

A Comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya's Coverage of the Egyptian Protests in the Period Preceding and following Morsi's Ouster

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims at critically analyzing the discourse of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya in their coverage of the Egyptian uprising in the period preceding and following the ouster of Egypt's Morsi. In particular, the study aims to examine where necessary the shifts in the way protests are reported in the news coverage of the Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya's websites using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model. Findings reveal that in the period preceding the ouster of Mohammed Morsi, Al-Jazeera delegitimized protesters' cause. While after Morsi's ouster, it wholeheartedly supported protesters as a result of its support for the Muslim Brotherhood party's elected candidate Morsi. However, in the period preceding the ouster of Morsi, Al-Arabiya tended to legitimize protesters, while it delegitimized them after his ouster. The shifts and variations in covering protests are explained in light of the foreign policy positions of Qatar and Saudi Arabia- key players in the region and the major funders of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya respectively, in relation to Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Egyptian Uprising, Fairclough's Model, Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, Muslim Brotherhood.

INTRODUCTION

In 1928, the Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Egypt as a political movement and a party to promote through governance an Islamic fundamentalist program. It was the initial attempt of Islamist groups operating in the Middle East to create an organized and modern looking political movement to incorporate and institutionalize Islamic values into the governance mechanisms of the predominantly Muslim nation and remains so till this day (Ramadan, 2012).

From a historical perspective, towards the end of the First World War, most Middle Eastern nations witnessed the entry of a new political movement in addition to the a

already existing nationalist and communist movements. However, nationalists who had assumed power as a result of the 1948 defeat of Arabs in Palestine began to suppress fundamentalist ideas and initial movements after their radicalization. However, the influence of the nationalists started to wane as a result of the many governance failures they recorded (Zahid, 2010). At the same time, the fall of the Soviet Union also crippled communist movements all across the region. Thus, these two factors set the stage for the rebound of Islamist groups.

Moreover, immense support and funding from prospering nations such as Saudi Arabia further fuelled the growth and influence of Islamists. Yet, a key source of vitality and moral credibility was the growth and expansion of Iran's Islamic Revolution (Pargeter, 2013). Of these two factors, the support from the Saudi Kingdom was the most prominent. However, a major rift

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between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Muslim Brotherhood was a result of the supporting role which Saudi Arabia played in helping the United States intervene after Iraq invaded Kuwait. The fact that the Kingdom allowed the US and its allies to deploy and station a massive amount of troops on its territory as they planned an attack on Iraq, deepened the animosity between the Kingdom and the Muslim Brotherhood (Achcar, 2013). The foray of the Emirate of Qatar unto the regional scene was enhanced when Qatar assumed the position of the official sponsor of the Muslim Brotherhood (Fromherz, 2012).

Problem of the Study

Discourse has always been an integral part in ideology studies. As a social practice (Fairclough, 1989), discourse is said to embody the production and reproduction of power relations and ideological processes. Foucault (1988) claims that 'regimes of truth' can be constructed by discourse; therefore, an ideological statement may go further than its aim of changing attitudes to the extent of calling for action (Wolfsfeld, 1997). Taking into consideration the Saudi vs. Qatari immense political and economic influence over the region and since discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, it is of the upmost importance to examine the coverage of the Egyptian protests by Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya both of which wield significant influence in the Arab media landscape.

Significance of the Study

Although the Saudi tension over the Qatari support for the Brotherhood is nothing new, examining the coverage of Egyptian uprising by Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya in this study is geared toward filling a gap in the extant literature which focused on the coverage of the first phase of the Egyptian uprising which resulted in the ousting of Hosni Mubarak. More specifically, Fairclough's approach to CDA is applied to reveal ideological insights and uncover the actors and affected

parties in the news reports, thus revealing the ideological inclinations and viewpoints of the two news networks under study.

Questions of the Study

The study aims at answering the following questions:

Did changes in the political landscape affect Al-Jazeera's coverage of the Egyptian protests before and after regime change?

Did changes in the political landscape affect Al-Arabiya's coverage of the Egyptian protests before and after regime change?

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Fairclough's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough (1995) proposed a model of critical discourse analysis which would go on to become a widely referenced model among critical discourse analysts years later. This model consists of three different but interrelated phases of analysis to be conducted when analyzing discourse. These phases include the text analysis phase, the discursive practice analytical phase, and the socio-cultural phase of analysis. The relationship between the first and last phases of the analytical model (text and social phases) is seen to be mediated by the second analytical phase (discursive practice).

According to Fairclough (1995), in the first phase of analysis, which borders around the analysis of texts, discourse is viewed as textual in nature. Thus, analysts focus on analyzing the constituting elements of a particular body of text and its linguistic characteristics such as the choice and selection of words, the patterns figurative language that include the use of similes, metaphors, etc., as well as the grammatical structure which includes the use of transitivity and modality. Other units of analysis include the use of semantics, cohesion and text structure, as well as the use of *intertextuality*, a term which refers to the linkages or interpretations of specific texts in light of other texts or discourse among others.

