News, activism and social media:
Reporting the Egyptian Revolution and its aftermath by Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA

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ABSTRACT

The early days of the January 25th Revolution received unprecedented international media coverage that kept the world's viewers on the edge of their seats watching the plunge of another corrupt Arab regime, shortly after Bin Ali's collapse in Tunisia. Toppling Mubarak's regime was the most significant achievement of the January 25th Revolution, yet events that occurred under the interim military regime that followed Mubarak's rule also received extensive media coverage. Media focus on the Egyptian Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) was not only because such events, collectively, represented a crucial transitional stage to a new democratic Egypt, but also because of their dramatic nature of re-occurring bloody clashes between the January 25th Revolutionaries and SCAF. As the new military regime, like Mubarak's, continued to clash with revolutionaries and protesters, social media-equipped activists continued to feed the cyberspace with anti-SCAF content, which was then pitched up and broadcasted by news media to millions of viewers inside and outside Egypt. This thesis focuses on examining the impact of an evolving relationship between news organizations and social media-equipped activists on the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. By examining disparities in news coverage, it explores possible changes in journalism practices, and detects emerging patterns, particularly pertinent to journalist-source relationship and human rights reporting. While exploring possible changes in journalism practices, it also questions whether the existing normative media typology frameworks have been disrupted and as a result would invite media scholars to revise their typology/ macro approach in understanding changes in journalism practices across different media environments. The thesis' findings have led to identifying three emerging patterns in the coverage: **a counter-elite sourcing practice, human rights-centered reporting and a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks.** If these patterns continue to develop and consolidate, they might be seen as early features of a new ear in journalism practices. Using an integrated content-textual analysis, as a primary research method, the thesis analyzes the news coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events by the Arabic and the English news sites of five international news organizations: Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA. Textual analysis is used to look at possible lexical consonance between activists' entries on social media and the non-attributed lexical choices identified in news stories. The textual analysis is supported by two sets of surveys that target Egyptian activists and journalists to explore their insights about their relationship during the Egyptian Revolution and its aftermath.

DEDICATION

I dedicate my PhD thesis to the young souls of January 25th Revolution who believe that Egypt, the cradle of civilization, deserves a better future.

Also, I dedicate my PhD thesis to my family for their endless support, inspiration and believing in me.

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Introduction: Activism, social media and news sourcing practices

The Arab region has been witnessing a wave of unprecedented uprisings since December 2010, sweeping away ruling regimes that had been in place for several decades. These anti-regime movements, which toppled so far four Arab rulers, in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, were triggered by problems of unemployment, injustice, corruption and decaying political systems. These movements are led by social media-equipped group and individual activists, who have been using these new tools not only to organize and mobilize, but also to record, in text, images and footage, human rights violations committed by these dictatorial regimes.

From the image of Bouazizi, the young Tunisian man who immolated himself in protest of injustice and corruption, to the image of the Egyptian blue bra-girl who was dragged, stripped and brutally beaten by security forces in Tahrir Square, huge amounts of visual and textual content have been posted and circulated on social media platforms by citizen journalists and activists.[1] The circumstances of the Arab uprisings and the massive numbers of ordinary citizens who took part in the protests have turned many citizens into activists after a cause. Some of them were already active online and were publicly known for being part of anti-regime movements. With the escalation of the events, many others started to be visible online, identifying themselves as activists, individual or affiliated with groups and movements, and network with other activists and with journalists. Hundreds of activists have been collaborating with journalists, networking with them via social media, to amplify their voices and make their stories heard. For several news organizations covering the Arab uprisings, activists have become indispensable sources of news, particularly in areas inaccessible by journalists (Harkin et.al, 2012).

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[1] Citizen journalists are often described as 'activist reporters' as both perform similar online activities using the same social media tools to disseminate information and promote their causes (Kempa, 2012).

> "Journalists for mainstream media, whether Al-Jazeera or American newspapers and television, relied heavily on new media. In the case of Libya and Syria, almost all-video footage used on the air came from users, either sent to the stations or uploaded to social sharing sites. Mainstream media outlets used social media to identify activists to interview for their stories, making many of them (particularly in Egypt) into international stars." (Aday, et al., 2012 , p. 9)

Initial observations of the intense circumstances of the Arab uprisings, primarily the rise of anti-regime movements, equipped with social media tools, raise speculations that some journalism practices have changed and that social media play a role in bringing these changes. Possible areas of changing journalism practices, examined in this thesis, are sourcing practice and human rights reporting.

Bossio and Bebawi (2012) in their study on the interaction between traditional and alternative journalistic practitioners during the Arab Spring, pointed out to changes in mainstream modes of journalistic practice, mainly their use of social media "as a major aspect of their investigation and reportage" and "direct reportage into mainstream news reports that alternative modes of journalistic practice were allowed." Also, Sacoo, et al. (2012) looked at changing journalism practices in the coverage of conflicts and suggested that two major shifts could be identified: a shift from "the mainly military frame towards frames involving more human and emotional aspects" and a shift from official source-based coverage to multiple non-official source-based coverage (Sacco, et al., 2012).

Shifts in sourcing practices are linked to changes in human rights reporting noted by Warren (2012) who looked at how human rights issues were portrayed in conventional news paradigms and suggested that social-media equipped activists contributed to a possible change in reporting.

> "Human rights issues were never easily portrayed or understood in conventional news paradigms. Few news agencies can allocate sufficient resources to effectively depict these ongoing complex issues. Even with substantial budgets and protection, journalists often face

life-threatening risks while reporting these stories. And try getting consumers to conceptualize the magnitude of violence in a country like Syria over a cup of coffee and a morning paper. Human rights content does not play well in a news model and consequentially remains under reported and misunderstood. But the confluence of new media technologies could fundamentally transform that reality, augmenting news content, the way news is reported and thus, our worldwide understanding." *(ibid)*

Whether there have been changes in sourcing practices or in human rights reporting, the initial observations of possible changes in journalism practices need in-depth studies that would tell if such changes are happening, factors leading to them, and the impact they produce. Through analyzing the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events by selected news organizations and surveying the views of activists and journalists, this thesis aims to explore possible changes in journalism practices, focusing on sourcing practice and human rights reporting. Also, the thesis looks at possible factors resulting in changes and their impact on the news coverage. The introduction to the thesis focuses on two areas pertinent to the research topic: 'journalist-source relationship' and 'media and activism in Egypt'. Under 'journalist-source relationship' part, I discuss initial observations of their evolving relationship and potential changes to this relationship brought by the intense circumstances of the Arab uprisings. In the second part, I give an overview of 'media and activism in Egypt', pre and post the January 25th Revolution. In the last part of the introduction, the thesis structure is explained.

Initial observations of journalist-source relationship

As early of the 1960s, media scholars have been studying the relationship between journalists and sources and how it manifests itself in news reporting; creating over time certain sourcing routines. Such sourcing routines have been criticized for over-relying on sources of authority (elite-sources) while marginalizing others (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Sigal, 1973; Gans, 1979; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Stavitsky & Dvorkin, 2007; Yoon, 2005; Stroud & Reese, 2010; Harlow & Johnson, 2011; Hermida, et al., 2012). The issue becomes more noticeable when analyzing news coverage of violent political

conflicts to find out that such sourcing practices might let human rights violations go unreported and leave activists' and victims' voices often unheard (Chomsky, 1982).

In the Arab region, for example, although anti-government protests and demonstrations are not new, they were almost absent from the news agenda prior to the 1990s. The 1970s and the 1980s witnessed waves of demonstrations and strikes in protest of cutbacks in subsidies and price rise (in Egypt and Morocco), and in other cases for political reasons (in Syria and Jordon). Protesters and anti-government activists were met with security forces' sever brutality, which killed and injured many of them, but had none or limited media coverage, dominated by a state-perspective. Official (state) sources were predominant, giving their own versions of the stories. For example, the state-controlled Egyptian media during President Anwar Sadat's time (1970-1981), repeatedly labeled university students' protests against food price rise in 1977, 'The uprising of thieves' (Brownlee, 2011). Also, media reports on the 1982's Syrian uprising were limited and the voices of the rebels were absent. In February 1982, the Guardian reported heavy fighting in the city of Hama between the Syrian government forces and rebels. The report stated that the Syrian army sealed off the city and there were no eyewitness accounts (The Guardian, 2011).

> "Before there was Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, or even Al Jazeera, there was Hama, Syria. It was 1982 and an anti-government protest was put down with ferocious violence. The Syrian government simply destroyed whole sections of the city, leaving at least ten thousand people dead. But the slaughter went unreported in that closed society. Those of us trying to cover the story from nearby Beirut had little more to work with than hearsay, and certainly no pictures." (Pintak, 2011)

Voices of anti-regime individual and group activists in the Arab region were absent from the local media and had limited access to the international media. The Arab public in general had narrow access to foreign radio services like BBC's World Service, Voice of America or Monte Carlo, which provided limited coverage of what local media ignored (Wheeler, 2006). As a result, news coverage of the last century's violent political conflicts, prior to the

development of the Internet, particularly in authoritarian regimes, was dominated by state elite-sources and lacked voices of anti-regime activists and victims of human rights violations (Chomsky, 1978, 1982, 2002) (Sacco, et al., 2012).

Nevertheless, as of the early 1990s, the development of the Internet has given power to anti-regime groups and individuals.[2] Empowered by the tools the Internet provides, activists started to get more attention from mainstream media.[3] Pintak (2011) noted:

> "Such postings (of Arab bloggers) played an important role in crafting safe space for "mainstream journalists" to cover stories that would have been off limits – and goading them into more aggressive reporting on their own. By 2010, the Committee to Protect Journalists noted an overall increase in reporting on human rights issues in the Arab World, in large measure because of the impact of the Internet." (Pintak, 2011, p. 53)

Media scholars have also tracked possible shifts in sourcing practices as voices of activists, who were usually marginalized by mainstream media, have become more visible (Walejko & Ksiazek, 2008; De Keyser & et al., 2008; Kenix, 2011; Aouragh and Alexander, 2011). Also, several studies highlighted the new practice of using bloggers as sources in news stories (Walejko & Ksiazek, 2008; Kenix, 2011; Oriella, 2011; Bennett, 2013).

> "The support the bloggers lend to popular causes has brought some of them exceptional visibility. This impact, remarkably, extends to traditional media. Here their comments often make an impact unseen in countries with highly refined systems of news generation and distribution. For instance, many Egyptian media have begun to regularly reprint entries from well-known blogs of well-known bloggers such as Kareem Amer or Wael Abbas thereby tapping into news sources normally inaccessible to them and increasing their circulation." (Kafi, 2010)

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[2] "The significance of the introduction of the Internet stems from the fact that it defies boundaries, challenges governmental media censorship, and provides an alternative voice to traditional media outlets, which echo official, governmental policies and views." (Khamis and Vaughn, 2011, p. 4)

[3] ICHRP (2002) and Ramos et al. (2007) noted that reporting on human rights violations, since the beginning of the 1990s onwards, has become more intense than before.

Yet shifts in news sourcing practices remained relatively slow and limited[4] until the development of the Internet's novelty: social media. Social media are defined as "Internet-based applications that focus on building social networks or social relations among people with shared interests and/or activities." (DSG, 2011) The tools of social media have 'communicationally' empowered marginalized individuals and groups; giving them means of communication to network with stakeholders, including journalists. Anti-government activists in countries ruled by authoritarian regimes, like most Arab countries, who were voiceless and marginalized for years, have become visible to the international media, and their voices are heard by a wider global audience. (Kaplan, 2008; Heinrich, 2008; Hermida, 2010; Hermida, 2012; Oriella, 2011; Wallsten, 2011; Aouragh & Alexander, 2011; Harlow & Johnson, 2011).[5] Bossio & Bebawi (2012) noted that this was evident in the news coverage of the Egyptian uprising where news organizations relied on content posted on Twitter, Facebook and other social media platforms from a variety of (official and unofficial) sources including citizen journalists, activists and NGOs.[6]

Even few years prior to the Arab uprisings when social media platforms were introduced to the region, Egypt, for example, witnessed the rise of numerous anti-government group and individual activists who are equipped with social media tools. They reported intensively on human rights violations, and collaborated with journalists to amplify their voices to the international community. *Kefaya*,[7] The April 6th Movement, the National Association for Change and 'We are all Khaled Said' are just few of many social media-equipped anti-regime movements established few years before the Egyptian uprising (Lim, 2012; Sanders, 2012; Dalacoura, 2012).

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[4] Carpenter (2008) noted that while online citizen journalists were more likely to cite unofficial sources, journalists working for online newspaper remained more likely to cite official sources.

[5] "A 2009 survey of Twitter demographics found that nearly 60% of respondents said they interacted most often with media and journalists, coming in just after friends at 70 percent." (Radsch, 2012)

[6] "Al Jazeera live blog covering the Libyan revolution went as far as crediting Libya 17 voices as a main source of news reportage during the early days of the conflict. They also established a permanent link on their site to a live-stream set up by a protester in Benghazi." (Bossio & Bebawi, 2012)

[7] *Kefaya*, founded in 2004, did not have physical headquarters or permanent meeting place. "It spread news, hosted online forums, and coordinated activities through its main Website, Haraka- Masria.org, and through MisrDigitial.com, which hosted ''Egyptian Awareness,'' the country's first independent digital newspaper." (Lim, 2012)

The Arab region, since the end of 2010, has been witnessing a wave of anti-regime uprisings known as the Arab Spring led by social media-equipped individual and group activists.[8] The uprisings were coincided with a remarkable increase in Internet and social media users in the region. According to the International Telecommunication Union, the number of Internet users in the Arab region in 2010-2011 has increased by 23%, which is higher than the world average growth of 13%. For example, "The number of internet users in Egypt reached 31.2 million in June 2012, a 21 per cent growth from June 2011."(Al-Ahram, 2013) Social media users in the Arab region have also increased by 20-30% (ITU, 2012). Facebook, the most popular website in Egypt, had 12.17 million users in December 2012, up from 9.4 million in 2011 and 4.2 million in 2010 (Al-Ahram, 2013). [9]

The Arab Social Media Report 2011 recorded growth and shift in social media usage from being social to becoming primarily political. The shift was noticeable with the uprisings in Tunisia in December 2010 and in Egypt in January 2011 (DSG, 2011).[10] Arab activists have become more visible on the social media sites, mainly Facebook and Twitter, not only to network and mobilize, but also to report on the events they are part of. They have been recording human rights violations committed by parties involved in the Arab uprisings and uploading, on social media platforms, text, images and footage, which are often picked up by journalists and get broadcasted to a wider audience. Sami Ben Gharbia, a leading Tunisian blogger, believes that much of the content from the Tunisian revolution that appeared in traditional media originated on Facebook, re-posted on Twitter for journalists and others (Ghannam, 2011).

As political cyber-activists need news channels to amplify their voices, news organizations need their feed, particularly from areas of the world that are not accessible by their own journalists. Prior to the collapse of Bin Ali's regime in Tunisia, Al-Jazeera had to rely on a network of bloggers in Tunisia and

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[8] The Arab Spring is defined as "a series of anti-government uprisings in various countries in North Africa and the Middle East, beginning in Tunisia in December 2010." (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013)

[9] In the Arab region, the total number of Internet users exceeded 125 million, and the number of active users of social media exceeded 53 million in 2013 (DSG, 2013).

[10] According to the Arab Social Media Report 2011, 94% of people in Tunisia and 88% of people in Egypt said they got their news from social media (DSG, 2011).

considered them "a vital link in a country where Al-Jazeera was banned." (Fisher, 2011)[11] Similarly, Al-Jazeera was keen to build a network with key bloggers and activists in Egypt, according to Riyaad Minty, who leads the news organization's social media initiatives (Mir, 2011). International news organizations have also worked on enhancing audience engagement and introducing interactivity features to their online platforms, inviting more citizens to participate in the coverage through posting text, audio or video materials.

> "The audience [including the Arab audience] have become increasingly more involved in news production in ways impossible a decade ago. Twitter feeds, social media feedback, blog posts and reader comments all represent methods that audiences can interact with journalists regarding news content." (Duffy, 2011, p. 3)

Al-Jazeera, for example, launched Mubasher Misr, a channel and a website dedicated to covering Egypt's news and provide an online space and an airtime for citizens to participate with content. Several news organizations have also increased the interactivity features of their online platforms and launched their own pages and accounts on social media. Through their Facebook pages and Twitter accounts, news organizations have enabled citizens and activists to connect with their editorial teams, or simply post their entries online and allow the channels to use their contributions in news services.

In both revolutions, the Tunisian and the Egyptian, online content provided by citizen journalists and activists played a central role not only in calling for an action, but also in reporting on the action and putting their revolutions' stories on the news agendas. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to distinguish between activists and citizen journalists since both perform similar online activities using the same social media tools to disseminate information and promote their causes. "Citizen Journalism is frequently associated with political activists seeking to challenge society's established institutions and power relations." (Allan & Thorsen, 2009)

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[11] Alan Fisher is a senior correspondent with Al-Jazeera English.

Several studies on cyber-activism and citizen journalism, done before and after the Arab Spring, have highlighted the role that citizen journalists and cyber-activists play in putting certain issues on the news agendas and arguably in mobilizing people and bringing change on the grounds.

> "The Internet enables people to not only set their own media agendas but to influence others' issue agenda by helping them locate and contact people who care about similar issues. It also gives more power to people who have an agenda item that is not normally reported in the major mass media." (Rostovtseva, 2009, p.17)

As Arab cyber-activists and citizen journalists were after their cause, telling the world their own stories via various new media tools, dozens of international news organizations have intensively covered the Arab Spring. Several international news organizations, which offer multilingual news services (including Arabic) do not only provide news service to their international audiences, but also to the Arab public (whose majority doesn't speak English). In Egypt, at a time when the local Egyptian Television, which is a state-run organization, lacked credibility and sided with the regime against the January 25th protesters, Egyptian spectators turned to several international news organizations which offer Arabic service, such as Al-Jazeera, BBC and CNN (Khamis and Vaughn, 2011).

> "During the 2011 revolution, a credibility crisis emerged in terms of the public's perception of state-controlled media, which eventually led to mounting pressure to abolish the Egyptian Ministry of Information in the hope of creating a truly free and liberal media system. This credibility crisis was attributable to coverage from transnational satellite channels such as Al Jazeera, as well as to the reporting of citizen journalists, who provided minute-by-minute unedited accounts of actions on the ground." (ibid, p. 18)

Collaboration between activists and journalists needed intense circumstances like the Arab Spring to manifest itself and reveal its practices and impact on the news coverage. Such circumstances, primarily the rise of anti-regime group and individual activists, equipped with social media tools and communicating their cause to the world's media and the international community, provide a

rich environment for media researchers to examine potential changes in journalism practices. As demonstrated earlier, initial observations of the news coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, as an example of the Arab uprisings, made me speculate that some journalism practices have changed and new ones might have emerged. Changes in journalism practices are naturally reflected, at varying degrees, on the coverage given by different news organizations to the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. An evolving relationship between journalists and social media-equipped activists stands as one of the potential factors causing disparities in news coverage among news organizations that covered the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events since they might not be equally embracing this relationship. Disparities in news coverage of conflicts occur when one (or more) of parties involved are privileged as sources by certain news organizations. Revealing possible disparities in the coverage is a key for this thesis to explore changes in journalism practices and identify emerging patterns, particularly pertinent to journalist-source relationship. A possible change in sourcing practices is significant to probe potential changes related to human rights reporting during conflicts. While the thesis explores possible changes in journalism practices, it questions whether the existing normative media typology frameworks have been disrupted and as a result would invite media scholars to revise their typology/ macro approach in understanding changes in journalism practices across different media environments. An overview of scholarly work that examined each of these areas, highlights of possible gaps in research and newly arising questions are given in Chapter Two.

Media and activism in Egypt

Prior to the January 25th Revolution, in Egypt like in most Arab countries ruled by authoritarian regimes, journalists' relationship with anti-regime activists was restricted, and political activists were deliberately isolated from the media scene. Under pressure from Mubarak's regime, journalists were neither allowed to freely connect with anti-regime activists nor able to cover their activities. In December 2010, a month before the Egyptian Revolution,

Al-Jazeera reported that a photographer for the Egyptian daily paper *Al-Masry Al-Youm* was detained by police for covering an anti-torture protest.[12] Also, many reports looking at media status under Mubarak's regime have concluded that journalists known to be linked to anti-regime activists were usually blacklisted by the regime (Rugh, 2004; Cook, 2011; Geiger & Masri, 2012). Harsh measures against local journalists also extended to Egypt-based correspondents working for international news organizations. Al-Jazeera was among several news organizations that experienced problems with Mubarak's regime. When Al-Jazeera started to focus on Egyptian politics and to interview anti-regime activists, the news organization faced pressure from Mubarak's regime, its offices were stormed several times by security forces, and sources and guests interviewed by the organization were threatened and intimidated.

> "The Cairo News Company, which provided satellite services and equipment for Al-Jazeera, the BBC and CNN, was raided by police after it transmitted footage of the food riots. Its satellite equipment was confiscated, effectively shutting it down, and the owner was taken to court on manufactured charges." (Nelson, 2008)

Such an oppressive media environment had separated, at least publically, between journalists and activists, limited activists' voices in media and left many of their anti-regime activities unreported. Joel Beinin, a Middle East scholar said there have been approximately three thousand worker-led protests in Egypt over the last decade (Storck, 2011). Yet, only very few protests were highlighted by both local and international media. The scene started to gradually change with the rise of cyber activism in Egypt in 2003, when opponents to the regime started blogging and documenting human rights violations and the regime's corruption.[13] Two major events have contributed to the rise of Egypt's blogosphere and to its visibility in the local and international media: bloggers' coverage of the presidential referendum in 2005

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[12] Al-Jazeera's report, which included interviews with several journalists and cyber-activists, centered around the statement: "In a country where someone can be arrested for protesting and arrested for reporting about a protest, journalism has long been a form of activism, intentional or not." (Al-Jazeera, 2010)

[13] "Howard (2011, p.145) defines cyberactivism as —the act of using the internet to advance a political cause that is difficult to advance offline, adding that —the goal of such activism is often to create intellectually and emotionally compelling digital artifacts that tell stories of injustice, interpret history, and advocate for particular political outcomes." (Khamis and Vaughn, 2011, p. 5)

and their coverage of the parliamentary elections in the same year. They documented people's discontent and reported on violations committed by Mubarak's regime during both events (Radsch, 2008; Nelson, 2008; Mehanna, 2010).

> "Some blogs started reporting the events and proceedings; for example, how in some cases voters were not allowed access to the ballots or how certain candidates for the people's assembly seats were either favoured or prosecuted by the executive authorities. This interest led to increased numbers of viewers of the blogs that documented these incidents, especially those that posted photographs or video clips. As a result, wide interest in following of these blogs grew. At the same time, some newspapers started paying attention to the blogs, copying, sometimes without permission, stories and pictures from them." (Mehanna, 2010, p. 199)

Also, by reporting on anti-regime activities, which were ignored by mainstream media, Egypt's bloggers "have challenged the privileged role of professional journalists" and 'filled the news vacuum left by national newspapers and local television stations." (Radsch, 2008) Few years later, activist/blogger Alaa Abdel Fateh, who was arrested along with 700 activists when they protested for the independence of the Egyptian judiciary, blogged from prison and his wife published his posts on their blog. "These blog posts helped attract international attention to the case, which meant that camera crews from Al Jazeera and CNN covered a situation they normally would have ignored." (Zukerman, 2008)

Despite pressure practiced by Mubarak's regime over both activists and journalists, the relationship between journalists and activists/bloggers has been significant for both. Activists/bloggers' visibility in mainstream media, particularly the international ones, has empowered and encouraged them to continue reporting on Mubarak's oppressive practices and human rights violations, with confidence they would be supported by international human rights organizations (Radsch, 2008). Meanwhile, journalists find in blogs raw materials out of which they can generate news stories that they would have otherwise missed. For instance, blogs' reporting on sexual harassment of

women in Cairo in 2006 triggered mainstream media coverage and forced the government to respond. "The online fuss did catch the attention of the BBC and eventually other news organizations and talk shows." (ibid, p. 2)

Egypt's cyber activism has three arms: blogs, Facebook and Twitter. Huge amount of information; text, images and footage are published daily on these platforms, providing journalists with a wealth of information they can easily dig out, find news worthy stories and connect directly with activists who are usually part of these events. Though several analysts of Egypt's cyber-activism have recognized blogs for leading the anti-government drive, they described it as "an extremely diverse and vibrant, but essentially closed world of committed bloggers…The user had to go out of his or her way to access the information." (Eaton, 2012) This might have been the case prior to the development of new social media platforms; Facebook and Twitter. Before the development of social media, journalists who reported on uprisings, protests and other forms of internal conflicts, had limited choices to connect with parties involved in the events, particularly anti-regime activists. Traditionally, they used to communicate with and interview activists either via an email, a phone or a face-to-face interview. While such forms of communication lack the richness and vividness of the new social media tools, the new social media platforms, Facebook and Twitter, enable both journalists and activists not only to network and interact, but also to share breaking news, enriched with instant publishing of images and footage.

Blogs and Facebook pages were complemented by another social media tool, Twitter, which has enhanced the relationship between activists and journalists.[14] "On many occasions activists have successfully used Twitter to provide Western correspondents with news on developments, photos and offers of interviews." (Eaton, 2012) In an interview with Al-Jazeera in December 2010, Hossam Al Hamalawy, a cyber-activist and a journalist with a daily paper in Egypt, referred to an "unspoken partnership" between social media and mainstream media (Al-Jazeera, 2010).

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[14] "In 2009 Twitter and other social media emerged as powerful tools for disseminating information and mobilizing citizens such as evading the censors in Iran and communicating from the earthquake disaster zone in Haiti." (PEJ, 2010)

Understanding the development of the relationship between media and activism in Egypt prior to the Egyptian uprising is significant as it offers an example of how local journalists, under pressure from an authoritarian ruling regime, had to ignore activists' voices. Nevertheless, marginalizing activists in local media has not weakened them, but rather pushed them to develop their own communication and media tools, aided first by the Internet and then furthered by social media. The communication tools and social media platforms played a role in connecting the Egyptian activists with the international media and in pushing their issues on the international news agenda. The relationship between activists and journalists working for international news organizations just needed intense circumstances like the Arab uprisings to manifest itself and its impact on the coverage.

Thesis structure

The thesis consists of four chapters and a conclusion. Chapter One, titled 'Reasoning Coverage Disparities: a Scholarly Overview', gives an overview of media studies previously done to reason disparities in news coverage and explore factors leading to different journalistic practices. The chapter surveys four main areas: comparative media systems', journalist-source relationship, media and activism and the challenges of reporting on human rights. The chapter is concluded with highlights of possible gaps in these research areas and the research questions raised in the thesis.

Chapter Two introduces the case study 'Media Coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its aftermath', and profiles the main parties involved in the case study, which are the Egyptian Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), thirteen prominent group and individual activists and five selected news organizations.

Chapter Three, titled 'Integrated Research Methods, Going Beyond News Text', explains in details the research methods used in this thesis, including the sampling rationale and the significance of each method to the research. It is divided into three parts: the first part gives a critical view of the research methods considered, the second part explains the comparative news

analysis, as the primary research method, and the third part focuses on surveying views of news stakeholders, as the secondary research method.

Chapter Four is titled 'Quantifying news and collecting insights' and it explains the research findings and how they correspond to the research questions. The research findings are presented in this chapter under five sections: revealing disparities in news coverage, detecting sourcing practices, measuring social media impact, identifying human rights-centered reporting and collecting news stakeholders' insights. Each section corresponds to one or more of the research questions.

The thesis is concluded with "Identifying emerging patterns in journalism practices". The conclusion also gives a summary of the findings, discusses the study limitations and draws the attention to areas that need further research.

Chapter One: Reasoning Coverage Disparities: a Scholarly Overview

Throughout the history of media studies, there have been many attempts to reason disparities in news coverage and explore factors leading to different journalistic practices: why news organizations sometimes give different versions of the same news stories, emphasizing or deemphasizing certain aspects and voices, and overtime resulting in producing different narratives of the same events. Some studies take **a macro-approach; focusing more on comparative media systems** shaped by the political environments that news organizations operate in. Other studies take **a micro-approach;** looking at factors produced by specific circumstances affecting the news making process. Pertinent to the research topic of the thesis are three specific areas: **an evolving relationship between journalists and sources, the rising power of anti-government individual and group activists** and **the challenges of reporting on human rights**. Disparities in coverage become a more complex issue to examine when it comes to covering major multi-sided political conflicts like the Arab uprisings. It also raises the question of whether there is a new model of news making under construction, and if the early features and practices of this model are embraced by some news organizations while rejected by others because of different variables affecting the news making process in these organizations. This part of the study gives an overview of scholarly work that examined each of these variables as areas of research, which are often interrelated and overlapping. It highlights possible gaps in these research areas and newly arising questions pertinent to media coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The chapter is concluded with the research questions followed by an explanation of how each of the research areas reviewed corresponds to one or more of the questions.

Comparative media systems: a macro approach

Understanding media systems, their basic features and how they impact the performance of news organizations is a significant area of research for studies that comparatively look at disparities in the coverage of certain events. Similarly, when comparing Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA, news organizations that represent a broad geopolitical spectrum of different media environments, it is indispensable to take an overview of scholarly writings looking at media systems around the world. Media scholars have been driven to develop media typologies and list the features of each in order to provide frames of reference that could help explain why media behave the way they do in certain countries.

For long time, media scholars have been pre-occupied with the notion that the relationship between the political regime (the state) and the media plays the most significant role in shaping the media system. While early attempts to develop media typologies were based mainly on this notion, significant political and technological developments that took place just a decade before the end of the last century have forced media scholars to revisit previously set media typologies. In the following part of the literature review, the focus is on scholarly writings, since the mid last century, that have been trying to understand journalism practices in different media environments through putting them in political context. The review then looks at how such an approach has become problematic with new variables affecting the study of media systems.

The *Four Theories of the Press*

In attempts to understand variations or disparities in news coverage, several media scholars tend to take a systematic 'macro' approach through classifying media into systems under which countries sharing common characteristics are grouped. The pioneers of this approach are Siebert and his colleagues, Peterson and Schramm, who in 1956 came up with a classification of the press systems of the world in their book: *Four Theories of the Press*. Their theory is based on

critical studies and observations of how the media function in different parts of the world under different political regimes. Operating their theory within a political context (media-state relationship), they divided the world's press into four categories: Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and the Soviet-Totalitarian (Severin & Tankard, 2001).

Under the Authoritarian category, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, argue that the press supports and advances the government policies. The press is either publicly or privately owned, but in both cases, it is under government control and is not allowed to criticize the government or centers of power. Meanwhile, the Libertarian system, according to the *Four Theories of the Press*, was developed to counter the Authoritarian view and it allows the media to function freely in a liberal democratic system of government and are protected by the rule of law and the principles of the free exchange of ideas, and economic competition. The media, most significantly, are "an instrument for checking on government." (*ibid*) For the Soviet-Totalitarian system, the purpose of the media is to support the communist state and its one party system. The media are controlled by the economic and political actions of the government. The fourth system is the Social Responsibility. Under such a system, while the media entertain, inform and sell, they also act in a social responsible manner and they are controlled by community opinion, consumer action, professional ethics, and other regulatory actions (*ibid*).

The Four Theories of the Press has been frequently reviewed for their over-simplicity and weak applicability in several countries. Nerone (1995) critiqued it for looking at all other media systems from the libertarian position. According to Nerone, "The fundamental conceptual problem with Four Theories: it defines the four theories from within one of the four theories – the classic liberalism." (*ibid*) Similarly, Benson (2008) criticized the *Four Theories of the Press* for promoting "ethnocentrism and justification of "the U.S. model of market-oriented, ostensibly objective, journalism". Benson argued that it gave the assumption that other approaches were inferior and "dampened intellectual curiosity about the practice of journalism in other parts

of the world." It has also influenced the way international organizations, such as Freedom House, evaluate press freedom around the world (Benson, 2008).

Other media scholars tried to modify the 'Four Theories' to accommodate media environments that do not fit well under any of them. Without totally departing from the systematic approach, media scholars, like Altschull (1995), Hallin and Manchini (2004), Norris (2008), Hachten (2012) and Rugh (2007), have continued to develop more media typologies.

Altschull (1995) offered three press theories: the Market-oriented, the Marxist Communitarian and the Advancing press movements. Hallin and Manchini (2004) also proposed three different theories: the Polarized Pluralist Model of the Mediterranean region, the Democratic Corporatist Model of North-Central European, and the Liberal Model of the North Atlantic (Öztürk, 2009). They built their approach on four dimensions to be used to compare media systems in Western Europe and North America. These are: the development of media markets, political parallelism that reflects the relationship between the media and political parties, journalistic professionalism; and state intervention in media system (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

Hallin and Mancini approach, which focused on eighteen countries in Europe and North America, has been critiqued for several reasons. First, it is not fitting media systems outside the Western world, a matter that Hallin and Mancini pointed out in their latest work *"Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World"* (Hafez, 2010)

> "In writing *Comparative Media Systems*, we deliberately decided to focus on a limited number of similar cases: eighteen nations of Western Europe and North America that by global standards had relatively similar histories as advanced capitalist democracies. As we argued in that book, we wanted to avoid the kind of universalization approach to comparative analysis in media studies- symbolized by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm's *Four Theories of the Press* (1956)- that we believed held back the field for many decades, producing superficial analyses not based in detailed research on particular media systems and often riddled

with ethnocentric assumptions." (Hallin and Mancini, 2012)

Second criticism came from Voltmer (2008) who argued that when trying to apply Hallin and Mancini's approach to new and emerging democracies, it could not be easily applied and there was a need for "new hybrid forms of political communications" that blend the liberal ideas of press freedom and the values of the past and the constrains of the transitional experience. When trying to apply Hallin and Mancini's approach to the Arab region, similar criticism is also given by Hafez (2010) and Khamis (2012) who argue that the complexity and uniqueness of the Arab media force scholars to be extra-cautious when trying to label their systems. Khamis *(ibid)* notes:

> "The eclectic and paradoxical nature of the modern Egyptian media landscape, which combines the binary opposites of authoritarianism and resistance, public ownership and privatization, official and popular spheres, and secularization and (re)Islamization, offers an interesting case of heterogeneity and divergence, reversing Hallin and Mancini's (2004) hypothesis of homogenization, which predicts that the development of the free press goes with the shift toward democratization and the development of liberal institutions and mass markets, which in many countries beyond Western Europe does not seem to be the case." (Khamis, 2012, p. 1172)

Third criticism came in relation to the rise of transnational media, such as the pan-Arab media, which makes the nation-state an insufficient category to describe media system. Kraidy (2014) argues that there is a need for a transnational approach than an approach that uses the nation-state as a unit of analysis. Such an approach is more needed to understand the complex media environments of the Arab world.

