masry Al Youm newspaper the most dominant verbal frame it used was the (Revolution) (19.2%) of the total sample from the beginning of the events, that it described the public demonstrations as a powerful revolution revealing its covert political support. Followed by using the frame of (Official Feedback) (15.4%) and finally comes equally the frames (Protests) (11.5%) and (Economic instability) (11.5%) of the total sample. On the other hand, the most dominant verbal frames in the American newspapers were in the New York Times the frame of (Protests) (50.0%) of the total sample which is the highest used verbal frame. Followed by the frame of (Revolution) (42.3%) of the total sample and the frames (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) (42.3%) of the total sample and (Democracy) (42.3%) of the total sample.

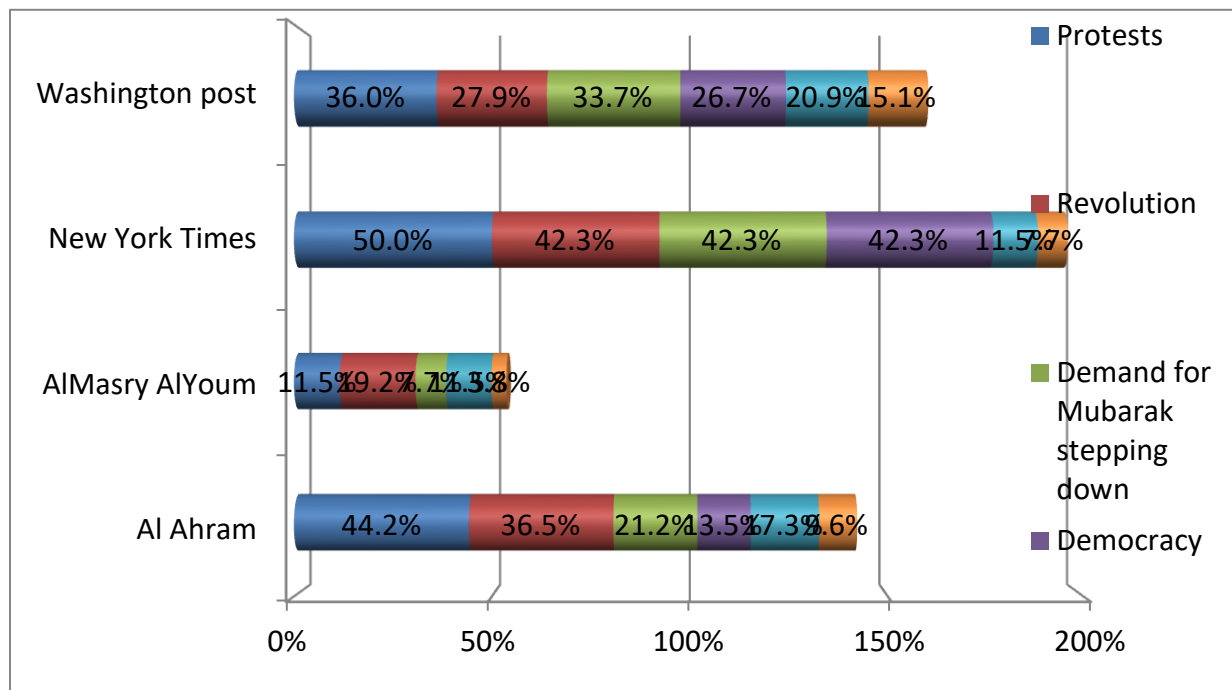


Figure (10): The dominant frame in the article

This indicates that the New York Times apparent direction of using frames of (Revolution, Demands for Mubarak and Democracy) equally with high percentage for each of (42.3%) of the total sample shows its political support to the public demonstrations and the political change. While, the Washington Post newspaper its dominant used verbal frames, following the same path of the New York Times; it used the frame of (Protests) (36.0%) of the total sample which was the highest. As followed by using the frame of (Revolution) (27.9%) of the total sample and the frame of (Democracy) (26.7%) of the total sample. The analysis indicates that both the Egyptian state-owned newspaper Al Ahram and the foreign American newspapers; the New York Times and the Washington Post mostly used the (Protests) as their dominant verbal frame through its published articles. While, the Egyptian independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm used the (Revolution) frame to be its dominant used frame through its verbal coverage for the same events, then followed by the other verbal frames of (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) and the (Democracy) as mostly used in the four Egyptian and American newspapers articles through their verbal coverage for the events.

Dominant Frame in the Photo

Table (15): The dominant frame in the photo

The Used Frame In the Photo		Newspaper		New York Times	Washington Post	Total
		Al Ahram				
Protests	F	12	10	30	52	
	%	60%	47.6%	53.5%	53.6%	
Violence	F	1	4	7	12	
	%	5%	19%	12.5%	12.4%	
Demands for Mubarak Resignation	F	1	-	9	10	
	%	5%	-	16.1%	10.3%	
International Parties	F	1	1	5	7	
	%	5%	4.8%	8.9%	7.2%	
Revolution Square	F	1	3	1	5	
	%	5%	14.3%	1.8%	5.2%	
Celebrations for Victory	F	2	-	1	3	
	%	10%	-	1.8%	3.1%	
Revolution Icons	F	1	2	1	4	
	%	5%	9.5%	1.8%	4.1%	
Victims	F	-	1	1	2	
	%	-	4.8%	1.8%	2.1%	
Injuries / Chaos	F	1	-	1	2	
	%	5%	-	1.8%	2%	
Total	F	20	21	56	97	
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

(chi square=23.680, df=18, sig.=0.166)

Table (15) and Figure (11) indicates the visual framing for the 25th Jan. events as examining the most dominant visual frames used in the images presented by Egyptian and American newspapers. The results have shown the dominant visual frames used through the four newspapers were mostly the (Protests) in (53.6%) of the total sample, which is highly matching with the attached articles and the verbal frames. Then it is followed by the frame (Violence) in (12.4%) of the total sample, then comes the frame (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) in (10.3%) of the total sample. The analysis reveals that

both Egyptian and American newspapers are sharing mostly the same dominant visual frames of (Protests, Violence and Demands for Mubarak stepping down); hence the Egyptian newspaper, Al Ahram used the visual frame (Protests) in (60%) of the total sample, which is the highest through the various newspapers, then followed with a big variation by the frame (Celebration) in (10%) of the total sample, then comes the other frames equally with very low percentages; (Violence) in (5%), (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) in (5%), (Injuries) in (5%), (Revolution Square) in (5%), (Revolution Icons) in (5%) and the (International Parties) in (5%) of the total sample. On the other hand, the analysis indicates that the most dominant visual frames in the American newspapers were in the New York Times, the frame of (Protests) in (47.6%) of the total sample which is the highest used visual frame, followed by the frame of (Violence) in (19%) of the total sample and then the frame (Revolution square) in (14.3%) of the total sample. Also, the Washington Post newspaper followed the same path, its dominant visual frame was the (Protests) in (53.5%) of the total sample which was the highest, followed by (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) (16.1%) of the total sample, then comes finally the (Violence) in (12.5%) of the total sample.

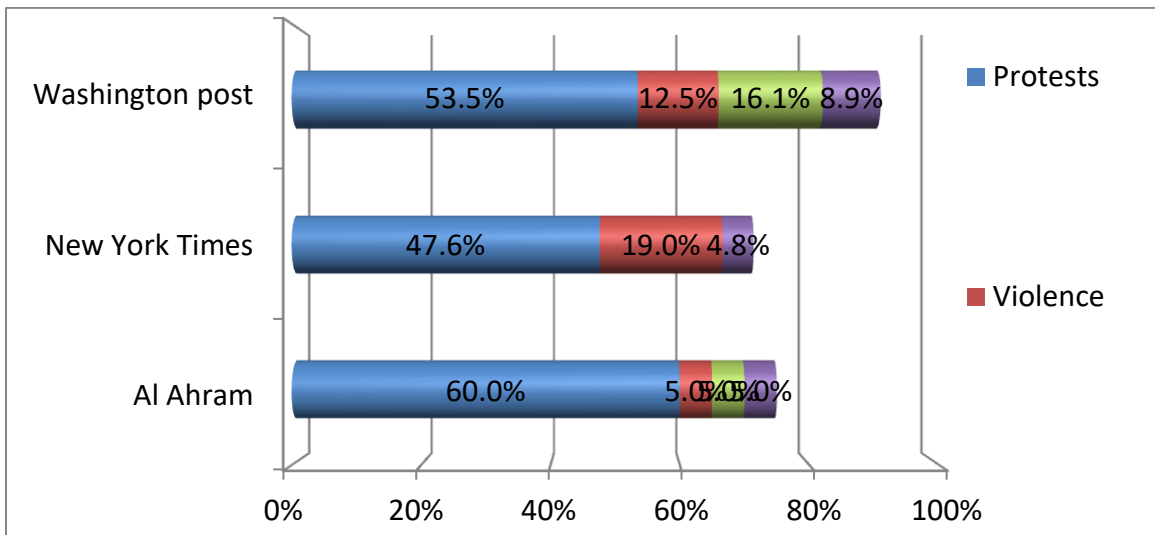


Figure (11): The dominant frame in the photo

The analysis indicates that both the Egyptian and American newspapers mostly used the (Protests) as the dominant visual frame through its published photos which corresponds with the dominant verbal frames used through their texts, that reflects the apparent correlation and matching between their verbal visual framing coverage for the events. Also, it clarifies how the various press were focusing mainly on presenting the protests as the basic powerful actor through the events, that each newspaper represented the protests whether positively or negatively according to its political directions or interests. Hence, the (Protests) frame was followed by the other visual frames of (Violence) and (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) as mostly used in the four Egyptian and American newspapers published images and visual coverage for the events. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (15). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and the used dominant frame in images, that the result of Chi square is (23.680), which is statistically insignificant ($P > 0.05$).

The Protesters' Portrayal in the Article:

Table (16): Protesters' portrayal in the article

Newspaper Protesters Portrayal in Article		Al Ahram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
		Positive	F	26	10	19
	%	50%	38.5%	73.1%	51.2%	52.1%
Neutral	F	22	15	6	40	83
	%	42.3%	57.7%	23.1%	46.5%	43.7%
Negative	F	4	1	1	2	8
	%	7.7%	3.8%	3.8%	2.3%	4.2%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=9.297, df=6, sig.=0.158)

Table (16) indicates the verbal coverage of the 25th Jan. events, as focusing on the Protesters' portrayal in the articles published in the Egyptian and American newspapers. The results have shown that the Protesters portrayal in the four newspapers were mostly (Positive) in (52.1%) of the total sample, to be followed with a slight difference to be (Neutral) in (43.7%) of the total sample. Both Egyptian and American newspapers were portraying mostly the protesters positively in their articles, through their verbal framing for the events. That the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram portrayed the protesters (Positive) in (50%) of the total sample which is very high, or (Neutral) in (42.3%) of the total sample, to be compared with Al Masry Al Youm, it clearly varied that it portrayed the protesters mostly (Neutral) in (57.7%) which is very significant as an independent unbiased newspaper, and portrayed the protesters (Positive) in (38.5%). On the other hand, the American press; the New York Times portrayed the protesters (Positive) in (73.1%) of the total sample which is the highest of all the newspapers, followed by its (Neutral) portrayal of (23.1%) of the total sample, where the Washington Post followed the same path as portrayed the protesters mostly (Positive) in (51.2%) of the total sample followed with a slight difference (Neutral) in (46.5%) of the total sample. Thus, the analysis reveals the apparent contradiction in covering the events during the specific period of the 25th Jan. events, hence it is clear that at the beginning of any social crisis the vision regarding its incidents is always complicated and un clear to be (Neutral) then it begins to be more obvious for the media coverage. That both the governmental newspaper Al Ahram and the American newspapers the New York Times and the Washington Post agreed in portraying the protesters boldly positively through their articles and verbal coverage. While in contrast, the Egyptian independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm portrayed the protesters mostly neutrally through its articles which reveal its unbiased independent journalistic nature. That Al masry Al Youm as a private independent newspaper was completely compiled under the government control that it

could not publish free news and present objective coverage for the real events and incidents in the squares and streets of the revolution. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (16). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspapers and the protesters portrayal in articles, that the result of Chi square is (9.297), which is statistically insignificant ($P>0.05$).

The Protesters Portrayal in the Photo

Table (17): Protesters portrayal in the photo

Newspaper Protesters Portrayal in Photo		Al Ahram	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
		Neutral	F 11	10	30
	% 55%	47.6%	53.5%	52.6%	
Positive	F 8	11	23	42	
	% 40%	52.4%	41.1%	43.3%	
Negative	F 1	-	3	4	
	% 5%	-	5.4%	4.1%	
Total	F 20	21	56	97	
	% 100%	100%	100%	100%	

(chi square=1.755, df=4, sig.=0.781)

Table (17) indicates the visual coverage of the 25th Jan. events, as focusing on the Protesters' portrayal through the attached photos published in the Egyptian and American newspapers. The results have shown that the Protesters portrayal in the four newspapers were mostly (Neutral) (52.2%) of the total sample, to be followed with a slight difference to be (Positive) (43.3%) of the total sample, which indicates that both Egyptian and American newspapers were portraying the protesters mainly neutral or positive through their visual portrayals and used photos, in covering the same events. That the Egyptian newspaper; Al Ahram portrayed the protesters mostly (Neutral) (55%) of the total sample which is high, or (Positive) (40%) of the total sample which is slightly different through its visual coverage. On the other hand, the American press; the New York Times used photos that mostly portrayed the protesters (Positive) (52.4%) of the total sample which is the highest of all the newspapers, revealing its great support for the revolution and the angry citizens, to be followed by its (Neutral) portrayal of (47.6%) of the total sample. While in contrast, the Washington Post newspaper through its visual portrayal it used photos mostly portrayed the protesters (Neutral) (53.5%) of the total sample followed with a slight difference by (Positive) (41.1%) of the total sample. The analysis reveals that both the governmental newspaper Al Ahram and the American newspaper the Washington Post agreed on portraying the protesters neutrally through their used images and visual portrayal for the protests. While in contrast, the

New York Times newspaper portrayed the protesters mostly positive through its used photos which indicate its apparent political bias towards the revolution as compared to the other newspapers. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (17). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and the protesters portrayal in the images, that the result of Chi square is (1.755), which is statistically insignificant ($P>0.05$).