For Fairclough (1995), the second phase of analysis using CDA, is examining discourse as a discursive-practice. All of the singular units of an action carried out to produce a textual work are contained within the discursive discourse of the text. In essence, it encompasses several aspects of the activities necessary to produce and consume the text. Some of these processes are established discourse processes while others are barely so. As the production and consumption of information fit squarely within the heart of discourse practice, it is then safe to say that social identities, social relations, and cultural frameworks are generated, transformed, and reproduced as discourse practice re-occurs. Fairclough notes that participants in the discourse usually rely on a pool of resources he termed 'member resources' which entails innate knowledge of the structure of the society and the social norms involved, how it produces and interprets varieties of discourse, its linguistic inclinations and how it constructs and structures its textual elements.

The third analytical phase in Fairclough's CDA model involves the analysis of discourse as a social practice. This phase of the analytical process involves the examination of the ideological, social, and hegemonic practices prevalent in a particular society, how these practices determine the discursive practice observable therein, and also how discursive practices shape them in return. In order to completely describe the dynamics of a textual material from the production, distribution and consumption perspective, an understanding of the broader institutional, political, historical, and ideological contexts within which it operates is necessary. This level of analysis is one which transcends the analysis of language and discourse, and delves more into the analysis of embedded power relations and the part they play in the initiation and institutionalization of asymmetric power among key societal power holders. All of the points made in the previous paragraphs are of particular importance to this research work as they allow for a holistic examination of discourses of both a dominant and an

opposing nature which in turn helps locate and identify the process through which hegemony and potential change occur as new discourses emerge.

Previous Studies

In the work of Harlow and Johnson (2011), an examination of the way and manner through which the Egyptian uprising was covered by three prominent news outlets: The New York Times representing traditional media, Twitter and Global Voices, representing non-traditional online media, was presented. The study covered the first phase of the Egyptian protests which led to the ousting of Mubarak in a bid to uncover what relations exist between media organizations and social movements. Using the content analysis procedure, the authors revealed that the New York Times (NYT) generally operated below the bar in covering the Egyptian protests. Specifically, the coverage focused on highlighting the violence, drama, and violence of protesters rather than shining a light on the root causes which motivated the protesters to take to the streets in the first place. When the coverage seemed to consider the protesters, it only did so through scanty mentions of Hosni Mubarak's dictatorial rule over the decades.

Thus, it fell squarely on the shoulders of new media organizations such as Twitter and Global Voices to provide an avenue through which the voice and perspective of the Egyptian protesters could be disseminated locally and internationally. It is a known fact that both new media organizations were instrumental in providing detailed coverage of the Egyptian protests through detailed commentaries and rigorous analysis unlike traditional media outlets, yet the authors noted that both organizations could do even more. For instance, the fact that Global Voices has a contributor base from all across the world suggests that the organization could draw upon local and international blogs to provide a historic, comprehensive, and more accurate explanation of the protest events in context.

In their work, Hamdy and Goma (2012) examined

how three categories of news outlets framed the wave of protests which engulfed Egypt during the Arab spring. These media outlets included semiofficial newspapers of the Egyptian government, independent newspapers, and a sample of postings on social media chosen randomly to be representative of that medium. During their analysis, the authors sought to identify and classify the way and manner with which the stories contained were framed and more importantly how each of the three media outlets stacked up against each other with regard to how they each framed the protests, how they each defined the nature of the protests, what conclusions they each came to regarding the cause of the protests, and the nature and quality of recommendations offered to resolve the crisis. The authors found that semiofficial newspapers framed the protests using the conflict frame which sought to portray the protesters as a dangerous group seeking to harm society, and often relied upon unverified assertions to build frames for the interpretation of occurrences during the protests. Also, semiofficial newspaper outlets framed the protests in a way that portrayed them as of grave negative economic consequences to the society. Meanwhile, the framing technique used collectively by social media postings was one which depended on the human interest frames, frames which harped on the suffering and endurance of the Egyptian masses despite the repressions they faced under the Egyptian regime led by Hosni Mubarak. Finally, the authors observed that independent newspapers relied on a cocktail of frames ranging from conflict and human interest frames to economic and responsibility frames as the case may be.

The various frames observable in this media outlet are due to the fact that the various contributors had varying loyalties as independents, and also as a result of the fact that each newspaper within this category was also distinct one from the other. The authors were of the view that the varied content of independent newspapers was closer to providing a balanced coverage of the protests than either the semiofficial newspaper outlet or the social media postings.

Method

Sampling Method and Data Collection

The study applies a non-probability purposive sampling technique, a method which involves taking a series of content generated within a particular time period (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2005). Two news reports were selected from each website ((www.alarabiya.net and www.aljazeera.net) one report is representative of the week preceding Morsi's ouster and one news report is representative of the time period following Morsi's, making a total of four news reports used in the critical discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Using Fairclough's (1995) critical discourse analysis model, this study applies the three analytical phases inherent in CDA. These include the textual, discursive, and social practices analytical stages. The following diagram represents the theoretical framework adopted at the critical discourse analysis carried out in this study.