> "Contemporary Arab media consist of an unevenly integrated regional (pan-Arab) market, superimposed onto national systems and increasingly integrated into the global media market, although in many respects distinct from both: It is a transnational media system." (Kraidy, 2014, p. 177).

Kraidy *(ibid)* also notes the transnational Arab media system is a hybrid of the Polarized Pluralist and the Liberal model.

> "The system is liberal in the sense that it is increasingly commercialized, to a point where business calculations occasionally trounce political or religious considerations (Kraidy, 2009). At the same time, it is only quasi-liberal because it exhibits strong parallelism and a strong, even dominant role for the Saudi state." (Kraidy, 2014, p. 199).

The transnational media in several regions including the Arab world offer complex media environments where typologies based on state-media relationship and defined media systems, like Hallin and Mancini's, become problematic. Such complexity invites media scholars to revise their typology/ macro approaches in understanding changes in journalism practices across different media environments.

In other attempts to address challenges faced when trying to use the early typologies of media in today's world, Norris (2008) referred to new types of media systems identified across post-industrial societies: "market-oriented commercial" and "public service model", with the first following the libertarian ideal and the second following the social responsibility ideal. Nevertheless, she argued that "following deregulation of state controlled television, many countries have evolved towards a mixed or dual system... the simple distinction between market-oriented and state-oriented media systems, as well as between commercial and public-service broadcasting, conceals important differences within each category." (Norris, 2008)

Also, Hachten (2012) presented five political concepts of the press: the Authoritarian, the Western, the Communist, the Revolutionary and the Developmental. Hachten has left the Authoritarian system as it was originally proposed by Siebert and his colleagues, but drew the attention that it is still widespread today, and it does exist in countries claiming to be democratic with political parties and elected presidents. He argued that the authoritarian concept was still seen in some South Asia countries like Singapore and Malaysia, in Russia, in most Africa and the Middle East>

Also, Hachten *(ibid)* combined the Libertarian and the Social Responsibility theories under one concept, and renamed it 'the Western', a system that is characterized by "an established tradition of independent journalism" and law-protected individual civil liberties. He also left the Communist theory as it was proposed within *the Four Theories of the Press*, but argued that though communism, as a political regime, is still seen in North Korea, Cuba and China, "the ideological fervor and justification seems to have waned- only authoritarianism remains."

The last two concepts, Hachten *(ibid)* suggested, are 'the Developmental' and 'the Revolutionary'. 'The Developmental' emerges in developing countries and emerging democracies which are mostly struggling with limited economic resources to develop their media. 'The Revolutionary' refers to dissident unlawful media working towards changing the political regime. "Historical examples of revolutionary press are the French underground press under Nazi occupation, Ayatollah Khomeini's photocopied and audiocassette-recorded speeches while in exile that sparked the Iranian Revolution." (Firdaus, 2012)

Despite his systematic approach, which resembles the *Four Theories of the Press*, to a good extent, Hachten (2012) maintained that "all press systems exist somewhere along a continuum, from complete controls (absolute authoritarianism) at one end to no controls (pure libertarianism) at the other… beyond that, controls on the press are so varied and complex that it's difficult, if not impossible, to compare press freedom in one nation with that in another." *(ibid)*

At the regional level, Rugh (2004) who wrote extensively about the Arab media was among scholars who also critiqued the Four Theories, for dealing only with media types that could not be applied outside the West and the Soviet Union. He argues:

> "The Arab media do not fit neatly and completely into any of these categories, but there are some elements of all four present in the Arab world. However, in most, but not all, of the Arab countries the media operate

under variations of the authoritarian theory, and of the four theories, this one comes closest to explaining what is taking place." (Rugh, 2004, p. 23)

But Rugh himself followed a similar systematic approach when he classified the media in the Arab countries into four sub-categories: the mobilization press (in Syria, Libya, Sudan and Iraq till 2003), the loyalist press (in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, UAE and Oman), the diverse press (in Lebanon, Morocco, Kuwait and Yemen) and the transitional system (in Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia and Algeria). Rugh's categorization of the Arab media is primarily based on media-state relationship and it is the "Similarities in their political systems that ultimately led to this division of Arab countries into a typology of categories of media types." (Rugh, 2007) The first category is the mobilization system where the political regime is in full control of the media. Under the second category, named 'the loyalist' by Rugh, government influence, though still as high, is indirect and subtle and primarily based on media's loyalty to the regime. The third category is the diverse press, which allows limited government influence over the media, which enjoy diversity and independence. The fourth category, which is the transitional ones, is seen in countries where the government's attempts to control the media are met with tensions and rejections that are openly discussed by press freedom advocates (Rugh, 2004).

Rugh's approach to the Arab media has also been critiqued for falling into "the classic typologies of media institutions". Iskandar (2007) argues that Rugh gave an understanding of the media in the Arab world in Western contexts with minor modifications. Also, Rugh's approach, according to Iskandar *(ibid)*, did not reflect the considerable diversity of the Arab countries and their ruling political regimes, which makes his typological approach difficult to apply as it is.

Theories of the press revisited

As attempts to develop media typologies continue, two significant developments have given rise to scholarly writings revisiting *the Four Theories of the Press* and other similar systematic approaches. These developments have also driven scholars' attention to other factors affecting journalism practices

without essentially forcing the understanding of such practices within certain systems. These are the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rise of post-communist regimes, and the new media revolution. Firdaus (2012), Hachten (2012), Norris (2008), and Ostini & Fung (2002) argue that certain political changes such as the dismantle of the Soviet Union and the emergence of a new version of socialism in post-Cold War China have forced the four theories model into question.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 created new socio-political circumstances that were reflected on the media inside and outside the former Soviet Union. It has created a new media system that is unique. For Nordenstreng (2006), Gorbachev's glasnost had paved the way for the creation of a new media model.

> "[It] stands for a kind of third way between unconditional freedom or autonomy of the media, on the one hand, and institutional conditions or dependency of the media, on the other. Glasnost inspires us to reflect upon various models of the place and role of media in society. It served naturally as a fresh paradigm for outsiders to look at the media landscape in the Soviet Union turning into post-Soviet Russia." (Nordenstreng, 2006, p. 1)

Smaele (2010) describes the post-communist Russian media model as one that lacks coherence. He explains that private ownership of media exists in Russia, but it is exposed to heavy state control. There is no direct censorship, but Russian journalists are pressurized to report on certain issues and ignore others. "There is decentralization but also a highly centralized state television. There are Western-style journalists who present the facts, but there are also those who are mere publicists. What should such a system be called?" (Smaele, 2010)

Norris (2008) also argues that paradoxically the post-communist Russia (as well as China) has a well-developed infrastructure for transnational communications and ambitious market- oriented media, but direct and indirect restrictions are still practiced on their media. While Russia officially departed from the communist system and China is still officially a communist country,

Norris (*ibid*) argues that both have developed unique media systems that do not fit anymore under the Communist Theory of the Four Theories. Russia and China have developed a media system that is characterized by an amalgam of features that cannot firmly belong to one of the known media systems.

Huang (2003) also believes that "the orthodox communist media approach as described in Schramm's 1956 essay which was featured by its strong propaganda orientation and anti-commercialism has largely been buried in China." It is almost impossible to fit today's Chinese journalism, which is described by Huang as "post-communist neo-authoritarian" and "market socialist" into Schramm's "Communist" model. Hachten (2012) also agrees with Huang that China is changing and presenting a new media face that is well developed and keen to compete with the international media while keeping some of its old face features.

> "In the twenty-first century China continues to be a nation that wants the benefits of an open, capitalists economy for its 1.3 billion people, while still tightly controlling its media.. The Chinese government officially accepts press freedom, but the constitution includes a list of situations in which government can restrict this freedom. The Chinese call this "pragmatic approach" to freedom of the press that includes strong opposition to the notion of press "freedom to spread lies and rumors". (Hachten, 2012, p….)

New media, old theories

The discussions around the validity of *the Four Theories of the Press* have also resurfaced with the development of new media, marked by what is known as 'the Satellite Revolution' and then 'the Internet Revolution' (Firdaus, 2012). Both technological developments have brought to the world of media new rules and new voices by unexpected players and transformed the media landscapes around the world.

> "The proliferation of satellite and cable television and online networks, enabled by increasingly sophisticated digital technologies and the growing availability of affordable communication satellites, has transformed the global media landscape." (Thussu, 2006, p. 1)

From the early 1990s onward, several media scholars like Chalaby (2002) Bourdon (2004), McPhail (2006), Thussu (2007), Mungiu-Pippidi (2008), Hafez (2008), Reese (2010), and Elareshi (2012) have looked at different aspects of the changes and challenges the new communication developments brought to the media landscapes in different parts of the world. Their studies have given weight to the notion of globalization, specifically what global and transnational media have brought to media systems. They analyzed governments' practices and responses to the new media revolution(s).

Mungiu-Pippidi (2008) argues that "globalization has opened the door to outside influences on a scale undreamed at the times of the Four Theories of the Press", created a media system that is more independent from local circumstances and gave "the media higher potential for playing an influential role and makes it harder to control by traditional means." Similar to Mungiu-Pippidi (2008), Bourdon (2004) also argues that satellite channels with their global reach have pushed national governments to revisit their media policies and become more flexible, allowing private broadcasting to develop to 'counter invasions from the sky'. The rise of private commercial TV stations, to compete with the public ones, gradually opened up the media systems as governments have less control over them (Bourdon, 2004).

Countries with media systems labeled Authoritarian, like it is the case in several Arab countries, or labeled Communist-Totalitarian, like it is the case in China, North Korea or Cuba, could not stop the flow of globalized media content coming to them via satellite channels and the Internet. Instead, they departed from rigid media systems to more flexible ones; to accommodate the changes and deal with the challenges of new technologies. Yin (2008) looked at how the Chinese government reacted to the new media and tried to contain it.

> "When the government could not effectively implement a ban on satellite dishes in 1994, it changed its policy by licensing them instead." A year later the government also specified permissible programs and viewing hours (Emmons, 2001). Foreign affairs used to be an area off limits for public discussions in the media. The advent of the Internet with its convenient online forums has made it a hot topic for public debate. Government control of

the press is a universal phenomenon. The issue is the degree of control. In the age of the Internet, total control is out of the question. And in the case of China, that control is being relaxed and challenged from all sides."
(Yin, 2008, p. 28)

But other media scholars like Mungiu-Pippidi (2008) and Ekecrantz (2007) debate that those Authoritarian governments have been trying to counteract such media openness brought by new media through developing strategies to contain instead of confronting them.

"Denying the huge influence of 'new' media over politics in our times would be foolish: and since politicians are no fools, the development of the new media seems to be accompanied by the development of new strategies to control media contents and influence."
(Mungiu-Pippidi, 2008, p. 69)

Countries like China and Russia have resorted to launching their own global satellite channels in attempts to counteract global 'Western' media and limit their influence. "In 2005, the Russian government launched 'Russia Today—From Russia to the World', a 24-hour, English-language television channel. This is the 'Russian equivalent to CNN or a kind of Russian BBC', offering international news 'from a Russian perspective'."(Rantanen, 2007) [15]

Similarly, China launched a number of media initiatives to shape how it is perceived globally. One of the main initiatives was to allocate a 45 billion yuan fund to globally develop and expand the state media organizations (like China's Central Television, the Xinhua News Agency and People's Daily), through which "it seeks to develop an alternative Chinese perspective to the Western-dominated view of the world." (Fook & Chong, 2010) [16]

Regardless of China's counteracting efforts, McPhail (2006) argues "whether government in China evolves, dissolves or convulses, the chances are

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[15] "(RT) is broadcasting on cable and satellite throughout Europe, Africa, the US and parts of Asia, as well as in the former Soviet Union and Russia. The network is government funded, with an annual budget of $30 million, and draws heavily on the state-controlled RIA Novosti news agency." (Rantanen, 2007)

[16] "China Central Television (CCTV), the national broadcaster, launched its Arabic and Russian international channels in 2009, on top of its English, French and Spanish channels. The Xinhua News Agency, People's Daily and China Daily have also undergone some restructuring to appeal to a wider international and domestic audience." (Fook & Chong, 2010, p. 5)

that it can never again seal its borders against the global Babel of voices, including the voices of freedom." It is a matter of fact that years back foreign journalists in China had very limited access and mobility, but now it is changing and it is not as limited.

Media revolution in the Arab region

The impact of the new media revolution has also been greatly felt across the Arab region, a political troubled area with several historical and political conflicts that have always put it on the news media agenda. Until the early 1990s, the Arab countries remained merely consumers of news flowing from the West, and even its own wars were televised back to the region via foreign media such the American satellite network, CNN, which provided live coverage of the first Gulf War in 1991. "CNN carried not only the bombings but also Saddam Hussein's meeting with British hostages. And when Jordan's King Hussein wanted to deliver a message about the Gulf crisis, he delivered it live on CNN." (McPhail, 2006) With such international and regional significance, McPhail (2006) argues that CNN is a clear example of the impact and role such global and transnational media play. Moreover, media scholars described it 'CNN Effect', which "refers to the process by which the coverage of a foreign event by CNN causes the event to be a primary concern for its audience." (*ibid*)

Just few years later, in the late 1990s, the Arab countries witnessed the rise of Arab satellite channels which, along with the Internet, have transformed the media landscape of the region and left strong impact on its media systems. To some media scholars, the "CNN Effect" was one of the driving forces behind the rapid proliferation of Arab satellite channels. Berenger (2006) argues:

> "The Gulf War of 1991 and around-the-clock-coverage by CNN and BBC World influenced Arab entrepreneurs that 24-hour news could empower pan-Arabism and inoculate the Arab viewing public against what they saw were culturally and politically biased reporting of the Arab World." (Berenger, 2006, p. 207)

Media scholars researching the new Arab media landscape tend to agree that the new media revolution, namely the transnational satellite channels and the Internet, in the late 1990s have transformed the Arab media and brought more challenges to all stockholders: the Arab public, media practitioners in the region, and the ruling regimes. However, they maintain that Arab media landscape started to noticeably and vividly change a few years later, post September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States and their aftermath wars on Afghanistan and Iraq. The newly established Arabic news channels, particularly Al Jazeera, which was launched by Qatar in 1996, provided extensive and in-depth coverage of both wars, from an Arab perspective. Berenger (2006) argues that the Arab satellite channels have "insinuated the region into the worldwide public consciousness." and "the Al Jazeera Effect has replaced the CNN Effect." Also, such satellite channels, led by Al Jazeera, started to tackle highly sensitive issues and 'taboos' to the Arab regimes such as political and religious freedom.

> "Arab viewers had never seen anything like it. Right there in their living room, in living color, an Arab commentator in Arabic was criticizing their Arab government and, more shockingly, their Arab leaders. Al Jazeera, the satellite news and commentary station from the tiny Persian Gulf state, Qatar, made its presence felt in 1996 by "creating ripples in a stagnant pool" that was the Middle broadcast journalism."
> (Berenger, 2006, p. 209)

Coming from a region whose political regimes (and media systems) labeled 'Authoritarian' for decades, enormous media studies have been conducted to analyze the new Arab media phenomenon and its implications. One of the main features of the new Arab media that media scholars have agreed on is lessening government grip on media, at varying degrees across the Arab region. Richter (2008) argues "The Arab World in particular has become the opposite of a closed-off region." In her debate, she referred to a report by the Arab Advisors Group, a monitoring organization, which counted 370 free to-air satellite TV-channels, 56 of these broadcast privately-produced programming and 38 air state-produced content. Similarly, Hafez (2008) maintains that the transnational satellite channels have greatly contributed to

the liberalization of the Arab media, and weakened governments' attempts to continue their absolute control over the media, although the Arab governments have adopted different media policies as he explains:

> "While soft authoritarian countries like Egypt spurred liberalization and privatization in the broadcasting sector to be able to cope with pan-Arab broadcasters like Al-Jazeera, which offered a new form of politically diverse and critical programming, hard authoritarian countries like Syria had to tolerate spillovers from other Arab countries and the spread of satellite dishes without diversifying their internal media sector on a significant scale." (Hafez, 2008, p. 326)

The Qatari Aljazeera and the Saudi owned Al-Arabiya, launched in 2003, stand as examples of news media organizations that operate relatively free of government control. They are seen as supporters of democracy, freedom and civil society (Öztürk, 2009). Nevertheless, as some of these news channels belong, financially and geographically, to states notoriously classified as dictatorial and authoritarian, media scholars are faced with a paradox that drives them to reconsider media typologies and think about a new paradigm in the media-state relationship that explains how such 'democratic' media operate and survive under undemocratic regimes. "If we look at the case of Al Jazeera and a number of other emerging media outlets in the region, the need of an alternative theoretical perspective becomes unavoidable." (Abdelmoula, 2012) Such complex media scene has pushed media scholars like Iskandar (2007) to argue against the categorizations of media in the Arab world and suggest that they should not be used to understand today's media scene, but as "historical benchmarks" to compare past to present media.

> "At the beginning of the 21st century, the Arab media environment is a mosaic of near cacophonous expressions of dissent, dissidence, loyalty, nationalism, consumerism and all things in between. The unpredictability and dynamic nature of these institutions make them resilient to anything but ephemeral categorization." (Iskandar, 2007, p. 40)

As several regions of the world have been experiencing, in the past three decades, rapidly changing political and media environments, the task of

understanding their media systems has become more challenging than ever. While the early 1990s witnessed the collapse of the Soviet Union followed by a wave of anti-communism revolutions across Eastern Europe, it also experienced around the same time the proliferation of satellite channels. Similar to the 1990s' intense circumstances, the world nowadays is experiencing dramatic and rapid changes, brought by the development of the new media, particularly the online social media, and the wave of Arab uprisings that forced several Arab regimes to collapse.

> "Indeed, we have to acknowledge that the Arab uprisings took place in the age of digital media and at a time of a monumental expansion in transnational satellite broadcasting in and from the region, Furthermore, these protests took place in the context of and against the backdrop of repressive micro-systems of power and oppressive state media apparatuses that had systematically denied ash-sha'b visibility and voice in matters related to their everyday lives." (Matar, 2012, p.3)

As explained previously, scholars studying media systems that emerged in the 1990s have found it difficult to accept earlier media typologies as frames of reference and called for less ideological comparative approaches (Jakubowicz & Sükösd, 2008). It is perhaps what also ought to be done when analyzing media coverage of the Arab uprisings; avoid reliance on previously set media typologies in understanding and reasoning possible disparities in coverage. Nevertheless, this doesn't mean to totally overlook historical contexts and previously studied frames of reference, where such media developed and operated at certain times, but to deal with them as subordinate factors, among several other possible variables arising.

In the coming sections of the literature review, the focus is on scholarly work using a micro-approach in understanding disparities in news coverage, looking at factors produced by specific circumstances affecting the news making process: an evolving journalists-source relationship, the challenges of reporting on human rights, and the rising power of anti-government

movements. The next section surveys scholarly work probing an evolving relationship between journalists and sources.

An evolving journalist-source relationship

The relationship between journalists and sources has been given media scholars' attention as an indispensable part of studies evaluating media performance and as a central indicator when examining accuracy, balance and objectivity of news coverage. Journalists need diverse sources in news stories to control bias, and give accuracy, balance and meaningful interpretations of events, but media scholars agree that diversifying sources and providing multiple voices in news stories is not an easy task. It is usually affected by factors related to both sources and their political and economic status, and journalists and their fast-pace demanding profession. However, these factors might not remain as valid with a changing media landscape and emerging social media empowered voices of the public.

The amount of literature focusing on news sourcing is vast and chronologically and geographically unrestricted. It is for the fact that sourcing is a central element in the news making process, an essential skill for the profession of journalism and an established routine practiced across all news organizations regardless of location, size or type. Nevertheless, literature produced on news sourcing fall into three main areas: studies that examine sourcing routines in traditional media, studies that focus on sourcing in alternative media and recent studies that trace (and compare) changes in sourcing practices brought by new media tools, particularly social media.

Elite-sourcing in traditional media

Media studies assessing news organizations' performance consider selection of sources a crucial element of balance and accuracy in news stories. "Ideally, journalists would call upon sources from the various sides in proportional

numbers and of similar standing." (Stavitsky and Dvorkin, 2007) Source diversity can be defined as the visibility of "multilevel sources" and "multi-perspectival array of voices" in news stories (Ibrahim & et al. 2011; Stroud & Reese 2010). Galtung and Ruge (1965), Sigal (1973), Gans (1979), Stavitsky and Dvorkin (2007), Yoon (2005), Stroud and Reese (2010), Harlow and Johnson (2011) and Hermida, et al. (2012) are among many media scholars who looked at sourcing practices in news. Their studies agree that in practice source diversity or multiplicity is not often exercised and there is much criticism across news media of all types and in different parts of the world for focusing on sources of political and economic authority, giving them voices in news stories while marginalizing others.

Stavitsky and Dvorkin (2007) note that while mass communication researchers, throughout the 20th Century, tended to focus more on audience and media effects, significant studies assessing media performance appeared as early as the 1930s. Though the study of news sources was not explicitly demonstrated, it came inclusively in several studies that examined media coverage of the US presidential elections, particularly looking at candidates' visibility in media. One of the significant studies was done in the 1940s by Paul Lazersfeld who, with his research team at Columbia University, analysed quantitatively and qualitatively press and radio coverage of the presidential elections between Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Wilkie (*ibid*).

> "Lazarsfeld's study, published in the book *The People's Choice*, established precedent for researchers to assess content in terms of balance and impartiality. *Balance* was generally seen as an outcome of the selection of news (e.g. were the candidates covered in roughly equal numbers of stories?) and was measured through content analysis. *Impartiality* was seen through the presentation of news (e.g. was one candidate treated in more positive terms?) and was measured through qualitative methods, such as textual analysis." (Stavitsky and Dvorkin, 2007, p.5)

Galtung and Ruge (1965) are among the first scholars to draw attention to elite sourcing. They argue that "News is elite-centered" and this applies to

both elite countries and elite individuals, while ordinary people are usually marginalized.

> "News is elite-centered, in terms of nations or in terms of nations, or in terms of people, is hardly strange. The actions of the elite are, at least usually and in short-term perspective, more consequential than the activities of others: this applies to elite nations as well as to elite people….Elite people are available to serve as objects of general identification, not only because of their intrinsic importance. Thus in an elite-centered news communication system ordinary people are not even given the chance of representing themselves." (Galtung and Ruge, 1965, p. 68)

Also, Tuchman (1972) presented a significant study that dealt with source diversity as a substantial element of objectivity. He argues that the newsmen (reporters) have developed certain strategies that would enable them to claim objectivity and appear impersonal and detached. Source diversity is described by Tuchman as "the presentation of conflicting possibilities" told by different sources in a news story. It came as one of four strategies she proposed: the presentation of supporting evidence, the judicious use of quotation marks and structuring information in an appropriate sequence. *(ibid)*

A year after Tuchman's study, Sigal (1973) provided another significant study that looked thoroughly at journalist-source relationship. He examined news sourcing in major US news organizations and drew the attention to the dominance of government official sources in the news. Sigal argues that such dominance comes from journalists' heavy dependence on official sources for newsworthy information and efficiency.

Few years later, Gans[17] (1979) produced a similar study, but took it further by analysing factors that affect news sourcing. He described the

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[17] "Gans (1980) identified two types of news sources, the knowns and the unknowns. The knowns are the elites and official sources, namely heads of government, ministers and deputy ministers, official spokespersons usually the public relations practitioners (PRPs), leaders of NGOs, experts, celebrities and the like. While the unknowns are not persons at the higher hierarchy, but rather ordinary people or non-elites who become relevant sources because of their connections with certain news events as eyewitnesses, victims and families of victims." (Ibrahim & et.al., 2011, p. 4)

relationship between journalists and sources as a 'tango dance' where there are two dancing partners and one of them has to lead the dance. He argues that sources often lead because of journalists' dependence on them as information suppliers. Also, because of time limitation, journalists tend to depend more on a group of sources who are already known to them for being available and suitable in the past. Gans also maintained that while in theory sources could come from any class or group in society, studies show that in practice they usually come from the powerful classes or groups. While such powerful sources do not need to make extra efforts to appear on media, "the powerless must resort to civil disturbance to obtain it." (Gans, 1979)

The dominance of elite-sources and the marginalization of others were also highlighted by Herman and Chomsky (1988) when they proposed the 'Propaganda Model'. In Herman and Chomsky's model, selection of sources is one of five news filters that lead to media bias. These media filters are media ownership, advertising, reliance on government and business sources, "flak" as a means of disciplining the media" and "anticommunism as a national religion and control mechanism." When these filters operate, they result in elite domination of the media and marginalization of dissidents (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

Reese (1990) has taken the study of news sourcing further when he argues that journalist-source relationship could be seen in a typology of four levels: high-power source/high-power media, high-power source/low-power media, low-power source/high-power media, and low-power source/low-power media. At the level of high-power source/high power-media, the result is a symbiotic relationship between the source and the journalist with benefits for both.

> "When George Bush was interviewed by Dan Rather on CBS News, a well-prepared and prominent source met an equally prepared and determined reporter. The result was an aggressive exchange." (*ibid*)

Reese (1990) also argues that at the high-power source/low-power media level, when a powerful source is interviewed by a less powerful media organization, the result is tamed media questions and sources in control. Such a level is often seen when a presidential candidate is interviewed by a local news organization. The level of low-power source/high-power media is seen when a powerful news organization tends to ignore or marginalize weak sources as the New York Times and CBS did when they covered the student radicals in the 1960s.[18] The low-power source/low-power media, as the alternative press, leads to "inconsequential stories". (*ibid*)

Numerous studies looking at local, national and international media performance have also continued to note and criticize journalists' heavy reliance on elite sources, official, authoritative and institutional sources, to the extent that they (journalists) allow them (the elite) to define the news agenda.[19] The argument that when elite sources receive privileged access to media, they become the "primary definers" of news agendas came in studies by Reese, (1990), Glasgow Media Group (1993), Yoon (2005), Freedman (2005), Stromback & Nord (2006), Mason (2007) and Macdonald (2008).

Journalists' reliance on elite sources as a media practice and the impact of such practice on news coverage is strongly tied to the concept of 'indexing', proposed by Bennett (1990), who argues that voices included in news stories or expressed in editorials reflect the range of views expressed in mainstream government debate. He also notes that in addition to news media's dependence on official sources, other non-official sources, which might appear in news stories, are voices expressing opinions that are already embraced in the political circles. The rest of other voices are usually marginalized.

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[18] Also, in covering the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle in 2000, "The mainstream news media mostly used official sources for information and opinion and very often denied access to the protesters to present their views. The result of this type of media representation was a demonization of the demonstrators as ultra-violent and the construction of a general consensus in favour of economic globalization." (Bailey et.al, 2008, p. 1840)

[19] "One study found, not surprisingly, that powerful, economically advantaged groups were "more satisfied" with the media coverage they received than were less-advantaged groups. Many critics of U.S. media coverage of the build-up to the Iraq War alleged that journalists relied too heavily on administration sources, and therefore failed to be sufficiently sceptical of official policy rationales." (Stavitsky & Dvorkin, 2007, p. 10)

> "The press in this system might be seen to have settled for a comfortable role as "keeper of the official record" while abdicating its traditional mandate to raise an independent "voice of the people" under appropriate circumstances." (Bennett, 1990, p. 106)

Bennett (*ibid*) predicts that news media 'indexing' system that "compresses public opinion to fit into the range of debate between decisive institutional power blocs", might change if triggered by outside events that would reshape the relationships among the systems' actors. The events could be a big decline in the market for news, the loss of public confidence in the media, or individual 'idealistic' reporters who would insist on covering more social voices. Studies researching media development in the 1990s onwards demonstrate that Bennett's predictions have been partially fulfilled with the development of the Internet, the rise of alternative media, citizen journalism and more recently social media.

Marginalized voices in alternative media

As media scholars continue to study news sourcing and to flag the continuation of the elite-sourcing practice of news media, marginalized others have been looking for alternative media to make up for their absence in news media. Several studies have recorded the emergence of alternative media outlets. It is this kind of media that "challenges, at least implicitly, actual concentrations of media power" and it is "produced by the socially, culturally and politically excluded" (Kenix, 2011).

> "The orientation of alternative media towards giving a voice to various (older and newer) social movements, minorities, and sub/counter-cultures and their emphasis on self-representation, can result in a more diverse content, signifying the multiplicity of societal voices." (Bailey 2008, p. 1844)

For Atton (2009) "Alternative media construct a reality that appears to oppose the conventions and representations of the mainstream media." Therefore, several studies on alternative media such as those by Atton and

Wickenden (2005), Bailey et.al (2008), De Keyser & et al. (2008), Carpenter (2008), Kenix (2011) and Groshek (2011) tend to focus on two areas: alternative media divergence from conventional practices, particularly sourcing practices, and their impact on mainstream news media practices.

One of the studies that looked at sourcing practice in alternative media was done by Carpenter (2008) who comparatively examined sources diversity in online citizen journalism, as alternative media, and online newspaper articles in the US. She noted that online citizen journalists were more likely to cite unofficial sources (60.6%), while online newspaper journalists were more likely to cite official sources (75.0%). Carpenter's study demonstrates that alternative media do not practise the elite-sourcing routine of news media. Instead they deal with the marginalized voices as their sources.

Atton and Wickenden (2005) presented another study on how alternative media select news sources. They analysed the UK activist newspaper *SchNEWS* to look at how alternative media select sources. Under what they described as "counter-elite sourcing practice", the study findings suggest that alternative media do not count on elite-sources. They rather allow more space and access to sources who are mainly activists and protesters. However, Atton and Wickenden argue that while alternative media challenge the notion of elite-sourcing, they exercise an alternative one as the study noticed the paper's very low use of 'ordinary citizens' voices. "The paper's counter-elite sourcing practice is determined more by its own political ideology than by any radical media philosophy." (*ibid*)

Though alternative media emerged well before the development of the Internet, several media scholars agree that alternative media are empowered by the tools and platforms it provides. Walejko & Ksiazek (2008), De Keyser & et al. (2008), Kenix (2011), and Aouragh and Alexander (2011) looked at blogging as an Internet-platform for alternative media and examined bloggers'

practices as well as their impact on mainstream news media.[20] Again, sourcing practices have been highlighted in these studies.

Walejko and Ksiazek (2008) examined the sourcing practices of a diverse group of 40 bloggers and a sample of 400 blogposts and links and found out that government sources comprise less than 4% of all sources used. Despite their variations, Walejko and Ksiazek (*ibid*) note that there is a developing relationship between bloggers and mainstream news media. While bloggers tend to provide links to news sites, journalists deal with bloggers as sources and use them in their news stories. Kenix (2011) also studied the relationship between journalists and bloggers and noted, "mainstream news coverage of issues has, at times, been driven by political news blogs." Another study by Oriella (2011) surveyed the opinions of 500 Journalists in 15 countries and found out that blogs are considered a key element in the sourcing process, with 30% of journalists surveyed saying they use blogs they know as sources for their news reporting (Oriella, 2011).

Reading into a developing relationship between news media journalists and alternative media producers (such as bloggers, cyber-activists, tweeps), some media scholars examined how alternative media practices, particularly sourcing practices, might be adopted by mainstream news media. As a survey on sourcing preferences sent out to Flemish journalists in 2008 shows that citizens score well as journalistic information sources, De Keyser & et al. (2008) argue that there is a shift in sourcing practices:

> "Due to the introduction of digital technologies on the Internet, citizens have gained the power to address the outer world parallel with the distribution platforms of the traditional news media. Therefore, it seems plausible that traditional media adapt their working routines by including individual citizens as news sources." (De Keyser & et al., 2008, p. 1)

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[20] "Hossam el-Hamalawy [an Egyptian activist and blogger] argues that the [real] strength of the Internet lies in the fact that traditional media themselves now use it as a source of information. Thus, when well-known and respectable online journalists post something that is read by thousands of others, it almost certain that Al-Jazeera, the BBC, and the Guardian will mention it, as happened with the live feeds from Egypt in January and February." (Aouragh and Alexander, 2011, p. 1351)

Lowrey (2006) looked at another significant aspect of the impact of blogging on mainstream journalism practices, asking, "how bloggers can spur journalists to produce more accurate, honest, and socially relevant reporting." He argued that as a way to deal with bloggers, as rivals to journalists, some news organizations might try to mimic bloggers and, for instance, move toward use of non-elite sources and provide more partisan coverage. "Yet the constraints of organizational and community dependency structures makes these changes unlikely, at least in the short term." (*ibid*)

> "The future is unclear. What seems clear, is that journalism as an occupation will experience incremental change in the short term, by adapting through co-optation or subtle redefinition. Such efforts may succeed or fail in maintaining journalistic control – and could even fundamentally change the nature of mainstream journalism." (Lowrey, 2006, p. 20)

Social media and new sourcing practices

The development of social media has added more opportunities as well as challenges to news media. Several media scholars like Kaplan (2008), Heinrich (2008), Hermida (2010), Hermida (2012), Oriella (2011), Wallsten (2011), Aouragh & Alexander (2011) and Harlow & Johnson (2011) looked at the impact of social media on journalism practices and again journalist-source relationship was one of the significant aspects they examined. Hermida (2012) notes that studying Twitter, as one of the social media tools, offers insights into an evolving relationship between journalists and sources.

> "The technical structure of Twitter presents distinct research opportunities to study the relationship between the journalist and sources, offering insights into the engagement with sources and the subsequent broadcast of information from these sources." (Hermida, 2012, p. 482)

Most studies done on the impact of social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter, agree that both platforms could assist journalists in their reporting; find story ideas, find sources, disseminate their work and interact with users. A

survey by Oriella (2011) asked journalists about using social media for sourcing news stories and found out that "almost half (47 %) of respondents said they used Twitter, and a third (35 %) used Facebook." Another survey by the Society for New Communications Research on North American journalists established "that 69% of journalists use Twitter as a tool to assist in reporting – with 24% relying on Twitter to find story ideas, 23% employing Twitter to locate sources and 23% using Twitter to keep up on issues or topics of interest." (Wallsten, 2011) In a similar survey-based study by Cision and Canterbury Christ Church University (2012), sourcing was reported as the main reason for social media use (80%) among journalists in Australia, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Sweden, UK, and USA. Publishing and promoting own content followed by (69.4%), while the least popular task was verifying (59.8%).

Nevertheless, when it comes to changing sourcing practices, studies tend to disagree. Some studies argue that social media are not helping journalists diversifying sources as they still tend to privilege elite political and economic voices using these platforms. Wallsten (2011) tracked references to statements made on Twitter in political news stories run by print, broadcast and online news outlets in the United States. He found out that "tweets posted by candidates, government officials and media personalities, have a far greater chance at being broadcast to the general public than tweets posted by ordinary micro-bloggers."