The Government portrayal in the Article

Table (18): Government portrayal in the article

Newspaper Government Portrayal in Article		AlAhram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
Negative	F	17	9	14	43	83
	%	32.7%	34.6%	53.9%	50%	43.7%
Neutral	F	29	13	9	30	81
	%	55.8%	50%	34.6%	34.9%	42.6%
Positive	F	6	4	3	13	26
	%	11.5%	15.4%	11.5%	15.1%	13.7%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=7.813, df=6, sig.=0.252)

Table (18) indicates the verbal coverage of the 25th Jan. events, as focusing on the Egyptian Government portrayal through articles published in the Egyptian and American newspapers. The results have shown that the Egyptian Government portrayal in the four newspapers was mostly (Negative) (43.7%) of the total sample, to be followed with a slight difference to be (Neutral) (42.6%) of the total sample. This indicates that both Egyptian and American newspapers were portraying the Egyptian Government mostly negative or neutral in their articles, especially the American press through their verbal coverage for the events. Hence, it is crucial to point out that the highest negative portrayal for the Egyptian government was through the American press where the New York times framed it negatively (53.9%) followed by the Washington Post (50%) of their total samples which is very high as compared to the Egyptian newspapers portrayal. That the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram mostly portrayed the Egyptian Government (Neutral) (55.8%) of the total sample which is high, or (Negative) (32.7%) of the total sample, which is significant that it first was supporting the government then it gradually changed its tone in being against the government after Mubarak's resignation. Compared with Al Masry Al Youm, it followed the same path that it portrayed the Egyptian Government mostly (Neutral) (50%) which is clear as an independent unbiased newspaper, or portrayed the Egyptian Government (Negative) (43.6%) of the total sample through its used articles. On the other hand, the American press; the New York Times

portrayed mostly the Egyptian Government (Negative) (53.9%) of the total sample which is the highest of all the newspapers, followed by (Neutral) portrayal of (34.6%) of the total sample. And the Washington Post followed the same path as portrayed the Egyptian Government (Negative) (50%) of the total sample through its used articles followed with (Neutral) (34.9%) of the total sample. These results have shown that the American newspapers mainly portrayed the Egyptian government (negative) through their published articles, while in contrast the Egyptian press portrayed mostly the government (neutral). Moreover, the analysis reveals that both the Egyptian newspapers Al Ahram and Al Masry Al Youm agreed on portraying the Egyptian Government neutral mostly or negative through their used articles, that they were restricted by the Egyptian government for not publishing any news against the former regime especially before Mubarak's resignation hence they later switched their tone of neutrality. While in contrast, the American newspapers, the New York Times and the Washington Post agreed in portraying the Egyptian Government mainly negatively through their articles and verbal portrayal for the protests. Hence, the American press was completely free and having the enough space to portray the events objectively without any political restrictions or authorization pressures. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (18). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and the Egyptian government portrayal in articles, that the result of Chi square is (7.813), which is statistically insignificant ($P > 0.05$).

Dominant Frame for the Protesters in the Article

Table (19): The dominant frame for the (Protesters) in the article

Newspaper		Al Ahram (n=52)	AlMasry AlYoun (n=26)	New York Times (n=26)	Washington Post (n=86)	Total (n=190)
Dominant Frame of Protesters in Article						
Demanding their Rights	F	28	13	15	64	120
	%	53.8%	50%	57.7%	74.4%	63.2%
Revolutionaries	F	26	7	11	32	76
	%	50%	26.9%	42.3%	37.2%	40%
Peaceful Protesters	F	10	1	8	15	34
	%	19.2%	3.8%	30.8%	17.4%	17.9%
Chaos	F	5	1	2	11	19
	%	9.6%	3.8%	7.7%	12.8%	10%
Heroes	F	4	2	3	3	12
	%	7.7%	7.7%	11.5%	3.5%	6.3%
Oblivious	F	2	1	1	7	11
	%	3.8%	3.8%	3.8%	8.1%	5.8%
Not Applied	F	10	-	-	-	10
	%	19.2%	-	-	-	5.3%
Minority	F	3	1	1	1	6
	%	5.8%	3.8%	3.8%	1.2%	3.2%
Thugs	F	3	-	-	1	4
	%	5.8%	-	-	1.2%	2.1%

*The number is more than the real number as more than one answer was mentioned

Table (19) indicates the verbal framing of the 25th Jan. events, as focusing on the Protesters' dominant used frames in articles represented in both Egyptian and American newspapers. The results have shown that the dominant frames used for the Protesters in the articles published by the four newspapers were mostly (Demanding their rights) (63.2%) of the total sample. Then, it is followed by the frame of (Revolutionaries) (40%) of the total sample, then comes with great variation the frame of (Peaceful Protesters) (17.9%) of the total sample. That indicates that, both Egyptian and American newspapers used mostly the same dominant frames for representing the protesters mainly (Demanding their rights), then (Revolutionaries) and described the public protesters as (Peaceful Protesters). That, the

Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram used the dominant frame for the protesters (Demanding their rights) (53.8%) of the total sample, which is very high. This is followed with a slight difference by the frame (Revolutionaries) (50%) of the total sample, then comes the other frames with low percentages of (Peaceful protests) (19.2%), (Chaos) (9.6%), and (Heroes) (7.7%) of the total sample. Compared with Al Masry Al Youm, they agreed that the most dominant frame for the protesters presented through its articles was (Demanding their rights) (50%) of the total sample, which is very significant as an independent unbiased newspaper. And followed by using the frame (Revolutionaries) (26.9%) of the total sample, then comes the other frames with low percentages of (Heroes) (7.7%), (Peaceful protests) (3.8%), (Chaos) (3.8%), and (Minority) (3.8%) of the total sample. On the other hand, the American press; the New York Times used the most dominant frame for the protesters through its articles (Demanding their rights) (53.8%) of the total sample, followed by the frame (Revolutionaries) (42.3%) of the total sample, then comes the frame of (Peaceful protests) (30.8%) of the total sample. Correspondingly, the Washington Post used the same dominant frame for the protesters (Demanding their rights) (74.4%) of the total sample which was the highest used frame through the four newspapers. Then, it is followed by the frame (Revolutionaries) (37.2%) of the total sample. Thus, the analysis reveals that both Egyptian and American newspapers used the same dominant frames for the protesters through their verbal framing of (Demanding their rights) and (Revolutionaries) frames, which reflects their apparent support and bias towards the protesters as framing them positively.

The Dominant Frame for the Protesters in the Photo:

Table (20): The dominant frame for the (Protesters) in the photo

Newspaper		Al Ahram (n=20)	New York Times (n=21)	Washington Post (n=56)	Total (n=97)
Revolutionaries	F	7	12	24	43
	%	35%	57.1%	42.1%	43.9%
Peaceful Protesters	F	4	8	25	37
	%	20%	38.1%	44.6%	38.1%
Demanding their Rights	F	9	7	19	35
	%	45%	33.3%	33.9%	36.1%
Chaos	F	1	3	5	9
	%	5%	14.3%	8.9%	9.3%
Heroes	F	1	2	1	4
	%	5%	9.5%	1.8%	4.1%
Minority and Thugs	F	1	-	2	3
	%	5%	-	3.6%	3.1%

- The number is more than the real number as more than one answer was mentioned

Table (20) indicates the visual framing of the 25th Jan. events, as focusing on the Protesters' dominant frames used in the images represented by the Egyptian and American newspapers. The analysis indicates a high correlation between the mostly used verbal and visual frame for the protesters which is the (Revolutionaries) frame. The results have shown that the dominant visual frames for the Protesters in the photos presented by the four newspapers were (Revolutionaries) (43.9%) of the total sample. To be followed by the frame (Peaceful Protesters) (38.1%) of the total sample, then comes with some variation the frame of (Demanding their rights) (36.1%) of the total sample, which indicates that both Egyptian and American newspapers used mostly the same dominant frame for the protesters as (Revolutionaries), through their visual framing for the events. The Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram used mostly the dominant frame for the protesters (Demanding their rights) (45%) of the total sample which is high, to be followed with a little difference by the frame (Revolutionaries) (35%) of the total sample, then comes the (Peaceful protesters) (20%), and the other frames with noticed low percentages of (Chaos) (5%), (Minority & Thugs) (5%), and (Heroes) (5%) of the total sample. As to be compared with the American press; the New York Times used the most dominant visual frame for the protesters through its photos (Revolutionaries) (57.1%) of the total sample which is the highest between all the other newspapers. Followed by the frame (Peaceful protesters) (38.1%) of the total sample, then comes the frame of (Demanding their rights) (33.3%) of the total sample. Correspondingly, the Washington Post followed the same path as used the same dominant visual frames for the protesters (Peaceful protesters) (44.6%) of the total sample and the frame (Revolutionaries) (42.1%) of the total sample. Then comes with a slight difference the frame of (Demanding their rights) (36.1%) of the total sample. The analysis reveals that both Egyptian and American newspapers used the same dominant visual frames for the protesters through their used images; the (Revolutionaries), (Peaceful protesters), and (Demanding their rights) frames which agrees with great extent with the used verbal frames of articles in Egyptian and American newspapers.

Dominant Frame of the (Government) in the Article:

Table (21): The dominant frame of the (Government) in the article

Newspaper		Dominant Frame of Gov. in Article		Al Ahram (n=52)	AlMasry AlYoum (n=26)	New York Times (n=26)	Washington Post (n=86)	Total (n=190)
		F	%					
Dictatorship	F		5	6	13	33	57	
	%		9.6%	23.1%	50%	38.4%	30%	
Harassing Protesters	F		6	3	12	28	49	
	%		11.5%	11.5%	46.2%	32.6%	25.8%	
Not Applied	F		26	6	2	4	38	
	%		50%	23.1%	7.7%	4.7%	20%	
Political Corruption	F		5	1	7	5	18	
	%		9.6%	3.8%	26.9%	5.8%	9.5%	
Democratic	F		5	1	1	5	12	
	%		9.6%	3.8%	3.8%	5.8%	6.3%	
Achieving its Role	F		4	-	-	2	6	
	%		7.7%	-	-	2.3%	3.2%	
Supporting the Revolution	F		-	1	-	4	5	
	%		-	3.8%	-	4.7%	2.6%	
History of Accomplishments	F		1	1	1	1	4	
	%		1.9%	3.8%	3.8%	1.2%	2.1%	
Responding to the Public Demands	F		-	1	-	1	2	
	%		-	3.8%	-	1.2%	1.1%	
Against the Revolution	F		2	-	-	-	2	
	%		3.8%	-	-	-	1.1%	

- The total is more than the real number as more than one item was mentioned

Table (21) indicates the verbal framing of the 25th Jan. events, as focusing on the Egyptian Government dominant frames used in the articles published by the Egyptian and American newspapers. The analysis shows that during the first period of the 25th Jan. events the Egyptian press could not mention any representations or negative frames about the Egyptian Government. In contrast to the American press that used many opposing frames to it like the (Dictatorship) frame in the New York Times (50%) of the total sample and the Washington Post of (38.4%) of its total sample through

published articles which reveals the American administration complete bias against the Egyptian government from the very beginning. The results have shown also that, the dominant frame for the Egyptian Government in articles presented by the four newspapers were mostly the frame (Dictatorship) (30%) of the total sample, to be followed by the frame (Harassing Protesters) (25.8%) of the total sample, then comes with some variation (Not Applied) (20%) of the total sample. This indicates that both Egyptian and American newspapers agreed mostly on using the same dominant frame for the Egyptian Government as (Dictatorship), through their verbal framing for the events. That the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram used the dominant frame for the Egyptian government (Not applied) (50%) of the total sample which is high and apparently significant hence Al Ahram is a state-owned official newspaper as restricted under control by the former regime and the government. It was not allowed to mention the government through its coverage for the events. This frame was followed with big variation by the frame (Harassing protesters) (11.5%) of the total sample, then comes the other frames equal in percentages as the frame (Dictatorship) (9.6%), (Political corruption) (9.6%), and (Democratic) (9.6%) of the total sample. As to be compared with the American press; the New York Times used the most dominant frame for the Egyptian Government through its articles (Dictatorship) (50%) of the total sample which is the highest of all the newspapers, followed by the frame (Harassing protesters) (46.2%) of the total sample, then comes the frame of (Political corruption) (26.9%) of the total sample. Which are all corrupted and negative frames about the Egyptian government. Correspondingly, the Washington Post used the same dominant frames for representing the Egyptian Government (Dictatorship) (38.4%) of the total sample as followed by the frame (Harassing protesters) (25.8%) of the total sample. Then comes with low percentages other frames of (Democratic) (5.8%), and (Political corruption) (5.8%) of the total sample. Thus, the analysis reveals that the governmental Egyptian newspaper mostly used (not applied) that it could not mention the Egyptian government directly through their articles and coverage for the events. In contrast to, the American newspapers that used mostly the same dominant verbal frames for representing the Egyptian Government through their articles; (Dictatorship), and (Harassing protesters) frames, which reveals its clear bias towards the revolution and being against the Egyptian government and the former regime.