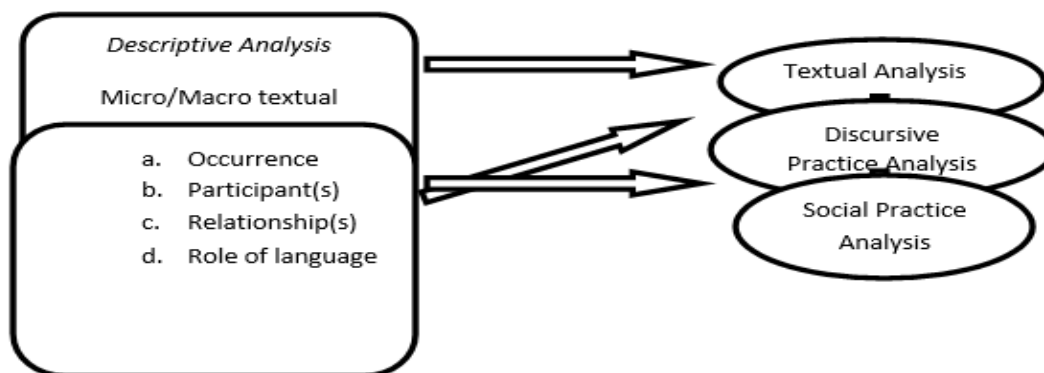


Figure (1)

Critical Discourse Analysis Theoretical Framework

Findings and Discussions

This section presents the findings of critical discourse analysis applying the three analytical phases of Fairclough's (1995a) critical discourse analysis model.

Critical Discourse Analysis of Al-Jazeera's Reports:

The first news report is representative of the week that proceeded Morsi's ouster. The other news report is representative of the time period following Morsi's ouster.

One dead in a new attack on the headquarters of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (28/6/2013).

This news report informs the public of an apparent "new attack" against the Muslim Brotherhood and their supporters. Semantically, the use of the word "attack" is not positive and is meant to imply that one party initiated and provoked violent aggression on a second party. Furthermore, the nature of the attack described by the use of the adjective "new" suggests that this initiation and provocation of violence against the Muslim Brotherhood is yet another occurrence in a series of similar occurrences in the past against the group.

An accompanying photograph provides a visual insight into the aftermath of the mayhem revealing graphic images of injured civilians and innocent bystanders. The photograph appears purposively

captioned in such a way that the gravity of the "clashes" is emphasized as it describes them as "bloody". The term "clashes" as used in the caption of the photograph implies that two parties were involved in a violent confrontation. However, it does not distinguish the initiating party from the non-initiating party. The caption also reveals the location of the clashes to be the city of Mansoura while citing the source of the caption and the photo as "Agence France Presse" (AFP).

From an analytic standpoint, the report is centered primarily around the death of a member of the Muslim Brotherhood's political party- the Freedom and Justice Party. It is important to note that in this news report, Al-Jazeera interestingly uses the term "attack" in place of the original term "clashes" used in the source report from the AFP. Another discrepancy of note is that while the source report from the AFP states that the incident took place in Mansoura, Al-Jazeera's report states that the incident took place in Al-Zagazig city. While this anomaly raises potent questions regarding the veracity of Al-Jazeera's news report, it could also stem from the possibility that the violence escalated and spread to more than one Egyptian city.

Introducing a public statement released by the party's spokesman, the report reveals that the official position of the party was that a young man named "Hossam Shawky"

was a casualty of the reported violence. As at the time of his death, it was revealed that he had been shot once with a bullet to his heart. In a bid to humanize the deceased victim, the report describes him as a 22 year old university student. The use of his name and age can be seen as an attempt to evoke empathy and show that he was a student and an individual just like many members of the society at his age. Also, it can be noted that in describing what befell the victim, the use of the phrase “was killed” is passive in nature and is meant to emphasize to the reader that the victim did not die accidentally, but his life was purposely and deliberately taken from him. The fact that he was shot straight through the heart implies that the shooter was not intent on coercing or intimidating the victim but set out to deliberately take his life.

In a different paragraph, the report is quick to point out that the “attack” took place at the Muslim Brotherhood’s headquarters in Zagazig. This implies that the two groups involved did not meet coincidentally at a neutral ground when the attack erupted, but the “attack” took place at the headquarters of the Muslim Brotherhood implying that the attack was planned and executed. The spokesperson for the Justice and Freedom party pinned responsibility for the attack on members of the Tamarod movement, alongside the members of the opposing National Salvation front, and “thugs” who attacked the building.