Other studies do not agree with Wallsten (2011) and maintain that social media help ordinary citizens, activists and other (often marginalized) groups connect with journalists and have their voices heard in the mainstream news media. These studies propose that such connectivity via social media is pushing news media to depart from their conventional elite-sourcing routine towards more source diversity and non-elite sourcing practices. Hermida (2010) argues that the traditional news model, which defines news as information and quotes from official sources; is in a period of transition. It is getting re-shaped by social media tools that "facilitate the immediate

dissemination of digital fragments of news and information from official and unofficial sources over a variety of systems and devices." (*ibid*)

One of the recent studies that examined this notion was of Hermida, et al. (2012) who aimed to evaluate social media's role in diversifying sources/voices involved in the construction of news. The study took a quantitative content analysis of the sources cited by National Public Radio's Andy Carvin on Twitter during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian uprisings. As the results of the study show that non-elite sources had a greater visibility more than elite-sources, Hermida, et al. (*ibid*) concludes that:

> "The open nature of social media technologies could, in theory, foster greater pluralism in media discourse by providing channels for a greater number and diversity of news sources… Our study points to the emergence of a new style of near real-time reporting, where journalists cite a potentially broader set of sources through social media." (Hermida, 2012, p. 480)

Also, Harlow & Johnson (2011) conducted another significant study pertinent to sourcing practices. They comparatively analysed the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution by a news media outlet (New York Times), an alternative media outlet (Gobal Voices) and a social media account (the Twitter feed of Times reporter Nick Kristof). They used the 'protest paradigm', which indicates that news stories covering protests rely heavily on official and government sources and tend to marginalize the protesters by rarely quoting them and often focusing on drama and violence more than the messages their actions carry (Harlow & Johnson, 2011). The results of the study show that New York Times tend to fall back on the protest paradigm more than Twitter or Global Voices because of its heavy reliance on official sources which outnumbered citizen sources more than 2 to 1 per story. Harlow & Johnson (*ibid*) criticised New York Times' conventional coverage and argued that such elite-sourcing practices might affect its credibility.

> "Despite having reporters on the ground in Cairo, and despite thousands of citizens demonstrating in Tahrir Square, seemingly readily accessible for interviews, the NYT still privileged official sources over citizen

sources. As such, it does not appear that mainstream
media's protest coverage has changed much since the
U.S. sit-in movement of the 1950s and 60s." (Harlow &
Johnson, 2011, p. 1369)

The study also found that Global Voices had "fulfilled its mission to provide an alternative viewpoint" as it privileged citing citizens over official sources with more than 8 to 1 per news story. The study also noted that Twitter, because of its nature as a limited-space medium, used few sources at all.

Following mass-driven, social-media equipped events like the Arab uprisings, the notion of an evolving relationship between journalists and ordinary citizens, activists and other marginalized groups, resulting in their visibility as sources in news stories, has been frequently debated. As indicated earlier, the findings of several studies done recently on journalist-sources relationship are inconsistent and conflicting, and often leave us with unanswered questions. One of the main questions that have not been answered yet is: why have some news organizations altered their conventional sourcing practices while others are still resisting change? This indicates that more research is needed to examine all possible factors contributing to the re-shaping of journalist-source relationship.

Among the significant factors that are also pertinent to media coverage of the Egyptian Revolution is the rise of anti-government group and individual activists and their efforts to push their messages on the media agenda. The next part of the chapter reviews scholarly writings that focused on the relationship between media and activism, factors shaping this relationship and its impact on news organizations' performance.

The rising power of anti-government movements

The relationship between activism and media is significant to both sides; activists need media to carry out their causes to a wider audience and media need activists as sources of newsworthy stories. Such reciprocal relationship is

not essentially seen in all countries where activists operate. It is rather replaced in some countries by a troubled relationship where media organizations ignore or narrowly allow activists' voices to be heard through them. Nevertheless, the development of the Internet in the 1990s has created alternative platforms and new channels for activists, regardless of where they are based, to operate and communicate their messages to the world. It has created what it is referred to as 'transnational activism', which crosses political borders and bypasses traditional media boundaries. The rise of transnational activism has driven the attention of media scholars from the 1990s onward, and encouraged them to comparatively look at the development of the relationship between media and activism pre and post the development of the Internet. The coming part surveys scholarly writings that focus on three areas of research: pre-Internet media-activism relationship, Internet impact on this relationship, and finally activism and social media.

Pre-Internet media-activism relationship

Activism is not a new phenomenon; it emerged quite early in the twentieth century, but appeared as an established concept in the mid of the last century and gained momentum in the 1960s and the 1970s with anti-war and civil rights movements, feminist groups and student movements sweeping in different parts of the world.

> "Activism describes a large and varied set of actions and practices that set out to change current political, social, and/or economic circumstances, policies, and values. These actions and practices are used by ordinary people in their neighborhoods, in their states and countries, and even across the globe to challenge prevailing government policies, economic inequalities, and social norms."(Takahashi, 2009, p. 1)

Activism is associated with non-state movements that aim to bring changes; political, economic, social or environmental, within a community, a country or worldwide (Cammaerts & Carpentier, 2007). Such movements used (and are still using) different tactics to get noticed and to make their voices heard. These tactics include organizing demonstrations, protests, occupy movements and staging events that would attract media attention (Meier, 2007)

(Harp, et al. 2012). Several scholars looking at these movements argue that media stand as one of the driving forces of such activities because activists purposely create them to get media's (and public) attention. Harp, et al. (2012) notes "Activists have historically relied on media outlets for purposes of mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement." The relationship between media and activists is often described as "asymmetrical dependency" where activists are more dependent on media more than it is the other way around (Stoddart & MacDonald, 2011) (Malinick & Tindall, 2011).

Nevertheless, it is argued that the political environment activists operate in usually shapes their relationship with the media. In parts of the world (including most Arab countries) that are ruled by authoritarian regimes, journalists' connection with anti- regime activists is usually restricted, and political activists are deliberately isolated from the media scene. For instance, prior to the January 25th Revolution, the media scene in Egypt was not different; under pressure from Mubarak's regime, journalists were neither allowed to freely connect with activists nor able to cover their activities. As a result, many of their anti-regime activities unreported and hundreds of protests, organized in Egypt over the last decade, were not covered by local and international media (Storck, 2011). It was also the case in Tunisia prior to the collapse of Bin Ali's regime as Miladi (2011) explains, "civil society organizations, lawyers, academics and trade unions do not have a platform to express their critical views on state media or 'independent' media."

Meanwhile, in countries where media organizations operate independently from state control, activists seem to be more visible in the media, but their relationship is not as simple.[21] Considerable studies looking at media coverage of activism in the Western countries find it negative and limited, and "activist groups and organizations don't fare well as sources for news production" (Jong et al., 2005).

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[21] "An array of different factors can affect what movement messages actually make it into the news. These include structural (social, political, and economic) opportunities and constraints; struggles over meaning and message construction; and the personal values, ideologies, and news reporting practices of individual journalists." (Malinick & Tindall, 2011, p.1)

Bennett (2003), Jong et al. (2005), (Meier, 2007) Kanavalava (2007) and Harlow and Johnson (2011) agree that media tend to focus on events associated with violence and disturbance more than the messages or the objectives of staging such events. Harlow and Johnson (2011) also refer to a "Protest Paradigm" where journalists tend to focus on dramatic activities more than the reasons and messages behind such actions.

Bennett (2003) points out that "Many activists are sharply critical of mass media coverage, often charging that the press and officials have criminalized their protest behaviors." McLeod (2007) also agrees there is a media tendency to cover political activism in a negative way, or give it limited coverage and argues that it is expected:

> "Treat demonstrators as legitimate political actors and give voice to their concerns. Media coverage of radical social protests often treats demonstrators as deviants, ultimately delegitimizing their efforts to play a role in democratic deci- sion making." (McLeod, 2007, p.9)

Studies on media and activism also demonstrate that media coverage of activism is limited for two reasons. The first reason is what Cottle (2000) refers to as "a hierarchy of sources with a clear preference for political, governmental and corporate institutions." This is seen clearly with the failure of scattered activism efforts to make their way to the media, while organized activism whose lobbyists are active among politicians is given media coverage. Jong et al. (2005) refer to Oxfam and Amnesty International as examples of organized activist movements who maintain an easy relationship with the media.

Bennett (2003) explains the second reason as the commercial programming taking over of the space given before to political content, and therefore issues of concern to political activists and minorities have been removed from the media agendas. In order to get media's attention, Jong et al. (2005), Gaber and Willson (2005), and Stoddart and MacDonald (2011) argue that activists create events; "pseudo-events, perform stunts or spectacular actions" that would generate appealing media coverage, but still this doesn't guarantee the quality and intensity of media coverage they desire.

Well before the development of the Internet, such troubled relationship with the media, described by media scholars as "asymmetrical dependency", has pushed activists, particularly radical activists like feminist and green movements, who are often ignored by traditional media, to create their own media, printing leaflets, pamphlets and their own publications (Jong et al. 2005; Stoddart & MacDonald 2011; Malinick & Tindall 2011; Harlow and Johnson 2011).

Media-activism relationship in the 1990s and onwards

With the development of the Internet in early 1990s, a great deal of media studies focused on its impact on civil society and its many actors including activists and their relationship with traditional media. Most of these studies agree that the Internet has altered the relationship between activists and news workers and empowered activism, and such empowerment has manifested itself at different forms (Taylor et al. 2001; Kavada 2005; Langman 2005; Reber and Kim 2006; Allan and Thorsen 2009; Stoddart and MacDonald 2011; Harp et al. 2012).

One of the significant forms of empowerment is 'networking', which is also tied to the rise of transnational online activism. Several studies demonstrate how activists have set online networks through which they coordinate activities, plan events and publicize their causes (Carpentier et al., 2009). They have taken it even further when movements like the Zapatista networked with groups not only across its country of origin, but also worldwide (Redden 2001; Denning 2001; Van Aelst and Walgrave 2002; Bennett 2003; Langman 2005; Cammaerts 2007). The Zapatista movement's struggle for the rights of indigenous people in Chiapas, Mexico, is considered by several studies "a point of origin for anti-globalisation Net activism." In order to gain solidarity outside their local community, the Zapatistas organized in 1996 several meetings around the world and managed to create the first of its kind global network of anti-neoliberalism movements (Redden, 2001).

> "Digital Zapatismo is and has been one of the most
> politically effective uses of the Internet that we know of
> since January 1, 1994. It has created a distribution

network of information with about 100 or more autonomous nodes of support. This has enabled the EZLN [Zapatista National Liberation Army] to speak to the world without having to pass through any dominant media filter." (Denning, 2001, p. 266)

Also, several media studies have focused on another form of Internet empowerment, which is getting the activists' messages across to a wider, international audience, at limited cost and without fully being dependent on the traditional media. Media scholars like Milberry (2003), Bennett (2003), Cammaerts (2007), Allan and Thorsen (2009) and (Stoddart and MacDonald, 2011) argue that the Internet has turned activists into independent and citizen journalists capable of disseminating information and news about their causes to the public and provide journalists working for traditional media with loads of stories to select from. Stoddart and MacDonald (2011) encapsulate the impact of the Internet on media and activism:

"The internet allows movements to disseminate information they feel is most valuable to gain support for their claims, outside the boundaries of news work. The increasing ability of social movements to speak directly to audiences through the Internet may further mitigate relationships of asymmetrical dependency between movements and media." (Stoddart and MacDonald, 2011, p.)

Several media studies referred to the online Independent Media Center, Indymedia, established by independent media organizations and activists in 1999 to provide grassroots coverage (reports, photos, audio and video footage) of the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle, as a clear case that exemplifies the impact of the Internet on media and activism (Almeida & Lichbach, 2003).

"Indymedia pooled-up with community and university radios as well as an art cinema house to form Radio Bruxxel. During 4 days, volunteers and activists produced radio programs covering the summit from a critical left-wing perspective. These not only featured on the participating radio stations, all located in Brussels, but were also streamed live through the Internet, allowing other activists-radios worldwide to

pick-up the feed and re-transmit it on FM."
(Cammaerts, 2007)

Cammaerts (2007), Gaber and Willson (2005), Carpentier et al. (2009) and Cottle and Lester (2011) also see in Indymedia experience a successful demonstration of how Internet-based media created by activists has to be part of a comprehensive communication strategy that includes traditional mass media. It is argued that activists need to use other media because "The Internet is also very much a pull-medium, meaning that citizens need to be already informed and interested to go and seek information about the activists and their aims." (Cammaerts, 2007)

> "Activists are aware that the Internet, although very useful, also has its limits in terms of reaching a broad audience. Indymedia, for example, would never have existed without the Internet, but nevertheless they produce brochures and pamphlets to raise awareness of their existence, but also to distribute part of their content to an audience that has no access to the Internet…Besides this, it also has to be said that in the end the positive representations in the mainstream media played an important role is terms of mobilizing beyond the activists and sympathizers, much more so than the Internet." (Cottle and Lester, 2011, p….)

As the impact of the Internet has been well felt in the Western world, its echo has reached other parts of the world, and gradually extending its empowerment effects to activists struggling in countries ruled by authoritarian political regimes. Media scholars looking at the impact of the Internet on activism in these countries, argue that activists have made good use of the new tools and platforms it provides to circumvent government restrictions.

One of the successful instances is the Ukrainian Orange Revolution which put an end to presidential electoral fraud and forced a second round of elections in November 2004 after thousands of people took to the streets of the country for 11 days protesting against the corruption of Kuchma regime. Triggered and organized by online political activists, Ukrain's Orange Revolution provided an interesting case study to look at activists' use of the Internet to bring political change. Some argue it was the first revolution to

make full use of the Internet potentials at that time and result in political changes (Goldstein, 2007).

> "While online citizens and professional journalists used the Internet to create a very effective media environments to challenge the Kuchma regime, civil society activists were using the Internet, as well as SMS mobile phone technology to coordinate everything from elections monitoring trainings to policy discussions to the protests that played the most dramatic role in the Orange Revolution." (Goldstein, 2007, p. 6)

Blogging is another phenomenon that several media researchers looked at in analyzing Internet impact on the relationship between activism and media. Radsch (2008), Nelson (2008) and Khiabany and Sreberny (2009) argue that when activists report on their blogs on anti-regime activities that journalists, willingly or unwillingly, ignored, they "have challenged the privileged role of professional journalists" and 'filled the news vacuum left by national newspapers and local television stations." "In recent years the medium has also become a form of protest and activism, a type of alternative media, and a source for mainstream media" (Radsch, 2008).

> "The main conclusion here is that the Internet can be an effective tool for activism, especially when it is combined with other communications media, including broadcast and print media and face-to-face meetings with policymakers. It can benefit individuals and small groups with few resources as well as organizations and coalitions that are large or well-funded. It facilitates such activities as educating the public and media, raising money, forming coalitions across geographical boundaries, distributing petitions and action alerts, and planning and coordinating events on a regional or international level. It allows activists in politically repressive states to evade government censors and monitors." (Denning, 2001, p. 242)

Activism and social media

Harp, et al. (2012) argue "the debate regarding the Internet and activism continues to gather momentum due to the emergence and development of

another Internet novelty- social networking sites (SNS)." Facebook, MySpace, Twitter, and YouTube are examples of web-based SNS. The rise of SNS or social media[22] in the past ten years has sparked a wave of media studies and debates that focus on how this phenomenon affects journalism practices as well as on journalists' relationships with other actors on the social media platforms, particularly activists and citizen journalists.[23]

A great deal of literature on social media has been written (in a relatively short time) since the beginning of the Arab uprisings towards the end of 2010, and two areas of research, pertinent to media and activism, can be identified in the current media literature: social media as an agent of change (how activists use social media to bring political change) and the impact of social media on journalism practices (how journalists-activists networking on social media affects news making process) These areas of research are often overlapping because activists' usage of social media to connect with journalists and get media attention is seen as serving their ultimate goal, which is to bring change on the ground.

Social media as agent of change (how activists use social media to bring political change):

Beside Internet features that have empowered activism, many scholars argue that social media give a new boost to activists, enable them to be more visible to the world, extend their networks to include public users of social media sites, and mobilize a wider public to support their cause. Nevertheless, whether such online empowerment is extended to activism on the ground leading to real change or not is still debatable (Joyce 2011; Khamis and Vaughn 2011; Haider 2011; Ghannam 2011; Papic and Noonan 2011; Sasseen 2012; El-Nawawy and Khamis 2012; Barkai 2012).

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22 Kaplan & Haenlein (2010) defined social media as "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content."

23 "A 2009 survey of 122 international digital activists found that SNS were the most common tool used by the respondents." (Harp, Bachmann, Guo, 2012, p. 302)

Scholarly attention given to the role of social media as an agent of change started before the Arab uprisings when activists in Moldova, a former Soviet Union state, used social media to call and organize massive protests against the ruling regime in 2009. Safranek (2012) notes, "Although the protestors failed to prompt a change of leadership or a new election, they got the world to focus on a small, remote country, and digital activism became recognized as a source of political power."

In the same year of 2009, Iran's 'Green Revolution' drew media scholars' attention as another attempt to bring political change using social media. The Iranian activists used Twitter and other social media platforms to mobilize the public during the presidential elections in 2009, document the massive protests against the regime and connect with the international community (PEJ 2009; Shirazi 2012). Metghalchi (2011) argues that Iranians' use of Twitter in 2009 "marked the onset of citizen journalism and cyber activism …and this paved the way for the political efficacy of mobile social media that characterized Egypt's 2011 revolution." Also, the Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism, which monitored Iranians' use of Twitter in 2009, pointed out, "the political unrest in Iran has demonstrated as never before the power and influence of social media." (PEJ, 2009) Similar to Moltova's uprising, the Iranian 'Twitter Revolution' was not successful and the Iranian regime has remained in place. Activists who used every possible technological coordinating tool to protest the miscount of votes during the elections were met with violent crackdown, halting their anti-regime protests (Metghalchi 2011; Safranek 2012). A similar story happened in Thailand in 2010 when the Red Shirt uprising led by "protestors savvy with social media" was put down by fierce government violence killing and injuring dozens of them (Safranek, 2012).

The failure of at least three social media-equipped uprisings in different spots of the world, and then the success of the Arab uprisings in changing the political regimes (in four Arab countries so far) have urged for more research to explore other factors operating within and next to social media causing their success or failure in bringing change. Haider (2011), El-Nawawy and Khamis

(2012), and Papic and Noonan (2011) argue that revolutions and political movements are complex. They involve "complex network of events, forces, and people in order for social media to be effective in political change." (El-Nawawy and Khamis, 2012)

> "While information technologies can be a fundamental infrastructure for civic activism, protest and social movements, there are various other factors at play that can contribute to their success or weakness. These relate to organisational and leadership issues; links with traditional mass media and other partners; elite tactics; and external attention." (Haider, 2011, p. 6)

Harp et al. (2012) attempted to capture differences and similarities among activists using social media in three different parts of the world (China, Latin America and the United States) through surveying the opinions of 456 activists. The study found out that activists in all three regions stressed the importance of social media to send information to supporters and to network with possible followers and activists in other areas. It also revealed that while activists in China tend to use social media to communicate with journalists, their counterparts in in the United States use it "for posting announcements and news from their groups or organizations." Activists in China and Latin America see social media as an important tool to promote debate and discussion.

Harp et al. (2012) also argue that activists' use of social media "is shaped by social and political scenarios, with cultural resonances that help explain how these tools are used in different regions." For instance, activists in China use social media to connect with journalists to bypass government censorship. Activists in Latin America use social media as an economic way to promote discussions and engage citizens at low cost.

Social media's impact on journalism practices (how journalists-activists networking on social media affect news making process):

Another significant area of research is the impact of social media on journalism practices and how journalist-activists networking on social media affects news

making process. Looking at social media impact, Ghannam (2011), Cottle (2011), Iskander (2011), Sasseen (2012), Radsch (2012), Miar and Keeble (2012) and Barkai (2012) agree that they have equipped activists (as well as citizen journalists) with effective communication tools that enable them to instantly document and disseminate their messages and actions in different forms: text, images and videos.[24]

Several scholars also argue that the social media tools have contributed in creating strong ties between activists and journalists to the benefits of both sides, in most cases. Iskander (2011) argues that activists on social media will always need the traditional national media to reach out to those with no Internet access. Nadia Idle and Alex Nunns, who were among the first researchers to document the role of activists on Twitter during January 25th Revolution, also note:

> "The activists on Twitter were not only talking to their fellow Egyptians, but to the international media and the world….Professional journalists also used the site as did more opinion-orientation bloggers. The result was like a company of artists painting constantly updated pictures of events." (Idle & Nunns, 2011, p. 20)

Iskandar agrees with Idle and Nunns that it was the relationship and interaction between social media and traditional media that created an environment for renewed political activism (Iskander, 2011). Also, Radsch (2012) argues, "Twitter became a real-time newsfeed, connecting journalists directly with activists and becoming a key tool in the battle to frame the protests and set the news agenda, particularly in the international media like Al Jazeera and elite Western outlets."[25]

Several media scholars demonstrate that as cyber-activists need news channels to amplify their voices, news organizations need their feed,

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[24] It is difficult to distinguish between activists and citizen journalists since both perform similar online activities using the same social media tools to disseminate information and promote their causes. "Citizen Journalism is frequently associated with political activists seeking to challenge society's established institutions and power relations." (Allan & Thorsen, 2009, p. 11)

25 "A 2009 survey of Twitter demographics found that nearly 60 percent of respondents said they interacted most often with media and journalists, coming in just after friends at 70 percent." (Radsch, 2012)

particularly from areas of the world that are not accessible by their own journalists. Aouragh and Alexander (2011) agree with Iskander (2011) and Radsch (2012), and argue that "a synchronization of new social media and satellite media" has been clearly seen in the Arab revolutions.

> "When the Al-Jazeera office in Cairo was attacked, when its reporters were arrested and abused and press cards revoked, and the reporting on the ground made immensely difficult, it had to rely heavily on Facebook, YouTube and local bloggers. And Al-Jazeera could not have aired the Tunisian revolution without taking interactive Internet sources seriously, which added tremendously to reaching the tipping point." (Aouragh and Alexander, 2011, p. 1351)

Also, Fisher (2011) refers to Al-Jazeeera's rely on a network of bloggers in Tunisia and considered them "a vital link in a country where Al-Jazeera was banned." Similar to the Tunisian case, Mir (2011) questions the news channel's networking with political activists during the Egyptian Revolution:

> "Riyaad Minty, who leads Al-Jazeera Network's social media initiatives, said that the channel got in touch with key bloggers, activists and protesters before the government cracked down on the Internet. "We usually identify key bloggers, activists and get our correspondents in touch with them so there is always a link of communication open, even after the internet shuts down," he said."

Cottle (2001) encapsulates how such a relationship operates between old and new media:

> "New social media and mainstream media often appear to have performed in tandem, with social media variously acting as a watchdog of state controlled national media, alerting international news media to growing opposition and dissent events and providing raw images of these for wider dissemination. International news media, in turn, including Al Jazeera, have distributed the flood of disturbing scenes and reports of the uprisings now easily accessed via Google's YouTube and boomeranged them back into the countries concerned." (Cottle, 2011, p. 652)

As the relationship between journalists and cyber activists develop over time and more news organizations tend to depend on activists' contributions particularly from areas of conflicts and in countries where foreign media correspondents are denied access, media researchers will continue to look at issues and challenges arising from such a developing relationship between news organizations and cyber activists and citizen journalists.[26] Sakr (2013) observed a blurry line between journalism and activism as among the challenges surrounding an interdependency relationship between activists and news organizations covering the Egyptian Revolution and its aftermath.

> "In the aftermath of Mubarak's overthrow, lines between journalism and activism were blurred by the struggle to report effectively on the military's repeated use of lethal force against continuing protests in major cities. Given demand for footage that was both timely and credible, mainstream media could rely on social media and video-sharing sites, or they could send their own reporters to the scene. One new television venture hired young trainees from among the activists, giving them a remit to engage in participatory networks and integrate social media with other sources." (Sakr, 2013)

Reporting on human rights is another challenge that faces journalists reporting on events of conflicting nature, like the Egyptian Revolution and its aftermath. The challenge of reporting on human rights is the focus of the next part and it is a significant variable to examine when comparatively analysing media coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, which involved violent clashes and human rights violations.

The challenges of reporting on human rights

Challenges facing news organizations when reporting on human rights violations is another area of research that is pertinent to understanding their performance and reasoning variations noticed in their coverage of complex conflicts like the Arab uprisings. Both early and recent studies evaluating media coverage of human rights violations find it, in general, problematic and

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[26] Sasseen (2012) demonstrates that in areas of conflicts (as it is the case in Syria), activists are not objective, balanced journalists by any traditional standard and their goal is to support their cause." Sasseen argues that dependence on biased sources "inadvertently or not- can slant the coverage."

irregular. In some cases, studies recorded limited and seasonal coverage of human rights. In other cases, news organizations were found reporting unevenly, focusing on violations committed in certain countries or regions, and ignoring others suffering similar amounts of atrocities. Also, several studies indicate that variables such as governments' foreign policies, different newsgathering practices and a changeable communications and media landscape, affect media coverage of human rights violations.

Seasonal reporting on human rights violations

Though neither conflicts nor human rights are new topics to media, several studies looking at media coverage of human rights prior to the 1990s like Chomsky (1978, 1982, 2002), Cassara (1989), Ovsiovitch (1993) and Hafner-Burton & Ron (2009) argue that it was a seasonal and problematic topic on the news agenda. Chomsky's both early and recent writings repeatedly criticise US media coverage of human rights and note that several violations in certain countries and regions go unreported, reflecting the US government's foreign policy towards the authorities in control. Among many cases Chomsky draws the attention to, is the coverage of East Timor's crisis in the 1970s. He argues that human rights violations committed by the pro-US Indonesian authorities went unreported and voices of the victims were absent.

> "Timorese refuges were scrupulously avoided, in dramatic contrast to refugees from Communist oppression. When Henry Kamm, the Pulitzer Prize-winning Southeast Asian Correspondent of the New York Times, deigned to mention East Timor while the war raged in full fury, he did not rely on reports on refugees, priests, or the numerous other sources available. Rather, he interviewed Indonesian generals…" (Chomsky, 1982, P. 194)

Cassara (1989) also notes such a connection between the US foreign policy and media coverage of human rights. She examined human rights coverage of Latin America in four U.S. newspapers: the New York Times, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor, and Los Angeles Times, for the period 1975-1982, which covered president Carter's term in office as well as briefly before and after he left office. Cassara's study recorded limited media

coverage of human rights violations in Latin American before the US president Carter came to office and an increase in the coverage during his presidency term. President Carter introduced a human rights initiative and his foreign policy paid attention to human rights in Latin America.

Ovsiovitch (1993) also recorded limited coverage of human rights in three US news organizations: the New York Times, the Time magazine, and the CBS Evening News for a ten-year period between 1978 and 1987. The study revealed that mentioning human rights issues came in less than two stories a day in the New York Times and was even fewer in the Time magazine's stories and on the CBS Evening News.

Chomsky (1982), Cassara (1989) Ovsiovitch (1993), Caliendo et al. (1999) and Ramos et al. (2007) agree that human rights coverage tend to be problematic; focusing on certain regions and overlooking others experiencing similar amounts of human rights violations. The findings of the studies indicate that media coverage of human rights was influenced by the government's policies towards the issue and the countries and regions in which human rights violations were committed. When human rights issues were discussed in the upper political circles of the US government, they would become more visible in the media discourse as Cassara (1989) pointed out in her study:

> "Reporters had been trying to cover human rights violations in Latin America, but before Carter their success was limited. After Carter took office, U.S. diplomats were concerned about human rights and the government offices charged with oversight had been given a new lease on life. Bureaucrats were available and interested in talking about rights concerns; government officials went on the record. Nongovernmental groups concerned with human rights took on new importance. Reporters had sources for their stories, editors believed those stories were newsworthy, and human rights sources in and out of government became routinized." (Cassara, 1989, p. 484)

As the aforementioned studies have concluded that media's occasional focus on human rights mirrored shifts in governments' policies, this had also

been reflected in the disparities noted in coverage intensity of human rights violations over time.

Challenging newsgathering for human rights violations

Limited and seasonal coverage of human rights was not the only challenge in human rights reporting noted by studies on media coverage of the issue. A number of studies take it further to look at how newsgathering practices affect the quality of the coverage. Ovsiovitch (1993) notes there was an uneven distribution of news correspondents around the world that had left whole continents with a slim share of them.[27] Traditionally, when a news organization decides to pay attention to human rights situation in a certain country, it has two options: either to send its own reporter to the area of conflict or to count on a local journalist (a stringer). In both cases, human rights violations are not essentially covered as they should have been.

Ovsiovitch (1993), Caliendo et al. (1999), Erickson & Hamilton (2006), Ricchiardi (2006) and Macdonald (2008) looked at the difficulties facing journalists sent to conflict areas without prior training, orientation or established sources on the ground, and used the concept 'parachute journalism' to describe their practices. While Ovsiovitch (1993) argues that though it is an efficient means for covering news in remote areas, parachute reporters tend to focus on the big stories and overlook small ones, which involve human rights violations. He also notes, "The major story will receive a great deal of attention while day-to-day problems, such as chronic human rights violations, go unreported." (*ibid*) Also, Macdonald (2008) argues that 'parachute reporters' tend to count on official sources who are usually the authorities in control and as a result they get the version of the story that is desired by them and not essential what happened on the ground. This might result in almost absence of voices of victims of human rights violations and activists.

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[27] "In 1975 U.S. correspondents were stationed in 54 foreign countries, with 51 percent located in Western Europe. Another 38 percent of these correspondents were located in Asia and Latin America, with the remaining journalists scattered throughout the rest of the world." (Ovsiovitch, 1993, p. 674)

Meanwhile, when news organizations choose the option of using local reporters (stringers) for human rights coverage, Sharkey (1993), Caliendo et al. (1999), ICHRP (2002) and McPherson (2012) warn that they take the risk of counting on biased sources who are themselves part of the conflict. Sharkey (1993) notes that when several news organizations had to pull out their own correspondents from Somalia, due to escalation of violence, they had to rely on Somalis whose political affiliations were not known. This caused a concern that it might have affected the coverage and presented a distorted view of the situation, particularly after a stringer who had ties with one of the fighting clans in Somalia sent a photo of Somali crowd dragging a dead US solider (*ibid*).

Also, several local journalists reporting on human rights admit it is difficult to distinguish between human rights reporting and activism. McPherson (2012), who presented a case study on human rights reporting at Mexican newspapers, argues, "For journalists who strongly subscribe to democratic journalistic aims and practice human rights reporting accordingly, a clear link exists between human rights news and activism."[28]

In addition to the challenges facing news organizations reporting on human rights violations, which caused seasonal and uneven coverage, the absence of 'communication-empowered' human rights activism, until the beginning of the 1990s, made it more difficult for human rights advocates (organizations and individuals) to make their voices heard. Though there were serious attempts by human rights organizations to produce their own media materials (printing materials and documentaries), they still needed mainstream media coverage to get their message across to a wide audience.[29]

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[28] Ghanaian journalist and academic, Kwame Karikari, believes that journalists do report on human rights in an overtly partisan way as part of a general movement for more freedom in their societies. "The reason for this partisan approach is probably the fact that many journalists in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe were themselves recently participants in struggles for human rights." (ICHRP, 2002, p. 108)

[29] "The explosion of rights-oriented digital media in the second half of the 1990s represents an expansion of this kind of mass mediated activism, with human rights groups self-consciously deploying publicity strategies and visual rhetoric borrowed from advertising." (McLagan, 2003, p. 609)

A developing collaboration in human rights reporting

Though remained challenging and irregular in some cases,[30] several studies noted that reporting on human rights violations, since the beginning of the 1990s onward, has become more intense than before. A study by ICHRP (2002) pointed out that news professionals and human rights activists agree that the media are more receptive to human rights issues today than at any time in the modern history of the media.[31]

Also, Ramos et al. (2007) tracked the growing use of the term 'human rights' in six news organizations in the US, UK, France and Germany between 1986 and 2000 and noted that all experienced an increase in coverage in the second half of the 1990s. "By the year 2000, the growth rates ranged from a high of 298% in Britain's The Economist, to a low of 21% for the German FAZ." (*ibid*)

The growth in media coverage of human rights, ICHRP (2002) demonstrated, was partly because "the language of human rights became central to the way international relations were conducted."[32] It was also because of the dramatic increase in the number of human rights organizations along with the development of new communication and media tools which have contributed to augmented media coverage of human rights in the 1990s and onwards (Ramos et al., 2007) (Mihr, 2009).

Studies by Milovic (2000), McLagan (2003), Allan et al. (2007), Zayan and Carter (2009) Faller (2011) Khamis and Vaughn (2011) ICHRP (2011) Wiesslitz (2001) Joseph (2012), and Brough and Li (2013) agree that the

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[30] A study by IMS criticised the coverage of the Darfur crisis and described it as limited and rarely focusing on the victims. The study, which covered 21 Sundanese and non-Sudanese news organizations in 2007, including the pan Arab Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya and Abu Dhabi TV, found out that victims of human rights violations and atrocities were rarely quoted as direct sources. Instead, official sources from the Sudanese government were prevalent in the coverage (IMS, 2009).

[31] Only one study by Caliendo et al. (1999) recorded sharp decline in human rights stories published in the New York Times in 1995 comparing to 1985.

[32] "Many governments and international institutions have integrated human rights principles into their policy frameworks. Formally, therefore, the human rights discourse and human rights law influence directly public policy and diplomatic relations in ways that was not the case until the end of the Cold War." (ICHRP, 2002, p. 17)

development of the Internet and its platforms and tools, from emails, websites, forums, to blogs and social media, have helped reporting on human rights and empowered human rights organizations and individual activists in different parts of the world to report on violations as they happen.

Allan (2006), McLagan (2006), Allan, et al. (2007), Allan, et al. (2009), Lewis (2010), Naggar (2011), Warren (2012) and Joseph (2012) draw the attention to a developing collaboration between citizen journalists (and individual activists) and news organizations. Human rights violations reported by activists and citizen journalists via new media and communication tools, would not have been paid attention to without news organizations re-reporting them to a wider global audience and amplifying activists' voices to the international community.

> "On YouTube, 72 hours of footage are uploaded each minute. Individuals who were once merely the object of a human rights report are now inspiring and guiding conversations. But without professional platforms, most of these citizen videos will remain lost in a sea of content….Both mainstream parties and their non-traditional counterparts will need each other. Both will have to work together. The best human rights reporting will form co-dependent relationships..." (Warren, 2012)

They also argue that such collaboration helps news organizations overcome some of the challenges they face reporting on human rights violations particularly in areas that are not accessible by journalists. Lewis (2010) argues that citizen journalists may help news organizations avoid problems caused by 'parachute journalists' as they truly understand the land, language and culture. McLagan (2006) agrees with Lewis; "Local human rights activists are, in a sense, truly "embedded," living and reporting on the context of rights violations on a long-term basis, unlike the journalists sent to experience life with the troops in Iraq."