Defining Protests as (Revolution) in the Article:

Table (22): Describing protests as (Revolution) in article

Newspaper Describing Protests as Revolution		AlAhram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
		No	F	27	13	13
	%	51.9%	50%	50%	51.2%	51.1%
Yes	F	25	13	13	42	93
	%	48.1%	50%	50%	48.8%	48.9%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=0.039, df=3, sig.=0.998)

Table (22) indicates the verbal coverage of the 25th Jan. events, as it focuses on how the protests were defined through the four Egyptian and American newspapers and whether they used the word (Revolution) in their published articles in referring to public demonstrations or not. The results have shown that the majority of the Egyptian and American newspapers did not define the events at the beginning by using the word (Revolution) in its positive meaning hence it was used later after President Mubarak resignation especially in Egyptian press. That it was mostly referred to the 25th Jan. events by other wordings as protests and uprisings. The results shows that the four newspapers mostly did not describe the protests as a (Revolution) (51.1%) of the total sample, while some of the Egyptian and American newspapers also described the protests as a (Revolution) (48.9%) of the total sample through their verbal coverage and used articles as changing its tone and way of coverage. That the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram did not describe the protests as a (Revolution) (51.9%) at the beginning of the events then it changed its tone of framing as describing the protests later by (Revolution) (48.1%). Also, Al Masry Al Youm was the same, it did not describe the protests as a (Revolution) (50%) at the beginning of the events and later it changed its tone and described the protests as a (Revolution) (50%) of the total sample which reveals the unclear vision and unstable coverage of their changing tone in describing the protests. To be compared with the American press; the New York Times described the protests as a (Revolution) (50%) through its articles, and the Washington Post followed the same path also that it described the Egyptian protests as a (Revolution) (51.2%) of the total sample also which is very high rates. Thus, the analysis reveals that both Egyptian and American newspapers were changing their tones through their representations for the protests as a (revolution) during the period of the crisis, which indicates the unclear vision and complication of the social event that it was controversial for the various newspapers coverage whether to describe it as a powerful revolution or not, that the ratios were very close through the four newspapers for describing it and identifying it as a revolution. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (22). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and describing the protests as a revolution, that the result of Chi square is (0.039), which is statistically insignificant ($P > 0.05$).

Reporting Casualties in the Article

Table (23): Reporting casualties in article

Newspaper		AlAhram	AlMasry AlYoun	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
Yes	F	22	12	12	36	82
	%	42.3%	46.2%	46.2%	41.9%	43.2%
No	F	30	14	14	50	108
	%	57.7%	53.8%	53.8%	58.1%	56.8%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=0.265, df=3, sig.=0.967)

In table (23), the reported casualties about financial loss and premises destructions through the various articles published in both Egyptian and American newspapers in covering the events of the 25th Jan. events. The results have shown that, the majority of the Egyptian and American newspapers did not report casualties (56.8%) through their verbal coverage and published articles. It was clear through the analysis that the various newspapers were focusing mainly on covering the life incidents of the revolution as portraying the protests, the protesters and the Egyptian government, not focusing much on reporting the financial loss and casualties. Hence, the variations were very close through their reporting, as both the Egyptian and American newspapers mostly reported casualties (43.2%) through their presented articles, and verbal framing. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (23). That, it generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and the reporting of casualties, that the result of Chi square is (0.265), which is statistically insignificant ($P > 0.05$).

Reporting (Revolution) in the Article

Table (24): Reporting (Revolution) in the article

Newspaper Reporting (Revolution)		Al Ahram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
		None	F	32	20	8
	%	61.5%	76.9%	30.8%	86%	70.5%
(1-10)	F	20	6	18	12	56
	%	38.5%	23.1%	69.2%	14%	29.5%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=32.269, df=3, sig.=0.000, contingency coefficient=0.381)

Table (24) indicates the number of the word (Revolution) reported within the Egyptian and American newspapers published articles through its verbal coverage for the incidents. The results have shown that the word (revolution) was mostly used by the New York Times (69.2%) followed by Al Ahram (38.5%) then Al Masry Al Youm (23.1%) and the last was the Washington Post (14%) of the total sample. The analysis indicated also that the four newspapers mostly did not report the word (Revolution) (70%) through their articles at the beginning of the events. As the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram did not report the word (Revolution) (61.5%) of the total sample, while Al Masry Al Youm did not report the word (Revolution) (76.9%) of the total sample hence they used other wordings like protests and chaos. Compared to the American press; the New York Times reported the word (Revolution) (69.2%) of the total sample, and used it more than (10 times) which was the highest as compared to the Egyptian press revealing its bias towards the protests in referring to it mostly using the word revolution. The same was the Washington Post that it reported the word (Revolution) (86%) of the total sample, which is high also, as it used other words like up risings and social movement. Hence, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (24). Which agrees with the statistical significant correlation between the newspaper and reporting the word (Revolution) in articles, as the result of Chi square is (32.269) which statistically significant at the degree of freedom (3), and significance (0,000). As referring to the degree of relation, the contingency coefficient (0.381) shows that it is moderate in its relation.

Reporting (Injuries) in the Article:

Table (25): Reporting (Injuries) in the article

Newspaper Reporting (Injuries)		Al Ahram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
		None	F	46	24	24
	%	88.5%	92.3%	92.3%	98.8%	94.2%
(1-10)	F	6	2	2	1	11
	%	11.5%	7.7%	7.7%	1.2%	5.8%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=6.871, df=3, sig.=0.076)

Table (25) indicates the number of the word (injuries) as reported through the Egyptian and American newspapers' published articles through its verbal coverage for the incidents. The results have shown that the four newspapers mostly did not report the word (injuries) (94.2%) through their articles. This reveals that mostly the international press framed the 25th Jan. events as a peaceful revolution and it did not focus much on the blood scenes or injuries through its published articles. As the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram did not report the word (injuries) (88.5%) of the total sample, while Al Masry Al Youm did not report the word (injuries) (92.3%) of the total sample, which is considered as very high rates. Compared to the American press; the New York Times did not report the word (injuries) (92.3%) of the total sample, where following the same path the Washington Post that did not report the word (injuries) (98.8%) of the total sample which is the highest also. These significant rates asserts that most of the international press were focusing through their coverage on the main incidents of the daily events and the framing of the protests and protesters through their political vision without providing details as the number of injures. As this analysis indicates also that the Egyptian 25th events was a peaceful and powerful social movement did not include much victims and injuries to be mentioned mostly through the press. Moreover, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (25). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and reporting injuries in articles, that the result of Chi square is (6.871), which is statistically insignificant ($P>0.05$).

Quoting the (Government) in the Article

Table (26): Quoting the (Government) in the article

Newspaper Quoting the (Government)		Al Ahram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
Once	F	8	5	2	14	29
	%	15.4%	19.2%	7.7%	16.3%	15.3%
Twice	F	5	2	6	10	23
	%	9.6%	7.7%	23.1%	11.6%	12.1%
Three times	F	5	1	3	19	28
	%	9.6%	3.8%	11.5%	22.1%	14.7%
4 times	F	2	2	2	7	13
	%	3.8%	7.7%	7.7%	8.1%	6.8%
More than 4 times	F	2	1	10	24	37
	%	3.8%	3.8%	38.5%	27.9%	19.5%
None	F	30	15	3	12	60
	%	57.8%	57.8%	11.5%	14%	31.6%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=58.241, df=15, sig.=0.000, contingency coefficient=0.484)

Table (26) indicates the quoting of the Egyptian (Government) in the articles published by the Egyptian and American newspapers through its verbal coverage for the incidents. The results have shown that the four newspapers mostly did not quote the Egyptian (Government) that it was (None) (31.6%) of the total sample through their articles. As the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram did not quote the Egyptian (Government) (None) (57.8%) of the total sample through its articles, followed by (Once) (15.4%) of the total sample, which is very low rate hence it is a state-owned newspaper and under the government control. correspondingly Al Masry Al Youm also did not quote the Egyptian (Government) (None) (57.8%) of the total sample through its articles, as followed by (Once) (19.2%) of the total sample. Compared to the American press; the New York Times in contrast to the Egyptian press, quoted the Egyptian (Government) (More than 4 times) (38.5%) of the total sample, which is a very high rate and followed by (Twice) (23.1%) of the total sample. And correspondingly the Washington Post also quoted the Egyptian (Government) (More than 4 times) (27.9%) of the total sample in its articles which is the

highest between all the papers. Thus, the analysis reveals that the American press quoted more the Egyptian government than the Egyptian press which reveals its objectivity and freedom in covering the same events. That helped directing clear messages and responsibility for the Egyptian Government as compared to the Egyptian press that could not direct any messages or blame over the government. Hence, they the Egyptian newspapers were completely dominated and controlled by the former regime especially during the incidents of the revolution. These results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (26). Hence it is identifying the statistical significant correlation between the newspaper and the quoting of the government in the articles, as the result of Chi square is (58.241) which statistically indicate that the degree of freedom (15), and significance (0,000). As referring to the degree of relation, as based on the contingency coefficient which is (0.484) shows that it is moderate in its relation.

Quoting the (Public) in the Article

Table (27): Quoting the (Public) in the article

Newspaper Quoting the (Public)		AlAhram	AlMasry AlYoum	New York Times	Washington Post	Total
Once	F	14	5	8	21	48
	%	26.9%	19.2%	30.8%	24.4%	25.4%
Twice	F	1	3	3	6	13
	%	1.9%	11.5%	11.5%	7%	6.8%
Three times	F	1	1	2	5	9
	%	1.9%	3.8%	7.7%	5.8%	4.7%
4 times	F	3	-	-	1	4
	%	5.8%	-	-	1.2%	2.1%
More than 4 times	F	1	-	1	2	4
	%	1.9%	-	3.8%	2.3%	2.1%
None	F	32	17	12	51	112
	%	61.6%	65.5%	46.2%	59.3%	58.9%
Total	F	52	26	26	86	190
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi square=12.577, df=15, sig.=0.635)

Table (27) indicates the quoting of the word (Public) in the articles published by the Egyptian and American newspapers through their verbal coverage for the 25th Jan. events. The word public was mostly

used by the New York Times (30.8%) of the total sample which is the highest. Then, it is followed by Al Ahrām (26.9%) of the total sample, then comes the Washington Post (24.4%) of the total sample. And the lowest one was Al Masry Al Youm in using the word (Public) (19.2%) of the total sample. The results have shown that the four newspapers mostly did not quote the (Public) through their articles as they used other wordings as protesters, revolutionaries, people or citizens. That they used the word public of (None) (58.9%) of the total sample through their published articles, in general the press focused more on the details of the events and the main characters from both sides the protesters and the Egyptian government more than focusing on the public in general. As the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahrām did not quote the (Public) (None) (61.6%) of the total sample through its articles which is very high, followed by (Once) (26.9%) of the total sample. Correspondingly Al Masry Al Youm also did not quote the (Public) (None) (65.5%) of the total sample through its articles, as followed by (Once) (19.2%) of the total sample. On the other side, as compared to the American press; the New York Times also did not quote the (Public) (None) (46.2%) of the total sample through its articles, and followed by (Once) (30.8%) of the total sample, correspondingly the Washington Post did not quote the (Public) (None) (59.3%) of the total sample in its articles, followed by (Once) (24.4%) of the total sample. The analysis indicates that the American press quoted more the public through its coverage than the Egyptian press, which reveals its apparent support to the protestors and its clear bias towards them and the revolution. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (27). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and quoting the public in articles, that the result of Chi square is (12.577), which is statistically insignificant ($P > 0.05$).

3. The Hypothesis and Research Questions

This study proposes five research questions intended to examine the framing and the international media coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. And to uncover how contradicted media ownerships and different nationalities affected the way of framing and portraying the same incidents of the revolution in elite Egyptian and American newspapers. Through the analysis, these used frames by the various papers are thus compared to detect political biases in international media coverage diversity for this contemporary social movement.

RQ1: How were the Egyptian 25th Jan. events framed by the Egyptian and American newspapers?

This research question examines the framing of the 25th Jan. events through the Egyptian and American newspapers; Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, the New York Times, and the Washington Post hence international media coverage for this social movement was radically controversial. Through executing several Chi squared tests on the results that were attained from the coding, the researcher found various discrepancies in the way each of the four newspapers framed the 25th Jan. events. By analyzing the dominant verbal and visual used frames by these papers and identifying the type of the story and the articles data counting sample published in each of the newspapers; there was a very high significance level of 0.000 between them. While focusing on these journalistic coverage variations and the way each of these different news media categories framed the same events in their published news stories and online pages; the framing theory played a major role in determining the manner in which each of the newspapers covered the events.

This research question examines the dominant verbal and visual frames used through the sample newspapers articles and images published in the Egyptian and American press. The results have shown that the dominant frames through the four newspapers were the (Protests) in (36.8%) of the total sample, followed by (Revolution) in (31.1%) of the total sample, then comes other frames of (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) in (27.9%) and (Democracy) in (21.6%) of the total sample. By comparing the dominant frames used by each newspaper the findings was that; the most dominant frame used in the news stories covered by Al Ahram; the first Egyptian state-owned newspaper was for identifying the public demonstrations, the frame of (Protests) in (44.2%) of the total articles representing the angry crowds of protestors. While, Al Masry Al Youm, the prominent independent newspaper, it used the (Protests) frame in (11.5%) of the total sample, which is very low compared to Al Ahram. On the other hand, the foreign American press, both the New York Times and the Washington Post used this same dominant frame of (protests) with (50%) and (36%) on the same attribute. However, the most dominant frame used for covering the public demonstrations in Al Masry Al Youm was the (Revolution) in (19.2%) of the total sample. These results indicates that all the chosen newspapers were using mainly the “Conflict Frame” which emphasis conflict between authorization government, individuals, groups as a means for capturing the audiences interests. That they used it mostly in representing the conflict situation of the public demonstrations but through their political vision by referring to it using different frames of (Protests) or (Revolution) rather than any other frames. (Please refer to Table 14 for more details)

This explains the various frames used by both the Egyptian and American newspapers, where “Framing is based on selecting and high lighting the facts and the events of critical issues and helps in making connections between them to promote a specific view or interpretation, evaluation and/ or solution’. Framing also helps in defining process, identifying reasons for the problem, and evaluating

effects while offering ultimate solutions. Thus, framing is regarded as the basic useful tool that was used through this analysis, because it helps identifying these particular news frames adopted by various news media categories when examining a specific issue such as the 25th Jan. events. Thus, by interpreting the different frames used by the various individuals and news media outlets to distinguish important from unimportant news information, it gives a better understanding of why news organizations take the positions they do can be achieved.