Going on, the spokesman quoted in this news report further states, citing unnamed bystander sources, that the protesters who attacked the Muslim Brotherhood’s headquarters were about a thousand in number. The report further mentions the funeral of one of President Morsi’s supporters, and it can be seen here that the use of the term President before Mohammed Morsi’s name is to emphasize the electoral legitimacy of Morsi as well as the Muslim Brotherhood’s party. The identity of the dead as well as the killer is not mentioned in this report probably to create an even bigger impact on the reader, especially to create an emotional picture in the mind of the reader

which shows that thousands of Morsi’s supporters were innocent victims of shootings while returning from prayers at a Mosque in Mansoura. In summary, it is important to note that this report provides information about two deaths and one funeral and talks about the injury of 230 others by protesters with some victims left in critical conditions. The crux of the message here appears to be one that subtly puts it to readers that the group of protesters that initiated and targeted violence acts is the one to blame for the disturbance of peace and the intimidation of people while the group at whom such violence and intimidation is directed (Morsi’s supporters) is the victim.

In a subsequent section of the news report, the event is unfolded to the readers with a description of how the police intervened and timely rescued dozens of worshippers who were holed up inside the mosque for nearly two days indirectly implying that the victims here are Islamists. It goes further to state that the police were at the time of the news report engaged in negotiations with the “gunmen” who surrounded the mosque. The use of the word “gunmen” here tries to subtly imply that the protesters were not peacefully protesting, but were rather armed and dangerous. It also implies that they were criminals in the sense that they possessed illegal firearms as opposed to the arms carried by the police. A second photo interjects the news report at this point and in it is a picture of about 10 of the protesters carrying a large placard saying “Down with the Murshid’s rule”. The term Murshid here refers to a notable Islamic figure often the source of religious guide to rulers in an Islamic country. The use of this photograph which clearly shows only a handful of protesters can be seen as an attempt to portray the protesters and their cause as being that of a minority within the society as opposed to the “thousands” of Morsi’s supporters mentioned in the report.

In another section titled “confrontations”, the report explains how confrontations escalated and spread all through the Delta cities. This report also, based on the testimonies of eyewitnesses, reports that two residential

buildings belonging to members of the Muslim Brotherhood were set on fire. However, it contradictorily mentions that one of the “residential buildings” set on fire was the political headquarters of the Justice and Freedom Party that is obviously not a residential building. However, to objectively balance out the news report, it is briefly mentioned that both buildings were set alight only after a member of the Freedom and Justice Party released three gunshots in the air, while the protesters were marching past the buildings. The report however quickly moves into the description of violent scenes enacted by the protesters as they destroyed three cars belonging to the Brotherhood and prevented firefighters as well as the police from getting to the buildings. In summary, this report ceases every available opportunity to emphasize the violent, destructive, chaotic, and deviant behavior of anti-Morsi protesters akin to anarchists.

Egypt wakes up to the blood of Rabia and Al-Nahda squares (14/8/2013)

This news report refers to an apparent intervention by members of the Egyptian military at protests organized by pro-Morsi supporters who were holding protests at Rabia and Nahda squares. An interesting figurative arrangement of words can be observed in the way the news report is titled. In a bid to dramatize the enormity of lives lost and the shedding of innocent blood by the security operatives, the report personifies the two venues where the police crackdown occurred, Rabia and Nahda squares, and presents them to the audience as two entities bleeding after being victimized by police brutality. It is important to note however, that the title of the news report makes little or no efforts to mention casualties or victims of the fracas from the military perspective. It also uses the name of the country “Egypt” in this report simply to portray the country as the ultimate victim who has suddenly been jolted awake by the bloodshed being perpetuated by the government.

The report includes graphic images of scenes from the venues of the protests, especially as the security forces

further clamped down on the protests. In one of such photos, there is a clear photo of a dead man lying on the floor and one could immediately tell that he was one of the pro-Morsi protesters possibly because he was heavily bearded, which is often a sign of belonging to an Islamist movement. Another telling sign is the fact that in the image, the dead man is seen laying face-up with both arms crossed across his chest assuming the standing-prayer position, which is another symbolic indicator of his affiliation to an Islamist movement. It is also clear from the images that the protesters engaged in the sit-ins at both protest venues were either members of the Muslim Brotherhood or supported their cause.

The photo taken by Al-Jazeera reporter was of a scene of the crackdown in Rabia square and was captioned to reflect the dozens of protesters dead and injured as at that moment as a result of “the sudden attack by the Egyptian security forces in a bid to disperse the protesters holding a sit-in at the venue”. The phrase “the dozen of dead and wounded until now” implies that the incident was unfolding and there were bound to be more casualties from the crackdown with the passing of time. Also, the term “sudden” implies that the security forces deliberately took the protesters unawares without informing them beforehand and neither did they make any attempts to negotiate with the protesters, thus the report attributes the immense loss of life to the unanticipated nature of the crackdown.

Al-Jazeera’s news report then goes a step further by quoting analysts as saying that they “do not expect a change in the scene between an opposition capable of mobilizing tens of thousands and the authorities”. In other words, the analysts quoted are of the opinion that the opposition made up of Pro-Morsi supporters was capable of mobilizing tens of thousands of supporters against the authority and the apparent inability of the authority to do the same implying that the authorities were at a disadvantaged position compared to the protesters.