Despite the many challenges facing news organizations when reporting on human rights, studies evaluating media coverage of human rights violations are still limited and there are gaps in this significant area that need further research. First, most prominent studies in this area, prior to the 1990s, focused

on the US media, with few exceptions where studies included some UK, French and German news organizations. It is not known how news media in other parts of the world reported on human rights violations in the last century's conflicts and it is not also known whether their coverage was similar to the US media coverage; limited, seasonal and affected by governments' foreign policies. Second, most of the studies took a quantitative method, mainly looking at coverage intensity over time, and focusing on certain geographical areas. Literature that discussed the quality of the coverage was not based on a clear methodological approach, using framing for example, to examine how human rights issues are dealt with. Third, as the 1990s brought human rights under the spotlight, more studies were done, but they were of two major trends: studies that look at local media coverage of human rights issues in their own countries, and studies that focus on the impact of the new media and communication tools on human rights activism. Aside from extended (1970s-1980s-1990s) US and UK focused, studies that primarily analyse human rights coverage by other non-American and non-European news organizations like Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, Russia Today, or XINHU, are rare. Fourth, although there are studies that discuss aspects of collaboration between news organizations and citizen journalists and (human rights) activists, and some media scholars have proposed different labels to this collaboration (networked journalism, participatory journalism, moral journalism), further research is certainly needed.

Gaps in reasoning and the research questions

As this chapter gives a scholarly overview of four main research areas pertinent to the topic of the thesis, it is significant to explain how these areas are pertinent to the research questions raised. The coming part gives the research questions followed by an explanation of how each of the research areas reviewed in the chapter corresponds to one or more of the questions.

Q1- How were SCAF-associated events covered by the selected news organizations, in terms of voices cited in headlines and leads, and source attribution?

The aim of the first research question is to find out how the selected news organizations reported on the Egyptian Revolution and its associated event and to explore if there were certain practices shared by these organizations. The answer to this question will also reveal if these shared practices indicate emerging patterns in news media reporting of the revolution and its associated events. Media studies reviewed under the first research area 'comparative media systems' are pertinent to the first research question, but they do not give a satisfying answer. As some media scholars used a media typologies' approach to understand why news organizations in different countries behave differently, resulting in disparities in coverage of the same events, it does not explain why a news organization like Al-Jazeera, which is based, owned and managed by a closed political regime like the Qatari royal family, is seen as a supporter of democracy, freedom and civil society (Abdelmoula, 2012). Possible disparities in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events might make a case for a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks. Therefore, it drives the research towards a micro-approach that focuses on examining factors produced by more specific circumstances that affect the coverage, which the other three areas, surveyed in this chapter, address.

Q2- To what extent did the coverage of SCAF-associated events by the selected news organizations reveal sourcing practices?

The second research question aims to reveal sourcing practices in the selected news organizations' coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated event and if these practices were shared by the news organizations and to what extent they were shared. Focusing on changes in sourcing practices is a key area for examination because they would indicate that the technological and political circumstances of the Arab uprisings, mainly the rise of social media-equipped anti-government group and individual activists, might have contributed to emerging patterns in news reporting of conflicts.

As the second area in the chapter surveys major studies done on 'an evolving relationship between journalists and sources', it is significantly linked to the second research question. However, as explained earlier, the findings of the recent studies done on journalist-source relationship and the role of social media in diversifying sources are conflicting. Some studies found out that social media drive journalists to diversify sources in their reporting and give voices to the usually marginalized groups. Other studies do not agree that social media might lead to source diversification in news stories; it rather reinforces the practice of elite sourcing since journalists tend to use and republish social media posts made by known politicians and public figures (the elites) more than ordinary citizens and marginalized voices. By raising the second research question, the thesis attempts to find out if some of the selected news organizations have altered their conventional sourcing practices moving towards a counter-elite sourcing practice and if social media contribute to the re-shaping of the relationship between journalists and sources.

Q3- To what extent did social media tools, particularly Facebook and Twitter, influence the relationship between activists and journalists covering the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events?

The third research question continues probing the impact of the technological and political circumstances of the Arab uprisings on journalism practices. If the answer to the first research question reveals that certain practices were shared by the news organizations that covered the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events and if the answer to the second question reveals specific changes in sourcing practices, what might be causing such changes? The third research question examines if an evolving relationship between activists and journalists on social media has contributed to these changes.

The third area in the chapter 'the rising power of anti-government individual and group activists' surveys scholarly writings that focused on media-activism relationship, factors shaping this relationship and its impact on coverage. As indicated earlier in the chapter, a great deal of studies that focused on social media emerged since the beginning of the Arab uprisings and

they were of two trends: how revolutionaries and activists use social media to bring political change, and how journalists use social media to aid their reporting on the uprisings. As several media scholars started to highlight a developing relationship between journalists and activists on social media, there is a need for more empirical studies that focus on the nature and the impact of this relationship on journalism practices. Herein comes the third research question: To what extent did social media tools, particularly Facebook and Twitter, influence the relationship between activists and journalists covering the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events?

Q4- To what extent did the sourcing practices and an evolving journalist-activist relationship lead to conflict reporting that is more centered on human rights violations?

If changes in sourcing practices are identified and an evolving journalist-activists relationship was found to have contributed to these changes, what was their impact on the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events? Due to the nature of the revolution and its aftermath conflict between SCAF and activists, violations of human rights were repeatedly committed by the ruling military regime against January 25th revolutionaries and protesters. Did the coverage given by the selected news organization focus on human rights violations committed during the revolution and its aftermath? Were the voices of human rights activists and victims heard in the news stories? The fourth research question aims to find out if the sourcing practices and an evolving journalist-activist relationship have driven coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events towards human rights centered reporting.

The fourth area 'the challenges of reporting on human rights' corresponds to the fourth research question. As explained earlier in the chapter, despite many challenges facing news organizations when reporting on human rights, studies evaluating media coverage of human rights are still limited and have gaps that need to be addressed in further research. Most of the studies, as explained earlier in the chapter, took a quantitative method, mainly looking at coverage intensity over time, and focusing on certain geographical areas. Aside

from extended (1970s-1980s-1990s) US and UK focused, studies that primarily analyse human rights coverage by other non-American and non-European news organizations are rare. Also, there is a lack in studies that are based on qualitative approach, using for example framing or an integrated textual-content analysis, to examine how human rights issues are covered or to probe factors shaping the coverage. To be able to answer the research question on human rights reporting, the research takes an integrated textual-content analysis approach to examine the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution through analysing a number of coverage elements (voices in headlines and leads, sources in news text, references to social media and lexical choices). Additionally, to avoid the geopolitical limitations (US-UK) of previous studies, this research analyses the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution by five news organizations that represent different geopolitical areas: Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA.

Q5- How do different news stakeholders perceive the role of social media in reshaping their relationship and its impact on their work? While analysing news stories could reveal a lot about journalism practices and it is an essential approach to answering the first four research questions, it is significant to survey the views of activists and journalists of the practices in question. The relationship between activists and journalists is evolving and initial observations indicate that it is visible on social media, but examining its role and impact requires empirical examination. Therefore, through surveying the views of activists and journalists, the fifth research question seeks answers from both about their perception of the role of social media in reshaping their relationship and its impact on their work. Also, the answer to this question comes to verify and complement the answers to the first four research questions.

As the thesis comparatively examines the news coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, Chapter Two introduces the case study 'media coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its aftermath', and profiles the main parties involved in the case study, which are the Egyptian Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), thirteen prominent group and individual activists and five selected news organizations.

Chapter Two: Media coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated event

Egypt, an Arab North African country with the biggest population in the Middle East region, witnessed a massive uprising on January 25th 2011 against the political regime of Hosny Mubarak who ruled the country for more than three decades. Mubarak's regime collapsed in February 2011 leaving Egypt with a poverty rate of 25.5%, highly corrupt government institutions and deteriorating services (Al-Ahram, 2012). Egypt's uprising, known as the January 25th Revolution, and its associated events, extended over 18 months of post-Mubarak military rule, offer a rich case study for this thesis to identify shifts in sourcing practices, examine the role of social media in re-shaping journalist-activists relationship and probe their impact on news coverage.

The Arab uprisings wave started in December 2010 and has not ceased since then, moving from one Arab country to another toppling, so far, four Arab dictators: Bin Ali of Tunisia, Mubarak of Egypt, Gadhafi of Libya and Saleh of Yemen. The Arab uprisings, known as the Arab Spring, were arguably sparked by images of Mohammed Bouazizi, a Tunisian young man who, in December 2010, set himself on fire in protest to the government's injustice and corruption (Andoni, 2010). Tunisian cyber-activists blogged his story and quickly made it known across Tunisia and the world. Bouazizi's saga along with images of Tunisians protesting Bin Ali's regime were then picked up by the international news media, which amplified the Tunisian voices to the world and inspired more supressed Arabs to revolt against their dictators.

In taking down Bin Ali's authoritarian regime, the revolution became contagious, triggering massive demonstrations and protests across other parts of the Arab World. Egyptians followed Tunisians and revolted against Mubarak's regime. Similar to Bouazizi's story, the Egyptian Revolution was sparked by police torture and murder of Khaled Said, a young man from Alexandria who posted a video clip online showing police corruption. A Facebook page has been named after him titled 'We are all Khaled Said' called for a massive protest against Mubarak's regime on January 25th, marking the annual Egyptian Police Day. Thousands of Egyptians, including other anti-

government groups, like the April 6th movement and the *Kefaya* movement, joined the online call and took to the streets across Egypt calling for the collapse of Mubarak's regime.

The early days of the January 25th Revolution received unprecedented international media coverage that kept the world's viewers on the edge of their seats watching the plunge of another corrupt Arab regime, shortly after Bin Ali's collapse. Toppling Mubarak's regime on February 11th 2011 was the most significant achievement of the January 25th Revolution. Nevertheless, events that occurred under the interim military regime, the Egyptian Supreme Council of Armed forces (SCAF) who ruled the country from February 2011 till June 2012, also received extensive media coverage. Media focus on SCAF-associated events was not only because they collectively represented a crucial transitional stage to a new democratic Egypt, but also because of their dramatic nature of re-occurring bloody clashes and violence between the January 25th Revolutionaries and SCAF (El-Khalili, 2013). The new military regime, like Mubarak's, has continued to clash with protesters and political activists and to intimidate journalists. [33]

The Egyptian cyber-activists on Facebook, blogs and Twitter also continued to feed the cyberspace with anti-SCAF content, which is then pitched up and broadcasted by news media to millions of viewers inside and outside Egypt. Images of dead and injured protesters and footage of Egyptian security forces' brutality have continued to appear on social media and on the news screens (Khamis and Vaughn, 2011).

> "The flame of cyber-activism that sparked the Egyptian revolution was not extinguished when Mubarak left office. In fact, there is sufficient evidence to prove that it is still glowing…Cyber-activists in the Egyptian online community have continued to defend free speech advances since the resignation of Mubarak. Global

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[33] "The overthrow of Mubarak in February was not the only period of exceptional violence against journalists in Egypt in 2011; it was followed by others in October, November and December, and more still in 2012." (Sakr, 2013, p. 3)

> Voices reported that Egyptian blogger Maikel Nabil was arrested by police on April 11, 2011, for posting remarks critical of the military, and by the next day more than 2,700 Egyptians had joined the "Free Maikel Nabil" Facebook site, and a "dedicated Twitter account (@MaikelNabilNews) was created within hours of Nabil's sentencing." (*ibid*, p. 18)

Also, the most infamous image of 'the girl in the blue bra', who was brutally beaten and dragged with her upper half stripped by security forces, was taken from an amateur video posted online. Rapidly circulated on social media and on Twitter under the hashtag #bluebra, the video and the image made top news stories across the world and drew the attention of the international community to human rights violations committed by the interim military rule of Egypt.[34]

Although using content provided by citizens or political activists is practiced by different news media, Al-Jazeera, more than any news organization, has been continually under fire from the ruling authorities in Egypt both pre and post the January 25th Revolution. Post January 25th, SCAF's fingers were pointed at Al-Jazeera accusing the news organization of inciting the Egyptian public against them. The tension between SCAF and Al-Jazeera's escalated on September 12th, 2011 when the Egyptian security forces raided its office in Cairo, disrupted the transmission of Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr, confiscated equipment and arrested its staff. Such harsh measures against Al-Jazeera came out of SCAF's accusation that the news organization was not only reporting, but also igniting tension through its collaboration with the anti-regime activists. Also, it was not unusual to see protesters in Tahrir Square carrying signs saying "Thank you Al Jazeera Channel", next to signs thanking Facebook and Twitter.

Al Jazeera and four other international news organizations, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA have been selected to examine their coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, which is the case study used in the thesis. Beside the five international news organizations, the other main

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[34] "As the tortured face of Khaled Said broke any credibility the Ministry of the Interior might have had, so the young woman in the blue jeans has destroyed the military's reputation." (Soueif, 2011)

parties involved in the case study are the Egyptian Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) and thirteen prominent group and individual activists. The case study's parties are profiled in the coming sections of the chapter.

The Egyptian Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF)

The Egyptian Army is one of the strongest organizations of the Egyptian state. It stems its powerful and respected status from a history of siding with people against a corrupt royal regime and the British occupation of the country, leading a coup d'état in July 1952 that ousted the king and established the first Egyptian Republic. Since then and until the January 25th Revolution, all presidents of Egypt, Mohamed Naguib (1953-1954), Gamal Abdel Nasser (1954-1970), Anwar El Sadat (1970-1981) and Hosny Mubarak (1981-2011), came from the military organization (Al-Ahram, 2012). The president of the Republic of Egypt is also the head of the armed forces and the head of the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), which is a group of senior officers governing the Egyptian Army. In response to the uprising on January 25th 2011, SCAF, headed by Mubarak, held an emergency meeting and decided to deploy army soldiers to bring order and security to the streets. Throughout the first 18 days of the uprising, the army neither used violence against the January 25th Revolutionaries nor tried to dismantle their protests. Army soldiers were stationed around the government's strategic buildings to protect them while remained neutral and avoided clashing with protesters. The public sentiment was positive towards the army and many protesters chanted slogans like 'the army and people are one hand' (El-Khalili, 2013). As the situation escalated in 18 days, Mubarak had to step down on February 11th 2011, and transferred his authorities to SCAF and its new head, Field Marshall Mohamed Hussein Tantawi. Upon taking over, SCAF suspended constitution, dissolved parliaments and issued a number of constitutional declarations as steps towards reform. Also, SCAF chose to communicate with the January 25th Revolutionaries via Facebook and it established its first official Facebook page where the council's statements were regularly posted. The SCAF's Facebook page aimed to connect with young activists online, and later to counteract their anti-SCAF campaigns.

"On 17 February, SCAF issued its first communiqué on its Facebook page announcing that the army wants to build bridges of communication with Egyptian youth, dedicating the page to the revolution. SCAF used the official page to issue regular communiqués on Facebook addressing the Egyptian people. SCAF also responded to comments and questions from citizens online." (El-Khalili, 2013)

Initially, SCAF promised to fulfill the revolutionaries' demands and announced it would remain in power for a six-month transitional period, begin reforms and prepare the country for elections. However, it was a short truce between the interim military regime and activists as army soldiers clashed with hundreds of protesters who remained in Tahrir and violently evicted the square. As the January 25th revolutionaries were not satisfied with SCAF's pace of reform, they took to the streets several times organizing million-man marches to put pressure on the military council to speed up the transitional process and meet their demands. Scores of protesters were killed, injured and arrested in clashes with the army. The public sentiment changed to anti-SCAF particularly as it extended the transition for over a year and didn't call for elections after six months as it had promised earlier.

"Most activists are deeply and vocally disenchanted with the course of post-Mubarak Egypt. They complain bitterly about the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, most potently about the use of military trials for protestors and their own harsh treatment at the hands of security forces. There is a lot of evidence that they have lost support from the wider public in recent months." (Lynch, 201, p. 18)

As SCAF remained in power for 16 months between February 2011 and June 2012, the country witnessed bloody clashes that killed and injured tens of protesters. Also, more than 12,000 civilians were tried before military courts and gross violations of human rights, including systematic harassments of female protesters, were committed (Amnesty, 2012). Similar to the beginning of the uprising, activists used social media to make SCAF practices known and record, in text, image and footage, violations of human rights committed under the interim military rule. They launched anti-SCAF campaigns on social media,

using hashtags like #NoSCAF and #NoMilTrials on Twitter (El-Khalili, 2013). Also, several anti-SCAF pages in Arabic and English were launched on Facebook. Text, images, footage and live streaming were provided by activists on their social media platforms to tell the world about SCAF's practices and to catch the attention of the international media (Bengtsson, 2013; El-Khalili, 2013).[35] Finally and under continuous pressure from all political sides, SCAF called for presidential elections on May 2011 and the results came out announcing the Muslim Brotherhood's candidate, Mohamed Morsi, the first civilian president of Egypt. SCAF's interim rule, between January 2011 and June 2012, which is the timeframe of the case study, was a turbulent transitional period. It is marked with a sequence of violent events and tension between SCAF and activists from different political affiliations. Table (1) shows a chronology of the Egyptian Revolution and its aftermath of SCAF-associated events (Sharp, 2012).

Table (1): Chronology of the Egyptian Revolution and SCAF-associated events

January 2011	Protests started in Cairo and spread across the country for 18 days. SCAF, headed by Mubarak, deployed military forces to keep order. 848 protesters were killed and thousands were injured.
February 2011	President Hosni Mubarak resigns stepped down and handed over his authorities to SCAF, led by Field Marshal Hussein Tantawi.
March 2011	SCAF proposed amendments to the Egyptian constitution in a public referendum.
April 8, 2011	More than 100,000 protesters gathered in Tahrir Square to pressure SCAF to meet their demands
June 2011	The Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party has become legal.
July 2011	Tension escalated between protesters and SCAF as it announced a new electoral law and delayed parliamentary elections until November 2011. As a result, mass protests erupted in Tahrir Square.
August 2011	The Mubarak trial began. Israel killed five Egyptian soldiers on the boarders adding more public tension.

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[35] Also, activists launched an off-line street campaign against SCAF titled '*Askar Khazeboun*' or (Lying Officers) where they went to low-income neighborhoods around the country, used a projector connected to a laptop to show images and footage posted on social media recording SCAF's violations (El-Khalili, 2013).

September 2011	Protestors stormed the Israeli embassy in Cairo. Three Egyptians were killed and more than 100 were wounded in the clashes.
October 2011	24 Coptic Christians were killed and over 200 were injured when military forces violently dispersed demonstrations next to Maspero in central Cairo.
November/ December 2011	-The Egyptian Supreme Court ruled that former members of Mubarak's National Democratic Party can run for elections, provoking new protests in Cairo. Clashes between protesters and Egypt's military continued. 40 protesters were killed and hundreds were injured.
February 2012	-74 people were killed in riots after a football match in Port Said. SCAF was blamed for lack of security and order.
April 2012	-The electoral commission banned 10 candidates from running for office in the presidential election.
May 2012	-SCAF halted the state of emergency. -Egypt had its first post-revolution presidential election.
June 2012	-Mubarak and former Minister of Interior El-Adly were sentenced to life in prison for killing protesters. -The Supreme Constitutional Court overturned a law that previously banned Ahmed Shafik from running for the presidential election. -Muslim Brotherhood's candidate, Morsi, won presidential election.

Profiling Egyptian activists

The other parties included in the case study are thirteen group and individual activists who are known to play significant roles in driving the events of the Egyptian uprising. Each of these groups and individuals has contributed to mobilizing protesters for the uprising and disseminating information about the revolution and its associated events, aided by social media tools. It is noticeable that many Egyptian activists use the three arms of cyber activism: blogs, Facebook and Twitter, but tend to be well-established and more active on one platform than the others. For example, 'We are all Khaled Said' started as a Facebook group in 2010 before expanding its activities to other social media platforms, but its Facebook page remains the most popular with 3,078,967 fans while its Twitter account has 383,238 followers. Also, activist Hossam Al-Hamalawy, often links his tweets to entries he posts on his blog. Al-Hamalawy, known online as Arabawy, is a blogger since 2006 and also

listed by Klout as an influencer on Twitter from Egypt with 156,545 followers (Twitter, May 2013; Facebook, May 2013; Klout, 2013).

As the case study focuses on two social media platforms, Facebook and Twitter, the selected sample includes the Facebook pages of two groups: 'The April 6th Movement' and 'We are all Khaled Said' and the Twitter accounts of eleven individual activists: *Wael Ghonim, Gigi Ibrahim, Alaa Abdel Fattah, Sand Monkey, Asmaa Mahfouz, Mona Saif, Esraa Abdel Fatah, Hossam Al Hamalawy, Zeinobia, Nawara Negm and Wael Abbas.* The coming part of the chapter gives a description of each of the selected group and individual activists and their social media activities.

'The April 6th Movement'

Observers of Egypt's cyber-activism consider 'the April 6th Movement' the flagship of Egypt's online opposition. The anti-regime movement was born on Facebook and was among the first opposition groups to make full use of social media tools; blogs, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. It was founded in March 2008 by Ahmed Maher, an Egyptian civil engineer with a passion for ICT, and his friend activist Esraa Abdel Fatah. When they knew that workers in the industrial city of El-Mahalla El-Kubra were planning a labor strike on April 6th 2008, they decided to send messages to their Facebook friends inviting them to support the workers. Their few hundred friends spread the word and the group received responses from thousands of people who were willing to support the strike. Since then, the group carried the name of 'April 6th' for its first effort to support El Mahalla's labour strike on that date (Khamis, 2011). The group quickly gained momentum and turned into an anti-regime movement calling for more protests and strikes. The movement's activities were met with severe measures form Mubarak's regime leading to the arrest of Maher and other group members. The importance of 'the April 6th Movement' comes from being 'an Internet phenomenon' and its founder, Maher belongs to a new generation in the Middle East who uses social media tools to fight government corruption and oppression (Wolman, 2008). "Their nascent, tech-fired rebellion has triggered a government backlash and captured the world's attention." (*ibid, p.1*)

With 516,128 fans and over 11,489 posts since 2008, the April 6th Movement's page on Facebook is a significant part of social media activism in Egypt pre and post the January 25th Revolution. The page monthly growth of fans in Egypt is +2,444, as estimated by the online measuring tool, Socialbakers (Facebook, May 2013, Socialbakers, May 2013). Post January 25th Revolution and in protest of SCAF practices, the movement was actively involved in organizing protests and campaigns online and offline against the interim military council (Egypt Independent, 2012). For the case study, 'The April 6th Movement' offers a rich content on the Egyptian uprising and its aftermath (Facebook, May 2013).[36]

'We are all Khaled Said'

Similar to the Facebook page of 'the April 6th Movement', the story reoccurred on a wider scale when few activists created a Facebook page, titled 'We are all Khaled Said' and started calling for demonstrations and protests against government corruption and police brutality. The movement's page attracted hundreds of thousands of members and called for massive protests across the country.

The page was named after a 28-year old man whose name is Khaled Said. The young man was brutally beaten to death by police because he recorded a video showing police corruption and posted it online. The movement's Facebook page was created five days after Said's death and posted images of his body in the morgue (Preston, 2011). As thousands of people joined the page in a very short time, the page administrator, activist and a former Google marking executive, Wael Ghonim, called for a massive protest on January 25th, marking the Egyptian Police Day; to denounce their brutality and corruption (Khamis, 2011; Mehanna, 2010; Nelson, 2008).

> "The page was one of the main sponsors of the call to protest on 25 January 2011, which later turned into a three-week popular uprising that shook and eventually toppled the 30-year autocratic regime of former president Hosni Mubarak." (Rashwan, 2012)

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[36] The Twitter account of 'The April 6th Movement' has 514,846 followers (Twitter, May 2013).

While 'We are all Khaled Said' was not the first online movement in Egypt to work on mobilizing people against Mubarak's regime, it remarkably succeeded in attracting thousands of Egyptians to become the biggest online movement in Egypt with more than three million fans. The page administrator, Ghonim, has become 'the public face of the revolution' (NPR, 2012).[37]

Also, post January 25th Revolution, 'We are all Khaled Said' has continued to be regularly involved in Egypt's political activism, denouncing violations of human rights committed by SCAF and then by the ruling Muslim Brotherhood's regime. The Facebook is regularly updated and has been gaining more followers. Up to date, the page has 3,078,853 fans and 13,871 posts (Facebook, May 2013). The page monthly growth of fans in Egypt is +65,066, as estimated by socialbakers (May 2013).

Twitter activists

Following Facebook, Twitter is one of the fast growing social media in Egypt. It is also the most popular social media site in the Arab region after Facebook and Google+ (DSG, 2013). Though the estimated number of active Twitter users in the Arab region (in June 2012) is 2,099,706 which is less than 7% of the region's population, they produce a huge amount of tweets, estimated at 172,511,590 in March 2012. "The estimated number of daily tweets is 5,750,386 tweets per day, or 3993 tweets a minute, or roughly 67 tweets every second." (*ibid*)

As Twitter is growing as an influential tool, with its ability to provide unlimited number of networks, unrestricted by any geographical boundaries, Egyptian activists have been intensively using the social media site to pursue their cause during and post the January 25th Revolution. Many of them have become 'influential' and well connected with international journalists when they intensively tweeted about the Egyptian uprising.[38] Klout, an online tool for measuring social media influence, defines influence as "the ability to drive

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[37] "Mr. Ghonim also set up the official campaign website for opposition leader Mohamed ElBaradei and volunteered as a tech consultant for other opposition groups." (Coker et al., February 2011)

[38] "Though Twitter use by journalists for reporting isn't anything new, what's notable is that it has evolved and matured since the Iran elections, with more journalists using the tool for real-time updates. Also, several news organizations like *NPR*, *CNN*, *The New York Times*, *Al-Jazeera English* and others have curated Twitter lists of journalists and citizens tweeting from Egypt."(Lavrusik, 2011)

action. When you share something on social media or in real life and people respond, that is influence." (Klout, 2013). Klout uses a scoring system, which is based on a numerical value from 1-100 and the higher the score is, the more influential the social media user is.

The online measuring tool has offered a list of 24 top influencers on Twitter from Egypt, which includes the names of seven activists. Also using Klout measuring tools, four more activists, who scored 60+, were added to the list to reach a total of 11 activists,[39] whose tweets are analysed for the case study. Table (2) shows the top influential Twitter activists in Egypt in 2013, their Klout scores, the numbers of their followers and the number of their tweets (Twitter, 2013 May; Klout, 2013 May).

Table (2): The top influential Twitter activists in Egypt in 2013

	Activist	Klout Score	Number of Followers	Number of Tweets
1	Wael Ghonim	80	1,048,552	7,842
2	Gigi Ibrahim	77	93,562	49,759
3	Mona Saif	72	228,396	104,504
4	Alaa Abdel Fattah	70	414,225	238,411
5	Sand Monkey	69	121,392	74,527
6	Asmaa Mahfouz	66	387,437	36,671
7	Esraa Abdel Fatah	66	256,268	38,125
8	HossamAl Hamalawy	64	156,804	110,951
9	Zeinobia	64	117,420	199,391
10	Nawara Negm	62	533,840	141,430
11	Wael Abbas	62	177,386	176,295

The news organizations in review

The significance and unprecedented nature of the Arab uprisings have attracted news media coverage across the world and made headlines in hundreds of local, regional and international news outlets. The Arab uprisings also erupted amid a changeable and complex media scene where traditional media merged with new media and then social media, and each brings its own players into the scene: professional journalists, citizen journalists, activists, bloggers and

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[39] Klout's list of the top influencers from Egypt includes Twitter accounts scoring 60+.

others. Such a complex media landscape and an abundance of news content do not make the task of selection news organizations to focus on an easy one.

Which news organizations should the thesis focus on? The starting point is to consider the element of variation, which means selecting news organizations that represent, to some extent, a geopolitical spectrum of media ecologies. The aim of such variation is not to attempt a generalization of the findings, but to take into consideration a macro-approach in understanding possible disparities in the news coverage of the Arab uprisings and in exploring changes in journalism practices across different media environments.

Prior to the development of Satellite TV and transnational news organizations in the 1990s, some media scholars argue that there was an old world communication order in place. Under the old order, few news organizations, mostly based in the global north (or the West), were in control of the flow of news and information. Wars and conflicts of the global south were covered from Western perspectives and by northern news media, which redistributed the news to the globe (Williams, 2011). Such an order has changed with the birth of transnational news organizations in other regions of the world, such as Al-Jazeera in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, Russia Today (RT) in the former Eastern block and the Latin American TV channel, Televisora del Sur (Telesur), in Venezuela (Thussu, 2006; Painter, 2007). The global media landscape has become more diverse and the concentration of major news organizations and news disseminators in a certain geopolitical area or sphere has ended.[40]

> "For media analysts, be they from the academic, market or journalistic world, the arrival of so many channels, most of them based outside the West, has raised a series a number of intriguing questions…. One of the main lines of inquiry is whether the new channels offer editorial content that is substantially different to that offered by established media giants such as CNN and BBC World, particularly in the selection and treatment

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[40] "There is now a greater range of suppliers of 'wholesale' news encompassing not just Reuters Television, APTN, Eurovision and Asiavision, but retailer-wholesalers such as Al Jazeera, BBC World, CNN, France 24, and Telesur, distributing by satellite, cable, and Internet." (Boyd-Barrett, 2008, p. 66)

of stories." (Painter, 2007, p. 5)

Therefore, it is significant for the study to reflect such diversity and include news organizations that existed in the old communication order and have continued to exist under the new order (such as the BBC) and news organizations that emerged and developed under the new communication order (such as Al-Jazeera, Russia Today and XINHUA). The study also includes CNN as a pioneering international news organization in the new system, despite its geopolitical belonging to the old system. CNN, as its profile in the coming part points out, emerged as a world supplier of international news during the first Gulf War in 1991.

All of the five selected news organizations, though diverse in their ownership and sources of revenues as explained in their profiles, offer multi-lingual news services including an English service as well as an Arabic service that targets the MENA region. Also, the five organizations have multimedia platforms, providing online news services next to their TV services. The multi-lingual news sites of international news organizations are significant arms of their news services and they offer vivid and rich content for media researchers and scholars to look at. Abdul-Mageed and Herring (2008) argue that news sites associated with international satellite television networks are playing an increasingly significant role and are worth analyzing.

> "Competing satellite networks such as CNN International and the BBC, like Al Jazeera, have associated news sites and provide coverage both in Arabic and in English. What each of these news sites covers and whether or not their coverage is ideologically balanced are questions of considerable interest." (Abdul-Mageed and Herring, 2008, p. 1)

As a researcher, I chose to focus on news stories published on the Arabic and the English news sites of the selected news organizations because I also believe that online journalists have the advantage of writing more lengthy and interactive news stories, and provide hyperlinks and background information. TV news journalists usually refer audience to their news sites if they want to get more details about the news stories. For example, the BBC

Trust review of BBC coverage of the Arab Spring indicated that its news website provided a significant amount of background material (BBC Trust, 2012).

Al-Jazeera

Al-Jazeera news organization was launched in 1996, first broadcasting in Arabic and in 2006 it introduced the English service. It is now a network of several channels and platforms: Al Jazeera Arabic, Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Balkans, Al Jazeera Sport, Al Jazeera Mubasher and Al Jazeera Documentary, Al Jazeera Mubasher Misr (Egypt Live), Al Jazeera Mobile, the English and Arabic Al Jazeera web sites (Al Jazeera.net and Al Jazeera.com.)[41] In 2013, the network purchased the US channel 'The Current' and launched Al-Jazeera America, with headquarters in New York (Al-Jazeera American, 2013). Though it is owned and funded by the ruling family of Qatar, Al-Jazeera describes itself, on its official website, as "the first independent news channel in the Arab world dedicated to covering and uncovering stories in the region." (Al-Jazeera, 2012) However, Seib (2011) argues that Al Jazeera was created partly to enhance Qatar's public diplomacy. Al-Jazeera has given Qatar a recognizable identity among the Arab public and governments.[42]

Since its inception in 1996, Al-Jazeera has been an influential news provider in the Arab region attracting millions of Arab viewers by focusing on controversial and sensitive issues that are usually ignored by the rest of Arab media outlets. The news organization came to meet the needs of Arab audiences who were hungry for serious news and analysis.

> "There was a hunger among Arab viewers for news about their lives that they could trust and in which they could claim ownership. For too long they needed to rely on the BBC, CNN, or other non-Arab information sources to tell them what was happening or else they

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[41] "Al Jazeera executives point to a 2,500 percent increase in traffic on their Web site during the uprising in Egypt and 10 million minutes of the live stream being viewed daily, 45 percent of that in the United States." (AJR, 2011)

[42] "In a dispatch among the WikiLeaks documents released in late 2010, U.S. Ambassador to Qatar Joseph LeBaron wrote: "Al Jazeera's ability to influence public opinion throughout the region is a substantial source of leverage for Qatar, one which it is unlikely to relinquish." (Seib, 2011,p. 22)

were dependent on news programming tightly controlled by Arab governments, featuring dreary-looking broadcasts and "news" that only the most credulous would accept." (Seib, 2011, p. 20)

Al-Jazeera has been giving voices to political opposition groups, angering many Arab regimes. Several of Al-Jazeera's offices were closed down by Arab ruling regimes, and its correspondents were harassed and sometimes arrested and banned from work. "In July 2008, Hassan al Rachidi, Al Jazeera's Morocco bureau chief at the time, was convicted for what the government called "disseminating false information". (Al-Jazeera, 2010) Also, Al-Jazeera was banned from operating in Tunisia and its offices were frequently closed down in Jordan, Kuwait and Morocco.

"Other Arab countries that have complained about Al-Jazeera's coverage include Algeria, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Egypt. Their complaints have focused particularly on one of the station's flagship programmes, The Opposite Direction, which occasionally provides a platform for political dissidents to criticise their governments, usually with a spokesperson from the country involved to provide an official response." (BBC, January 7th, 1999)

It was until the wars in Afghanistan and then Iraq, post September 11th, 2001 attacks, when Al-Jazeera started to attract attention outside the MENA region and to emerge as a powerful international news organization. Similar to the harsh criticism it received from most Arab regimes, the channel was heavily criticized by the US administration for its coverage of both wars, which was seen as inciting of anti-US sentiments. It was labeled "the Osama bin Laden network" which Seib (2011) argues that "it was a tactic that worked well among those who had never seen the channel's newscasts and were ready to believe that it was part of an Arab terrorist conspiracy." Such a negative view of Al-Jazeera has dramatically changed and the news organization has gained more prominence inside the MENA region and worldwide because of its coverage of the Arab uprisings. During its coverage of the Egyptian Revolution, the US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, described Al-Jazeera's coverage as "real news", and said, it was "changing peoples' minds and

attitudes. And like it or hate it, it is really effective" (Huffingtonpost, March 3, 2011).