According to the findings resulting from the content analysis, both the Egyptian governmental and independent newspapers, and the foreign American newspapers in framing the same events of the 25th Jan. crisis, they used the same most dominant frame through their news stories. Which is the “Conflict Frame”, that emphasis conflict between authorization government, individuals, groups as a means for capturing the audiences interests in 70 (36.8%) of its articles. Then it is followed by other frames as the (Revolution) in (31.1%) and the (Demands for Mubarak Stepping down) frame in (27.9%) of the total sample (TN=190). This comes as no surprise that, Al Ahram as a government influenced official newspaper portrayed the protesters negatively as disastrous forces and defined them as unemployed thugs, foreign traitors and misleading youth who were destroying the country stability and the national economy. In addition to, Al Ahram used the “Economic Instability Frame” this frame reports an event, problem or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on a group, individual, institution, region or country in (17.3%) of its articles. That at the beginning of the revolution Al Ahram was warning the youth and the public for not joining these irresponsible public demonstrations hence these protests are representing a foreign conspiracy against the Egyptian state and would destroy the country. This frame was added to some other dominant frames used by the state owned newspaper Al Ahram as the (Revolution) and (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) frames with (36.55) and (21.2%) respectively of its total sample of published articles. Also, it used the “Responsibility Frame” in (5%) of its articles blaming the protesters for joining the demonstrations and causing chaos. That Al Ahram through its published articles was warning of sever negative economic consequences and blaming the angry citizens for participating with the crowds hence this clearly clarifies the changing tone of its way of framing for the events.

During the peak period of the 25th Jan. events it was clear that Al Ahram was completely biased toward the former regime, as it carried a conservative mouthpiece of the Egyptian government, and the former regime, in framing the protests as a “conspiracy against the country”. Non-democratic regimes rarely use the media solely as propaganda machines. Many have the capacity to create and sustain powerful frames that mobilize loyalty among the population. (Voltmer, 2013, p.66) In addition; within most of the media forms, reporting news stories that are against Mubarak’s policies or government had many restrictions under Mubarak’s regime. Hence, the media coverage for political issues in Egypt generally was more likely to be suppressed, especially for those outlets that were state-run or controlled primarily by the government. (Hamamou, 2011) In fact, it was the 1st day for Al Ahram newspaper to mention the protests using the word “revolution” was the day of resignation of President Mubarak which justify its changing tone and used different frames through its coverage. Hence, it is crucial to point out that Al Ahram newspaper changed its biased tone of coverage in supporting the Egyptian government that it started to be objective on the day of the resignation of the former president Hosni Mubarak. And it shifted its way of framing from using the (Protests) frame to use other frames supporting the public demonstrations as the (Revolution) frame of (36.4%) of its articles sample. And it was referring to the protesters as (Demanding their rights) with (53.8%) and (Revolutionaries) with (50%) through the total number of published articles. (Please refer to Table 14 for more details)

Correspondingly, Al Masry Al Youm Egypt's independent newspaper fared differently on its dominant frame choice. As it used the most dominant frame the (Revolution) in (19.2%) of its articles, followed by the frame of (Official Feedback) in (15.4%) of its articles and finally comes equally other frames of (Protests) in (11.5%) and (Economic instability) in (11.5%) of its total sample. Although its daily news coverage for the 25th Jan. events as a prominent independent newspaper was characterized by being objective and trying not to be biased to the former regime in framing the incidents through its coverage. It used the (Revolution) frame as its dominant "Conflict Frame" which emphasis conflict between authorization government, individuals, groups as a means for capturing the audiences interests in (19.2%) of its articles, which indicates its covert support to the public demonstrations and the political change. Al Masry al Youm also used the "Responsibility Frame" but the responsibility through its articles was fell on the Egyptian government members and the police forces in (3.8%) of its articles as blaming the police forces for their excessive usage of violence in killing the civilians. In addition, it was rarely speaking favorably about the Egyptian government and the former regime hence it frequently pointed to corruption, injustice, oppression, and poverty as causes of the revolution. That all the time it was trying to tiptoe around publishing true events and facts about the demonstrations by giving incomplete news information or political views about the incidents.

In an attempt to overcome the local media censorship and the Egyptian government pressures, it covered the government news and the elite political views carefully avoiding revealing any political biases towards either of the opposing sides the public protesters or the former regime. It used the "Human Interest frame" in (3.8%) of its articles, in contrast to state-owned newspapers that Al Masry Al Youm relied mostly on emotional representations of covering stories about simple citizens suffering from bad social conditions because of the demonstrations or losing members of their families. Al Masry Al Youm used also, the "Economic Instability Frame" in (11.5%) of its published articles, which was postulating many negative economic consequences that might impact Egypt because of these social demonstrations. It also used some other frames for representing the protesters positively as of (Demanding their rights) in (11.5%) and (Revolutionaries) in (11.5%) of the total sample of its published articles, in supporting the demonstrations to proceed. It was clear through its framing that Al Masry Al Youm neither treated the events as a revolution nor it supported the former regime but it tried to be neutral through its coverage most of the time of the revolution. And this elaborated the media coverage discrepancies between the most used dominant frames variations between the Egyptian governmental and independent newspapers although they are both local Egyptian papers.

On the other hand, most of the foreign American press was apparently biased towards the Egyptian revolution supporting the public demonstrations and the protestors from its beginning. Hence, the foreign American press were framing the incidents and the protests positively and objectively, as defining it as a powerful revolution for freedom and democracy. Moreover, through its coverage it was focusing mainly on the public demands and the causes for the demonstrations and publishing articles that emphasized corruption, injustice, oppression, dictatorship, poverty and unemployment as causes. The New York Times used mostly the "Conflict Frame" which emphasis conflict between authorization government, individuals, groups as a means for capturing the audiences' interests in (50%) of its articles for highlighting the conflict in the situation. Then it used other frames as, (Revolution) in (42.3%), (Democracy) in (42.3%) and (Demand for Mubarak stepping down) in (42.3%) frames through its total sample of its published articles. And, the same was the Washington Post; hence it followed the same path that it used the "Conflict Frame" in (36%) of its articles, as the most dominant one. Followed by other frames as (Demand for Mubarak stepping down) in (33.7%), (Democracy) in (26.7%) and (revolution) in

(27.9%) of articles. Thus, the foreign American press used mainly the “Conflict Frame” mostly in (50%) in the New York Times, and (36%) in the Washington Post on the same attribute. Also, the New York Times used the “Human interest frame” in (3.8%) of its articles focusing on presenting stories about the suffering of Egyptian families that lost members in the chaos of the demonstrations. In addition to, the “Attribution of Responsibility Frame” this frame presents an issue or problem in a special way to attribute the blame and responsibility for its solution to either the government or the regime. (Newman, et al, 1992, pp. 61-62) The New York Times during the whole period of the public demonstrations was attributing blame and responsibility for these chaotic conditions on the Egyptian Government in (7.7%) of its articles. From the very beginning of the public demonstrations the foreign American media outlets were sending clear direct messages to President Mubarak to save the country from the ultimate social destruction of chaos and to resign immediately in respond to the demands of the public in the streets.

Moreover, the analysis indicates that the international media coverage and press were following the American news media and press in its political path for supporting the Egyptian revolution from its very beginning, seeking democracy and political change. And, this was one of the basic reasons that triggered the quick success of the 25th Jan. events in getting rid of the former regime and achieving democracy. European publications with U.S. ties framed the revolution in terms of its causes, Egypt’s political future, and the Muslims Brotherhood’s role. Congruent with the American press coverage, the European media attributed the revolution to Mubarak’s autocratic rule. Most of the foreign international media coverage was focusing through their press coverage and framing on the motives of the angry protesters portraying it as a powerful revolution for achieving social justice, and democracy.

Both the Egyptian and American newspapers depended mainly on using the verbal and visual frames together through their publishing in covering the same daily incidents of the 25th Jan. events. The four newspapers mostly used the type of story that included texts with attached photos with (51.1%) of the total sample. The results indicated also the presence of a high correlation between the published texts through the four newspapers and their attached photos, they were mostly related with (70.1%) of the total sample of articles. Moreover, each of the Egyptian and American newspapers was having its way of framing for the events based on its different choices of various dominant verbal and visual frames for covering same events. Although, it was clear that the American press was enjoying the greatest verbal-visual framing dominance on the international media and press coverage for the 25th Jan. events. The American press published articles (58.9%) of the total sample and photos (85.4%) of the total sample through their coverage during the specified period of the events which is the highest. As compared to the Egyptian press coverage for the events, they published (41.1%) of the total sample of the published articles and only (14.6%) of the total sample of the used photos. (Please refer to tables 1 &2 for illustration). These results reveal the very weak verbal-visual coverage of the Egyptian press for the events of the revolution and specially the visual coverage; although it is an Egyptian social movement. It is crucial to point out that only Al Ahram as an Egyptian governmental newspaper was permitted for using some limited images for supporting its articles in framing the events. While Al Masry Al Youm as a private paper though it was very important independent newspaper during this period; it failed to support its journalistic coverage by any vital images or visual frames because of the exceeding Egyptian government media restrictions during the days of the demonstrations.

On the visual framing level, it is significant to point out that the findings of the content analysis indicated that most of the published articles through the four Egyptian and American newspapers were including attached images in (51.1%) of the total sample. The New York Times and the Washington Post recorded the highest usage for photos attached with their articles in (80.8%) and in (65.1%) respectively

of its articles. As compared to the Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram, it used attached photos in (38.5%) of its articles and Al Masry Al Youm used photos (0%) of the total sample. Which indicates the over visual framing dominance of the American press in representing the incidents of the 25th Jan. events. And, through these used photos in the American press; the Personal photos were used mainly (57.8%) of the total sample, first in the Washington Post it is used in (67.8%) of the total sample, which is very high. That it used the personal photos for the Egyptian government elites, police, or political leaders. Then, it is followed by using the themed photos for the crowded squares or the main streets of Egypt published in the New York Times in (52.4%) of its articles. And that is logic hence they were focusing mainly on the main conflicted actors of the situation and the location or the main place where the incidents took place. On the other hand, the Egyptian government newspaper Al Ahram used both the Personal and Themed photos equally of (40%) for each in its total sample of published photos.

Also, the results have shown that the dominant visual frames used through the four newspapers were mostly the “Conflict Frame” in (53.6%) of the total sample, which is highly matching with the articles and the verbal frames, then followed by the frame of (Violence) in (12.4%) of the total sample, then comes the frame of (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) in (10.3%) of the total sample. That, the analysis reveals that both Egyptian and American newspapers were sharing mostly the same dominant visual frame of “Conflict Frame” which corresponds with the dominant verbal frame used through their texts. And this reflects the high correlation and matching between the texts and its attached images and their verbal visual framing coverage for the events. Hence, the (Protests) frame was followed by the other visual frames of (Violence) and (Demands for Mubarak stepping down) as mostly used in the four Egyptian and American newspapers published images and visual coverage for the events. (Please refer to table 14&15 for illustration)

To sum up, the analysis indicates that both the Egyptian and American newspapers mostly used the “Conflict Frame” as the dominant verbal and visual frame through its published articles, which reflects the apparent correlation and matching between their verbal visual framing coverage for the events. Also it clarifies how the various press were focusing mainly on presenting the protests as the basic powerful actor through the events, that each newspaper represented the protests whether positively or negatively according to its political interests or ideological views. Also it was obvious that, the foreign American press; the New York Times and Washington Post were having the greatest news media dominance through the press coverage and the framing for the 25th Jan. events more than the Egyptian press. Hence, during the period of the Egyptian revolution the former regime and the Egyptian government were profoundly imposing their control and restrictions over all the Egyptian media outlets, mainly the press and journalism. That, the American press was enjoying more journalistic freedom in covering the same events of the Egyptian social movement and using many verbal and visual frames in covering the daily events freely than the local Egyptian press that were obliged to announce what the government needs to declare or to hide news against the regime.

RQ2: How were the (protesters) portrayed through the Egyptian and American newspapers?

This research question investigates the portrayal of the protesters through the Egyptian and American newspapers. In the way each of the newspapers portrayed the protesters there was a 0.16 significance level which reflects a low statistical significant difference between those newspapers. Based on the analysis, the protesters portrayal through the four newspapers were mainly (positive) in (52.1%) of the total sample. Al Ahram portrayed it (positive) in (50%), the New York Times in (73.1%) and the

Washington Post in (51.2%) of their total samples articles. Only Al Masry Al Youm portrayed the protesters mostly (neutral) in (57.7%) of the total sample. Thus, the analysis indicates that the protesters were mainly portrayed (positive) (52.1%) of the total sample in the four newspapers. However, in Al Ahram during the first days of the demonstrations the protesters were portrayed (negative) in (7.7%) of its total articles hence they were described as foreign agents paid to create social chaos because they are irresponsible youth and thugs with foreign agendas conspiring against the Egyptian state. But later, Al Ahram changed its tone of negative portrayal against the protesters to be (positive) in (50%) and (neutral) in (42.3%) of the total sample of its published articles. However, in Al Masry Al Youm the protesters were mostly portrayed (neutral) in (57.7%) through their coverage, that it tried to be fair and unbiased mostly during the whole period of the revolution.