From a comprehensive viewpoint, one can observe

that from the onset the report stresses that the “Egyptians woke up” to news of a military crackdown taking place at both the Rabia and Nahda squares with both its title and lead statement providing insights into the nature and impact of the crackdown on Egypt- the country, and on the Egyptians- its citizens. In essence, the report tries to communicate that the party which initiated the violence was the “thousands of security forces”. It should be noted that the size of the security forces as emphasized in the report is meant to evoke images of the severity and harshness of the violence they unleashed on the protesters. This violence, the report reiterates is deliberately aimed at “the supporters of the toppled President Mohammed Morsi” and deliberately uses the word “toppled” to show that Morsi was legitimately elected president but was forcefully evicted from office through undemocratic means. A subsequent paragraph is aimed at driving home the point that the crackdown was of a violent nature, stating that the first act carried out by the security agencies was to heavily launch tear gas canisters at the protesters, followed by the use of live ammunition and the deployment of bulldozers to clear out the barriers and tents erected by the protesters. In addition, the use of aircrafts and armored vehicles to support the crackdown of the protesters by the security agencies paints a picture of a militarized intervention on a hitherto peaceful sit-in protest.

The third paragraph provides some insight into the role of the protesters in the ensuing violence. It hastily reminds the reader that the protesters took a reactionary stance as having being caught unawares; some of them resorted to the hurling of stones at the bulldozers trying to prevent them from dismantling their barricades. Others however set tires on fire to create huge clouds of smoke to prevent the security forces from advancing. Stemming from the circumstances surrounding the confrontational crackdown, the report only makes mention of the dead and wounded victims from the camp of the protesters. Hospitals attending to the wounded are mentioned and described as having transformed into a “beehive” of

activities as frantic efforts were made to rescue and treat the injured as most of them were already overwhelmed by the number of injured.

The paragraph to follow would contain more bias than any previous paragraphs discussed as it makes an effort to present the aftermath of the violence especially with regard to the number of lives lost. It mentions casualties from a range of five to ten, to fifty and about eighty and then over a hundred deaths. Repeatedly accusing Egyptian mainstream media of bias, the report alleges that these media organizations focused their attention on disseminating information about the “martyrdom” of an officer and a soldier and the injury of many others within that category, stating conclusively that Egyptians are “divided into two camps” those pro-Morsi and those anti-Morsi.

In the news report the word “martyrdom” is used in quotation marks possibly to present the irony of the Egyptian mainstream media calling casualties from the camp of the security agencies martyrs when according to its opinion they initiated the violence and targeted innocent protesters. It also accuses the mainstream media as wrongfully exaggerating the number of casualties on the side of the security agencies and denies their victims the right to be referred to as martyrs. The paragraph to follow points out that in the aftermath of the violence, the reaction of the group known as the “National Alliance for the Support of Legitimacy and Rejection of the Coup” was the mobilization of more protesters and the direction of huge marches to the same squares- center of the violent crackdown within a few hours. A subsequent paragraph accuses the new military rulers of deploying excessive violence against peaceful protesters and deploying a long running media campaign to disenfranchise Egyptian citizens of their constitutional right to protest as provided for by the 2011 revolutionary uprising.

A second photo accompanying the report reveals an image of a crowd of protesters with a clear caption that reads: “Anti-Coup Alliance calls to take to the streets to

support the protesters and prevent the bloodbath”, this caption implies that the alliance was trying to mobilize citizens to join planned rallies and marches. A second caption below the photo and this time on Al-Jazeera’s website reads: “the sit-inners resolution came after a media campaign that crucified the protesters and their peaceful initiatives”.

Under a sectional heading titled “Media Campaign”, the report takes multiple swipes at the Egyptian authorities’ show of force with regard to the attempt made at clearing the protests alongside their legitimacy. However, it takes an even bigger swipe on the Egyptian mainstream media organizations accusing them of being “arsenals” in the armory of the Egyptian authorities. It focuses in this section on making value judgments such as accusing the authorities of heaping a myriad of false accusations on the protesters. It goes a step further insinuating that for most people the news of the crackdown did not come as surprise as for about three nights preceding the event rounds had been going on through the rumor mills that a crackdown was imminent, this is meant to imply that the crackdown was deliberate and had been carefully planned out by the authorities, forgetting that elsewhere in the report it was claimed that the protesters were taken unawares as they were not forewarned or negotiated with.

The report concludes with a prediction of the current course of events eventually paving the way for a greater state of instability in the polity and society, which will continue into the distant future. It is important to note that such a conclusion while acceptable if coming from a political analyst, represents ethical misconduct coming from a supposedly neutral beacon of regional journalism that Al-Jazeera represents. All in all, the report spares no opportunity to paint the authorities in bad light and present them as an aggressor, a criminal, and an architect of the violence that ensued in this particular case. It, however, portrays the protesters as victims who, were brave and who despite all, insisted on protesting peacefully.

Critical Discourse Analysis of Al-Arabiya’s Reports

The first news report is chosen from the week that covers the time preceding Morsi’s ouster, while the other news report is representative of the period following Morsi’s ouster.