Numerous academic studies, pre the Arab uprisings, focused on Al-Jazeera. The news organization has become a central topic for discussion in academic scholarship about the Arab media. Many media scholars such as El-Nawawy and Iskandar (2003), Sakr (2001, 2007a, 2007b), Hafez (2004, 2005, 2007, 2008), Seib (2005), Zayani (2005), Iskandar (2006), Thussu (2007), Thai (2010) and Figenschou, (2010) looked at Al-Jazeera's rising power and its position and impact on the global and the regional media scenes. Tawil-Souri (2008) gave a thorough categorization of the academic scholarship about Al-Jazeera:

> "First, Al Jazeera's political (or 'civilizational' to follow Huntington) allegiance in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, discussed in Miles (2005), Rushing (2007), Seib (2005), and Lynch (2006) – although the authors do not themselves believe in a 'clash', they provide convincing counter-argument to the post-911 label of Al Jazeera being 'Bin Laden's mouthpiece'; second, whether and how Al Jazeera is a catalyst and forum for a 'new' public sphere (most notably Rinnawi 2006, and Lynch 2006); and third, Al Jazeera's credibility as a 'Westernized' or 'global' media channel (El-Nawawy and Iskander 2002; Zayani 2005; Zayani and Sahraoui 2007), or more critically, whether a pan-Arab channel can truly be considered 'global' (Sabry 2005)." (Tawil-Souri, 2008, p. 1409)

Al-Jazeera has a social media team serving the English and Arabic website and supporting the newsroom teams. Their efforts started to gain momentum during the Gaza War in 2008 and 2009. According to Riyaad Minty, the head of social media at Al Jazeera, Al-Jazeera started crowdsourcing Gaza war when his team saw the emergence of Twitter and Facebook as a newsgathering space and they decided to launch @AJGaza.

> "That was the first time Al Jazeera stepped in and we tried to harness the power of social media…I think at the time we were one of the first, if not the first, news organisation in the world to live tweet a war minute-by-minute." (Marshall, 2013)

Also, by integrating social media tools into Al-Jazeera's news site, it increased traffic to the site. During the Egyptian Revolution, 20,469 people per second visited the news site and 71% of the traffic came from social media. Al-Jazeera received more than 60,000 unique videos, posted via Arabic social network, *Sharek* (Editors Weblog, 2013).

To some scholars, Al-Jazeera's emergence as an international news organization has, to an extent, a balancing effect on the global media scene. After decades of Western monopoly over news coverage and dissemination, a news organization, based and owned by a non-Western country, competes with international media conglomerates like CNN in covering major events like the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (Seib, 2005). It was not unusual during both wars (and then during the Arab uprisings) to see other international and local news providers borrowing footage from Al-Jazeera. Beside its emergence as an international news provider, many media researchers looked at Al-Jazeera's practices as a unique case of an Arab state-owned media outlet which privileges alterative voices, a practice that even well funded private Arab channels were reluctant to do. They argue that Al-Jazeera has shown that transnational media can address the power imbalance and give space to alternative viewpoints that are often absent from international news.

Seib (2008) took it further by describing Al-Jazeera as a paradigm of new media's influence, and similar to the CNN effect, there is the Al-Jazeera's effect. Al-Jazeera's influential coverage of the Arab uprisings has added to the organization's international recognition, invited more research into assessing its performance and impact. Al-Jazeera has become an essential part of any significant study on media coverage of the Arab uprisings (Thai, 2010).

BBC

The BBC is one of the oldest news media in the world. Its radio services were founded in 1922 and its TV services were introduced in 1936. It launched its first foreign service, which was in the Arabic language in 1938. Now, the BBC network offers news services in 33 other languages beside English (BBC, March 3, 2008).

BBC introduces itself as "the world's leading public service broadcaster." As a public service broadcaster, it is funded by the license fee, paid by UK households. Income generated from the license fee supports the BBC services which include 10 national TV channels, 10 national radio stations, 40 local radio stations and a multi-lingual website (BBC, 2013). According to a study by Ofcom[43] in 2012, BBC news site was the most popular source of news on the web in the UK. In March 2012, the news site attracted 10.1 million unique visitors who accessed the site on desktop and laptop computers (Ofcom, 2012).

The Arabic TV and news site were launched in 2008, targeting the Middle East and North Africa. The BBC attracts a weekly international audience of 239 million people who watch and listen to programs in 28 different languages, including Arabic (Newbould, 2013).

> "Since the beginning of the 'Arab Spring,' BBC Arabic's audience has grown by 17 per cent to a record high of 25.3 million adults weekly - up from 21.6 million before the chain reaction that began in Tunisia at the end of 2010. Total weekly audiences currently stand at 7.6 million radio listeners, 20.6 million TV viewers and 1 million online users." (ibid)

The BBC Trust is the governing body of the BBC and it is "the guardian of license fee revenue and of the public interest in the BBC." As per the BBC official website, the Trust is responsible for approving the BBC's Editorial Guidelines, which aim at maintaining high editorial standards, including impartiality, accuracy, fairness and privacy (ibid).

In embracing social media, the BBC has been cautious and slower than other news organizations like Al-Jazeera. It has a policy of encouraging the use of social media while understanding the risks it might involve. The BBC has published details guidelines on the use of social media and it keeps updating them in response to an evolving media environment. As per the BBC's official website, the organization's social media strategy relies on the following:

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[43] Ofcom is an independent regulator and competition authority for the UK communications industries.

> "BBC engaging with users on the sites where they go, in the conversations they are having, off bbc.co.uk as much as on bbc.co.uk, in part so that users who may consume little or no BBC content can discover for themselves and enjoy more of what we have to offer."
> (BBC, 2013)

Social media played a significant role in several major news stories covered by the BBC such as the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks, the 2009 Iranian elections, and the Arab uprisings. However, it was the London bombing attacks in 2005, known as 7/7 when the BBC started embracing social media in the coverage. While journalists were unable to access the sites of the bombings, shortly after the attacks, they started receiving texts, videos and images from Internet users who witnessed what happened at the site of the events. It was a new phenomenon and made BBC journalists well aware of the power of social media and audience participation (Belair-Gagnon, 2013).

Through out its long history, the BBC has attracted media researchers who are keen to examine different aspects of the network's production and its performance in covering local and international news. To many media scholars, the BBC's international recognition as a trusted news provider is the outcome of a history of struggle to maintain the values of impartiality, objectivity and independence, away from government control and political bias.[44] During the war in Iraq in 2003, the BBC won new viewers at the expense of other news organizations like CNN whose coverage was perceived as biased (Seib, 2005).

> "During the war, BBC World's ratings increased 28 percent in the United States, with its programs being watched in 662,000 US households. Around the globe, BBC World reaches 254 million homes in 200 countries." (ibid, p. 13)

The governing body of the BBC itself, the BBC Trust, issues reports assessing its impartiality and accuracy in covering significant issues. In June

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[44] Towards the end of the war in Iraq and as the Iraqi media were rebuilt, Anthony Border, executive director of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, urged Iraq to take the BBC as a model, with a board of governors that would set guidelines for operations and content. "Borden warned that highly partisan media organizations might reflect the country's new freedom, but in a transitional system they could foster a "vendetta journalism" that might provoke violence and impede national reconstruction." (Seib, 2005, p. 16).

2012, the BBC Trust issued a report, which is pertinent to the research topic of this thesis, reviewing the impartiality of the BBC"s coverage of the "Arab Spring". As per the report:

> "The Trust chose this subject because of its importance and because of the complexity of deciding how to organise impartial coverage in a fast-moving story across a range of conflicting voices eager to command world attention." (BBC Trust, 2012, p. 1)

One of the significant findings of the report is that opposition voices predominated in stories in terms of numbers interviewed and in the length of time, but in the Trust"s view, BBC has achieved due impartiality in the coverage because it reflected "the strength of feeling on the ground and give due weight to it" and included "the voices of the government under scrutiny where appropriate" (ibid).

CNN

Media researchers studying international news organizations recognize CNN for being the first global news provider. Its coverage of the first Gulf War in 1991 made it known internationally and affirmed its position as a major supplier of international news, particularly breaking news (Williams, 2011).

> "CNN pioneered the use of new media technology such as portable satellite newsgathering equipment, cellular phones and miniature cameras to bring instant and immediate coverage of breaking events such as the Tiananmen Square massacre, the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Gulf War." (ibid, p. 74)

By 1992, CNN gained over 53 million viewers in 138 countries (ibid). CNN's success as an international news provider encouraged other news organizations to offer international service (Gilboa, 2005). BBC followed CNN and launched its BBC World Service in 1994. By 2007, CNN increased its international network, operating 36 bureaus around the world, employing 150 correspondents, and reaching a global audience of 260 million households (Williams, 2011). CNN online news site is the fourth-largest news and information organization in worldwide traffic (Financial Times, May 25,

2012).[45] In 2008, CNN launched iReport.com, where anyone can post a story, add hyperlinks, audio, video and up to ten images with each post.

> "It became especially popular following the controversial 2009 election in Iran. From June 13-18 iReport received 4,919 submissions from citizens. Posts on Iran helped the site to generate more than 11 million page views in 5 days." (CNN, January 25, 2011)

CNN coverage of the first Gulf War in 1991 and then its coverage of other major events such as the second Gulf War, the war in Afghanistan, the Somali civil war and the Balkans' conflicts were examined in several media studies. Many of these studies focused on what some media scholars called "the CNN effect', which refers to the media ability to affect foreign policy through their global and real time coverage of crisis and conflicts. According to Gilboa (2005), the CNN effect first appeared in connection with CNN's coverage of Saddam Husein's atrocities against the Kurdish rebellion in 1991. Some media scholars argued that it was CNN's coverage that urged the US and the UK to assist the Kurds against Saddam. Also, some journalists and scholars argued that the CNN effect "altered decision-making processes in defense and foreign affairs" and intervene particularly in humanitarian disasters (ibid).

Several media scholars, however, critiqued the impact of CNN's coverage of major conflicts and wars in the last decade and saw a less positive 'CNN effect'. Their criticism focused on two issues: what they described as CNN-ization of the coverage and CNN controlling of the narrative. They argue that post CNN emergence as an international news provider and instead of having a diversified global news market, a CNN-ization' of television news took place with old and new media outlets adopting CNN's style of coverage. Also, Thussu (2003) argued that CNN coverage of the first Gulf War in 1991 created an obsession, among many international news organizations after CNN, with high-tech war reporting at the expenses of life lost and property destroyed.

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[45] CNN news sites came fourth behind the combined networks of Yahoo and ABC, and those of New York Times and the AOL Huffington Post Media Group, according to ComScore, a digital marketing intelligence supplier (Financial Times, May 25, 2012).

> "CNN's coverage of the Gulf War, for the first time in history, brought military conflict into living rooms across the globe. In the hi-tech, virtual presentation of war, cockpit videos of 'precision bombings' of Iraqi targets were supplied to television networks by the Pentagon, thus presenting a major conflict, responsible for huge destruction of life and property 'as a painless Nintendo exercise, and the image of Americans as virtuous, clean warriors.'"(Thussu, 2003, p. 124)

Also, El-Nawawy and Powers (2008) critiqued CNN's coverage for controlling the narrative about the war saying that as CNN depended on the US military as the main source for information about the war, its coverage and narrative carried the views of the US administration. They argued that CNN coverage of the second Gulf War, which also depended on US military, resulted in a relatively large coalition of supporters for the invasion and created a news discourse supporting for military action in Iraq (El-Nawawy and Powers, 2008). Hafez (2004) shared a similar view of CNN's coverage of the Gulf War. He analyzed the coverage of one afternoon on CNN to find out that it was full of voices from the pro-war forces and it ignored the fact that there were anti-war demonstrations in different parts of the world. The anti-war voices were almost absent from the coverage (Hafez, 2004).

Similar to the wave of media studies in the 1990s that focused on CNN's coverage of the Gulf war and other conflicts in the last decade, the coverage of the Arab uprisings has been generating numerous studies, but without having CNN in the center of this attention. Instead, social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter, have been the focus of academic and non-academic writings since the beginning of the Arab uprising in December 2010. Nevertheless, CNN, as one of the major international news providers, remained visible mostly in comparative coverage studies, next to other international news organizations like BBC and Al-Jazeera (Fornaciari, 2011; Robertson, 2012; Mera & Papachariss, 2013; Aday et al., 2013). While the CNN has moved away from the centre of media research, and has been replaced by social media, 'CNN effect' is still alive in the discussions. With the military

intervention in Libya and a possible one in Syria, there are attempts to "retro-fit the CNN effect" into the scene of the Arab uprisings, while replacing CNN with social media (Sommer, 2012).

Russia Today (RT)

Russia Today, launched in 2005, is one of the major international news providers that belong to the new communication and information order. It was launched under the motto 'Russia Today, From Russia to the World.' It is government funded, with an annual budget of $30 million (Rotheray, 2010).

According to its official news site, Russia Today consists of three global news channels broadcasting in English, Spanish and Arabic, in addition to RT America, which broadcasts from Washington, and a documentary channel, beside its multi-lingual news site. It started offering its news in Arabic via different platforms in 2007 under the Arabic title 'Rusiya al-Yaum'. It has now a network of 22 bureaus in 19 countries and employs over 1000 media professionals. "RT has a global reach of over 630 million people in 100+ countries, or more than 28% of all cable subscribers worldwide." (RT, 2013)

To some media scholars, Russia Today is seen as one of 'the counter-hegemonic providers', as it attempts to break the Western control over the flow of news around the world, and presents the events from a Russian perspective. "This is the 'Russian equivalent to CNN or a kind of Russian BBC', offering international news 'from a Russian perspective'." (Rotheray, 2010) However, with the Kremlin's financial support to the organization, such a Russian perspective of the world is critiqued for promoting the Russian government's views.[46] Also, Painter (2007) notes that Russia Today's coverage of international affairs, particularly of the Middle East, "gives a Russia slant to the news" He argues it is a Russian news organization designed to promote Putin's views, with limited criticism to his policies. Similar to Painter's

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[46] "Its start-up and annual running costs of around US$30m were nominally provided 50 per cent by state money and 50 per cent by commercial banks, but in reality it was the Kremlin who was funding it. It was part of a process by which banks and companies friendly to the government are encouraged to invest in 'national projects'. (Painter, 2007, p. 18)

criticism, Ioffe (2010) argues that Russia Today has an identity crisis and it is torn between being a propaganda tool for the Russian government and its ambition to compete in a fast growing and highly competitive market of international news providers.

> "There are the strictures of loosely defined Kremlin dogma. "On one hand, Russia Today is supposed to compete with Xinhua and Al Jazeera," says Masha Lipman, an analyst with the Moscow Carnegie Center. "On the other hand, it has to show a positive image of Russia, and, if you're competing with Al Jazeera, this second function gets in the way…Unlike the Chinese international networks that are tapping into the burgeoning business interest in China, as well as into a large Chinese diaspora, or Al Jazeera, which broadcasts to a broader Islamic universe, Russia can claim neither of these footholds."(ibid)

Although Russia Today has been around since 2005, there have been very few studies on its coverage of the world affairs.[47] Hsu (2010) presented one of these few but significant studies on Russia Today's coverage of a number of international events. Hsu analysed a sample of its news programs to find out how the coverage of international news events was framed to reposition Russia's international role. Hsu pointed out that Russia Today's coverage of international events was strongly affected by its Cold War history. There was always an imaginary enemy, the US, and it was to be blamed for whatever went wrong in the world. Hsu also criticised Russia Today for its elite-sourcing practice.

> "Only one or two persons were interviewed on each story and they are all the Moscow elites. Whose view could represent the nation? Also, when reporting the international issues, a professional journalists or producer should present various views." (Hsu, 2010)

Similar to Painter's observations and Hsu's study, several media analysts criticize Russia Today's coverage of the Arab uprisings, particularly the Syrian conflict. Ofcom criticized the channel for lack of balance and due

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[47] "No independent studies have been made of its content or reach." (Painter, 2007, p. 24)

impartiality (Malpas, 2013; Ofcom, 2012). Nevertheless, a report by Der Spiegel (August 12, 2013) mentioned that Russia Today is gaining popularity in the US and across Europe, reasserting its position as an international news provider.

> "In Washington, 13 times as many people watch the Russian program as those that tune into Deutsche Welle, Germany's public international broadcaster. Two million Britons watch the Kremlin channel regularly. Its online presence is also more successful than those of all its competitors. What's more, in June, Russia Today broke a YouTube record by being the first TV station to get a billion views of its videos."(ibid)

XINHUA

XINHUA network is the major provider of national and international news in China, being the official news agency of the Chinese government and also running China's biggest news site, XINHUAnet. It is not only the main supplier of news to Chinese media, electronic and print, but it is also the main source of news about China for foreign news organizations (Barrett, 2008). During the Egyptian Revolution, XINHUA was the only source of news about Egypt that Chinese media outlets were allowed to use. According to Christian Science Monitor (February 1, 2011), the Chinese government issued orders limiting press coverage of the Egyptian Revolution. Chinese media outlets were not allowed to translate foreign media coverage about the revolution and were forced to use XINHUA only.

> "All media nationwide must use Xinhua's reporting on the Egyptian riots," read a directive issued last Friday, referring to the state run Xinhua news agency." (Christian Science Monitor, February 1, 2011)

XINHUA describes itself as "an important information organ of the central government" that also focuses on "setting a good image of China abroad". It provides news services in seven languages and has 150 bureaus around the world (Shen, 2013). Under the name 'Red China', it was founded in 1931 in Ruijin, Jiangxi province, mainly to run Red China newspaper and

anther internal government publication, and to broadcast national and international news across the country. Red China was a news media organization with a unique structure during this time as it offered multi news services (Xin, 2006).

> "Red China was considered as a mixture of news agency and newspaper. The organizational structure of the agency Red China and the newspaper Red China overlapped...The agency was also responsible for broadcasting news through telegraph radio to the outside world and collecting outside news from the army radio, controlled by the Nationalist government's Central News Agency." (ibid, p. 4)

Red China was renamed 'XINHUA' in 1937 and continued to enjoy a privileged status, granted by the government, in reporting international and politically sensitive news while maintaining its main function of promoting the Communist Party (Xin, 2006). XINHUA's style of coverage started to change in the 1980s when it worked to become less dependent on government finance (Barrettt, 2008). Horvit (2006) argues that as XINHUA was ambitious to compete with major international news providers, it stared to produce more credible and less biased reports and to raise its editorial standards and daily news production. Towards gaining more financial independence, in the late 1980s and the 1990s, XINHUA launched additional services that generate income including public relations, consultancy, book publishing, advertising and real estate (Xin, 2006).

XINHUA launched its news sites 'XINHUAnet' in 1997, which publishes online news in eight languages, Chinese (simplified and traditional), English, French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Japanese and Tibetan. Also, as per its official website, using multimedia communication means, such as texts, photos, graphics, audio messages, video, blogs, podcast, microblog, short messages, and cell phones, XINHUA's news can reach directly and instantly to its audiences wherever they are (XINHUA, 2013). A report by Wall Street Journal described XINHUAanet as one of China's most colorful state-run media websites.

> "Xinhuanet.com offers everything from predictable news on senior Chinese leaders' whereabouts to photos of "breathtaking models" and how certain Japanese women tattoo themselves." (WSJ, January 7, 2013)

Adding to its international profile, XINHUA launched trials of its English-language television news channel (CNC) in 2010 with the aim of reaching a global audience (Rotheray, 2010).

Similar to the case of Russia Today, there are not many studies that focus on XINHUA's performance and try to analyze its coverage despite its significance as a major provider of news about China and as the major supplier of international news to the Chinese media. XINHUA and Russia Today, as several non-Western news organizations, have been overlooked by media researchers. Barrett (2008) argues that XINHUA may not be competing with the Western international news organizations, but the scale of its work is impressive.

> "Xinhuanet.com (established in 1997) claims to be among the world's news websites behind BBC and CNN, and ahead of REUTERS, AP and AFP and among the top ten media brands in China." (Barrettt, 2008, p. 59)

Horvit (2006) produced a significant study on XINHUA where he compared its coverage of the second Gulf War in 2003 to the coverage of AP, Agence France Presse, Reuters, ITAR-TASS and Inter Press Service. Horvit pointed out that Xinhua's coverage was balanced and China's anti-war position was not reflected on the tone of the coverage.

> "Xinhua, at least in its English-language articles available via Lexis-Nexis, did not show a national or regional bias. Furthermore, Xinhua's coverage was much more balanced – in terms of presenting positive and negative information about US policy – than either ITAR-TASS or IPS. In other words, Xinhua acted more as a western agency might be expected to perform." (ibid)

Horvit (ibid) also looked at the sourcing practices of the selected news agencies and found out that "More than 89 percent of the explicit sources used by ITAR-TASS were government officials, compared with between 70 and 76 percent for Xinhua and the three western news agencies." Horvit (ibid) said he was also surprised to see XINHUA, which is a state-controlled agency, relying on a slightly lower percentage of official sources than did AP, which is an independent news agency.

Similar to Horvit's study, Hearns-Branaman (2009) looked at the sourcing practices in XINHUA's and Reuters' coverage of the visit of President Hu Jintao to a number of African countries in 2007. However, the findings of the study were different from Horvit's. Hearns-Branaman's study demonstrated that official (elite) sourcing is widely practiced in XINHUA and Reuters with every news story using at least one governmental source. Also, XINHUA relied entirely on Chinese government or non-opposition party African governmental sources while Reuters used a more diverse range of sources, but with the majority (70%) being governmental sources (Hearns-Branaman, 2009).

A more recent study by Chen, et al. (2012) gave findings that conflict with Hearns-Branaman's findings. Chen, et al. (ibid) examined the interaction between public relations practitioners and journalists, through analysing the sourcing practices of a number of Chinese media outlets including XINHUA. One of the study's pertinent findings was identifying an emerging trend in sourcing practices where non-official sources start to be more visible in the coverage though news coverage in Chinese newspapers is known to be predominantly relying on the interaction between journalist and official sources. Chen, et al. (ibid) argues that this trend corresponds well to the Chinese government's growing tolerance of public participation and dissenting voices.

> "Neither were we surprised to find that civilian sources exhibit increasing involvement in and influence on newspapers. Such news sources are transforming from a silent or weak voice to subordinate majority….even though its involvement width is about a half of that of

the government." (Chen, et al. 2012, p. 703)

The shortage in media studies that focus on non-Western news organizations and the conflicting findings of the few studies that were done leave a gap in media literature. More empirical studies that examine the news coverage and the performance of significant news organizations like Russia Today and XINHUA are needed to fill in this gap.

Chapter Two presents the case study 'the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events' and profiles main parties involved in the case 'SCAF', group and individual activists on social media, and the five selected news organizations. As the thesis comparatively examines the news coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events by these news organizations, content analysis was used to analyze a sample of news stories published on the Arabic and the English news sites of five news organizations: Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA. The content (quantitative) analysis was integrated with textual (qualitative) analysis; to examine a sample of posts by activists on their social media platforms (Facebook and Twitter). The analysis method was then supported with a survey as a secondary research method. Targeting journalists and activists, the survey aimed to collect insights about the role of social media in enhancing the relationship between journalists and activists. The coming chapter, titled 'Integrated Research Methods, Going Beyond News Text' explains the research methods used and how they correspond to the research questions.

Chapter Three: Integrated Research Methods, Going Beyond News Text

The complexity of examining the impact of an evolving relationship between news organizations and activists on the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated requires integrating several research methods. A text-based research method is needed to analyse the news coverage given to the Egyptian Revolution by the selected news organizations. Also, an information and insights-collecting method is needed to reveal how news stakeholders perceive their relationship and its impact on their work. This chapter explains in details the research methods used in this thesis, including the sampling rationale and the significance of each method to the research. It is divided into four parts. The first part gives a critical view of the research methods considered. The second part explains the comparative news analysis, as the primary research method, while the third part focuses on surveying views of news stakeholders, as the secondary research method. The chapter is concluded with the research difficulties.

A critical view of research methods considered

Media studies aiming to evaluate news organizations' coverage of certain events require research techniques that enable the researcher to analyse texts, images, or selected materials and make inferences. The analysis of content, known as content analysis, is an established research method that enables media researchers to perform this task. Content analysis, in its broad meaning, can also be used to examine a wide spectrum of communication content related to different fields of studies such as psychology, sociology, political science and media studies (Krippendorff, 2004). Holsti (1969) broadly defined content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectivity identifying specific characteristics of messages." Also, Bernard and Ryan (1998) gave a similar comprehensive definition of content analysis and its techniques:

> "Content analysis comprises techniques for reducing the symbol-laden artifacts produced by human behavior (including, but not limited to texts) to a unit-by-variable matrix and analyzing that matrix quantitatively in order to test hypotheses…In addition to written text, the

> symbol-laden artifacts of human effort include television sit-coms, political cartoons, advertisements, song lyrics, and clay pots. The object is to test hypotheses about the producers of the symbolic artifacts, the consumers, or both." (Bernard and Ryan, 1998, p. 610)

Content analysis is particularly popular and significant for media and communication studies with many theories and theoretical approaches, deploying it as their prime research method. Media content analysis was introduced as early as 1927 when Harold Lasswell used it to study propaganda and since then it has been developing into a significant research method for media studies (Macnamara, 2005).

> "Media content analysis became increasingly popular as a research methodology during the 1920s and 1930s for investigating the rapidly expanding communication content of movies. In the 1950s, media content analysis proliferated as a research methodology in mass communication studies and social sciences with the arrival of television. Media content analysis has been a primary research method for studying portrayals of violence, racism and women in television programming as well as in films." (Macnamara, 2005, p.1).

In the 1940s, Paul Lazersfeld and his research team at Columbia University deployed content analysis in a significant study, where he analysed quantitatively and qualitatively press and radio coverage of the presidential elections between Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Wilkie. He used content analysis to measure balance through counting and comparing the stories that covered each presidential candidate and used textual analysis to assess text for impartiality. Lazersfeld's study established precedent for assessing news text in terms of balance and impartiality using content and textual analysis (Stavitsky and Dvorkin, 2007).

In content analysis, methodologically, text is the starting point and it distinguishes this technique from other research methods. The words of arts, images, maps, sounds, signs, symbols of even numerical records may be considered texts (Krippendorff, 2004). Accordingly, Krippendorff (ibid) defines content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and

valid inferences from text (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use."

Media scholars use content analysis to perform a systematic reading of news text. The systematic reading of a body of texts that the content analysis method provides narrows the range of possible inferences and help researchers find answers to specific research questions (Krippendorff, 2012). It breaks down the components of a text into countable units that could also be categorized to help the researcher identify patterns, practices or effects (Mckee, 2004). Therefore, content analysis goes beyond the impressionistic observations about a phenomenon to quantitatively express it in numbers or percentages (Prasad, 2008).

Though content analysis is particularly helpful for comparative studies of news coverage as it allows the researcher to systematically repeat the process across different news outlets, its quantitative nature makes some media scholars argue that it has some limitations. Content analysis is critiqued for "decontextualization of words from the discourse being examined" when the focus is on the mere counts of words. Therefore, some researchers resort to integrating quantitative content analysis with other research techniques (Wilson, 1993). To deal with what is seen as shortcomings of quantitative content analysis, Freitas et al. (1998) suggests merging two types of quantitative analysis: direct and indirect. The direct quantitative analysis consists of counting the responses as they appear in text, and the indirect quantitative analysis goes beyond what is obvious to look for a subtler interpretation. Freitas (ibid) argues that the indirect interpretation of text is not only related to the qualitative world, but it can be supported perfectly in a quantified context. Recent applications of content analysis are stretched to include both types.

> "Although initially limited to studies that examined text
> for the frequency of the occurrence of identified terms
> (word count), by the mid-1950're researchers were
> already starting to consider the need for more
> sophisticated methods of analysis, focusing on concepts

rather than simply words, and on semantic relationship
rather than just presence (de Sola Pool 1959)." (CSU,
2004, p. 2)

Prasad (2008) also argues that content analysis, though predominantly
quantitative, can capture qualitative content. "The context-sensitivity of the
method will be useful in articulating the qualitative dimensions such as for
example, the direction of coverage of news items as favorable or unfavorable."
(Prasad, 2008) Similarly, Hsieh and Shannon (2005) gave a broader view of
content analysis when they argued that it is extended to contain both
quantitative and qualitative analysis of different types of content. They
describe content analysis as s "a family of analytic approaches ranging from
impressionistic, intuitive, interpretive analyses to systematic, strict textual
analyses," and argue that it is the researcher's theoretical and substantive
interests that determine the specific type of content analysis he or she should
choose.

To some media scholars, content analysis is still criticized for its
inability to reveal connections between all research variables. Van Dijk, (1988)
argues that lexical meanings of words are not independent and it is not
satisfying to only know them. For example, in complex media studies that are
extended beyond analyzing news text to studying news impact on audience or
the relationship between news stakeholders (journalists, sources and
audiences), researchers cannot rely on content analysis alone. As a research
method, content analysis needs to be complimented with other research
methods that investigate what is beyond news text. Next to content analysis,
some media scholars tend to use interviews, focus groups, ethnography or
surveys. The nature of the research topic and what the researcher aims to
explore determine which research methods work together to serve the purpose.

As this thesis comparatively examines the news coverage of the
Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, an integrated content-textual
analysis fits well as the primary research method. With four of the research
questions **(see Table 3)** seeking to reveal changes in practices in news
coverage of the Egyptian Revolution, which entails analysing sampled news

texts from the selected news organizations, content analysis was primarily deployed. Choosing content/textual analysis as the prime research method over other research methods gives the advantage of focusing the research efforts on the systematic examination of large sample of data and identifying similarities, differences and other features of text that would reveal the emergence or lack of certain patterns. Also, content/textual analysis, unlike other research methods like interviews or focus groups, enables researchers to evaluate 'news stories' as "independent end products" and focus on the elements of the products that would affect the way 'news consumers' perceive the stories, such as headlines, leads and sources. Content analysis was used in the thesis to quantitatively analyze a sample of 913 news stories published on the Arabic and the English news sites of five news organizations: Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA. The content (quantitative) analysis was integrated with textual qualitative analysis to examine a sample of 1989 posts by activists on their social media platforms (Facebook and Twitter). By integrating quantitative and qualitative analysis, the aim was to explore possible lexical consonance between the two categories: news stories and activists' posts.[48]

The integrated content-textual analysis method was then complemented with a survey as a secondary research method. Survey is a useful technique for collecting information and insights about what people know and how they use what they know. It takes the researcher beyond text to understand issues surrounding the production of text and its impact and consequences. The survey technique, based on two sets of questionnaires that targeted journalists and activists, was used to collect insights about the role of social-media in reshaping the relationship between journalists and activists. In my view, the survey served two purposes. First, it was an effective method of collecting insights and information about news stakeholders' (journalists and activists) perceptions of the issues examined, which helped answer the fifth research

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[48] Prior to commencing a large-scale study, I needed to conduct a pilot study that looked at a small sample of news stories of Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA and of activists' posts on social media. The pilot study aimed to achieve two main objectives: designing a methodology to conduct quantitative and qualitative analysis of SCAF coverage, and testing the proposed methodology on a small sample of news stories to reach initial readings of the proposed study. The pilot study is attached in the thesis' appendix.

question. **(see Table 3)** Second, the results of the survey were used to verify the findings of the content analysis.

Survey was among a number of similar research techniques considered to complement the content analysis. These research methods included interviews, focus groups and ethnography. In my view, survey has the advantages of flexibility and practicality over other similar research methods, such as interviews and focus groups, while it still serves the purpose of collecting information and insights. Surveys could be sent online and offline to journalists and activists regardless of their geographical locations and do not require special arrangements in terms of scheduled times and locations, unlike interviews and focus groups. It was difficult to arrange interviews or focus groups with journalists, who covered the Egyptian Revolution, particularly foreign correspondents, because many of them were not originally stationed in Egypt. They were sent by their news organizations to cover the Egyptian Revolution and were then moved back to their original locations. Also, it was difficult to use the ethnography method considering that the study covered the Arabic and English news sites of five news organizations, Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA.[49] Ethnography is a research technique borrowed from anthropologists allowing media scholars to be embedded into a particular culture or context to understand the communication process in useful and insightful ways (Horset, et.al. 2012). Conducting ethnographic studies for five news organizations, that are geographically distant, requires lengthy time that goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

As explained earlier in chapter one, this thesis examines the impact of an evolving relationship between news organizations and cyber political activists on the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, with the aim of revealing practices pertinent to journalist-source relationship,

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[49] Each of these news organizations is based in a different country and sometimes their Arabic newsrooms are based in another country. Al-Jazeera Arabic and English newsrooms are based in Doha. BBC Arabic and English newsrooms are based in London. CNN English newsroom is based in Atlanta, US, while its Arabic newsroom is based in Dubai, UAE. RT Arabic and English newsrooms are based in Moscow. XINHUA English Arabic newsrooms are based in Beijing.

and to human rights reporting. The research aims to answer the questions listed in table (3).

Table (3): List of research questions and research methods

	Research Questions	Research Methods
Q1	How were SCAF-associated events covered by the selected news organizations, in terms of voices cited in headlines and leads, and source attribution?	Quantitative Content Analysis
Q2	To what extent did the coverage of SCAF-associated events by the selected news organizations reveal sourcing practices?	Quantitative Content Analysis
Q3	To what extent did social media tools, particularly Facebook and Twitter, influence the relationship between activists and journalists covering the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events?	Qualitative Textual Analysis
Q4	To what extent did the sourcing practices and an evolving journalist-activist relationship lead to conflict reporting that is more centered on human rights violations?	Quantitative Content Analysis and Qualitative Textual Analysis
Q5	How do different news stakeholders perceive the role of social media in reshaping their relationship and its impact on their work?	Surveys

Comparative News Analysis of selected news sites

Similar to other established research methods, content analysis involves specific steps. It starts with the formulation of the research questions, which determine the communication content or media materials needed to examine; to answer these questions. Once the communication content is selected, a representative sample of the content is chosen. The researcher then develops content analysis techniques that involve determining units of analysis and content categories. A coding routine, and a coding plan are then followed. Data aggregation is the last step in the process followed by thorough interpretation of findings (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006; Prasad, 2008).

Selecting media materials and sampling

To be able to find answers to the questions listed above (except question five), the researcher needed to select media content from news stories published on the news sites of selected news organizations, and from entries posted on social media platforms by activists. But selecting media materials for content analysis requires specifying a topic area and a time period (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Among all details and many events that surrounded the Egyptian Revolution over the past three years, a more defined issue with a manageable cluster of significant events was needed for the purpose of this research. I chose to focus on the coverage given to the interim military rule of Egypt, the Egyptian Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), and its associated events.