On the other hand, through the American press the protesters were portrayed in the New York Times (positive) in (73.1%) and in the Washington Post (positive) in (51.2%) of the total sample during the whole period of the revolution. This reveals that the portrayal for the protesters was mainly (Positive) through the American press because of its high percentages as compared to the Egyptian portrayal percentage. That, the foreign American press were supporting the simple citizens of protesters strongly and consolidating their movement from its beginning which reflects how the foreign media were completely biased towards the angry demonstrators and the revolution as obviously against Mubarak's regime, pushing for its quick resignation. (Please refer to table 16 for illustration)

In all the articles under study, the dominant frame used for the Protesters published by the four newspapers were mostly (Demanding their rights) in (63.2%) of the total sample. Then, it is followed by the frame of (Revolutionaries) in (40%) of its articles, then comes with noticed variation the frame of (Peaceful Protesters) in (17.9%) of the total sample. That, the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram used the dominant frame for the protesters (Demanding their rights) in (53.8%) of its articles, which is very high. This is followed with a slight difference by the frame (Revolutionaries) in (50%) of its articles, then comes the other frames with low percentages as (Peaceful protests) in (19.2%), (Chaos) in (9.6%), and (Heroes) in (7.7%) of the total sample. And these frames of the protesters as (revolutionaries, demanding their rights, peaceful heroes) used through Al Ahram agrees with the positive portrayal of them through the Egyptian paper Al Ahram after changing its tone in supporting the demonstrations and the protesters. While, Al Masry Al Youm, it used the dominant frame for the protesters presented through its articles as (Demanding their rights) in (50%) of the total sample, which is very significant as an independent unbiased newspaper. And followed by using the frame (Revolutionaries) in (26.9%) of the total sample, then comes the other frames with low percentages of (Heroes) in (7.7%), (Peaceful protests) in (3.8%), (Chaos) in (3.8%), and (Minority) in (3.8%) of the total sample.

Correspondingly, the American press; the New York Times used the dominant frame for the protesters through its articles (Demanding their rights) in (53.8%) of its articles, followed by the frame (Revolutionaries) in (42.3%) of the total sample, then comes the frame of (Peaceful protests) in (30.8%) of the total sample. Correspondingly, the Washington Post used the same dominant frame for the protesters (Demanding their rights) in (74.4%) of its articles which was the highest used frame through the four newspapers. Then, it is followed by the frame (Revolutionaries) in (37.2%) of the total sample. The results thus indicates that, both Egyptian and American newspapers used mostly the same dominant frames for representing the protesters mainly (Demanding their rights), then (Revolutionaries) and described the public protesters as (Peaceful Protesters). Although the government newspaper Al Ahram was biased towards the Egyptian regime at the beginning of the events in framing the protesters (negative) or (neutral) then it changed its tone to be more objective in covering the events by the day of resignation

of President Mubarak as becoming mostly (positive) through its portrayal for the protesters. (Please refer to table 19 for illustration)

On the visual level representing the portrayal of the protesters through the four newspapers; mostly it was ranging between (Positive) or (Neutral) that Al Ahram portrayed the protesters mostly (neutral) in (55%) and (Positive) in (40%) of the total samples. This clarifies Al Ahram switching and changing tone through the period of its coverage for the 25th Jan events, hence it is completely matching with the verbal portrayal too. On the other hand, the American press visually portrayed the protesters through its represented photos mostly (Positive) with (52.4%) in the New York Times and (Neutral) with (47.6%) of its total sample. And, the Washington Post portrayed the protesters mostly (Neutral) with (53.5%) and (Positive) with (41.1%) of its total sample. (Please refer to tables 16 &17 for illustration) These results reflect the high correlation between the verbal and visual portrayal for the protesters through the different newspapers, and the way each of the newspapers portrayed the protesters, that the four newspapers mainly portrayed the protesters (positive) or (neutral) through their coverage. Al Ahram had the highest number of articles with (positive) protesters portrayals in (50%) of the total sample as compared to Al Masry Al Yom that was (neutral) in (57.5%) of its photos. Also, both the American papers the New York Times in (73.1%) and the Washington Post in (51.2%) portrayed the protesters (positive) in their images and visual coverage. (Please refer to table 17 for illustration)

Thus, the Egyptian protesters in the state-owned newspaper Al Ahram at the beginning of the 25th Jan. events were systematically portrayed (negatively) as incapable, misguided youth who were feeble to resist the former regime or Mubarak's ruling system. But soon Al Ahram newspaper obviously changed its way of portrayal for the protesters by the day of resignation of President Mubarak on Feb. 11th. This comes as no surprise, as throughout the protests and until the former President resigned, this government-influenced paper Al Ahram newspaper portrayed the protesters as disruptive forces and depicted them as unemployed thugs, foreign conspirators and irresponsible youth. While in contrast, the Egyptian independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm portrayed the protesters mostly during the whole period, the 18 days of the revolution in the same pattern (neutrally) through its published articles. This reveals its unbiased independent journalistic nature. As the independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm was mostly objective through its coverage and obviously unbiased to the former regime as covering the events mostly neutral. Thus, the analysis reveals that both the governmental newspaper Al Ahram and the American newspapers the New York Times and the Washington Post agreed in their way of portraying the protesters. They portrayed them boldly (positively) through their articles and verbal- visual coverage during the second phase of the revolution and after Mubarak stepping down.

RQ3: Which newspapers were apparently biased towards the Egyptian government and Mubarak's former regime?

To answer this question we have to refer to the answers and findings resulted from the previous question and compare them to how the protesters and the government were portrayed and represented by the Egyptian and American newspapers. The researcher would examine also the quoting of the Egyptian (Government) and the (Public) through the various newspapers in order to maintain balance in the news stories. Therefore, in addition to the above mentioned results concerning how the protesters were portrayed in these newspapers, there has been a significance in the way the former regime or the Egyptian Government were portrayed in the articles represented by each paper. The results varied, that the New

York Times portrayed the Egyptian government mostly (Negative) in (53.9%) of the total sample which is very high. And, the Washington Post also portrayed the (Government) (Negative) in (50%) of the total sample also. This indicates the political direction of the foreign American media that was focusing on the negative aspects of the Egyptian government and criticizing its flaws as political corruption and trying pushing it to its end. While, on the other side through the Egyptian press; the Egyptian government was portrayed mostly (Neutral) of (50%) in articles published by Al Masry Al Youm. Correspondingly, it is portrayed in Al Ahram (Neutral) in (55.8%) of the total sample, which reveals that the Egyptian media and press were under many governmental restrictions controlling their journalistic coverage. And it was compiling the press from criticizing the former regime or representing any news against the regime. Moreover, the Egyptian state owned newspaper Al Ahram was completely biased to the government and the former regime that it framed the events according to Mubarak's system demands and his political interests especially during the first days of the revolution. Hence, the Egyptian press portrayed mostly the Egyptian government (neutrally), which is in contrast to the American newspapers that mainly portrayed the Egyptian government (negatively) as focusing on its political corruption and seeking instant democratic change. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the table (18). (Please refer to table 18 for illustration)

Moreover, it is crucial to compare how those newspapers framed the Egyptian government through their represented stories. That the American press used the dominant frame for the Egyptian government as (Dictatorship) in the New York Times in (50%) of the total sample and the Washington Post in (38.4%) of the total sample, which is very high compared to the Egyptian portrayal for the Government. Hence, the Egyptian independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm used also the frame of (Dictatorship) in (23.1%) of the total sample, while in contrast to Al Ahram the dominant frame for the government was (Harassing protesters) in (11.5%) of the total sample of published articles. (Please refer to table 21 for illustration) Also by focusing on the quoting from the two opposing parties; the public protesters and the Egyptian government, there were clear variations between the represented numbers of times they included quotes from the government. The majority of articles of (31.6%) did not include any quotes from the government officials at all, and (15.3%) quoted the government just once. That, Al Ahram newspaper had the highest number of quotes from the government officials, which reflects its apparent political bias towards Mubarak's government and the former regime. (Please refer to table 26 for illustration).

On the other hand, by examining the quoting of the (Public) in the articles published by the Egyptian and American newspapers through their verbal coverage for the 25th Jan. events, the results have shown that the four newspapers mostly did not quote the (Public) as (None) with (58.9%) of the total sample through their published articles. As the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram did not quote the (Public) (None) (61.6%) of the total sample through its articles which is very high, followed by (Once) (26.9%) of the total sample. Correspondingly Al Masry Al Youm also did not quote the (Public) (None) (65.5%) of the total sample through its articles, as followed by (Once) (19.2%) of the total sample. On the other side, as compared to the American press; the New York Times also did not quote the (Public) (None) (46.2%) of the total sample through its articles, and followed by (Once) (30.8%) of the total sample. Correspondingly, the Washington Post did not quote the (Public) (None) (59.3%) of the total sample in its articles, followed by (Once) (24.4%) of the total sample. Thus, the analysis indicates that the American press quoted more the public through its coverage than the Egyptian press, which reveals its apparent support and political bias towards the protesters and their demands of political change and consolidating their public revolution. However, these results match with the statistic indicators as elaborated under the

table (27). It generally agrees with the statistical insignificant correlation between the newspaper and quoting the public in articles, that the result of Chi square is (12.577), which is statistically insignificant ($P > 0.05$).

RQ4: Which newspapers defined the 25th Jan. events as a (Revolution) through their coverage?

This research question investigates the representation of the 25th Jan. protests through the various newspapers, whether it was defined as a (revolution) through its published articles and texts or other descriptions as uprisings, protests, or chaos. The analysis indicates that there was a very low significance level between the four papers in the way they whether considered the 25th Jan. events as a (revolution) or not. This may be primarily because the majority of the entire population (70.5%) did not mention clearly the word revolution or explicitly define the protests as revolutionaries. (Please refer to table 24 for illustration) although the American press mostly defined the protests as a (revolution) through their verbal coverage of published articles, that The New York Times reported the word (revolution) in (69.2%) of its articles which is the highest and the Washington Post in (14%) of the total sample. (Please refer to table 24 for illustration). As compared to Al Ahram newspaper which was apparently biased to the former regime but later by the end of the revolution it changed its tone to mention the protests using the word (revolution) in (38.5%) of the total sample. While, Al Masry Al Youm it described the events as a revolution only in (23.1%) of the total sample, which reveals its neutral coverage for the events. (Please refer to table 25 for illustration).

Thus, based on the analysis; the main findings were that Al Ahram newspaper was completely biased towards the former regime from the beginning of the incidents of the 25th Jan. events, representing it as a conspiracy against the country and framing it as destructive protests. And they were asking the Egyptian people not to participate with the protesters referring to them as riots and traitors. But after few days of the revolution and by the day of the resignation of the former president Hosni Mubarak, Al Ahram began to change its way of portrayal and framing for the events; where it was the 1st day for Al Ahram to mention the protests using the word “revolution” indicating its political change in supporting the revolution. As compared to the independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm that was apparently neutral and objective through its coverage during the whole period for the 25th Jan. incidents as referring to it public revolution. In contrast to, the American foreign press the New York Times and the Washington Post that were completely biased to the Egyptian protests and the protesters and portraying the Egyptian demonstrations mostly as a powerful revolution through its articles till the success of the revolution in getting rid of the former regime and achieving political change.

Unexpectedly, the majority of the entire population of the news stories under study did not mention at all the number of injuries, with (88.5%) of Al Ahram, (92.3%) of Al Masry Al Yom, (92.3%) of New York Times, and (98.8%) of the Washington Post with very low significant difference between the four newspapers. (Please refer to table 25 for illustration) The results of the analysis reveal that both Egyptian and American newspapers were focusing mainly on the revolution and framing its opposing parties; the protesters and the former regime rather than the economic loss, victims, violence or injuries. Hence, these public demonstrations were generally characterized of being peaceful social movement seeking political change, social justice and democracy.

RQ5: To what extent do Egyptian and American press framed the 25th Jan. events fairly and professionally?

This research question investigates whether the Egyptian and American press framed the Egyptian 25th Jan. events objectively or not. Six Media professionals of journalists, political activists and political media professors were interviewed to know their ideological and political views about the media coverage and the framing of the 25th Jan. events through the in-depth interviews. The results from the interviews indicated that both Egyptian and American newspapers have used various frames that minimized and maximized specific stories and facts about the protests and the government as opposing parties of the Egyptian revolution in order to appease their audiences. Framing news in journalism has proved to be a crucial political tool in international newspapers' representations for the 25th Jan. events, as through examining their way of portrayal and framing through their chosen wording, phrasing, images on preferred media outlets, it was clear that both the Egyptian and American press were covering the same incidents of the 25th Jan. events controversially as lacking journalistic objectivity.

There is an extensive literature on how media report on political conflicts and social movements in eastern democracies. As well as some research on media coverage of eastern social conflicts in non-democratic regimes and democratizing states, there are only limited attempts to draw parallels between the media coverage fairness in press and the different kinds of news media ownerships and nationalities. Hence, they are basically affected by their different cultural contexts, contradicted political interests and their ideological orientations. The Egyptian 25th Jan. events were covered in strikingly different ways in the various international and national news media outlets and press. Indeed if the local Egyptian media coverage is compared to the foreign international media coverage, it would be indicated that they were not even covering the same events. That during the eruption of this social movement, the local Egyptian press whether state-owned or independent were completely under the Governments control, and all the media outlets in Egypt were under strong restrictions to frame the news events in supporting President Mubarak and the former regime. The Government even extended its power to cut the internet in Egypt and the online media during the peak period of the demonstrations.

Even the independent newspapers tried to be neutral and to hide any journalistic or political biases towards any of the two conflicted parties the Governments or the demonstrations which gave its news coverage shallowness that it was not delivering live events or true news. This pushed the people to lose trust in the national media and to follow the incidents of the events through the various extended foreign international media outlets and channels seeking objective media coverage. The foreign press at times framed the incidents of the public demonstrations in a completely contrasted way as a powerful social movement for better future of democracy and social justice. It was very obvious that the American newspapers were politically biased to the protests and the protesters from the beginning of the demonstrations. And this later played a vital role in supporting this social movement and triggered its immediate success and the disseminating of the former regime for dragging the political change. Moreover, the decision by the local Egyptian newspapers to back Mubarak's regime and revealing its political journalistic biases towards the government damaged their credibility among the Egyptian people for years. Hence, the same newspapers switched its tone of coverage and framing of 180 degrees in turn once they realized that the public demonstrations are gaining support and succeeded in grasping political change.