“Religious edicts calling for the killing of Anti-Morsi protesters on June the 30th “Tamarod” movement-seeking to topple the President- stresses peaceful demonstration and renounces violence” (27-06-2013)

This report comes with both a main title and a subtitle. The main title conveys a message which can be interpreted to mean that a call had been put out to supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood to kill Anti-Morsi protesters set to rally on the 30th of June 2013. The title labels this as a call for “murder in the name of religion”, and identifies Morsi’s supporters as the originators of the call and the protesters as the potential victims of such a call even though they appear to be exercising their constitutional rights to convene and protest the actions of the government. The subtitle identifies the key leaders of the protest as the “Tamarod” movement emphasizing on the peaceful, rebellion ideology of the movement.

The crux of the news report is the vow by some Islamic fundamentalists with links to the Muslim Brotherhood to kill anyone who “violates pledges of allegiance and loyalty to the elected Muslim President”. These fundamentalists led by their religious leaders issued religious edicts also known as “fatwas” which encourage the faithful to kill opponents of Morsi. Thus, this report portrays the situation as being a religious one as those instigating violence base their premises on religious terminology familiar to their followers such as “allegiance and loyalty to the leader”. The report specifically states that these “Islamic clerics” not only issue threats but also respected religious edicts which points to the fact that the political stance of these individuals has religious and ideological underpinnings. Yet, the report is quick to point out that these instigators also use the argument that President Morsi is a

“democratically elected president” and his removal would be undemocratic and unconstitutional.

Elsewhere, the report mentions one of the instigators to be Wajdi Ghoneim, a “controversial” cleric, and accuses him of “inciting the killing” of protesters and backing such incitements by citing the “Prophet’s sayings” for maximum impact on his audience. In a subsequent and comparative paragraph, the report confirms the peaceful nature of the demonstrations planned for June the 30th of 2013. In contrast, it then presents the reaction of the Islamist political machine as being one of skepticism as they portrayed the planned peaceful protests as mere “speculation” on one hand while on the other making predictions as to the potential mass of participants likely to join the demonstrations as “massive” in nature.

Several statements made by key leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood are cited in the report. For example, in a bid to highlight the futility of the protest movement, the appointed president of the Political Bureau of the Building Development Party is cited as vowing to bring the opposition movement to naught “zero point”. The report further quotes a senior official of the Muslim Brotherhood as describing the demonstration as one led by “Nasserites, Communists, and Secularists”. In other words, the report highlights the efforts made by the leadership of the Islamist camp to categorize the protest movement in implicitly negative political terms such as leftists and secularists. The report while acknowledging the ever lingering rift among several factions in the Islamist camp is quick to point out that such rifts were quickly put aside as Islamic factions came together under one voice to discourage the removal of President Morsi. One of such examples cited is how the Salafis, an Islamist group, put aside their differences with President Morsi and supported the President’s completion of his electoral mandate as opposed to those asking for early elections to be convened. They expressed support for his continued stay in office and regarded all attempts to overthrow him as unconstitutional and likely to lead to the failure of the

Egyptian state.

In summary, this news report in clear terms describes President Morsi’s supporters as strict fundamentalist “Islamists” who incite violence and the protesters as ordinary civilians, parties, and individual members of the masses. These classifications of both groups present the opposition in favorable terms as a heterogeneous group united in their opposition to the actions of the President as opposed to the negative portrayal of the homogeneous supporters of the President united in their adherence to fundamentalist Islamist ideologies.

“A collective departure of Rabia's sit-inners after securing a safe exit for them” “The Security Forces have seized full control over the Square and are securing women and children” (14/08/2013)

In this report, both the main and subtitles are trying to convey the fact that Rabia square, which is the venue of a large part of the pro-Morsi protests, was evacuated peacefully. To drive home this point, the news report, as can be gleaned from its title and subtitle, uses the terms “collective departure”, “full control” and “secure and safe” repeatedly throughout the report and generously stresses the fact that the security forces took ample measures to ensure that protesters evacuated the venue in a civil, democratic, and safe manner. The report further provides very clear and unambiguous reference to the consideration of women and children noting that the security agencies considered the safety of “women and children of number one priority”.

A quick review of the first two paragraphs reveals that they basically provide an explanation of the title and subtitle, which can be considered redundant and of no additional informational value. However, a subsequent paragraph takes its time to highlight the “full control” the security forces have over the situation at the square. It carefully adds that the security forces initially avoided at all cost a “direct entry” into the square in a deliberate bid to allow “civilians” the opportunity to leave the square, which highlights the good intentions and professionalism of the security agencies while at the same time implies

that among the protesters there may have been non-civilians. In another attempt to highlight measures taken by the security agencies in good faith towards the pro-Morsi protesters, the report mentions the safe exit provisions made by the security agencies as they left the Victory and University streets open while blockading others.