As explained earlier, though undoubtedly toppling Mubarak's regime was a turning point in the history of the Egyptian uprising, news media focused on SCAF not only because events associated with the interim rule collectively represented a crucial transitional stage to a new democratic Egypt, but also because of their dramatic nature of re-occurring bloody clashes and violence between the January 25th activists and the ruling military regime. Focusing on SCAF gives a more defined issue with a cluster of associated events to examine, and an extended time frame, for 18 months, between January 2011 and June 2012. For sampling, the Arabic and the English news sites of each of the five selected news organizations (Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA) were scanned for SCAF-driven news coverage for the period between January 25th 2011 and June 30th 2012. The search recorded 13 weeks of relative heavy coverage intensity (50+ stories per week). When the highlighted (13) weeks were mapped to Egypt's 2011-2012 timeline of SCAF-associated events, the number of weeks went up to 21. In each of the 21 weeks, at least one major SCAF-associated event had happened as **Table (4)** shows and minimums of 40 news stories were published, as **Figure (1)** demonstrates. This means that two factors determined the sample: SCAF-media coverage intensity of 40+ stories per week, and Egypt's 2011-2012 timeline of SCAF-associated events.

Table (4): Weeks of heavy coverage intensity and SCAF-associated events

Week	Events
Feb 2011-Week 2	Mubarak Forced out, Interim military council (SCAF) took over
Feb 2001-Week 3	Military forces violently dispersed Tahrir's sit-in
March 2011-Week 1	Shafiq resigned, SCAF appointed new prime minister, Essam Sharaf
March 2011-Week 2	Violent clashes in Tahrir, army arrested hundreds of protesters
March 2011-Week 3	SCAF criminalizes protests and strikes. Activist Nabil arrested.
April 2011-Week 2	Protests against SCAF, military clashed with protesters in Tahrir
October 2011-Week 2	The Maspero clashes, scores of Coptic protesters killed and injured
November 2011-Week 3	Mohamed Mahmoud clashes, PM Essam Sharaf resigned
November 2011-Week 4	SCAF appointed new PM, called for People's Assembly elections
December 2011-Week 3	Cabinet's clashes, army's beating & stripping of a female protester
January 2012 -Week 4	Elected People's Assembly convened
February 2012 -Week 1	79 people killed in football match riot in Port Said
February 2012 -Week 2	NGOs' crisis
April 2012-Week 4	SPEC [50] reversed disqualifying Shafiq as presidential candidate
May 2012 - Week 1	Abbasiya's (Ministry of Defence) clashes
May 2012 -Week 3	First round of presidential elections
May 2012-Week 4	SCAF decided not to renew emergency law
June 2012-Week 1	Mubarak, interior minister sentenced to life in prison
June 2012-Week 2	Supreme Constitutional Court dissolved Parliament, military locked the building
June 2012-Week 3	Second run-off presidential elections, SCAF issued decree granting itself more power
June 2012-Week 4	SPEC declared Muslim Brothers' Candidate's president

[50] SPEC is Egypt's Supreme Presidential Elections Committee, a body appointed by SCAF to regulate presidential elections.

Figure (1): SCAF-coverage intensity in Arabic and English news sites
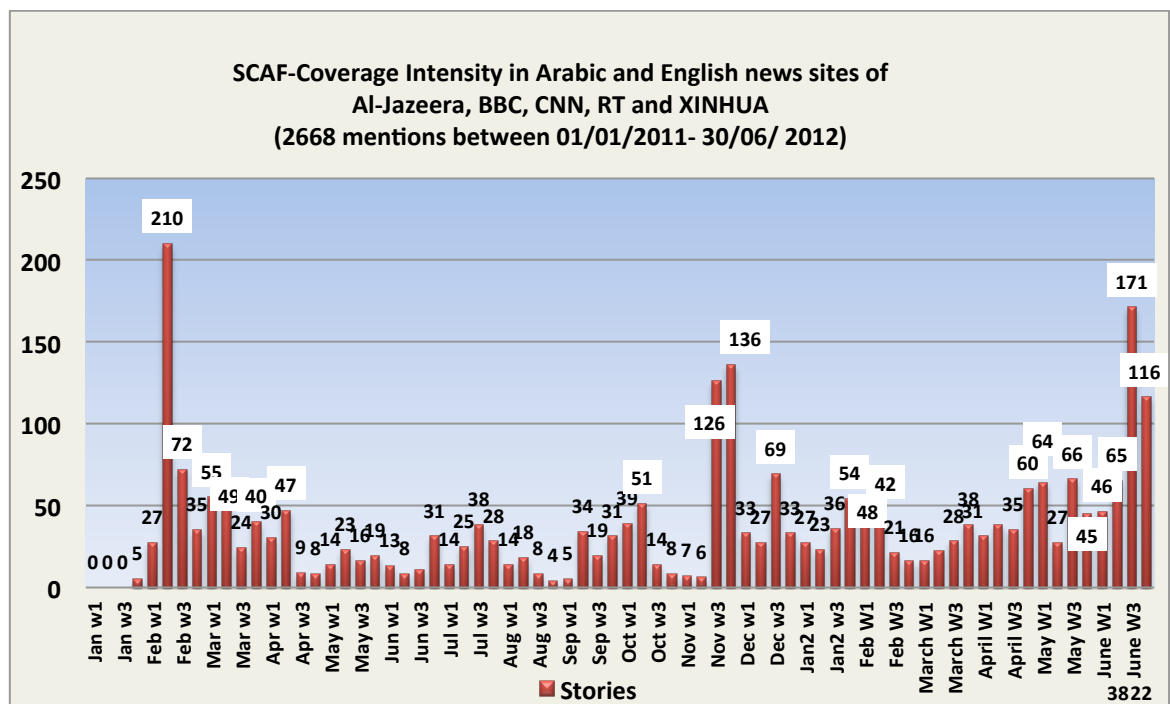
SCAF-Coverage Intensity in Arabic and English news sites of
Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA
(2668 mentions between 01/01/2011- 30/06/ 2012)

Using the key search words: SCAF, Egypt's Supreme Council of Armed Forces, Egypt's army, Egypt's military and Egypt's military council, a total of 913 news stories were retrieved from the online archives of the Arabic and the English news sites of the five selected news organizations. A total of 494 news stories were retrieved from the Arabic news sites and a total of 419 news stories were retrieved from the English news sites.[51] The online search within each news site was repeated several times using the key search words in Arabic and English languages (SCAF, Egypt's Supreme Council of Armed Forces, Egypt's army, Egypt's military and Egypt's military council). Table (5) shows a list of the key search words in English and in Arabic.

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[51] Being a bilingual (Arabic-English) researcher, I translated the Arabic news stories and activists' Arabic posts myself. For each Arabic news story, I entered the translated text into the analysis form (table 8).

Table (5): List of the key search words in English and in Arabic

Arabic Key Search Words	English Key Search Words
سكاف	SCAF
المجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة المصرية	Egypt's Supreme Council of Armed Forces
الجيش المصري	Egypt's army
العسكر	Egypt's military
المجلس العسكري	Egypt's military council

Results given were then filtered to correspond to the weeks specified and to the analysis units (news stories). Opinion pieces, commentaries, features, and repeated and irrelevant news stories were eliminated. Examples of irrelevant news stories eliminated were news on the Syrian Army, the Libyan military and the Supreme Council of People's Republic of China. Table (6) below shows the sample distribution across the Arabic and the English news sites of the five selected news organizations.

Table (6): Sample distribution across the Arabic and the English news sites

News Site	Arabic	English	Total
Al Jazeera	146	69	215
BBC	93	101	194
CNN	60	81	141
RT	61	63	124
XINHUA	134	105	239
Total	494	419	913

The same time frame and the same key search words (SCAF, Egypt's Supreme Council of Armed Forces, Egypt's army, Egypt's military and Egypt's military council) were applied to extract samples of online entries posted by two groups, 'the April 6th Movement' and 'We are all Khaled Said', on their Facebook pages, and by eleven activists on their Twitter accounts. A total of 1989 entries by group and individual activists were retrieved and analysed for their lexical choices of key phrases and statements describing SCAF and its practices, explained earlier in Chapter One.

Entries to the Facebook pages of 'the April 6th Movement' and 'We are all Khaled Said' were retrieved from www.archivedbook.com It is a third party

application that retrieves old posts on the timeline of any Facebook profile. It is a free service limited to registered Facebook users and can be accessed only via Facebook logon. Posts retrieved by Archivedbook is not searchable, and the researcher had to manually filtered all entries to extract a sample of posts that mentioned any of the key search words within the defined timeframe.

Entries (tweets) made by activists on their Twitter accounts were retrieved from the Twitter site itself using its advanced search features that enable users to limit their search to certain Twitter accounts and specific search words or hashtags. As it lacks the feature of searching within a certain timeframe, Tweets retrieved had to be manually filtered to limit them to the timeframe of the research. Twitter advanced search features do not retrieve old tweets deleted by account owners and deactivated accounts. Another social media search and an analysis web-based tool, www.topsy.com, was used to complement Twitter advance search features. However, it did not yield different results as long as the tweets were deleted from the original accounts on Twitter or the accounts have been deactivated. This explains the limited number of retrieved tweets of an influential activist like Wael Ghonim. Also, another influential activist, Asmaa Mahfouz, who deactivated her Twitter account during the analysis period, had limited number of tweets included in the study, and they are limited to the ones retrieved prior to her deactivation decision. Despite their limited number of tweets, Wael Ghonim and Asmaa Mahfouz were two out of 13 group and individual activists whose posts on their social media platforms provided sufficient content for lexical analysis. Table (7) shows social media sample distribution across the selected group and individual activists' accounts.

Table (7): Social media sample distribution

	Group/Individual Activist	Number of entries
1	April 6th Movement	323
2	We are all Khaled Said	155
3	Wael Ghonim	47
4	Gigi Ibrahim	239
5	Mona Saif	98
6	Alaa Abdel Fattah	162
7	Sand Monkey	119
8	Asmaa Mahfouz	69
9	Esraa Abdel Fatah	51
10	Hossam Al Hamalawy	257
11	Zeinobia	218
12	Nawara Negm	106
13	Wael Abbas	157

The Content Analysis techniques and the Coding Routine

A news analysis form, which was used also as a coding sheet, was designed to serve both the content quantitative analysis and an integrated quantitative - qualitative textual analysis. (see Table 8) For the quantitative content analysis, the form specifies three coverage elements: the dominant voices in headlines, the main players in leads and the sources used in stories. The reasons for focusing on these elements are related to the news structure and to the nature of the events covered. For news structure, news stories are written in an inverted pyramid style where the headline and the lead provide the most significant aspects of the news. For the nature of the events covered, the Egyptian Revolution and its aftermath generated complex events and a multi-sided conflict. Though the early days of the revolution had two visible conflicting sides (Mubarak's regime and January 25th activists), after Mubarak's regime collapsed and SCAF took over, new sides entered the conflict. The Egyptian Revolution and its aftermath became a multi-voiced and multi-sourced story. Next to many groups of activists and movements associated with the January 25th Revolution, SCAF replaced Mubarak as a ruling regime, a Mubarak-appointed government conflicted with activists and forced to resign to be

followed by a revolutionary government and then a SCAF-appointed government, beside old and new political parties were involved. Therefore, for the purpose of exploring practices in the coverage, it is significant to examine how news stories reflected the multi-voiced and multi-sourced nature of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The quantitative analysis of voices cited in headlines and leads, and source attribution aims to reveal the visibility of the revolution's different sides in the coverage of the selected news organizations.

For the integrated quantitative-qualitative textual analysis, the analysis form specifies a fourth element, which is the lexical choices of non-attributed key phrases and statements describing SCAF and its practices in the sampled news sites. News' lexical choices were then compared to the lexical choices made by activists on their social media platforms, to measure lexical consonance between the two categories. Analyzing the element of lexical choices exposes a subtle aspect of the coverage and explores the impact of an evolving relationship between journalists and activists.

Table (8): News Analysis Form

Dominant Voice in Headline	Main Player in Lead	Attribution (Selection of Sources)					Non-attributed Key Phrases (Lexical Choices)		
		SCAF	Government	Activists	Political Parties	Others (Third Party)	Pro-SCAF	Neutral To SCAF	Anti-SCAF

The first element of coverage quantitatively examined was the **dominant voice in headlines**. Voices were not put initially in categories, but according to the study findings, they mostly belonged to four categories: SCAF, government, activists and political parties. Using the subject-verb-object formula for news writing, the subject is the dominant voice in the headline. For example, an Al-Jazeera's headline reads: "Egypt military hits out at Muslim Brotherhood",[52] the dominant voice is Egypt military (SCAF). In

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[52] Al-Jazeera English, 25 March 2012

few cases, the subject in the headlines was too general to be categorized such as Egypt, Egyptians or voters. For example, a RT's headline reads: "Egypt takes first steps towards exist from two-week turmoil." [53]

The main player in the lead was the second element of coverage that was also quantitatively examined. Similar to dominant voices in headlines, main players in leads were not categorized at the beginning of the analysis, but they lent themselves to four categories identical to the ones of the dominant voices in headlines. They fall into: SCAF, government, activists and political parties. Identifying the main news player in a lead was based on locating the 'Who', of the Five Ws and H of news stories (Who did what when where why and how). For example, a XINHUA's headline reads: "Egypt's ruling military chief Hussein Tantawi pledged on Monday to cooperate with the elected president to achieve stability."[54] In few cases the 'who' is the lead was too general to be categorized. For example, another XINHUA's headline reads: "Egypt Monday unveiled detailed procedures for the presidential polls as part of preparations for the historical vote in June, state media reported."[55]

Attribution (selection of sources) was the third element examined. News sources used in each news story included in the sample were put in five pre-defined categories: SCAF, government, activists, political parties and third party/others. Also, under each category, the researcher kept a count of references to and inclusion of social media sources. The analysis form did not include an allocated item for social media sources because they overlap with the categorized sources. For example, SCAF is a source whether its quotations or comments came from a SCAF member, a televised statement or from SCAF Facebook page. The same applies to an activist source; it could be a direct quotation from an activist, or a comment borrowed from his tweets or his Facebook posts. Table (9) below shows the definition of each news source:

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[53] Russia Today, English news site, 5 February 2011
[54] XINHUA, English news site, 26 June 2012
[55] XINHUA, English news site, 31 January 2012

Table (9): Definition of sources

Source	Definition
SCAF	Egypt's Supreme Council of Armed Forces, any of its members, Egypt's military forces or army
Government	Egypt's Cabinet, and individuals or authorities, organizations and departments associated with it. Amr Moussa, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, belonged to this category before he officially announced running for presidency.
Activists	January 25th protesters (referred to collectively or individually), all groups, movements and individuals participated in January 25th and anti-SCAF protests post January 25th. Muslim Brotherhood group was included in this category only when they identified themselves as so, not as a political party.
Political Parties	All Egyptian political parties. The Muslim Brotherhood group was moved from the 'Activists' category to the 'Political Parties' category when they established their 'Freedom and Justice Party'. Their presidential candidate, Mohamed Morsi, was considered 'government' when he was announced a president in the last week of June.
Third Party/Others	Foreign government officials, political commentators and analysts, news correspondents in Egypt, news media reports (like Egypt's State TV) and news agencies.

Non-attributed key phrases and statements (lexical choices) were the fourth element of coverage examined. Analyzing the lexical choices in news stories required identifying non-attributed key phrases and statements in each news story that gave description of SCAF and its practices without attributing the information to any source. Key phrases and statements were then classified based on their direct obvious meanings into: pro-SCAF, neutral to SCAF and anti-SCAF. Categorized lexical choices of each news site were then aggregated to provide lexical references of key phrases and statements used by each of the selected news sites. Such lexical references were then used in a comparative textual analysis with posts made by activists on their social media platforms to measure lexical consonance occurred between the two categories.

As per Berelson's (1952) explanation of the different uses of content analysis, it can be used to determine the characteristics of content, describe patterns in communication content, with the aim of making inferences about the causes or the consequences of the content. Quantified dominant voices in headlines, main players in leads and sources used in news stories are variables indicating certain patterns and help the researcher explore practices in news

stories, i.e., privileging activists (non-elite) over other elite voices or sources. Also, quantifying references to and/or inclusion of activists' social media content in news stories helps the researcher make additional inferences, for example about a possible social media-enhanced relationship between journalists and activists.

Additionally, qualitatively analysing and comparing lexical choices of non-attributed key phrases and statements in news stories to lexical choices made by activists in their social media entries and then quantifying the findings help the researcher infer the impact (consequences) of a social-media enhanced relationship between journalists and activists on the coverage. In integrating quantitative and qualitative analysis, the researcher followed the following steps:

- In each news story, identifying non-attributed key phrases and statements that gave description of SCAF and its practices without attributing the information to any source.

- Aggregating all non-attributed key phrases and statements and building up lexical references for each news site.

- Identifying repeated key phrases and statements posted by activists on their social media platforms, forming a lexical reference of key phrases and statements repeatedly used by activists to describe SCAF and its practices.

- The lexical reference of each news site was then compared to the activists' lexical reference to measure their consonance.

- Lexical consonance occurred between news stories and activists' posts were expressed numerically, calculating the total number of matched phrases and statements.

- To comparatively weigh the lexical consonance for the selected news sites, the total number of matched phrases and statements was divided by the total number of lexical references of each news site and multiplied by one hundred to express it in a percentage. Table (10) shows lists of keywords and phrases describing SCAF and its practices.

Table (10): List of keywords and phrases describing SCAF and its practices

Keywords and phrases	Al-Jazeera	BBC	CNN	RT	XINHUA	Activists
Military crackdown, clashes injuring and killing protesters						
Bloody clashes with Copts/Christians						
Demanding SCAF to step down/ transfer power						
Targeting female protesters, beating and stripping a female protester						
SCAF is a continuation of Mubarak's regime and its practices						
SCAF criticized for slow pace of reform and troubled transition						
Army used thugs/assailants to attack protesters						
Military trials of civilians						
SCAF is responsible for violence, chaos and uncertainties						
Fear SCAF intends to stay and grab more power.						
Strikes/civil disobedience to pressurize SCAF						
No-attributed key phrases (no.)						
Lexical Consonance (no.)						
Lexical Consonance (%)						

Surveying views of news stakeholders

While content analysis was used in this thesis as a primary research method and aimed to answer four of the research questions, the survey was needed as a secondary research method. Survey was used to complement content analysis and to help the researcher answer the fifth research question: How do different

news stakeholders perceive the role of social-media in reshaping their relationship and its impact on their work? The research technique of surveying also provided additional insights on other aspects explored by the first four questions.

Two sets of web-based questionnaires were sent to Egyptian activists and Egyptian and non-Egyptian journalists covering the Egyptian Revolution, with the aim of collecting information and insights about the role of social media in enhancing the relationship between journalists and activists. The first four questions, which both questionnaires share, aim to explore aspects of communication between journalists and activists such as how is communication usually initiated, which means of communication (email, Twitter, Facebook, Telephone, face to face, Skype) they usually use, and how often they communicate with each other? The fifth question is also shared by both questionnaires and it focuses on 'news sources' with the aim of getting insights on how journalists and activists perceive this element of coverage.

From question six onwards the questionnaires include different questions. For the journalists' questionnaire, the questions focus on the following:

- Journalists' preferences regarding including materials provided by activists on their social media platforms.
- Journalists' perception of their relationship with activists and its impact on their reporting on activism and human rights during the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events.
- The role of the news organizations they work for in facilitating networking with activists.

The journalists' questionnaire was sent online via email, LinkedIn, Facebook and Twitter to an open list of journalists since there is no database that lists all journalists working for local and international news organizations in Egypt. Also, many journalists were not originally based in Egypt, but were moved to cover the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. A total of 102 journalists completed the web survey. It is comprised of nine questions, as

Table (11) shows, in addition to two questions, at the end of the survey, asking about the news organization that the journalist works for and the language of reporting.

Table (11): Journalists' survey

1- As a journalist, how is communication with journalists usually initiated?
- I usually contact activists
- Activists usually contact me
- Contact is initiated evenly
- I do not have contact with activists

2- How do you usually connect with activists? (you could tick more than one)
- Email
- Twitter
- Facebook
- Telephone
- Face to face
- Skype
- Other (please specify)

3- How often do you communicate with activists?
- Almost every day
- Few times a week
- When there are events to cover
- Rarely

4- What do you do to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with activists? (you could tick more than one)
- Include them in your social media networks (Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn)
- Keep them updated about your activities and stories you work on
- Follow their writings and give highlight them to others (retweet their work, publish links to their blogs)
- Show your support on the activists' cause and participate in their activities
- Invite them to social events and informal gatherings
- Other (please specify)

5- When reporting on the Egyptian Revolution and its related events, who do you think should be the prime source for news stories? (Please rank with 1 given to your first choice and 5 given to your last choice)
- Activists
- SCAF (The Supreme Council of Armed Forces)
- Government
- Political Parties
- Others

6- How often do you use materials (text/ videos/ images) provided by activists on their blogs, Facebook pages and Twitter?
- Almost in every story
- When it is news worthy

- Rarely

7- How do you describe your relationship with activists?
- Reciprocal (they give you news tips and you given them voice)
- Partners (you both support one cause)
- Professional (you deal with them just like any other news source)

8- How does your news organization facilitate your networks with activists?
- Encourage you to communicate with activists, interview them and include their voices in the coverage
- Provide activists with reporting tools (camera, recorder) to cooperate with you and your colleagues in the coverage
- Leave it up to you to decide to communicate (or not) with activists and to include (or not) their voices in the coverage
- Discourage you from communicating with activists and including their voices in the story
- Others (please specify)

9- How would you describe the influence of your relationship with activists on your reporting on activism and human rights?
- Very strong
- Strong
- Neutral
- Weak
- Very weak

10- Which news organization do you work for?

11- What is the language of your news reporting (you could tick more than one)
- Arabic
- English
- Other (please specify)

For the activists' questionnaire, question six onwards focus on the impact of the relationship between activists and journalists on activism, and ask activists to identify which news organization they think was keen to network with them, interview them and highlight their activities. The aim of the three questions is to explore activists' insights about the impact of networking with journalists on their visibility in the news coverage.

The activists questionnaire was also sent online, mainly via Facebook and Twitter, to an open list of Egyptian activists who identify themselves as activists, and who are members of revolutionary groups and anti-regime movements that participated in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. These included 'the April 6th Movement', 'We are Khaled Said', 'the National Coalition for Change', 'the January 25th Revolution Youth Coalition',

'the Revolutionary Socialists Movement', 'the Muslim Brotherhood' and 'the Salafiyo Coasta group'.[56] A total of 103 activists completed the survey. The questionnaire targeting activists is comprised of nine questions, as Table (12) shows.

Table (12): Activists' survey

1- As an activist, how is communication with journalists usually initiated? - I usually contact journalists - Journalists usually contact me - Contact is initiated evenly - I do not have contact with journalists **2- How do you usually communicate with journalists? (you could tick more than one)** - Direct email - Twitter - Facebook - Telephone - Face to face - Skype - Other (please specify) **3- How often do you communicate with journalists?** - Almost every day - Few times a week - When there are events to cover - Rarely **4- What do you do to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with journalists? (you could tick more than one)** - Include them in your social media networks (Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn) - Keep them updated about your activities - Follow their writings and give feedback - Invite them to social events and informal gatherings - Other (please specify) **5- When reporting on the Egyptian Revolution and its related events, who do you think should be the prime source of news and information for news organizations? (Please rank with 1 given to your first choice and 5 given to your last choice)** - Activists - SCAF (The Supreme Council of Armed Forces) - Government - Political Parties - Others **6- How does your network with journalists benefit your activism? (you**

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[56] Many of these groups have been dismantled after the first year of the Egyptian Revolution and their members formed new political parties.

could tick more than one)
- Amplify your voice to a wide audience
- Win you more supporters
- Highlight your cause in the news agenda
- Affect decision-makers
- All of the above
- Others (please specify)

7- Which of the following news organizations have you developed a strong network with its journalists? (you could tick more than one)
- Al-Jazeera Arabic
- Al-Jazeera English
- BBC Arabic
- BBC English
- CNN Arabic
- CNN English
- Russia Today Arabic
- Russia Today English
- XINHUA Arabic
- XINHUA English
- Others (please specify)

8- Which of the following international news organizations you think you are most frequently interviewed by? (Please rank with 1 to the most frequent and 10 to the least frequent)
- Al-Jazeera Arabic
- Al-Jazeera English
- BBC Arabic
- BBC English
- CNN Arabic
- CNN English
- Russia Today Arabic
- Russia Today English
- XINHUA Arabic
- XINHUA English

9- Which of the following news organizations do you think is the most keen on highlighting your activities? (Please rank with 1 to the most frequent and 10 to the least frequent)
- Al-Jazeera Arabic
- Al-Jazeera English
- BBC Arabic
- BBC English
- CNN Arabic
- CNN English
- Russia Today Arabic
- Russia Today English
- XINHUA Arabic
- XINHUA English

As explained earlier in the chapter, using integrated research methods is needed for complex media studies where researchers, next to their analysis of news text, need to explore the relationship between news stakeholders and its impact on their work. Combining content analysis and survey as research techniques creates an approach to verifying inferences made by content analysis alone or by survey alone. For example, if the researcher uses content analysis and infers that activists are privileged in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events over other parties involved, such an inference could be verified by looking at the answers to question (5) in both questionnaires. Question five asks journalists and activists: who do you think should be the prime source of news? Also, if content analysis reveals disparities in the coverage among the selected new organizations, this could be verified by looking at the answers to questions (8) and (9) of the activists' questionnaire. Question (8) asks: which of the following international news organizations you think you are most frequently interviewed by? Question (9) asks: which of the following news organizations do you think is the most keen on highlighting your activities?

Research difficulties and challenges

During the research process, there were a number of difficulties, mainly related to the sampling techniques used, the nature of textual analysis as a qualitative research method, the unavailability of databases of activists and journalists that could be targeted for the surveys, and the challenge of researching issues associated with a current complex political situation.

For the sampling techniques, retrieving news stories from the online archives of the selected news organizations was not an easy process. For CNN Arabic, the news sites' archival system was messy and occasionally failed to recall news stories. I had to contact CNN and inform the news organization about the technical issues its Arabic news site had. They positively and quickly responded and the problems were partially solved. However, I noticed that some of the date times that appeared on some of the news stories were not correct and did not correspond to the chronology of the

revolution's events. I had to manually go through the sampled news stories and correct the dates. As I managed to overcome this difficulty, it did not turn into a limitation and the sample of news stories retrieved from CNN Arabic was not affected.

Also, I faced some difficulties in retrieving a sample of activists' entries on their social media platforms, particularly Twitters. Two activists, Moan Saif and Asmaa Mahfouz, deactivated their accounts for sometime during the retrieving process and I had to drop them from the list, though they were among the top influential activists. After a while, I noticed that they had reactivated their accounts and I had to re-include them in the study. Also, I suspected that some activists like Wael Ghonim had deleted some of their old posts, particularly the ones that fiercely criticised SCAF. I noticed this when the number of their SCAF-driven tweets retrieved was limited and less than what I expected. Despite their limited numbers of tweets, including social media entries of 13 group and individual activists provided sufficient content for the analysis.

For the second limitation, it was with the textual analysis technique used in the thesis. It was another source for concern as the findings of this research method are usually criticised for being subjective and speculative. I used textual analysis to examine the lexical consonance between news stories and activists' entries on their social media platforms. As examining lexical consonance was mainly based on lexical comparisons between activists' and journalists' lexical choices describing SCAF in Arabic and English, I tried my best to stick to the key phrases and statements that had obvious and direct meanings in both languages. I had to exclude several statements, mostly written in Arabic, due to their latent meanings and their sarcastic and ambiguous nature.[57] That is why I ended up with a limited list of 12 key phrases and statements included in the lexical consonance analysis.

Also, the unavailability of databases of activists and journalists that could be targeted for the surveys was another difficulty I faced, and it resulted

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[57] The writings of some activists like Nawara Negm were loaded with sarcasm and emotional language that did not directly express her views of SCAF.

in some challenges. For Egyptian group and individual activists, their questionnaires were sent online, mainly via Facebook and Twitter, to an open list of Egyptian activists who identified themselves as activists, and who were members of revolutionary groups and anti-regime movements that participated in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. These groups included 'the April 6th Movement', 'We are Khaled Said', 'the National Coalition for Change', 'the January 25th Revolution Youth Coalition', 'the Revolutionary Socialists Movement', 'the Muslim Brotherhood' and 'the Salafiyo Coasta group'. Many of these groups were dissolved after the first year of the Egyptian Revolution and their members formed new political parties. As the process of sending out the survey took close to a year, the affiliations and the political identification of many activists changed. For example, the Muslim Brotherhood and several Salafis belonged to anti-regime group activists in the early months of the revolution. Within the first year of the revolution, they established their political parties, the Freedom and Justice Party by the Muslim Brotherhood group and the Noor Party by the Salafis. As a result, their status changed and their members who received the questionnaires later did not participate in the survey as they did not fit the criterion of activists anymore. The changing 'identity' of activists to political party members is related to the challenge of conducting research on issues associated with a complex on-going political situation. The era of political turmoil that started in Egypt at the beginning of 2011 and has been going for over three year has brought to researchers of different fields including media a challenge of keeping up with dramatic accelerating changes.

For the journalists who covered the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, their questionnaires were also sent online via email, LinkedIn, Facebook and Twitter to an open list of journalists since there was no database that listed all journalists working for local and international news organizations in Egypt. I faced some difficulties reaching many journalists and the process as a result took longer than expected. The difficulty I faced was mainly because many of them were not originally based in Egypt, but were moved by their news organizations to cover the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, and when things relatively stabilized, they were sent to their

original news bureaus or to cover other hot spots of the Arab uprisings in Libya, Yemen and Syria.

Another difficulty I faced was with reaching XINHUA's journalists to get them to participate in the survey. I sent the questionnaires to a number of XINHUA's journalists and editors via LinkedIn and Twitter and through a personal contact of a Dubai-based Arab journalist who knew journalists working for XINHUA's regional office in Dubai. Unfortunately, none of XINHUA's journalists expressed interest in participation in the survey. However, I suspect that some of them might have participated in the survey, but without saying they did as I included at the end of the questionnaire an optional question asking journalist participants to state the news organizations they worked for, and 12 journalists skipped the question.[58]

While this chapter focuses on explaining the research methods, their functionality, significance, and research difficulties, Chapter Four presents in details the research findings. It is divided into two parts: the first part identifies emerging patterns in journalism practices and the second part gives answers to the research questions raised in the thesis.

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[58] One of the journalist participates commented on the question that asked journalists to state the news organizations they work for, saying: "I think if you are going to ask sensitive questions, such as "Describe your relationship with activists" it is better to allow journalists to remain anonymous. Maybe you could ask people what type of media they work for (print, radio, TV; local, international)."

Chapter Four: Quantifying news and collecting insights

The initial observations of the news coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events made me question if some journalism practices have changed and new ones might have emerged. A way to explore possible changes in practices was by raising questions and looking for answers and insights through examining disparities in news coverage across selected news organizations (Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, Russia Today and XINHUA) and through surveying news stakeholders' (activists and journalists) perception. By examining disparities in coverage, the thesis aimed to explore changes in journalism practices, and identify emerging patterns, particularly pertinent to journalist-source relationship and human rights reporting. The research findings are presented in the first part of this chapter under five sections: **revealing disparities in news coverage, detecting sourcing practices, measuring social media impact, identifying human rights-centered reporting and collecting news stakeholders' insights.** In light of the research findings, the second part of the chapter presents the answers to the research questions raised in the thesis. The questions aimed at exploring significant aspects of the news coverage given to the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The answers to these questions together lead to identifying key areas of journalism practices that experienced changes, which are discussed in the conclusion of the thesis.

Revealing disparities in news coverage

This section gives the findings of an integrated content and textual analysis of a sample of 913 news stories published on the Arabic and the English news sites of the selected news organizations, Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA. As explained earlier in the thesis, disparities in news coverage of conflicts occur when one (or more) of parties involved is more visible in the coverage elements. The key to reveal such disparities is through quantifying the coverage elements and measuring the visibility of each party. As explained in chapter three, visibility is numerically expressed in the frequency of appearance in headlines, leads and as sources. The findings of the content analysis used to quantify the coverage elements show disparities in the

visibility of activists among the ten selected news sites. Activists were visible more than any other party involved in the Egyptian Revolution in at least seven of the news sites (Al-Jazeera Arabic, Al-Jazeera English, BBC Arabic, BBC English, CNN Arabic, CNN English and RT English) while they had low visibility in the other three news sites (RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English). On the contrary to activists, SCAF was the most visible in three news sites (RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English) and had the least visibility in the other seven sites (Al-Jazeera Arabic, Al-Jazeera English, BBC Arabic, BBC English, CNN Arabic, CNN English and RT English). The findings also indicate disparities in the visibility of the Egyptian Government and the political parties, though both had low visibility across the ten news sites, ranging from 22% to 0% in some cases.

Dominant voices in headlines: The first element that indicates disparities in coverage when expressed numerically is the dominant voice in headlines. Among all parties involved in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events (SCAF, government, activists and political parties), activists were the dominant voice in the headlines of six of the ten news sites analyzed: Al-Jazeera Arabic, Al-Jazeera English, BBC Arabic, BBC English, CNN English and RT English. The activists had the highest visibility in the headlines of the BBC English (46%), followed by Al-Jazeera English (45%) and Al-Jazeera Arabic (42%), with marginal differences. Figure (2) demonstrates dominant voices in headlines across the ten news sites.

Figure (2): Dominant voices in headlines across the ten news sites
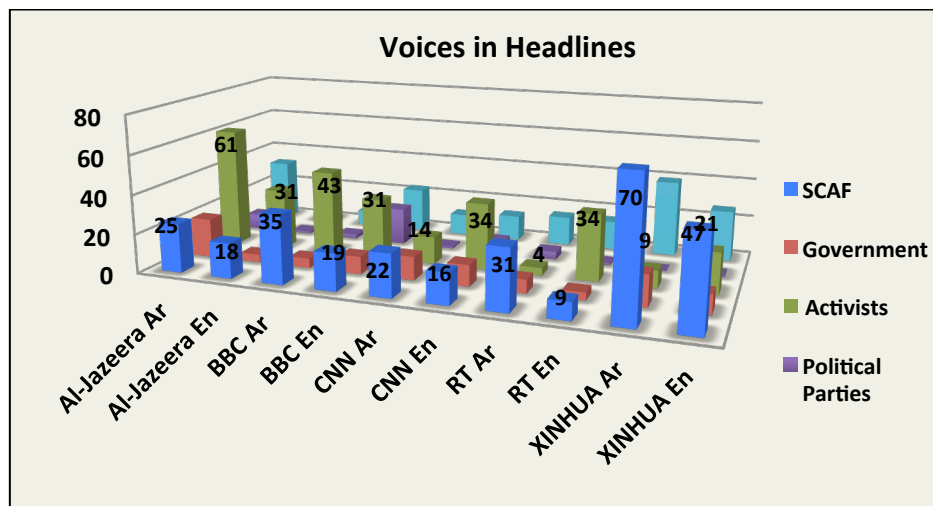
Meanwhile, SCAF was the dominant voice in the headlines of four news sites: CNN Arabic, RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English. It had the highest visibility as a dominant voice in the headlines of XINHUA Arabic (52%) and RT Arabic (51%) against a slime share (6%) given to activists in both. For the other parties involved in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, each was given less than 20% of the shares of voices in headlines across the ten news sites. The Egyptian Government had the highest appearance (20%) in CNN Arabic, which is still low comparing to other voices, except those of political parties. The political parties' highest visibility was 19% in BBC English, which is also considered low comparing to other voices. Table (13) shows the distribution of dominant voices in headlines across the ten news sites.