Under these news media coverage discrepancies among the various newspapers, affected by their different ideological and political directions and drove by their ownerships and nationalities; it will be difficult for the public audiences to view the Egyptian and American press as trusty objective news

media outlets. But they were seen as propaganda channels following its media organizations and censorship policies in their countries that are used to deliver news through their political affiliations. The results from the interviews indicated that professional fair journalism is no longer a priority in international media coverage and press for political conflicts and contemporary social movements, although the foreign American newspapers attempted to some extent to cover the 25th Jan. events more objectively than either the state-owned newspapers or the independent newspapers. They are not above criticism, but in a better position in achieving higher standards of journalistic integrity and credibility in the media coverage objectivity for the 25th Jan events. That the foreign American newspapers were often more truthful than the local Egyptian newspapers and they gained more substantial public credibility as a result of its objective journalistic coverage.

H1: There is a profound correlation between the news media ownerships, nationality and the way of framing and portraying the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) in the Egyptian & American newspapers.

This hypothesis provides a critical overview of international media coverage objectivity in social movements, as focusing on the ways in which various Egyptian and American press framed the 25th Jan. events as a significant contemporary social conflict, hence it reveals a fractured field. Throughout this Hypothesis, the researcher aimed to examine the profound correlation between the news media ownerships, nationality and its way of framing and portrayal for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events through the various Egyptian and American newspapers. This means it is crucial to identify the dominant verbal and visual frames used by the various newspapers. And by the word portrayal the researcher means the way of the representation for the protests, protesters and the government whether it was positive, neutral or negative through the various published texts and images in covering the same period of the 25th Jan. events. To examine this variable also, the researcher analyzed the description of the protests as a (revolution) through the various newspapers articles to identify the correlation between the news media ownerships, nationality and its way of framing for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events.

Correspondingly, this hypothesis measures the relationship between the nationality and media ownerships of the various newspapers to the most dominant used frames used by them in presenting the protests, protesters and the Egyptian governments through the four newspapers covering the same peak period of the revolution. Thus, by analyzing the verbal and visual used frames and examining the main topic of the selected samples in each of the four newspapers, there was a clear difference between the various Egyptian governmental, independent newspapers, and the foreign American newspapers in framing the events of the 25th Jan. crisis. It reveals how the difference in nationalities and the media organizations ownerships affected the way of framing for the same incidents. The most dominant frame in the news stories covered the 25th Jan. incidents by Al Ahram was (Protests) in (44.2%) of the total articles describing the events compared to (11.5 %) in Al Masry Al Youm, (50%) in the New York Times, and (36%) in the Washington Post on the same attribute. However, the most dominant frame for the news stories in Al Masry Al Yom in presenting the incidents as a (revolution) with (19.2 %) of all Al Masry Al Youm articles, in contrast to the other newspapers Al Ahram, the New York Times, and the Washington Post. Both Egyptian and American newspapers were portraying mostly the protesters positively or neutrally in their articles, through their verbal framing for the events. That the Egyptian newspapers; Al Ahram portrayed the protesters (Positive) (50%) of the total sample, to be compared with Al Masry Al Youm, it clearly varied that it portrayed the protesters mostly (Neutral) (57.7%) which is very significant as an independent unbiased newspaper.

On the other hand, the American press; the New York Times portrayed the protesters (Positive) (73.1%) of the total sample which is the highest of all the newspapers, while the Washington Post followed the same path as portrayed the protesters mostly (Positive) (51.2%) of the total sample. There is profound correlation between the news media ownerships, nationality and its way of framing the Egyptian 25th Jan. events (2011) through analyzing the various verbal and visual frames used by Egyptian and American newspapers. The analysis reveals that both the governmental newspaper Al Ahram and the American newspapers the New York Times and the Washington Post agreed in portraying the protesters boldly positively through their articles and verbal coverage, while in contrast the Egyptian independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm portrayed the protesters mostly neutrally through its articles which reveals its unbiased independent journalistic nature. Consequently, from the above explanations, it is clear that the governmental newspapers, represented in this study with the leading newspaper Al Ahram, was featuring the news stories and framing them in favor of Mubarak's regime, unlike the independent newspapers, which is represented with Al Masry Al Youm in this study, that tried to be objective and balanced in framing the protesters and the government. In the same way, the international newspapers, represented by the New York Times and the Washington Post were also balanced most of the time in representing the ongoing events as supporting the demonstration and the political change.

This Hypothesis was supported hence, the results indicated that the different nationalities, media ownerships systems of press organizations with different political and ideological orientations affected the media coverage objectivity and the newspapers framing caused biased representations for the 25th Jan. events. The framing of the foreign international American press was apparently biased towards the Egyptian revolution supporting the protests and the protestors from its beginning. Specially that the most used dominant frames for representing the protesters in Egyptian and American press were the (Demanding their rights) and the (Revolutionaries). This high correlation between the different media systems and nationalities affect the way of the American press framing the incidents and the protests positively and objectively, and defining it as a powerful revolution for freedom and democracy. While in contrast, the Egyptian governmental newspaper Al Ahram was completely biased to the former regime, that during the events it carried a conservative mouthpiece of the Egyptian government, and the former regime. Moreover, during the revolution it framed the protesters as "riots" and the protests as "chaos" and a "conspiracy against the country", it was also warning of sever negative economic consequences and blaming the angry citizens for participating with the crowds. Hence, it is crucial to point out that Al Ahram newspaper changed its biased tone of coverage towards supporting the Egyptian government that it started to be objective through its coverage on the day of the resignation of the former president Hosni Mubarak. In fact, it was the 1st day for Al Ahram to mention the protests using the word "revolution". Correspondingly, Al Masry Al Youm daily news coverage as a prominent independent newspaper was very objective and not biased to the former regime from day one of the revolution; as it was most frequent to speak favorably about the Egyptian government and the former regime.

In summary, the results of the current study can provide a comprehensive understanding of how Egyptian and American newspapers presented and framed the incidents of the 25th Jan. events focusing on how news frames can trigger political change during social movements. In addition, this study can make theoretical contributions to the verbal visual framing approaches by examining framing variables and effects, in presenting most common news frames. Hence, each one of the different nationality and media ownerships of the various Egyptian governmental, independent and foreign American newspapers represented its specific political views in framing the same events of the 25th Jan. crisis affected by its sponsorships, ideological views, political interests and strategic motives.

H2: The foreign American press was remarkably having the greatest journalistic dominance over the media coverage representation for the 25th Jan. events than the local Egyptian press.

As mentioned in research question (1) both Egyptian and American newspapers depended mainly on both verbal and visual framing through their coverage for the 25th Jan. events, but they differed in the number of published articles and attached images. (Table 1 &2) Although the 25th Jan. events were a local Egyptian social crisis, the foreign American press was having the largest journalistic dominance on both levels; the verbal framing and the visual framing for the incidents. Hence, the American press published articles (58.9%) of the total sample and photos (85.4%) of the total sample of attached images through their coverage during the specified period of the events. As compared to the Egyptian press coverage for the same events, they published (41.1%) of the total sample of the published articles and only (14.6%) of the total sample of the used photos. These results reveal the very weak verbal and visual coverage of the Egyptian press. (Figure 3&4) Hence, it is crucial to point out that only Al Ahram as a governmental newspaper was using limited images for supporting its articles in framing the events, while Al Masry Al Youm as a private independent newspaper though it was a very important newspaper during this period covering the events objectively; it failed to support its coverage by any vital images or visual supports, which reveals how the media ownerships controls and restricts the media coverage and the press publication through the various newspapers. While the foreign American press; the New York Times and Washington Post were having the greatest dominance in the press coverage for the 25th Jan. events more than the Egyptian press. During the period of the Egyptian revolution the former regime was profoundly imposing its control and restrictions over all the Egyptian media outlets, mainly the press and journalism, which reveals the great profound correlation between the media ownerships and the way of framing the same events. Thus, the American press was enjoying more journalistic freedom in covering the events and being more objective in its framing for the daily events than the local Egyptian press that were obliged to announce what the government needs to declare.

That, the American newspapers the New York Times and the Washington Post depended mostly on both verbal and visual framing for the incidents of the 25th Jan. events, that it was characterized more by its strong representation for images and photos through its visual framing for the events as it used more images to be attached to its articles in supporting its direction of coverage and political view for the incidents. Also it was clear its political support and bias towards the protests and the protesters from the beginning of the events framing it as a powerful social revolution. In contrast to, the Egyptian newspapers that depended mainly on the verbal representation, as using mostly texts and articles through its verbal framing for the events with a very limited usage for attaching images and photos to their articles. This was also reflected in the way of framing of the official governmental newspaper Al Ahram that was apparently biased to the former regime, as it changed its tone through its coverage, at the beginning it framed the demonstrations as chaos protests warning the citizens not to participate in it, then by the resignation of president Mubarak it changed its portrayal and framed it as a powerful revolution. In contrast to the independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm depended mainly on the verbal framing and publishing articles and texts only through its coverage. That it was trying all the time not to be biased to any of the conflicted parties of the revolution and being objective as much as it can through its coverage as affected by its privately owned independent journalistic structure that it did not enjoy the enough space of freedom to frame the events clearly and to reveal its political views or support. Thus, there were apparent journalistic biases and significant contradictions in the way each of those leading Egyptian and American newspapers framed the incidents of the revolution.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Discussion

1- Conclusion

This study sets out to examine the media coverage for the 25th Jan. events in Egyptian and American newspapers. The study at hand aims at filling a gap in the literature review concerning the profound role of new media and online press in triggering democracy and political change in the Middle East countries such as Egypt. It focused on how online digital media worked on as a basic catalyst for manipulating the Egyptian public revolution and helped its quick success of getting rid of the former corrupted regime. Thus, the researcher focused on examining journalistic values professionalism, and the news framing in prominent newspapers' coverage for the Egyptian demonstrations. It focused on the way of framing for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events in elite Egyptian and American newspapers articles published in two countries, Egypt and US during the peak month of the events. The findings of the research demonstrated that the Egyptian revolution was framed strikingly controversial through local and international news media outlets and press as if they were not covering the same social crisis. This study compared the way in which Egyptian and American newspapers used different verbal and visual frames, tone, and portrayals while covering the daily incidents of the demonstrations. It was focusing on the socio political conflict between the Egyptian public protesters and Mubarak's former regime.

This study analyzed the framing of international media coverage and the political role of online news in triggering social movements. More specifically, the study investigated tissues concerning motivating political change driven by online activists and public demonstrations in Egypt during the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. It examined the various journalistic perspectives concerning major Egyptian and American daily newspapers on the Egyptian protests. The study focused on analyzing four major newspapers published in Egypt and the US: Al Ahram, Al Masry Al Youm, the New York Times and the Washington Post. This was based on examining the content of these papers articles and their attached photos. In addition, it investigated also how these different categories of media nationalities and ownerships; the state-owned, the independent and the foreign international news media used different frames and portrayals through their online coverage for the 25th Jan. social movement. That is to determine whether these elite papers covered the same daily events fairly and transparently or there was covert political biases to the former regime.

The study adopted a mixed methods approach based on the combination between qualitative and quantitative techniques together to complete each other. It worked on cooperating in-depth interviews protocol with the traditional content analysis. Based on this approach, first the study began by running the in-depth interviews using a purposive sample that includes six Journalists, activists and political media professors. Second, it conducted a content analysis of Egyptian and American newspapers articles, analysis of 190 articles extracted from these newspapers based on a purposive sample from all news stories that were produced covering the peak of protests. The analysis focused on how these Egyptian and American newspapers framed the Egyptian demonstrations, the government, and the protesters. The results indicated a dramatic public audience increase in attention to new digital media and online news especially in times of political conflicts and social movements. Online media and digital news were used as popular tools for political activism and social participation in Egypt while seeking democracy and political change. Both findings from the in-depth interviews and the content analysis agreed that, digital media and online newspapers became most prominent among the simple common people in Egypt during the 25th Jan. events. The study also found that the online media motivated the Egyptian people to bring

democracy and to get rid of the former corrupted regime. The results gained from the in-depth interviews asserted that; most of the Egyptian people considered the online press and digital media as available platforms through which they could participate in the daily demonstrations and possibly turn them into online activists; which reveals their interest in becoming more politically involved through the daily events of the 25th Jan. revolution.

Congruently, these results taken from the in-depth interviews regarding the significance of media coverage in supporting the 25th Jan. events manipulation and success agrees and supports the results gained from the content analysis. When the study examined the coverage and the framing of the 25th Jan. events, results indicated that framing took different shapes through prominent Egyptian government and independent media and even through the foreign American media coverage. The results revealed that international media coverage failed to cover the same daily events fairly and professionally without revealing any political biases. Most of the Egyptian government media described the events of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as a conspiracy against the country. The national presses were completely biased to the former regime; it mostly framed the Egyptian 25th Jan. events as a subversive social movement, and the protestors as mislead violent youth whom were influenced by foreigners and traitors. As for the local private Egyptian press, they portrayed a conflict frame to describe the ongoing events of the Egyptian 25th events, these independent newspapers tried to be objective and to interpret events without being biased to one side.

The content analysis results revealed that most of the foreign international media and the American press took the side of the demonstrators; it was defining the reasons behind the protests and what are the requests of the protestors from the government. The results indicated also another significant outcome that the American news media and journalism have led most of the prominent foreign international news media channels and elite press to take the same political direction in supporting the 25th Jan. events to frame it as a powerful social movement for bringing democracy and the political change in Egypt. However, it was asserted that this was one of the basic reasons for the quick dissemination of Mubarak's former regime.

In the same vein, the research succeeded in revealing the different frames and portrayals by which both the Egyptian governmental and independent and the foreign American papers used to represent the same incidents of the 25th Jan. events through their online pages. The study found that the Egyptian independent press at times used the same published stories and similar frames used by the state-owned papers and some other times used frames similar to those used by the foreign American papers. Also, the content analysis revealed that the Egyptian governmental state owned papers were politically biased towards the Government in supporting the former regime and Mubarak. And such journalistic unprofessionalism and covert political bias within the media coverage for the 25th Jan. events damaged these local news media channels and papers credibility for the Egyptian public audiences. Especially that these very same papers showed a clear sudden switch in their way of framing and portraying tone for the political conditions of the social movement once they noticed the ultimate success of the protests in bringing political change. Consequently, most of the Egyptian youth and the public audiences lost their trust in their local media as they turned to the foreign news sources to learn about the incidents. They believed that the local national media is nothing but a propaganda machine serving Egypt's authorization system to deliver news according to their political views and directions.