Efforts are also recorded to have been made by the security agencies to persuade protesters to hearken to the “voice of reason” and “stand firmly for the interests of the country shared by all Egyptians”. The report is then quick to note that despite the various appeals and strategies employed by the security forces, the pro-Morsi protesters grew violent and started throwing rocks and even shooting at the security forces, and the report notes that this violence continued even as at the time the report was being prepared. It however notes that in response to the growing violence, the security forces initially used tear gas in an attempt to disperse the crowd. This appeared to be successful as a considerable amount of the protesters exited the square. This aspect of the report in only mentioning the use of tear gas to disperse the crowd implies that the security agents despite being shot at, did not return fire or even if they did they did not use live ammunition.

Elsewhere, the report mentions the fact that the Ministry of Interior had prior to this event indicated that there was physical evidence to prove that the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood had instigated its followers to “attack” police stations. It thus implies that the breakout of violence may have been premeditated and part of a systematic attempt of the Brotherhood to unleash chaos in the country until Morsi was released. Furthermore, subsequent paragraphs of the report mention that a considerable amount of “armed” pro-Morsi supporters had occupied the square’s hospital barricading themselves in while sporadically shooting at the security agencies which eventually led to the demise “martyrdom” of a “young recruit” from the Central Security Agency. Under a new section titled “Death among Security

Forces”, the report begins by mentioning that efforts to evacuate Rabia square led to the death of 5 officers. It then proceeds to refer to related reports from such news agencies as Reuters and AFP which claimed the killing of dozens of protesters and 43 supporters of the ousted presidents respectively. Yet, in citing a statement made by the Muslim Brotherhood that about 250 protesters died in the protests, it “questions” the veracity of such a statement based on “lack of evidence”. It however fails to question in like manner the statement from the Ministry of Interior which was adamant that its forces only used tear gas canisters to disperse the crowd despite being shot at by the protesters.

Comprehensive Discussion

A critical analysis of the news reports of both Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya at the textual, discursive and social levels was carried out simultaneously to avoid repetition and redundancy, as performing the analysis otherwise (at the individual analytic levels) would additionally have led to the fragmentation of the analysis. However, despite the joint analysis of all of the stages of Fairclough’s CDA, all individual components of the analytic stages were comprehensively analyzed.

From the analysis it could be seen that the media policy of both Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya originates from the foreign policies of their predominant benefactors: the Qatari and Saudi governments respectively. This is evident in the substantial and in both cases predominant share-holding of both governments in both media organizations respectively which effectively renders them state-owned. This is strikingly odd because one would expect that in the modern era of expanding freedoms and diminishing role of governments in the affairs of the private sector, these governments would refrain from meddling in the journalistic duties of these media organizations. However, the fact that these organizations are state funded means that the policy, code of conducts and ideology of these so called private media organizations are dictated by their benefactor

governments.

Evidence of the fact that Al-Jazeera's policy is heavily guided by the foreign policy of Qatar as previously mentioned can be seen through the analysis of its reports carried out previously. These reports show Al-Jazeera sympathizing with the regime of the ousted President Morsi. For instance, incidents carried out against Morsi's supporters were swiftly labeled by Al-Jazeera's reports as "violent" in nature. "Rebels" such as the National Salvation Front and thugs were always blamed for initiating the violence, and the victims of such violence were always supporters of the ousted President Morsi. Buildings destroyed were mostly the homes of members of the Muslim Brotherhood as well as their headquarters. Firearms and sophisticated weapons were always the tools used to attack Morsi's supporters who were always engaged in innocent acts before being attacked.

In a clearly opposing tone, Al-Jazeera uses the term "coup authorities" to describe the actions of the Egyptian police and army against the protesters. It has made frantic efforts to present all of the protesters protesting the regime of El-Sisi as being homogeneous in objective despite the different political and civil organizations involved. The reports mention the rising number of casualties sustained by the protesters as well as the lawless practices of the regime that include such acts as the abduction and torture of protesters. The reports repetitively conclude that all of these activities of the regime alongside the judiciary system have inadvertently led to the decline of Egypt's economy, security and standard of living.

On the other hand, it can be deduced from the analyzed news reports that Al-Arabiya's journalistic policies move in the direction of and in tandem with the Saudi foreign policy outlook which pitches it consistently against Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood. The headlines of its news coverage before the ouster of Morsi and during the raging protests against his government tend to suggest that Morsi's regime as well as the Muslim

Brotherhood (both of which it views as one entity) often refer to and deploy Islamic terminology and religious edicts against anti-Morsi protesters. In describing the anti-Morsi protests, it often depicts the protesters as peacefully rising up against the reign of fundamentalist ideology being propagated by the Muslim Brotherhood to which Morsi belongs. Al-Arabiya can also be seen to often make prejudiced value judgments. For instance, anti-Morsi protests are always described as peaceful in nature, enormous, and directed by diverse groups from diverse political and civil organizations and geared towards the achievement of ideological and political reforms in Egypt.