Table (13): Distribution of dominant voices in headlines across the ten news sites

News Site	SCAF	Government	Activists	Political Parties	Others	Total/ Stories
Al-Jazeera Ar	17%	13%	**42%**	5%	22%	146
Al-Jazeera En	26%	6%	**45%**	1%	23%	69
BBC Ar	37%	5%	**46%**	2%	8%	93
BBC En	19%	9%	**30%**	19%	22%	101
CNN Ar	36%	20%	23%	1%	18%	60
CNN En	20%	13%	42%	8%	16%	81
RT Ar	51%	11%	6%	6%	24%	61
RT En	14%	6%	**54%**	1%	24%	63
XINHUA Ar	52%	12%	6%	0	29%	134
XINHUA En	44%	9%	20%	1%	24%	105

Main players in leads: Similar to the dominant voices in headlines, the findings indicate disparities in the second coverage element: the main players in leads. While activists were the main players in the leads of five news sites: Al-Jazeera Arabic, Al-Jazeera English, BBC English, CNN English and RT English, they had low visibility in the other five news sites: BBC Arabic, CNN Arabic, RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English. Figure (3) demonstrates main players in leads across the ten news sites.

Figure (3): Main players in leads across the ten news sites
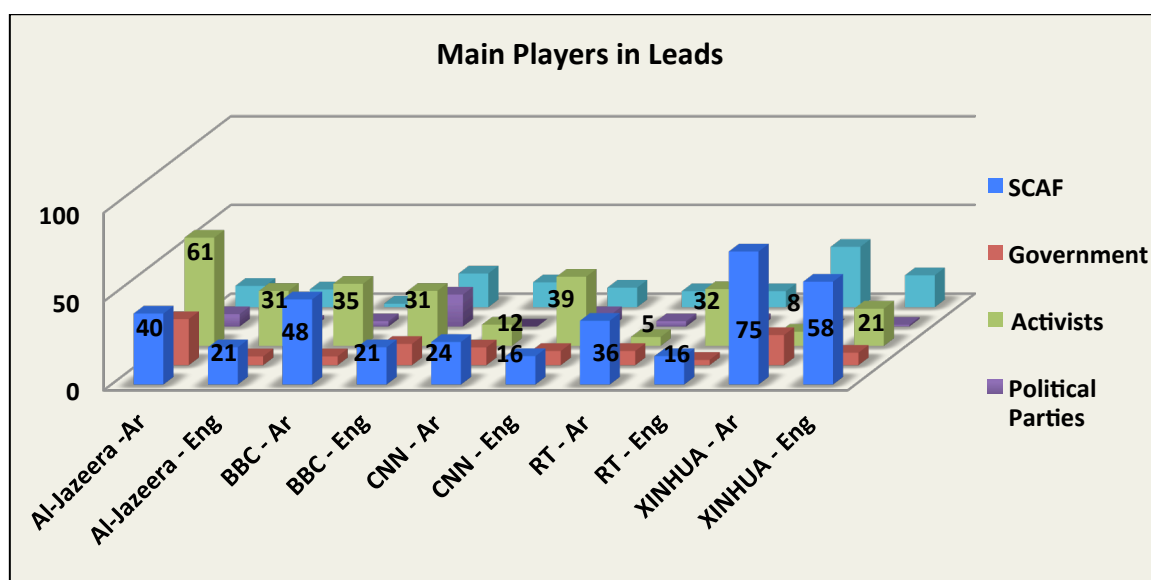
Meanwhile, SCAF was the main player in the leads of the news stories of five news sites: BBC Arabic, CNN Arabic, RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English. The visibility of the other parties, mainly the Egyptian Government and the political parties, also varied, though mostly low, not exceeding 18% as it was the case of the government voices in the leads of Al-Jazeera Arabic and going as low as 0% as it was the case with the political parties in the leads of CNN Arabic and XINHUA Arabic. Table (14) shows the distribution of the main players in leads across the ten sampled news sites.

Table (14): Distribution of the main players in leads across the ten news sites

News site	SCAF	Government	Activists	Political Parties	Others	Total/Stories
Al-Jazeera Ar	27%	18%	**42%**	5%	8%	146
Al-Jazeera En	30%	7%	**45%**	3%	14%	69
BBC Ar	**51%**	5%	37%	3%	2%	93
BBC En	21%	12%	**31%**	18%	19%	101
CNN Ar	**40%**	17%	20%	0	23%	60
CNN En	20%	10%	**48%**	9%	13%	81
RT Ar	**59%**	13%	8%	5%	15%	61
RT En	25%	5%	**51%**	5%	14%	63
XINHUA Ar	**56%**	12%	6%	0	25%	134
XINHUA En	**55%**	6%	20%	1%	17%	105

Sources in news stories: Sources used in the news stories are the third element quantified to reveal disparities in coverage among the ten news sites. The quantitative analysis of sources appeared in the sampled news stories indicated disparities in coverage, expressed numerically in the different occurrences of using one or more of the parties involved in the Egyptian Revolution as sources. Ranging from 28% to 43%, the findings indicate that activists were the most frequently used source in the news stories of seven news sites: Al-Jazeera Arabic, Al-Jazeera English, BBC Arabic, BBC English, CNN Arabic, CNN English and RT English. Meanwhile, RT Arabic and XINHUA Arabic had SCAF as the most frequently source used in their news stories. Figure (4) shows sources shares in the ten news sites.

Figure (4): Sources' shares in the ten news sites
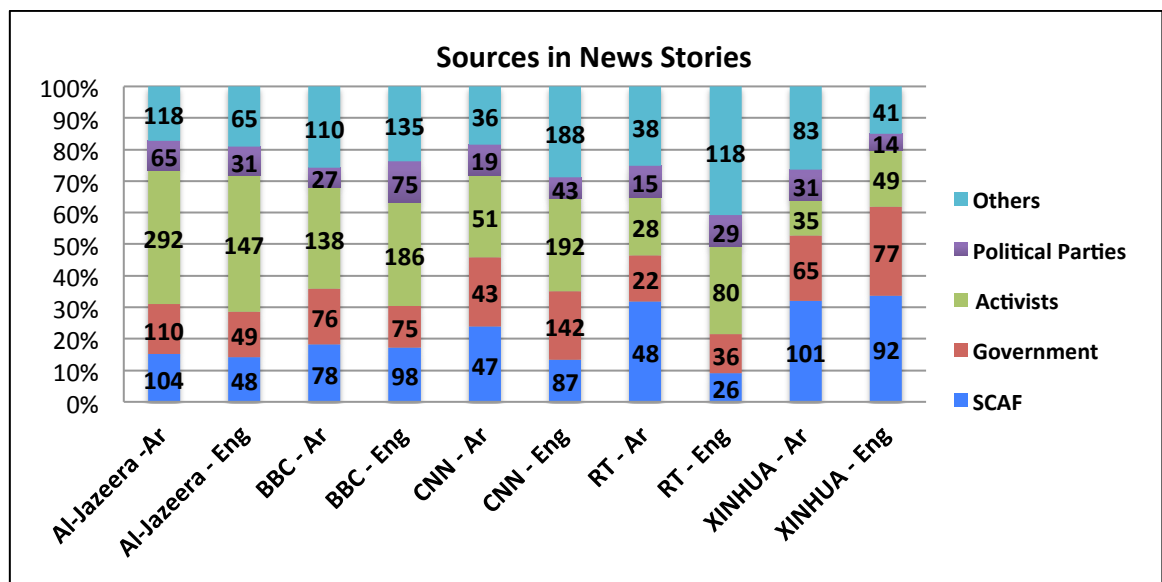
For the other parties involved in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, the content analysis findings also indicate disparities reflected on the frequencies of their visibility as sources in news stories. The Egyptian Government appearances varied between 38% in XINHUA English news stories and 12% in RT English. The political parties' visibility also varied between 13% in BBC English and 5% in XINHUA English. Table (15) demonstrates sources distribution across the ten news sites.

Table (15): Sources distribution across the ten news sites

News site	SCAF	Government	Activists	Political Parties	Others	Total/ sources
Al-Jazeera Ar	15%	16%	**42%**	9%	17%	689
Al-Jazeera En	14%	14%	**43%**	9%	19%	340
BBC Ar	18%	17%	**32%**	6%	25%	429
BBC En	17%	13%	**33%**	13%	24%	569
CNN Ar	24%	22%	**26%**	9%	18%	196
CNN En	13%	22%	**29%**	6%	29%	652
RT Ar	**32%**	14%	18%	10%	25%	151
RT En	9%	12%	**28%**	10%	41%	289
XINHUA Ar	**32%**	20%	11%	10%	26%	315
XINHUA En	33%	**38%**	18%	5%	15%	273

Other aspects of disparities: In addition to disparities explained above, the content analysis findings also show other aspects of disparities in coverage between the Arabic and English news sites of the same news organization. Such disparities are evident particularly when looking at activists (average) visibility versus SCAF (average) visibility. There were limited disparities between the Arabic and the English news sites of Al-Jazeera, BBC and XINHUA, but they were greater and more noticeable in CNN and RT. To illustrate, CNN Arabic gave activists visibility of 20% and gave SCAF visibility of 36%. On the contrary, CNN English gave activists visibility of 44% and gave SCAF visibility of 18%. Figures (5) and (6) show disparities between CNN Arabic and CNN English.

Figure (5): Visibility of activists versus SCAF in CNN English
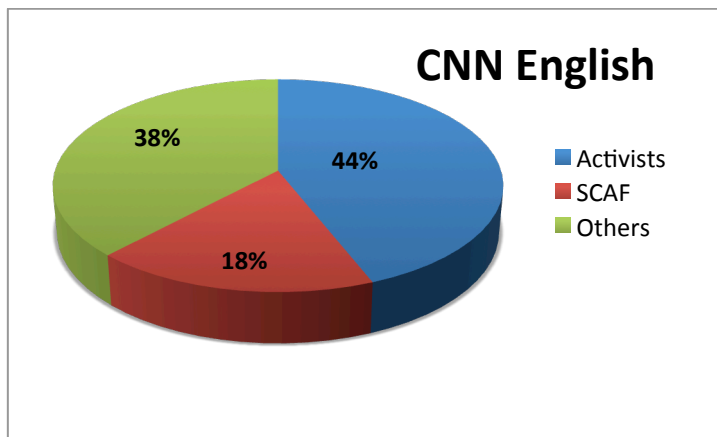
Figure (6) Visibility of activists versus SCAF in CNN Arabic
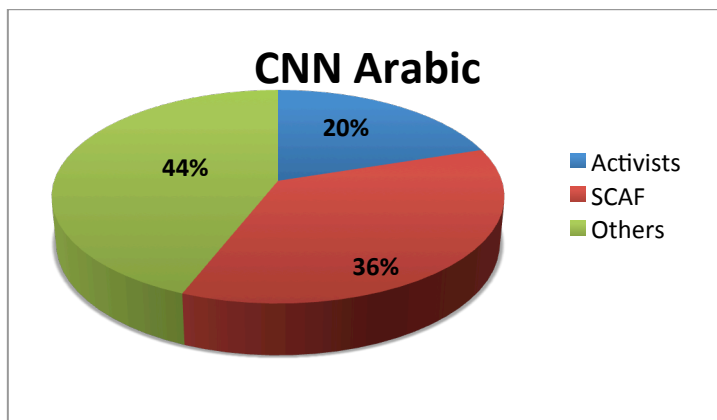
Similarly, RT Arabic gave activists visibility of 15% and gave SCAF visibility of 42%. On the contrary, RT English gave activists visibility of 43% and gave SCAF visibility of 21%. Figures (7) and (8) show disparities between RT Arabic and RT English.

Figure (7): Visibility of activists versus SCAF in RT Arabic

RT Arabic

- Activists
- SCAF
- Others

15%
43%
42%
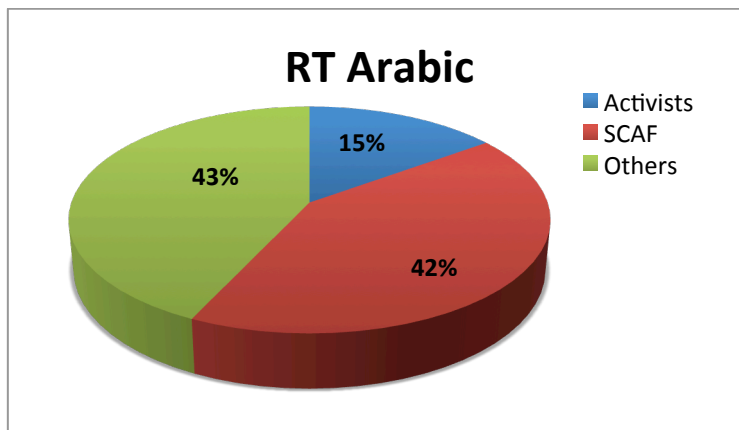
Figure (8): Visibility of activists versus SCAF in RT English

RT English

- Activists
- SCAF
- Others

36%
43%
21%
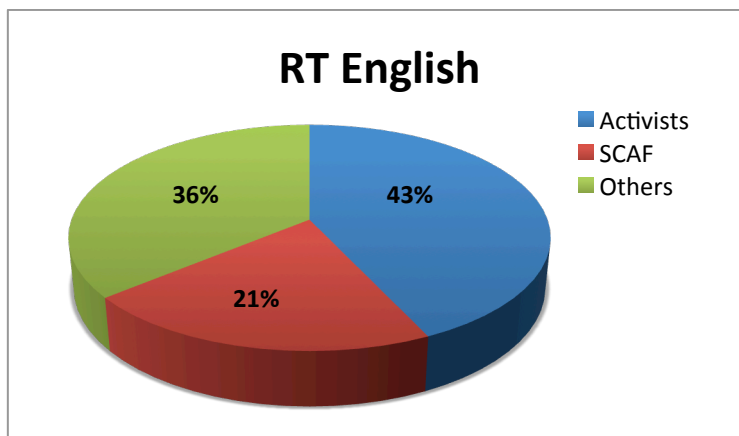
The activists' average visibility was higher than SCAF's in the Arabic and English news sites of Al-Jazeera and BBC. In the other three news organizations, CNN, RT and XINHUA, activists' visibility was higher in their English news sites than the Arabic ones. Meanwhile, SCAF's visibility was higher in their Arabic news sites than the English ones. Figure (9) shows visibility of activists versus SCAF in the Arabic and the English news sites of the selected news organizations.

Figure (9): Visibility of activists versus SCAF in the ten news sites
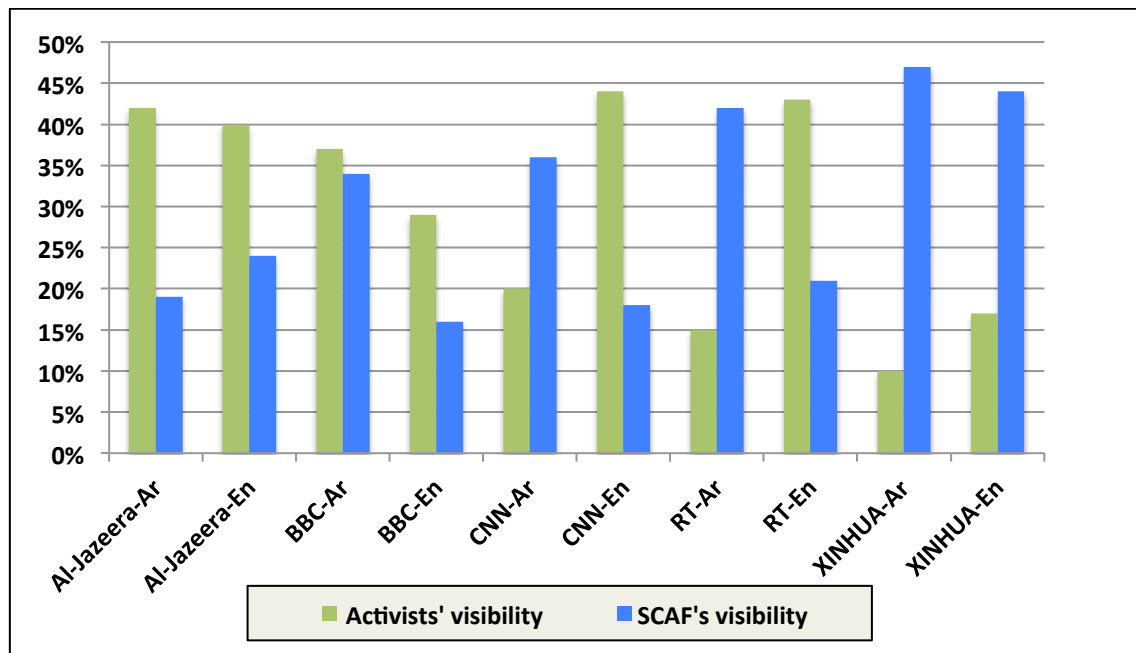
Detecting sourcing practices

This part re-reads the findings of the content analysis that quantified three coverage elements: dominant voices in headlines, main players in leads and sources in stories. However, it focuses only on the analysis of sources with the aim of revealing the sourcing practices of each of the selected news organizations. The analysis of sources used across the ten news sites included in the study indicates that activists as sources outnumbered any other party involved in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The research recorded a total 3903 sources, appeared in 913 news stories published on the Arabic and the English news sites of the five selected news organizations: Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA. As explained in Chapter Three, the sources were analysed and classified into four pre-defined categories: SCAF, government, activists and political parties. Miscellaneous sources were put in a fifth category titled 'others'. As Table (16) shows, the content analysis findings reveal that activists were the most frequently used sources in the coverage given to the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events by seven out of the ten news sites included in the study.

Table (16): Activists versus other sources in news coverage

News site	SCAF	Government	Activists	Political Parties	Others	Total/ sources
Al-Jazeera Ar	15%	16%	**42%**	9%	17%	689
Al-Jazeera En	14%	14%	**43%**	9%	19%	340
BBC Ar	18%	17%	**32%**	6%	25%	429
BBC En	17%	13%	**33%**	13%	24%	569
CNN Ar	24%	22%	**26%**	9%	18%	196
CNN En	13%	22%	**29%**	6%	29%	652
RT Ar	**32%**	14%	18%	10%	25%	151
RT En	9%	12%	**28%**	10%	41%	289
XINHUA Ar	**32%**	20%	11%	10%	26%	315
XINHUA En	33%	**38%**	18%	5%	15%	273
Sources/ numbers	**729**	**695**	**1198**	**349**	**932**	**3903**
Sources/ percentages	**19%**	**18%**	**31%**	**9%**	**24%**	**100%**

Also, activists' share of the total sources used in the sampled news stories was higher than any other party involved in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. As Figure (10) demonstrates, activists' share was 31%, SCAF's was 19%, the Egyptian Government sources were 18% and the Egyptian political parties had a slim share of 9%.

Figure (10): Sources in news coverage of the Egyptian Revolution
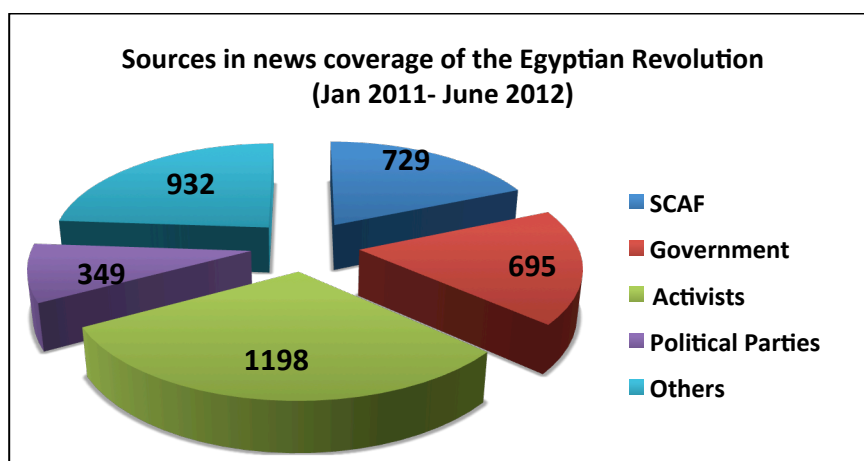
Study findings show Al-Jazeera's Arabic and English news sites topped the other eight news sites in using activists as sources in their news stories. Al-Jazeera Arabic gave activists 42% of its sources and Al-Jazeera English gave them 43%. BBC came second in using sources with 32% (Arabic) and 33% (English). CNN followed BBC, with 26% (Arabic) and 29% (English). Also, sourcing practices in RT Arabic news sites was different from its English news site. RT Arabic gave SCAF its big share of sources (32%) while it gave activists a small share of 18%. On the contrary, RT English gave its big share of sources to activists (28%) and gave SCAF a slim share of 9%. Meanwhile XINHUA was consistent in its sourcing practices across its Arabic and English news sites. XINHUA Arabic gave activists a slice of 11% of sources and XINHUA English gave them a slice of 18%. SCAF won the big share of sources in both XINHUA Arabic and English with 32% and 33%. See Figures (11) and (12).

Figure (11): Sourcing of SCAF versus activists in the Arabic news sites
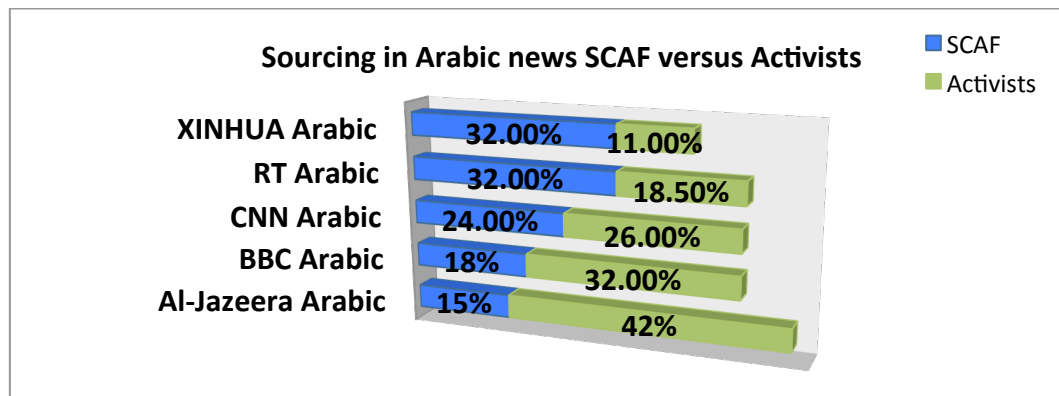
Figure (12): Sourcing of SCAF versus activists in the English news sites
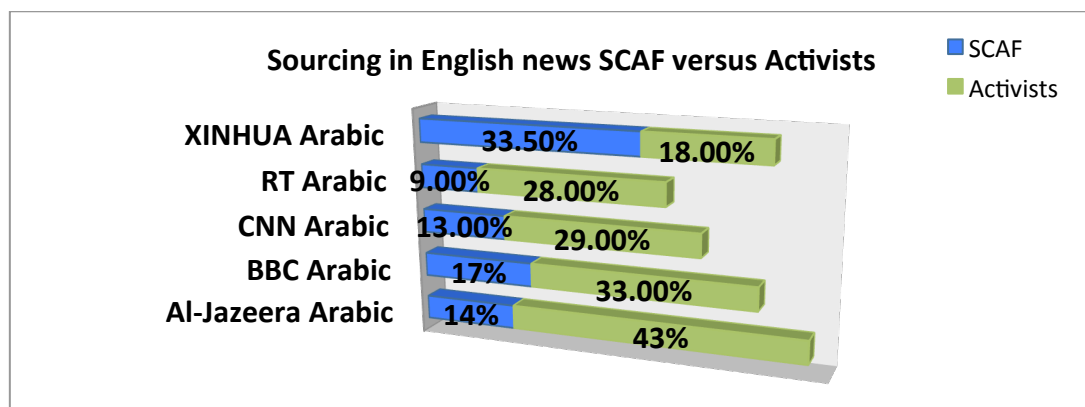
I gave another reading of the data by providing comparative analysis of sources overtime, which reveals that activists' frequency exceeded SCAF's in 19 weeks (out of 21 weeks included in the study), while using SCAF as a source exceeded activists in two weeks only, the fourth week of May 2012 and the fourth week of June 2012. Both weeks are linked to the first presidential election post the January 25th 2011 Revolution, when SCAF, as the ruling authority of the country, held the election on the fourth week of May 2012 and when it announced the final results and the winning candidate on the fourth week of June 2012. It is noteworthy that regardless of the nature of the events that occurred over 18 months from January 2011 till June 2012, activists remained the most frequent sources used in news stories covering the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The only two times activists were relatively sided as sources in news stories and SCAF was given more prominence are linked to major political decisions came made by the military council.

Figure (13): SCAF versus activists as sources overtime
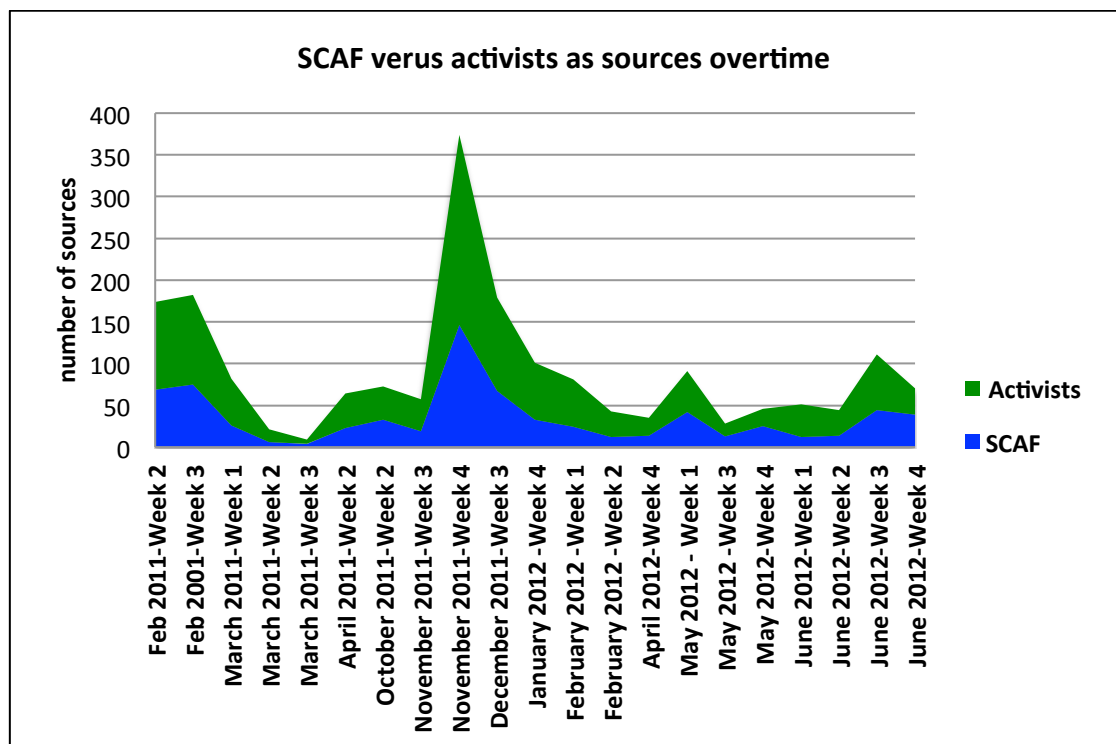
Measuring social media impact

The third part 'Measuring social media impact' gives the relevant findings of the content and textual analysis of 913 news stories and 1988 entries by individual and group activists on their social media platforms. It focuses on analyzing and quantifying two indictors of social media impact on the selected news sites' coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The first indicator is the references to and the inclusion of social media content in news stories. The second indicator is the lexical consonance between news sites' key phrases and statements describing SCAF and its practices and the lexical choices of activists' entries on social media also describing SCAF and its practices. The findings of the analysis are complemented with the results of a survey that targeted 205 journalists and activists.

The analysis findings revealed that six of the news sites included references to or direct content from social media, with 50% or more came from entries made by activists. Also, the findings revealed that there was lexical consonance between news stories and activists' entries on their social media platforms, ranging between 78% and 98%. Both outcomes came in agreement with the opinions of the activists and journalists surveyed, with more than 80% saying they used social media to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with each other. The findings pertinent to measuring social media impacts are explained in three subsections: social media references in news stories, lexical consonance and journalists' and activists' views of social media.

Social media references in news stories

The content analysis of the sampled news stories was used to reveal references to and inclusion of social media content. The findings of the analysis indicated that activists' entries on their social media platforms, mainly Facebook and Twitter, were included in the news stories of nine out of ten (90%) of news sites analysed. Six of the news sites gave activists 50% or more of social media content included in their news stories. Meanwhile, SCAF entries on its social media platform, mainly its official Facebook page, were used in the ten news

sites included in the study. Five of the news sites gave SCAF 50% or more of social media content included in their news stories. The shares of other parties involved in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events were low, ranging between 25% and 0%. Meanwhile Al-Jazeera English topped all other news sites in including content from activists' entries on social media, followed by BBC English, then RT English and Al-Jazeera Arabic. Figure (14) shows social media references in the ten selected news sites.

Figure (14): References to social media in the ten news sites
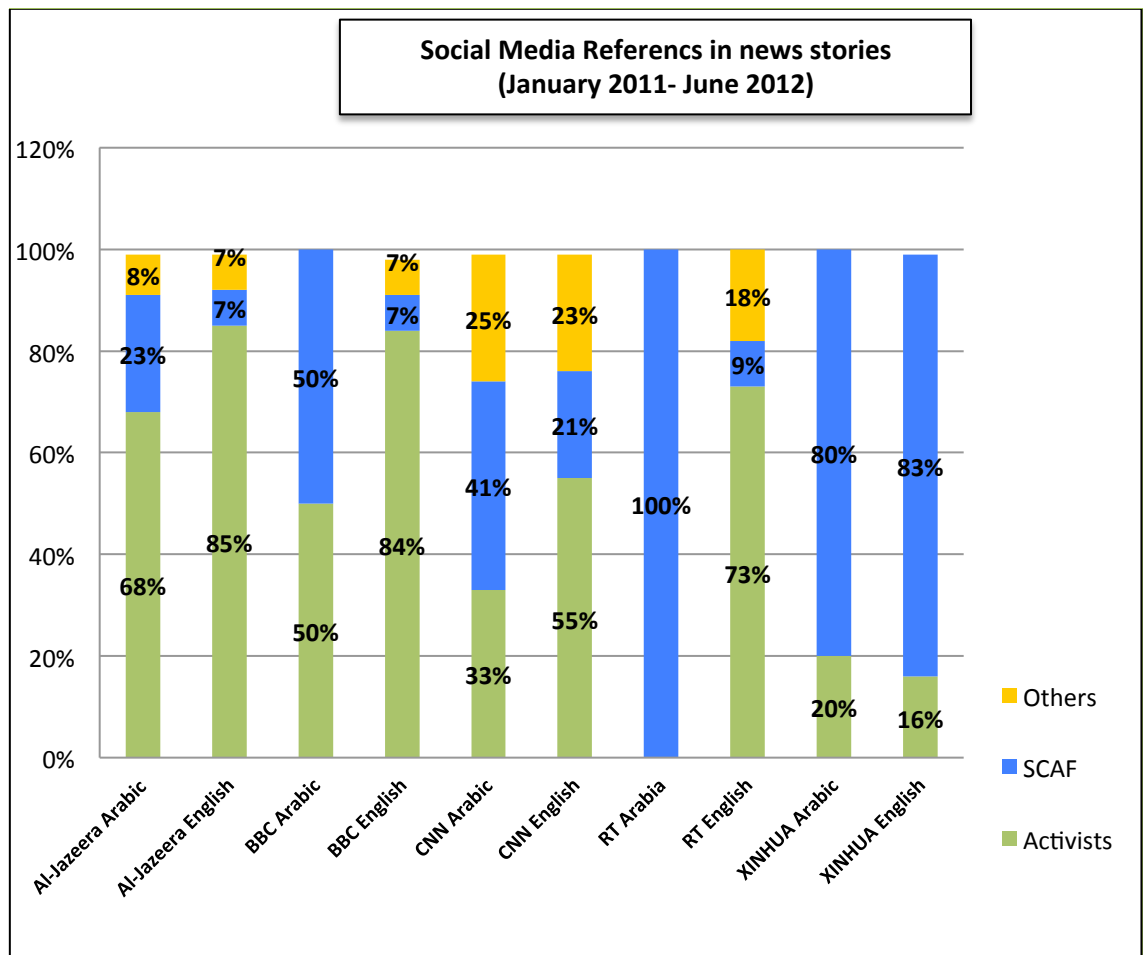
Lexical consonance

As explained earlier, an integrated content and textual analysis method was used to analyse news stories and activists' entries on their social media platforms. The analysis aimed to compare activists' lexical choices that described SCAF and its practices with news stories' non-attributed key phrases and statements that also described SCAF and its practices. The analysis of activists' lexical choices yielded eleven key phrases and statements, which repeatedly appeared in their social media entries as Table (17) shows.

Table (17): List of activists' key phrases and statements and their frequencies

Activists' key phrases and statements	Frequencies
Military crackdown, clashes injuring and killing protesters	147
Bloody sectarian clashes with Copts/Christians	37
Demanding SCAF to step down/ transfer power	161
Targeting female protesters, beating and stripping a female protester	49
SCAF is a continuation of Mubarak's regime and its practices	45
SCAF criticized for slow pace of reform and troubled transition	36
Army used thugs/assailants to attack protesters	36
Military trials of civilians	43
SCAF is responsible for violence, chaos and uncertainties	61
Fear SCAF intends to stay and grab more power, soft coup	70
Strikes/ civil disobedience to pressurize SCAF	32

When the sampled news stories were analysed, the analysis yielded a total of 468 non-attributed key phrases and statements that described SCAF and its practices. [59]

When analysing the non-attributed key phrases and statements in news stories (listed in table 18) for lexical consonance with the activists' key phrases and statements (listed in table 17), the analysis revealed consonance in all news sites, ranging between 78% and 98%. Table (18) lists the frequencies of the key phrases' and statements' appearances in news stories across the ten news

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[59] A list of the non-attributed key phrases and statements that appeared in each of the ten news sites included in the study is in the thesis' appendix 1.

sites. The last three rows of the table give the total frequencies, the weight of lexical consonance between activists and each news site, numerically and in percentages.