In addition, by examining international media coverage dominance for the 25th Jan. events, it was clear that the foreign American media was more trusty and professional in revealing the real incidents on ground minute by minute about the protests and the protestors from the Tahrir Square. They mainly

depended on digital activist and the online connection citizens for gaining the information they needed to participate in the revolution. Hence, these online channels are completely free from any governmental media restrictions or official practices controls. Thus, they were more objective and real in reflecting the real spirit of the public demonstration in the streets and squares. In this sense, most of the public audiences turned to the various foreign news media channels and the American press to be more truthful than the local Egyptian national press hence they gained great credibility during this political unstable transitional period.

Findings also indicated that news media ownerships and political orientations in journalism could influence the media coverage and the news framing for significant events during social movements like the 25th Jan. crisis. When the study examined also the verbal-visual framing coverage for the incidents of the 25th Jan. events through the four Egyptian and American newspapers online pages, and analyzed the correlation between the articles and photos. Obviously, the data counting analysis revealed that the American papers published more articles and photos through their coverage for the events more than the number of the published articles and photos in the Egyptian elite papers although it is a local Egyptian social movement. And even the American papers relied more on using more photos attached to their articles in supporting their visual framing for the 25th Jan. events. This highlighted the foreign American journalistic dominance of news coverage especially for contemporary social movements such as the Egyptian protests. Moreover, the American media and press radically derived the international media and press to politically support the Egyptian demonstrations as framing it from the beginning as a powerful movement for democracy, freedom and social justice. Hence, this was regarded as one of the basic reasons that triggered the instant success of the 25th Jan events in getting rid of President Mubarak and his former regime. Thus, the study disclosed that the international media coverage and framing for the 25th Jan. events was strikingly different in elite Egyptian and American newspapers.

Findings of the In-depth interviews approved the same outcomes from the perspectives of the activists, journalists and political media professors. The results of the in-depth interviews declared more significant information about the profound role of media coverage and online press in manipulating the 25th Jan. events by in informing and connecting people in times of political change and public chaos. By interviewing journalists and media professionals, they provided some important recommendations concerning the media coverage objectivity and credibility to eliminate journalistic biases in covering significant international contemporary political issues and social movements. This was by applying higher standards of journalistic integrity and professionalism in covering events and news. As Egypt evolves to a better democratic future in achieving political change, news media system is thus becoming more important for the majority of the Egyptian public sphere. The media with its various channels and press will continue in developing and changing especially in our age of digital media and online journalism and correspondingly the public perceptions and their demands of the media increase and change too. That is to satisfy the audiences' needs and expectations as well. It is crucial for the news media systems and the journalists to be more objective and stick to the news values and the journalistic professionalism to regain the public trust and credibility. Hence, the media always represents a vital tool used by the governments to control their people political directions and important to the citizens in getting significant updated information and to build their political views and decision. The media and journalism should achieve professionalism and transparency in its coverage for significant issues or events. That is very important to gain their audiences' trust again and to play its important key role objectively without misleading the public to specific political and ideological views especially in times of political conflicts or social movements.

2- Discussion

Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative data, the research in hand managed to draw a full and clear picture about the controversial media coverage for the 25th Jan. events in Egyptian and American press. The study succeeded to identify how the international media coverage and online press played a key role in triggering the quick success of the Egyptian demonstrations through informing and connecting the people and activists during the peak period of the demonstrations. Starting with the research questions and hypothesis as a focal point for the discussion, this chapter examines how the findings are related to the inquiries of this study at hands.

By examining the role played by local and international media coverage, their effect in motivating social movements and political change within the Middle East countries as in Egypt during the 25th Jan. events was clear. It focused on how new media and online journalism were regarded as basic motives in encouraging the Egyptian youth for political activism and leading to these sudden public demonstrations. Many previous studies found that old traditional news media were not much powerful enough to control the public political views and to direct the policies in great nations. However, recently many studies argued that the internet and the new media channels played a significant role in this respect of achieving democracy and political change within many countries.

The current study investigated the possible roles of the media coverage for the 25th Jan. events in the political transition process to democracy in Egypt. This was based on examining the framing for the same incidents of the Egyptian demonstration through various local and international newspapers and discussing the ability of these elite online papers as new digital media. It investigated how these new genres of various international digital media channels could act as a platform where simple citizens are represented as young political activists empowered enough to transform the profound corrupted regime to democracy and freedom. The study was carried out on a purposive sample of 190 newspapers articles and images based on the Egyptian and American newspapers media coverage for the same events of the 25th Jan. demonstrations.

Findings of the study indicated that, the media coverage and online press represented both locally and internationally in Egyptian and American newspapers, failed to cover the same incidents of the 25th Jan. revolution fairly and objectively without revealing any covert political biases. The study also assured that the new digital media and online press played a significant role in triggering the Egyptian revolution and motivated its ultimate success in getting rid of the former regime. Through new media channels and digital news the simple Egyptian people and youth were more politically involved and tuned to positive activists seeking the future political change.

Remarkably, the media coverage of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was obviously controversial, as each news media source was having such contrastive representation and framing for its daily events. Different media sources and contrastive coverage often have ways of presenting information that are technically accurate and true, but could be skewed to a certain extent. In this sense, the examined the international press coverage of four prominent Egyptian and American newspapers, *Al Ahram*, *Al Masry Al Youm*, *The New York Times*, and *Washington Post* through applying both qualitative and quantitative content analysis scope, using the framing theory. By examining these different online newspapers, the study tried to figure out the most used frames, the sources, the language, as it clarifies the differences between the ways they used to cover the crisis.

The current study was initially designed to look at how the Egyptian 25th Jan. events were framed as an international political and social crisis through elite Egyptian and American newspapers, and how news media ownerships and different nationalities could influence the portrayal and the media coverage

for the events. By featuring confrontation, emotion and visuallity, the 'drama of democratic transitions' is well aligned with high news values, which secures extensive coverage in foreign media (Voltmer, 2013, p.93). The study found that the media coverage and press for the 25th Jan. events was internationally controversial, each newspaper was telling different tales, making radically different news choices in terms of framing. Egyptian governmental official newspapers were directly influenced by the government, the independent newspapers were owned by government sanctioned businessmen, and foreign American newspapers were having the greatest dominance over the international media coverage for the 25th Jan. events dragging the whole international media and press to follow its political directions that support the political change in the Middle East region as triggering democracy.

The study conducted a content analysis of 190 newspaper articles including their attached photos in order to identify and categorize the way stories were framed in each of these three different types of media. The analysis revealed significant differences in the used dominant verbal and visual frames between the two countries' newspapers. The newspapers' portrayal of the three different media categories the state-owned, the privately-owned and the foreign papers if compared they are completely controversial as if they were not covering the same demonstrations. Newspapers differed also in how they portrayed the stories, as Egyptian governmental official newspapers and independent privately owned newspapers were completely compiled by the Egyptian government and the regime that mostly used the governmental supporting tone, while in contrast the American newspapers were supporting the protests and the public demands tone. Results reflected how both countries through their media coverage for the incidents of the 25th Jan. events were heavily directed and affected by their ideological and political orientations and their various news media systems' ownerships.

The results of the content analyses study answered our main research question which is how the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was framed through examining the content of governmental, independent and international news stories. The results to this question leads to providing us with a coherent picture about international media coverage diversity, especially in the local governmental and the independent versus the foreign American newspapers. Through our results we found that there was a significant difference in the way each of those leading newspapers framed the revolution in comparison to those leading international American newspaper. The most dominant frame for the news articles in Al Ahram was the "Conflict Frame", while, the most dominant frame for the news stories in Al Masry Al Youm was the "Revolution Frame" as compared to the dominant used frame in the New York Times and the Washington Post, both used the "Protests Frame". This reflects how local national newspapers were used to parsing and supporting the regime even in the time of crises, while the foreign newspapers were supporting the political change and the public protestors.

In the way each of the newspapers portrayed the protesters we found that there was a huge significance level as well. Though the four of them were mainly neutral, Al Ahram had the highest number of articles with negative portrayals compared to Al Masry Al Youm and the New York Times and the Washington Post that barely contained any. Nonetheless, the independent papers as Al Masry Al Youm defined the crisis as a revolution from the beginning of the incidents, in contrast to the governmental paper Al Ahram that defined it as chaos and protests till Presidents Mubarak's resignation it switched its tone to define it as a powerful revolution for democracy, freedom and social justice.

In all the articles under study, the most dominant frame for the protesters in the New York Times, the Washington Post and Al Masry Al Youm was in favor of the protesters as "demanding their rights", while describing the government as "dictatorship". However, Al Ahram framed protesters as "oblivious" and "thugs" in most of the articles. In addition, the gulf between the local national and foreign

international newspapers was also apparent through the frames used through the analysis; the foreign American papers emphasized the reasons of the demonstrations because of corruption, oppression, injustice, dictatorship, unemployment and oppression. In contrast to the local Egyptian papers that rarely emphasized features as unemployment, corruption, injustice or wordings as dictatorship or oppression in referring to Mubarak or the former regime.

Consequently, from the above explanations, it was clear that the governmental newspapers, represented in this study with the leading newspaper Al Ahram, was featuring the news stories and framing them in favor of Mubarak's regime, unlike the independent newspapers, which is represented with Al Masry Al Youm in this study, that tried to be objective and balanced in framing the protesters and the government. In the same way, the international newspapers, represented by the New York Times and the Washington Post were also balanced most of the time in representing the ongoing events.

The content analysis showed that the Egyptian governmental newspaper Al Ahram was completely biased towards the former regime and Mubarak's government, especially during the first days of the incidents, the Egyptian independent newspaper Al Masry Al Youm was trying to be objective and neutral mostly through its coverage for the incidents without being biased to the protests or the former government, while the American press the New York Times and the Washington Post were profoundly biased towards the protests and the protesters, consolidating the revolution from its very beginning portraying it as a powerful movement for freedom and democracy. However, the findings also showed that the international press and the media coverage for the 25th Jan. events failed to represent it objectively, that each of the Egyptian and American newspapers were having its contradicted way of news framing and portrayal for the same incidents through the 18 days of the revolution. This derived the public audience lost their trust and credibility for the local media coverage and press.

Such contradicted media coverage and framing for the 25th Jan. events reveled how the media coverage and online press were completely dominated and directed by the various media ownerships and the different political orientations and nationalities that controls and directs each of these elite newspapers. Based on the fact that the media coverage and online press played an important role in shaping the political scene in Egypt and triggered the rapid success of the revolution to get rid of Mubarak and his former regime. Moreover, the analysis indicated also that the American press was having the greatest journalistic dominance through the press coverage for the 25th Jan. events more than the Egyptian press. The American press as international free press was enjoying more journalistic freedom in covering the events and being more objective than the local Egyptian press.

In conclusion, by investigating the framing of the 25th Jan. events in Egyptian and American press, this study made three important contributions; First, it demonstrated how the media coverage and online news played a key role in shaping the political scene in Egypt and widened the public political knowledge through transmitting significant information and supporting the idea of the political change and online activism. Hence, the Egyptian people during the peak of the Arab Springs social movements in 2010 depended mainly on the foreign news media outlets and online press for following the incidents of the Tunisian Wind. People were highly motivated by its powerful political success to carry on their own Egyptian revolution. Second, the media coverage and international online press also played a key role in triggering the rapid success of the 25th Jan. events in achieving the political change by delivering vital information and connecting the people and activists. Finally, it probes how international media coverage and online press strikingly framed the 25th Jan. events differently through its various news outlets as affected by some journalistic variables such as political biases, different media ownerships, cultural identities, political and ideological orientations.

3- Limitations of the Study

Although the research has reached its aims, there were some unavoidable limitations:

- A survey was conducted by the researcher to evaluate the satisfactory level of the public audiences for the local national and foreign international newspapers coverage for the events of the 25th Jan. protests. Moreover, to examine the audiences' interpretations of the framed news articles published in the various papers to come up with how effective these frames for the audiences' perception on this social movement, and how this perception affects their knowledge and attitudes towards political activism and political change. Unfortunately, due to the lack of time the researcher couldn't distribute surveys and collect and analyze their results.
- The study only addresses the Egyptian and American newspapers coverage; there are still other significant news sources as the elite European newspapers and the social media.
- The study is limited to a certain time period which is the first month of the 25th Jan. events 2011.
- Since the online press is regarded as the most significant tool used for covering the 25th Jan. events and informing and connecting the people during the demonstrations. This means that people who do not have internet access were marginalized from participating in this social movement or following its incidents. Due to time constraints, the researcher could not investigate this part, so this is regarded as another limitation.
- Non probability sample mainly a purposive sample was used throughout this study. As a result, the study lacks external validity and it cannot be generalized.

4– Recommendations for Future Research:

- Further research can replicate the study on other news media sources as the European press and the social media coverage. Therefore, examining the differences between the local governmental press, the foreign international press the European and the American press and the social media through cross checking the results with the study at hands.
- It would be beneficial to take more content analysis into consideration but to be related with dates after the resignation of former president Hosni Mubarak so as to measure the objectivity of public newspapers after the resignation in relation to before.
- Another replication with social media coverage for the 25th Jan. events could take place in order to conduct a comparative analysis between the two studies.
- A survey could be conducted to measure the public audiences' opinion on the framing of the 25th Jan. events in elite local and foreign news media coverage of online press. In addition to, measuring public's perception on social movements and political change and how this perception affects their ideological and political views regarding their attitudes of political activism and the participation in social movements.

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Appendices

Appendix A
“Consent Forms”
(Interviews)

Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

Project Title: Media Coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. Events in Egyptian and American Newspapers: A Comparative Study.