An analysis of its news coverage after the ouster of Morsi shows Al-Arabiya's inclination towards the ruling authorities, as most of its news reports presented the new authority alongside the security forces working in the interest of peace and security of members of the opposition particularly women and children. The reports often refer to the security forces as Egyptian and portray them as always having the unrest spearheaded by the pro-Morsi protesters under control and making calculated efforts to avoid a display of force or the use of violence, always reasonable and make efforts to prevent retaliatory attacks. On the other hand, the reports spare no effort in describing the pro-Morsi protesters as violent, armed and uncultured members of the society who carry out violence, terrorize innocent citizens and abuse state apparatus and civilians in a coordinated fashion. They also stress the fact that leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood who had lost their political grip on power instigate this violent murderous behavior.

Conclusion

In summary, from the above qualitative analysis, it can be concluded that Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya as two major regional media organizations picked a side in the political upheaval Egypt was undergoing during the periods under study. They then supported their chosen side using their journalistic power through the use of such

journalistic components as linguistic, political, media resources and imagery to legitimize the actions of their chosen group and delegitimize and out rightly demonize the other group.

In more details, it can be seen that both media organizations conflict in their identification of the legitimate entity as well as in their description of legitimate and appropriate behavior. In other words, they conflict in the way they choose to identify and describe the entity pursuing the right cause, behaving democratically, behaving peacefully or violently, is in control, is civil or is a nuisance. While both news networks do not explicitly state their affiliations to any of the sparring groups or reveal that their bases are as a result of their inclinations to the direction of the foreign policies of their primary funders, the way they choose to shape public opinion through their identification of violent acts, the sources of such violence, the aims and consequences of the actions as well as their use of emotional and logical appeals reflect their inclinations.

In scrutinizing the intentions of both media organizations as exemplified by their manner of covering the uprising during the period under study, it can be deduced that they did not engage in such coverage practices solely to influence Egyptians because as at the time of the uprising most Egyptians had already picked a side. Thus, it can be assumed that the intention of both media houses is to first of all support supporters of the side each news website leans towards, while at the same time it might be argued that both media houses sought to influence regional and global opinion regarding occurrences during the Egyptian upheaval.

Why is it necessary to make such enormous efforts at

shaping regional and global opinion about the uprising in Egypt? One might be forced to ask. This is because between 8-12% of the world's trading activities and 22% of the entire global fleet of containers pass through Egypt's Suez Canal (Cole, 2013). Also, democracy's future in Egypt is not only important for the country, it also has ramifications on the rest of the Arab world, as Egypt is the opinion leader or as the Arabs call her "the elder sister" of all Arab nations. Thus, if for instance pro-Morsi supporters give up trust in democracy, as might be the case given the current terrorist activities emanating from Egypt's Sina province which Egypt's military is currently battling, that would have security consequences for the region and the world at large. Finally, the Egyptian military is reputed to be the hallmark of Arab military providing security guarantees for much of the region especially the gulf countries (Cole, 2013).

All in all, the analysis shows that the examined media organizations favor one side over another while reporting protests and shift in their framing patterns when political changes take place, observed shifts in framing and discourse are dependent on ideological and political inclinations, structural features of media coverage of protests depend on a variety of external factors, omissions and amplifications are often deliberately made to buttress preferred perspective and ideology, and an increasingly complicated relationship actually does exist between media organizations and social movements. Future research should further investigate this relation by examining the media coverage of social unrest in different countries in light of the current changes in media ecology. Other studies may focus on the long term influence of social movements on media organizations.

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تحليل خطاب قناتي الجزيرة والعربية لدى تغطيتهما الاحتجاجات المصرية قبيل تنحية بمرسي وبعدها: مقترح نقدي مقارنة

يسرى جرار *

ملخص

تهدف الدراسة إلى تقديم تحليل نقدي لخطاب محطتي أنباء عربيتين لدى تغطيتهما للاحتجاجات المصرية في الفترة التي سبقت تنحية الرئيس محمد مرسي في مصر، وهما قناة العربية والجزيرة. كما تهدف إلى فحص مكان التحول والتغير في طريقة تغطية الاحتجاجات في الموقعين الإلكترونيين للمحطتين باستخدام نموذج فيركلو لتحليل الخطاب. وقد توصلت الدراسة إلى أنه في الفترة التي سبقت الإطاحة بمرسي، فإن الجزيرة حاولت في خطابها نزع الشرعية عن المحتجين. بينما بعد الإطاحة به ظهر خطاب الجزيرة مؤيد للمتظاهرين، مما يظهر انحيازها لدعم مرشح حزب الإخوان المسلمين المنتخب مرسي. في حين شهدت الفترة التي سبقت الإطاحة بمرسي، ميل خطاب قناة العربية لإضفاء الشرعية على المتظاهرين، وتحولت إلى خطاب معاكس بعد الإطاحة به. وتمت مقارنة التحولات والتغيرات في تغطية الاحتجاجات، وفيما يتعلق بالإخوان المسلمين في مصر، في ضوء مواقف السياسة الخارجية لقطر والمملكة العربية السعودية، وهما اللذان يرأسان في المنطقة، والممولان الرئيسيان لقناة الجزيرة وقناة العربية بالترتيب.

الكلمات الدالة: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، الاحتجاجات المصرية، الجزيرة، العربية، الإخوان المسلمين.

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