Principal Investigator: Sofia Moustafa Kamel

Email: sophizoher@yahoo.com

*You are being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of the research is to examine objectivity and bias of media coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. Events in Egyptian and American newspapers. The findings may be presented as a part of PhD thesis study.

The procedure of the research will be as follows; In-depth Interviews are to be conducted on a purposive sample.

*There will not be certain risks or discomforts associated with the research.

*There will be benefits to you from the research. After completion and publishing the research, participants will have better knowledge of journalistic objectivity regarding online press coverage and usage especially during social movements and international conflicts.

*The information you provide for purposes of this research is confidential.

*Questions of the research should be directed to Sofia Moustafa Kamel at 01005304923.

*Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

I agree to participate and reveal my name in the study.	<u>OR</u>	I agree to participate but not to reveal my name in the study.
Signature:		Signature:
Printed Name:		Printed Name:
Date:		Date:

Appendix B
“Interviews Questions”

Introduction:

Media coverage and online press played a profound role for the success and spread of many recent social movements especially in the Middle East region and Egypt. It was regarded as a basic tool used for connecting and directing people during the Egyptian 25th Jan. events. The study's main objective is to assess journalistic professionalism and news objectivity in the media coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events in elite Egyptian and American newspapers.

- 1- Do you think the international media coverage and press played a significant role in triggering the success of the 25th Jan. events in getting rid of Mubarak's former regime? And how?
- 2- In your opinion, why the media coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was strikingly controversial as it was framed differently through the various newspapers?
- 3- Do you think the Egyptian and American newspapers covered the 25th Jan. events objectively, without being biased towards any of the revolution conflicted parties? And why?
- 4- In your opinion, do the newspapers' ownerships and their different political and ideological orientations and nationalities affected the way of framing of the Egyptian 25th Jan. events in media and press?
- 5- What do you think about the Egyptian press coverage for the Egyptian 25th Jan. events was it sufficient enough for the public audiences during the peak protests period; without referring to any foreign international news or press?

Appendix C

“Interview Questions”

(Arabic)

- في رايك هل كان للأعلام و الصحافة دورا " أساسيا" فى أنجاح ثورة 25 يناير ؟ و لماذا؟
- لماذا كانت التغطية الإعلامية و الصحفية لأحداث 25 يناير متضاربة و متباينة فى طريقة عرضها للأحداث ؟
- هل ترى أن كلا من الصحف المصرية و الأمريكية قد غطت أحداث 25 يناير بموضوعية كاملة دون التحيز لأحد الاطراف ؟ ولماذا ؟
- هل تعتقد أن أختلاف ملكية و جنسية الصحف قد أثر على طريقة عرضها و تغطيتها لأحداث ثورة 25 يناير ؟ و كيف؟
- ما تقييمك للتغطية الصحفية المصرية لأحداث 25 يناير و هل كانت كافية لأشباع الرأى العام دون اللجوء للصحافة الأجنبية او العالمية اثناء الثورة؟

Appendix D
“Coding Sheet”
(Content Analysis)

Coding Sheet

Analysis of the Newspaper Articles:

1) Article ID#---

2) Newspaper Name:

a- Al Ahram b- Al Masry Al Youm c- New York Times d- Washington Post

3) Date of article: (Day/ Month / Year).....

4) Type of the Story.

a- Text only b- Text and photo c- Photo only

5) Type of the text.

a- News b- Announcement c- Opinion article d- Report
e- Diaries f- Investigation g- News analysis h- Dialogues

6) The article includes a photo.

a- Yes b- No (skip to quest. 15)

7) Elements of the photo, it includes

a- Slogan b- Personal Picture c- Public Image

8) The type of the attached photo.

a- Personal (question 7) b- Themed (question7) c- Descriptive (question 7)

9) If it is a Personal Photo, it includes.

a- Government or Police leaders b- Protesters c- Military Soldiers
d- Foreign responsible figure e- Sarcasm of Mubarak f- Revolution Icons

10) If it is a Themed Photo, it includes.

a- Crowded squares and streets b- Fires and damaged cars c- Flags d- Bursa e- Official pages

11) If it is a Descriptive Photo, It includes.

12) The relation between the article and the photo, they are.....

a- Related b- Not Related

13) The article's location to the attached photo in the newspaper page.

a. above the image b. below the image c. the image in center of text

14) The article's size to the attached photo in the newspaper page.

a- bigger than the image b- smaller than the image c- both are the same size

15) The dominant frame of the article.

a- Dictatorship b- Political corruption c- Democracy d- Public discontent
e- Economic instability f- Protests g- Revolution h- Army Authority
i- Demands for Mubarak stepping down j- Chaos k- Vicious Assault l- Living effects
m- After revolution n- Official feedback o- Celebration p- Reforms
q- Freedom r- Celebration p- Poverty

16) The dominant frame of the attached photo.

- a- Protests b- Violence c- Demand for Mubarak stepping down
d- Injuries & Chaos e- Victims f- Celebrations g- International parties
h- Revolution Squares i- Revolution icons

17) The Protestors' portrayal in the article.

- a- Positive b- Neutral c- Negative

18) The Protestors' portrayal in the photo.

- a- Positive b- Neutral c- Negative

19) The Government portrayal in the article.

- a- Positive b- Neutral c- Negative

20) The dominant frame for the protesters in the article.

- a-Heroes b- Thugs c- Revolutionaries
d- Peaceful Protesters e- Demanding their rights f- Chaos
g- Minority h- Oblivious i- Not applied

21) The dominant frame of the Protesters in the photo.

- a-Heroes b- Thugs & Minority c- Revolutionaries
d- Peaceful Protesters e- Demanding their rights f- Chaos

22) The dominant frame of the Government in the article.

- a- Dictatorship b- Political corruption c- Democratic
d- Harassing protesters e- History of accomplishments f- Achieving its role
g- Respond to demands h- Supporting the revolution i- Against the revolution
j- Not applied

22) Describing the protests as a Revolution in the article.

- a- Yes b- No

23) Reporting casualties in the article.

- a- Yes b- No

24) Reporting (Revolution) in the article.

- a- None b- (1-10)

25) Reporting (Injuries) in the article.

- a- None b- (1-10)

26) Quoting the (Government) in the article.

- a- Once b- Twice c- Three times d- 4 times e- More than 4 times f- None

27) Quoting the (Public) in the article.

- a- Once b- Twice c- Three times d- 4 times e- More than 4 times f- None

Appendix D
“Coding Sheet”
(Content Analysis)

Coding Scheme

(Operational definitions of coding categories)

1-Article ID: The number given to the article by the researcher

2- Newspaper name: The name of the newspaper itself

3-Article date: The date which the article was published in the newspaper

4-Type of the story: Elements of the story of

1. Text Only: Written words only
2. Text and photo: an article with a photo attached to it.
3. Photo only: a photo without a text article.

5-Type of the newspaper article: News: Reporting latest events covering the updated incidents of the 25th Jan. events during its peak period. 2- Announcement: Official statements from the side of the Egyptian President, Government, or the army. 3- Opinion article: Opinion expressing text. 4- Others: Types that are not mentioned above.

6-Elements of the photo: the main component of the photo can be a

- 1- Slogan: Picture of a memorable phrase, sign, or Motto.
- 2- Personal picture: Picture for an individual or a group of people.
- 3- Image: Picture for a general scene and (the place) is clear in it.

7-Type of the photo: it can be a Personal: a picture for an individual or a group of people including the protesters using violence or threat of violence/ causing collateral damage, using of force, Egyptian military, government or police leader /injured protesters / killing or injuring citizens or military and police members. Themed: a picture including individuals of (protesters, soldiers, injured citizens, president, military or government leader) or a group of people a photo for them in the protests and the scene around them is clear in the image, such as the (main Squares, and streets, (الميدان) crowded streets, damaged cars, fire, and angry citizens). (the place) Descriptive: An explanatory picture that reveals a certain clear meaning such as victory or courage or suffering or conflicting through some symbols as a flag, a sign, a close up on a protester's face. It could include a word in the background such as (freedom, democracy, victory, or go away). (ارحل / النصر الحرية)

8-Relation between the article and the photo: whether the text and the photo related or not

- 1- Related: They are both expressing the same issue or topic.
- 2- Not related: They are not covering the same issues or topic.

9-Article and Photo location: The article's place with the attached photo in the newspaper page

- 1- The photo above the article.
- 2- The photo below the article.

10-Article and Photo size: The article's size to the attached photo in the newspaper page

- 1- The photo is bigger than the article.
- 2- The photo is smaller than the article.

11-Dominant frame of the article or photo: the frame that is commonly used to present the main message given from the entire unit? Meaning that what is the theme **most** portrayed in the article as supported by a photo?

- 1- **Dictatorship:** mentioning an authoritarian system/ president or the years of ruling the country.
- 2- **Political corruption:** any title discussing people taking money and leaving the country or resignation of political figures from the government or arrest of any.

- 3- **Democracy:** calling for peace and discussion of the needs of the protestors.
- 4- **Economic instability:** when talking about the negative economic consequences / instabilities or relating them to the protests and violence.
- 5- **Protests:** mentioning a group of people demanding their rights or a social movement.
- 6- **Revolution:** describing the social movement or the protests as a revolution. Mentioning the word revolution as a powerful social action.
- 7- **Demand for Mubarak stepping down:** asking Mubarak to leave the authority and presidency.
- 8- **Chaos:** when mentioning fights/ conflicts, burning of cars or properties, robberies and harassments.
- 9- **Violence:** between the protestors and the soldiers.
- 10- **Injuries:** Wounded citizens of protestors or wounded officers and soldiers.
- 11- **Third hand:** when blaming a third party for what's happening in the country.
- 12- **Poverty:** percentage of the poor or stating the word poverty.
- 13- **Others:** themes that are not mentioned above

12-Portrayal of the Protestors in texts: search for the words related to the protestors and see if most of them are (negative or positive or neutral). Positively (this answer choice should be selected when the article is generally supporting the protestors. Words like these may be used to describe them: heroes, revolutionaries, braves, peaceful protests, human rights, social equality or others). Neutrally (this answer choice should be selected when the article was generally balanced, neither supporting nor opposing the protestors).Negatively (this answer choice should be selected when the article was generally against the protestors. Words like these may be used to describe them: chaos, third hand, foreign agendas, minority, oblivious or others)

13- Portrayal of the Protestors in photos: Analyzing the meaning of the attached photo, how representing the protestors as heroes or as criminals and destructive vagabonds.

14-Portrayal of the Government in the article: Search the wordings related to the government and see if most of them are negative, positive or neutral. For example, Positively (this answer choice should be selected when the article is generally supporting the regime or Mubarak. Words like these may be used to describe the regime/Mubarak: democratic, History of accomplishments, Mubarak as a father to Egyptians or others). Neutrally (this answer choice should be selected when the article is generally balanced, neither with the regime or Mubarak nor against). Negatively (this answer choice should be selected when the article is generally opposing the regime or Mubarak. Words like these may be used to describe them: dictatorship, political corruption, harassing/killing/ injuring protestors or others).

1-**Positive:** reporting that the police or army was protecting the protestors or the properties.

2-**Neutral:** not mentioning anything good or bad or not mentioning the government at all.

3-**Negative:** saying that the police are brutal to the protestors and mentioning any subjective wordings.

15-Dominant frame of the Protestors in the article/ photo: How are the protestors mainly portrayed as in the article, and its attached photo; the main theme describing the protestors;

- 1- **Heroes:** mentioning things done by the protestors that any citizen can't do such as throwing back the bombs at the police.
- 2- **Thugs:** thieves.
- 3- **Revolutionaries:** people who actually started the revolution.
- 4- **Peaceful Protests:** when mentioning the protest without including any kind of violence
- 5- **Demanding their rights:** asking Mubarak to leave step down or leave the presidency.

- 6- **Chaos:** when mentioning fights/ conflicts, burning of cars or properties, robberies and harassments.
- 7- **Third hand:** mention that protestors include a third party that is responsible for what's happening foreign conspirators.
- 8- **Minority:** only a small percentage of the Egyptian population.
- 9- **Oblivious:** unaware of what is really happening.
- 11- **Others:** fames that were not mentioned above.

16-Dominant frame of the government in the article: What is the main description of the government repeated in the article as;

- 1-**Dictatorship:** mentioning an authoritarian system/ president or the years of ruling the country.
- 2-**Political corruption:** any title discussing people taking money and leaving the country or resignation of political figures from the government or arrest of any.
- 3-**Democratic:** calling for peace and discussion of the needs of the protestors.
- 4-**Harassing protestor:** Killing protestors or hitting them.
- 5-**History of accomplishments:** mentioning the developments that were done during Mubarak era.
- 6-**Others:** frames that are not mentioned above.

17-Description of the protests as a revolution in the article: like if they refer to the protests as something historical, powerful, Spring, rise. **may be** Yes (should be selected when they were referred to as large in number- millions or thousands of protestors- or having power - undefeated or brave) Or no (should be selected when they were referred to as minority or powerless)

18-Injuries mentioned in the article: using words like death, hurt or injured people mentioned in the article.

19-Number of Injuries mentioned in the article: how many death, hurt or injured people were mentioned in the article. (From the protestors or normal civilians; the answer choice may also include the number of people who died)

19-Quotation included in the article: whether the article includes a quotation or not. By the Egyptian government: Quotations from any official source related to the Government, authority related to the government. Like police, military, ministry, judge...etc. (Government here means any government official, NDP representative, police officer, political parties that support the regime or others)

20-Number of quotations from the government: number of quotations from any source related to the President or the government. Any authority related to the government. Like police, military, ministry, judge...etc. Quotes could be with or without quotation marks.

21-Number of times public quoted in the article: maybe it is coupled with image for citizens: how many quotations of citizens or protestors mentioned in the article. Quotes could be with or without quotation marks or images. (Public here means any normal citizen, pedestrian, eye witnesses, protester or others that do not work with the regime)