Table (18): Lexical consonance between news stories and activists

Keywords and phrases	Al Jazeera Ar	Al Jazeera En	BBC Ar	BBC En	CNN Ar	CNN En	RT Ar	RT En	XINHUA Ar	XINHUA En
Military crackdown, clashes injuring and killing protesters	17	26	14	41	11	39	2	18	6	16
Bloody sectarian clashes with Copts/Christians	1	4	0	9	0	3	1	0	1	2
Demanding SCAF to step down/ transfer power	11	6	15	5	2	5	5	7	3	4
Targeting female protesters, beating and stripping a female protester	2	4	2	1	0	3	0	1	1	0
SCAF is a continuation of Mubarak's regime and its practices	1	2	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
SCAF criticized for slow pace of reform and troubled transition	2	4	3	6	3	8	0	1	1	0
Army used thugs/assailants to attack protesters	1	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Military trials of civilians	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
SCAF is responsible for violence, chaos and uncertainties	9	3	5	13	3	7	0	1	0	0
Fear SCAF intends to stay and grab more power.	2	7	1	8	3	9	3	4	2	0
Strikes/ civil disobedience to pressurize SCAF	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
Frequencies of no-attributed key phrases	49	63	50	97	24	88	15	38	18	26
Lexical Consonance (no.)	46	62	46	89	22	78	12	34	14	22
Lexical Consonance (%)	94 %	98 %	92 %	92 %	91 %	88 %	80 %	89 %	78 %	84 %

As explained earlier, the outcome of the lexical comparison was quantified to measure lexical consonance between news stories of each news site included in the study and the sampled activists' entries on their social

media platforms. The findings of the analysis revealed lexical consonance, at varying extents, between the two sides. Similar to the other coverage elements highlighted earlier in the chapter, Al-Jazeera English came first in its lexical consonance (98%) with activists' entries on social media and Al-Jazeera Arabic followed it with 94%.

BBC Arabic and BBC English followed Al-Jazeera's with 92% of their non-attributed key phrases and statements describing SCAF and its practices came in consonance with the activists' lexical choices. CNN Arabic, CNN English and RT English followed with marginal differences. RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English had relatively less lexical consonance with activists ranging between 78% and 84%.

Journalists' and activists' views of social media

As a secondary research method, a survey targeting Egyptian activists and Egyptian and non-Egyptian journalists who covered the revolution aimed to explore their views of social media's role and impact on the coverage. The results of the survey supported the findings of the content and textual analysis which revealed that 60% of sampled news sites used content from activists' social media entries and all of them (100%) had between 78% and 98% of their non-attributed key phrases and statements in lexical consonance with activists' entries. Also, the results of the survey showed that more than 85% of journalists and activists surveyed said they used social media to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with each other. Also, 60% of journalists said they followed the writings of activists, highlighted them to others, re-tweeted their work and published links to their blogs. Figures (15) and (16) show journalists' and activists' views of the role of media in journalist-activists relationship.

Figure (15): Journalists' views: What do you do to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with activists?

Journalists' views: What do you do to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with activists?

Category	Percentage
Include them in your social media networks (Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn)	86.7%
Keep them updated about your activities and stories you work on.	39.7%
Follow their writings and highlight them to others (retweet their work, publish links to their blogs)	60.2%
Show your support to the activists' cause and participate in their activities	28.5%
Invite them to social events and informal gatherings	21.4%

Figure (16): Activists' views: What do you do to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with journalists?

Activists' views: What do you do to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with journalists?

Category	Percentage
Include them in your social media networks (Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn)	85.6%
Keep them updated about your activities	47.4%
Follow their writings and give feedback	37.1%
Invite them to social events and informal gatherings	36.1%
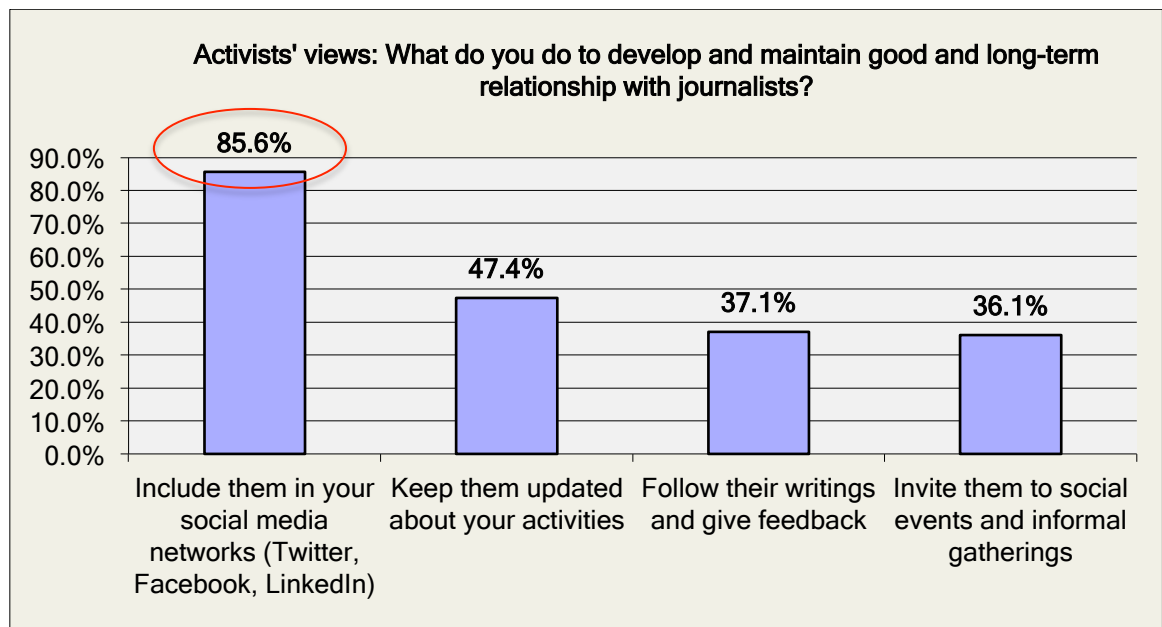
Also, the survey results revealed that 70% of journalists and 72% activists said they used Twitter to connect with each other, just next to telephone with a slim difference. Around 46% of journalists and 40% of

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activists said they used Facebook to connect. Figures (17) and (18) show journalists' and activists' views of how they connect with each other.

Figure (17): Journalists' views: How do you usually connect with activists?

Journalists' views: How do you usually connect with activists?

Email	Twitter	Facebook	Telephone	Face to face interview	Skype
56.4%	70.2%	46.5%	73.2%	54.4%	10.8%
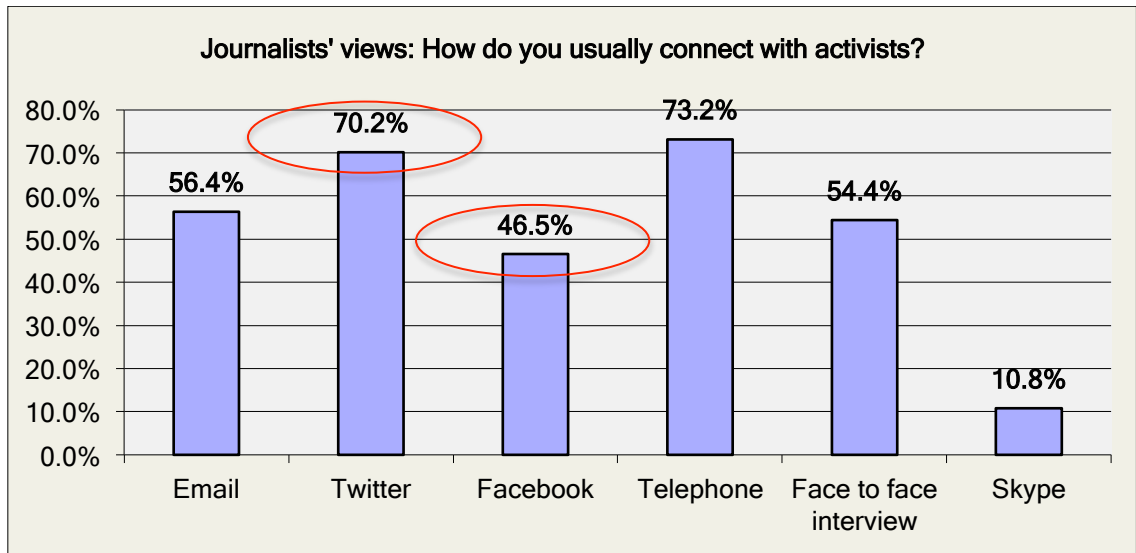
Figure (18): Activists' views: How do you usually connect with journalists?

Activists' views: How do you usually communicate with journalists?

Direct email	Twitter	Facebook	Telephone	Face to face	Skype
44.4%	72.7%	40.4%	73.7%	56.6%	11.1%
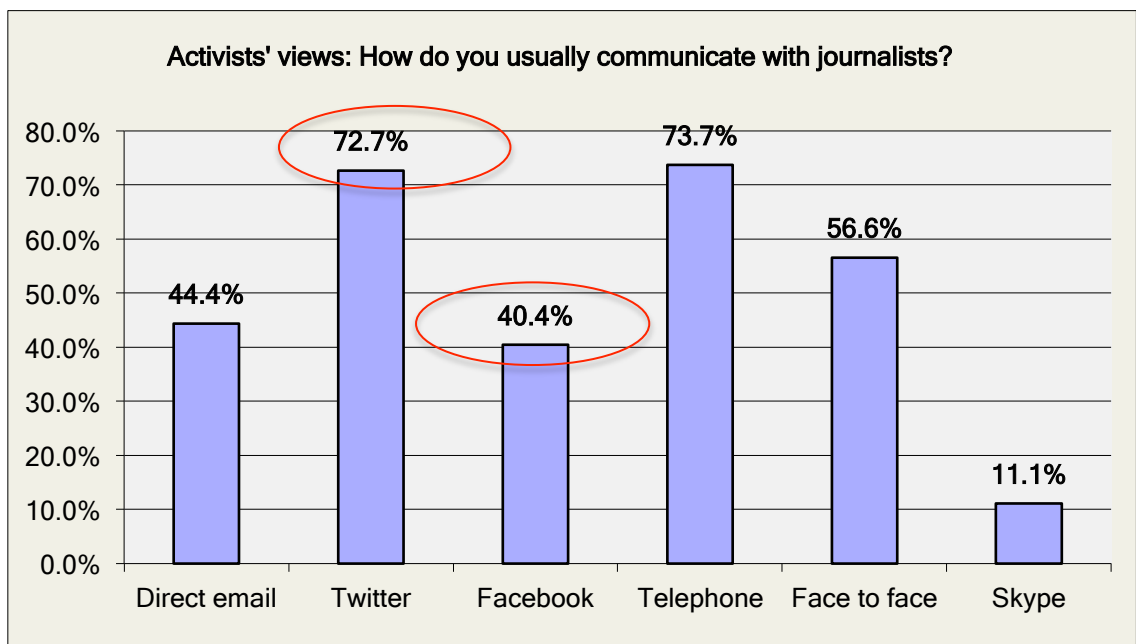
Additionally, 72% of journalists surveyed said they included text, videos and images from content provided by activists on their social media platforms. 54% of them said they did when it was news worthy while 18% said

they always did. Around 28% said they rarely did. Figure (19) shows journalists' views of including content from activists' entries on social media.

Figure (19): Journalists' views: including content from activists' entries on social media
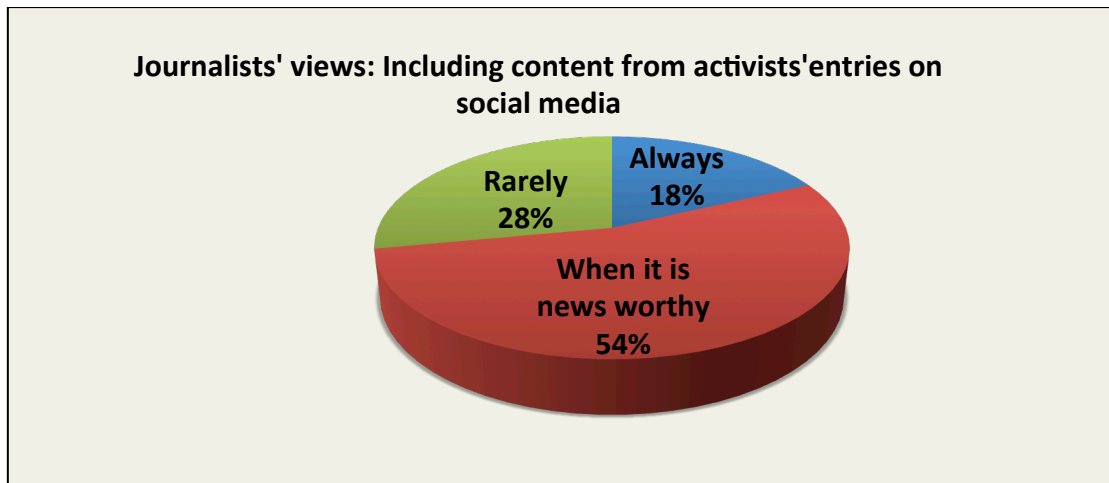
Identifying human rights-centered reporting

The fourth part 'Identifying human rights-centered reporting' also re-reads the findings of the content analysis and the results of the survey to highlight indicators of human rights centered - reporting. Three indicators related to activists, as the main defenders of human rights against SCAF practices, were found in the findings and helped identify human rights-centered reporting of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The indicators are the visibility of activists as sources the in news stories, news stories' lexical consonance with activists', and activists' and journalists' views of the impact of their relationship on human rights coverage during the revolution. **The first indicator came in the heavy visibility of activists as sources in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events.** The Egyptian activists were predominantly the most quoted sources in at least seven of the ten news sites included in the study: Al-Jazeera Arabic, Al-Jazeera English BBC Arabic, BBC English, CNN Arabic, CNN English and RT English. Even in the other three news sites, activists were still visible as sources, with shares of 11% in XINHUA Arabic, 18% in XINHUA English and 18% in RT Arabic. Figure

(20) shows activists' visibility versus SCAF's as sources in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution by the ten selected news sites.

Figure (20): Activists versus SCAF as sources in the news coverage
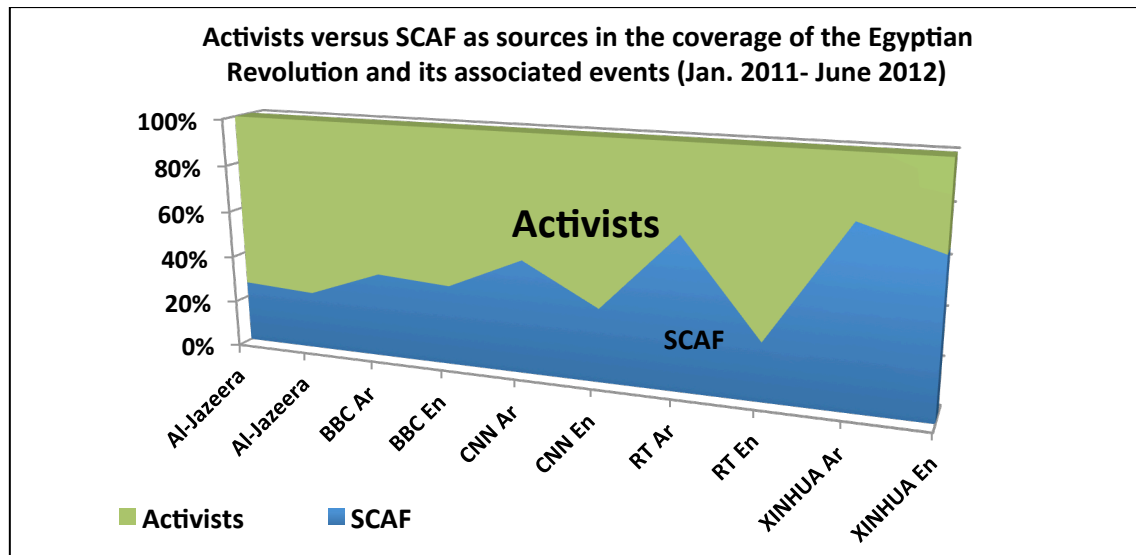
The second indicator was the lexical consonance between activists and news stories. As explained earlier in the chapter under 'measuring social media impact', the integrated content-textual analysis of activists' entries on their social media platforms yielded a number of key phrases and statements that were repeatedly used by activists to describe SCAF and its practices. The same key phrases and statements appeared frequently in the sampled news stories. As table (19) highlights, six of the key phrases and statements used by activists on their social media platforms focused on human rights violations committed by SCAF. With lexical consonance, ranging between 78% and 98%, this means that also the majority of the sampled news stories shared the focus on human rights. Figure (21) shows lexical consonance between activists' and news stories' key phrases and statements describing SCAF and its practices.

Table (19): Activists' key phrases and statements that focused on human rights violations

Activists' key phrases and statements
Military crackdown, clashes injuring and killing protesters
Bloody sectarian clashes with Copts/Christians
Demanding SCAF to step down/ transfer power
Targeting female protesters, beating and stripping a female protester
SCAF is a continuation of Mubarak's regime and its practices
SCAF criticized for slow pace of reform and troubled transition
Army used thugs/assailants to attack protesters
Military trials of civilians
SCAF is responsible for violence, chaos and uncertainties
Fear SCAF intends to stay and grab more power, soft coup
Strikes/ civil disobedience to pressurize SCAF

Figure (21): Lexical consonance between activists and news stories

Lexical consonance between activists' and news stories' key phrases and statments desciping SCAF and its practices

Lexical consonance: Al-Jazeera 94%, Al-Jazeera 98%, BBC Ar 92%, BBC En 92%, CNN Ar 91%, CNN En 88%, RT Ar 80%, RT En 89%, XINHUA Ar 78%, XINHUA En 84%

Activists- news sites lexical consonance
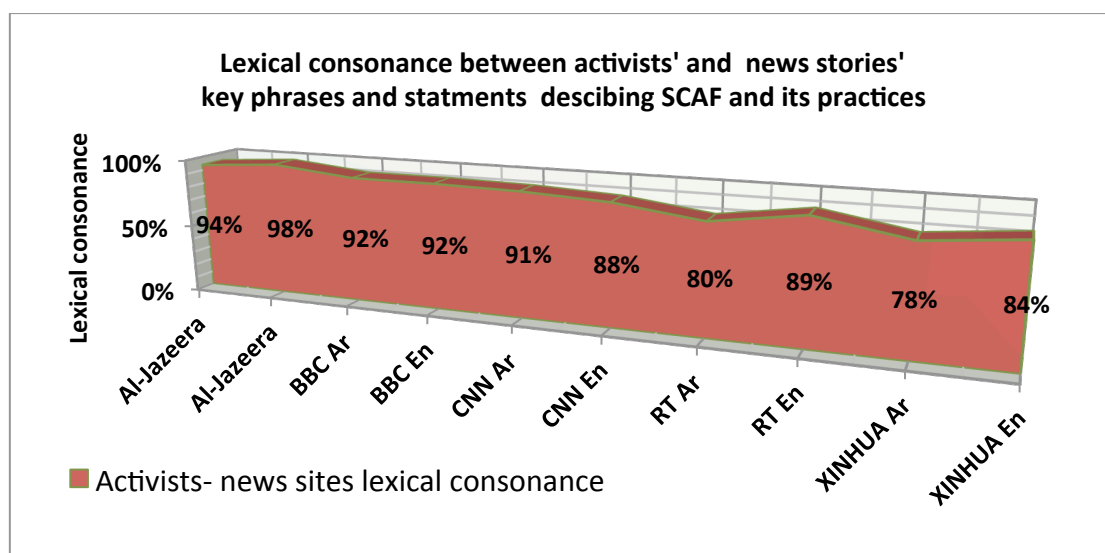
The third indicator was journalists' and activists' views of the coverage of activism and human rights during the Egyptian Revolution. Half of journalists surveyed said that their relationship with activists had 'strong to very strong' impact on their reporting on activism and human rights. Around 39% described it as a strong impact while 11% described it as a very strong impact. Also, 99 (out of 103) activists surveyed replied to the question on the benefits of networking with journalists on their activism while only four escaped the question. Around 42% of activists who responded to the question said their network with journalists benefited their activism by amplifying their voices to a wider audience while 29% said it highlighted their cause in the news agenda. Also, 20% said it helped them win more supporters and 17% said it helped them affect decision makers. Meanwhile, more than half of activists said all of the above as Figure (22) shows.

Figure (22): Activists' views: How does your network with journalists benefit your activism?

How does your network with journalists benefit your activism? (you could tick more than one)

All of the above	56.6%
Affect decision-makers	17.2%
Highlight your cause in the news agenda	29.3%
Win you more supporters	20.2%
Amplify your voice to a wide audience	42.4%
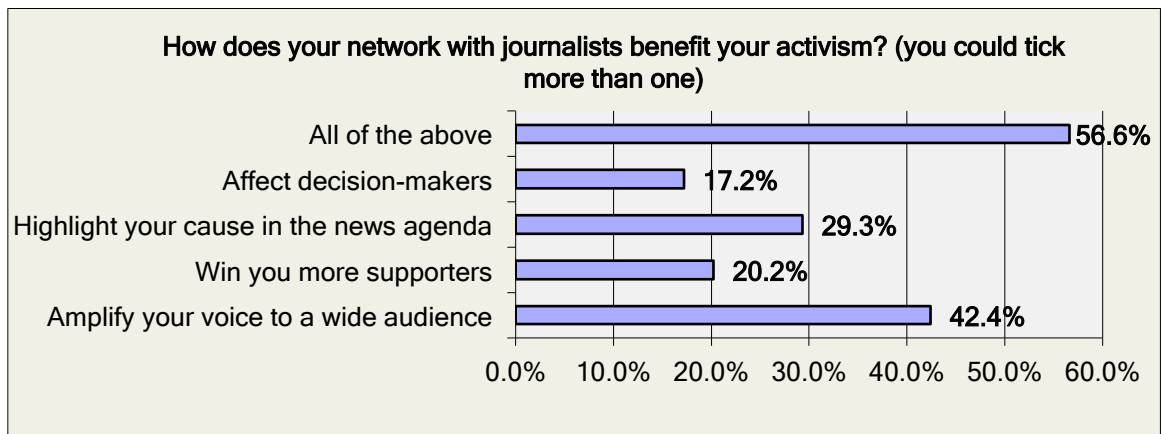
Collecting news stakeholders' insights

The last part 'Collecting news stakeholders' insights' presents the findings of the survey, which offers insights on how journalists and activists perceived their (possible) social media-enhanced relationship. As explained in chapter three, two sets of web-based questionnaires were sent to Egyptian activists and Egyptian and non-Egyptian journalists covering the Egyptian Revolution, with the aim of collecting information and insights about the role of social-media in

enhancing the relationship between journalists and activists. The first four questions, which both questionnaires shared, aimed to explore aspects of communication between journalists and activists.

Question 1: How is communication usually initiated?

More than half of journalists and activists surveyed said journalists initiated communication between the two, as Figures (23) and (24) demonstrate.

Figure (23): Journalists' views: how is communication with activists is usually initiated?
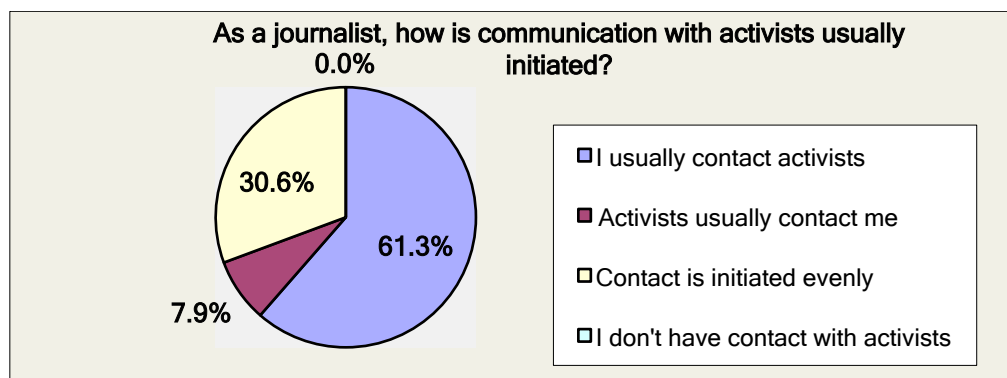
Figure (24): Activists' views: how is communication with journalists is usually initiated?
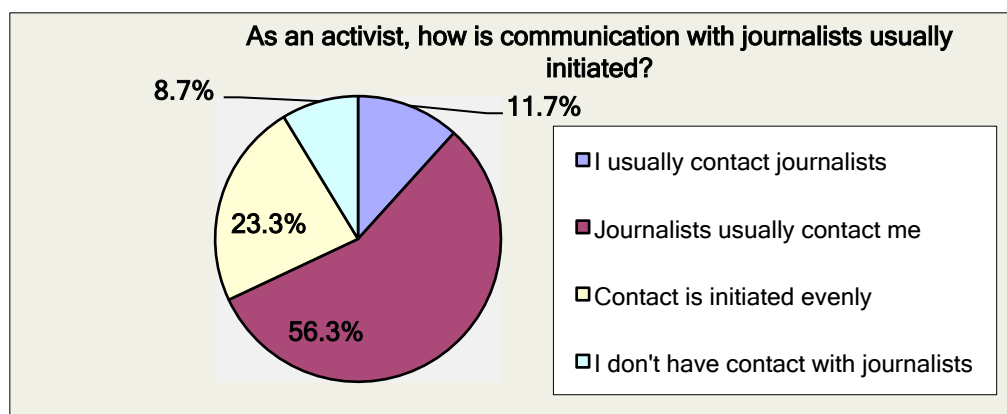
Question 2: Which means of communication (email, Twitter, Facebook, Telephone, face to face, Skype) journalists and activists usually use?

More than 70% of journalists and activists surveyed ranked Twitter (next to Telephone with slim difference) as their second preferred tool of communication with each other, as Figures (25) and (26) demonstrate.

Figure (25): Journalists' views: How do you usually connect with activists?
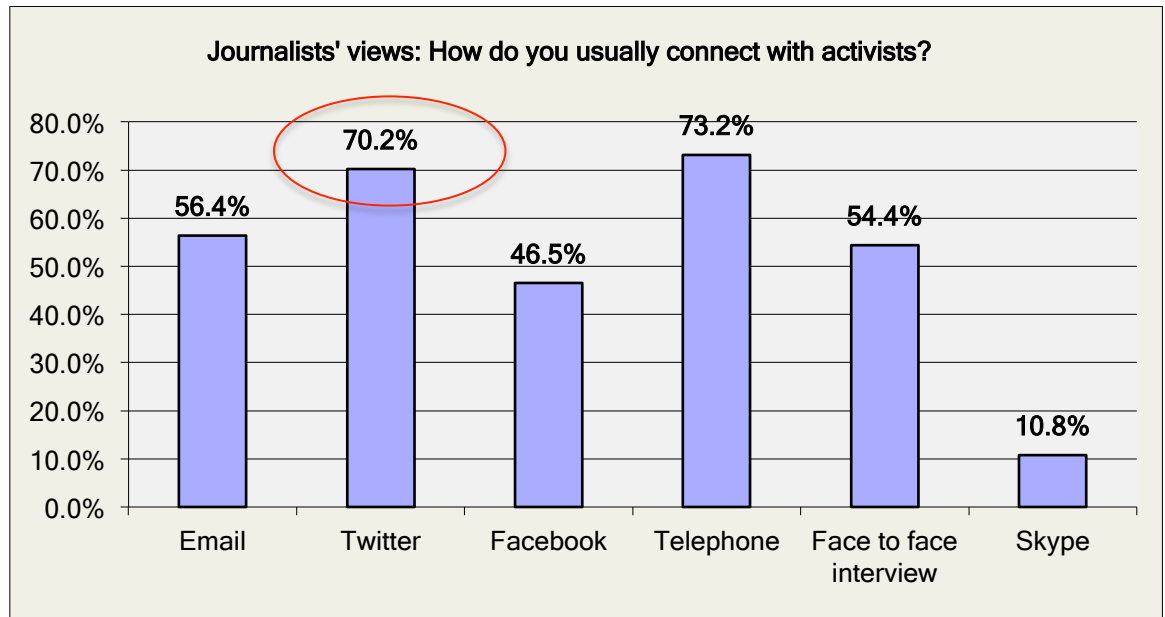
Figure (26): Activists' views: How do you usually connect with journalists?
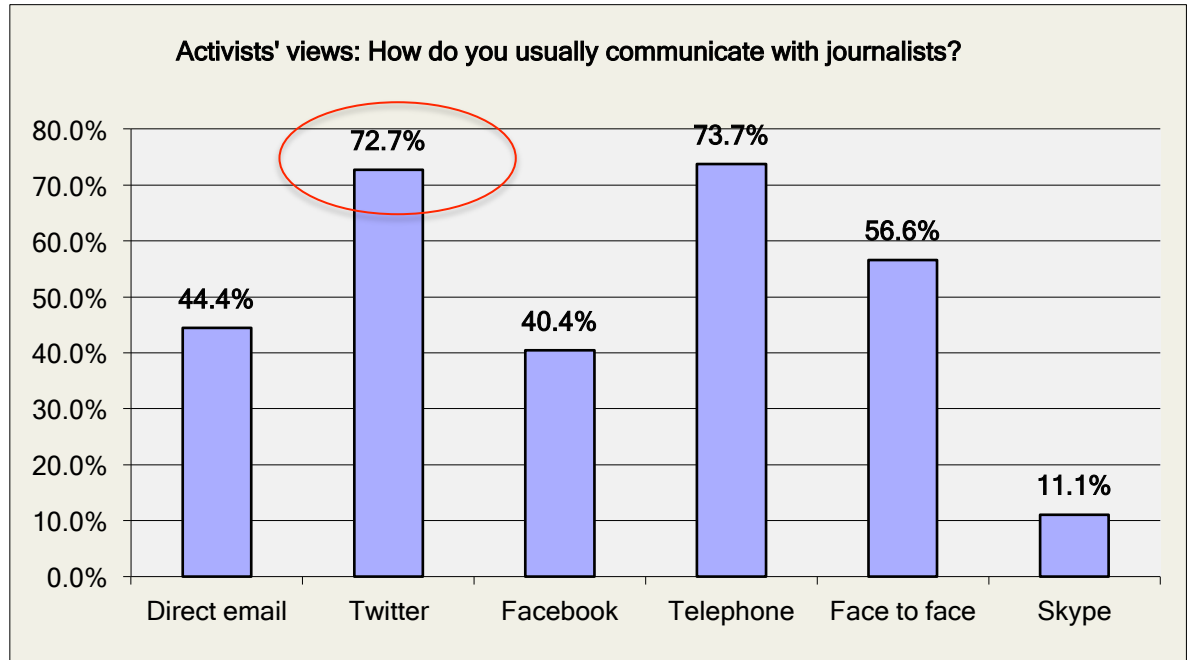
Question 3: How often journalists and activists communicate with each other?

More than half of journalists and activists surveyed said they communicated when there were news worthy events, as Figures (27) and (28) show.

Figure (27): Journalists' views: How often do you communicate with activists?

Journalists' views: How often do you communicate with activists?

- Almost every day
- Few times a week
- When there are events to cover
- Rarely

3.0%
21.4%
22.4%
53.0%
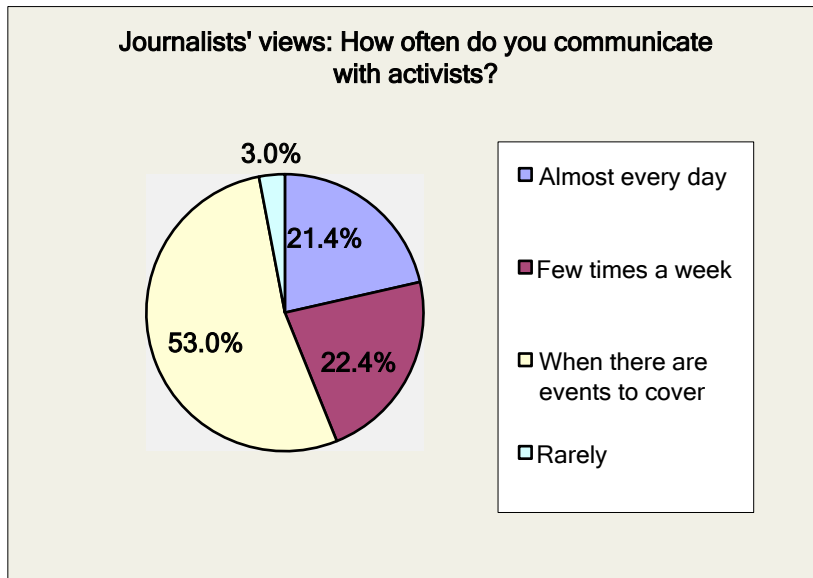
Figure (28): Activists' views: How often do you communicate with journalists?

Activists' views: How often do you communication with journalists?

- Almost every day
- Few times a week
- When there are events to cover
- Rarely

11.8%
14.7%
20.6%
52.9%
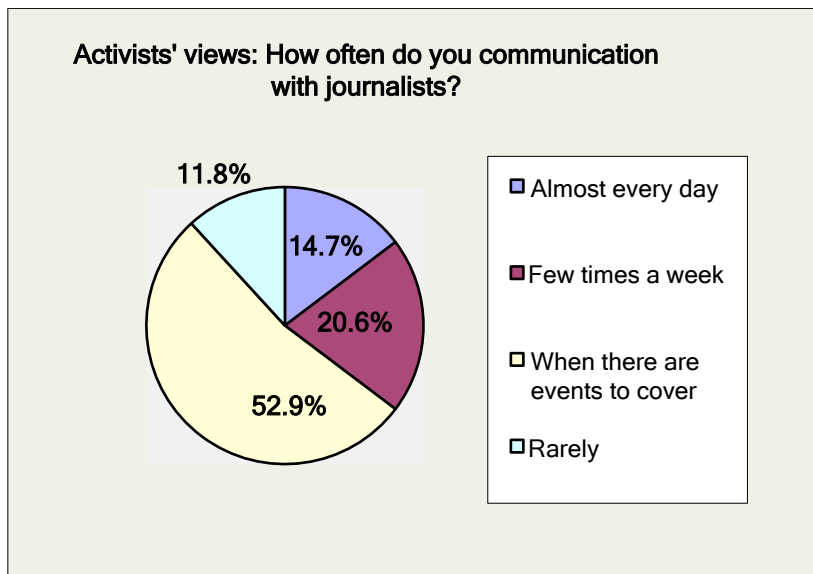
Question 4: What do journalists and activists do to maintain good and long-term relationship?

The majority of journalists and activists surveyed said they used social media to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with each other, as Figures (29) and (30) show.

Figure (29): Journalists' views: What do you do to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with activists?
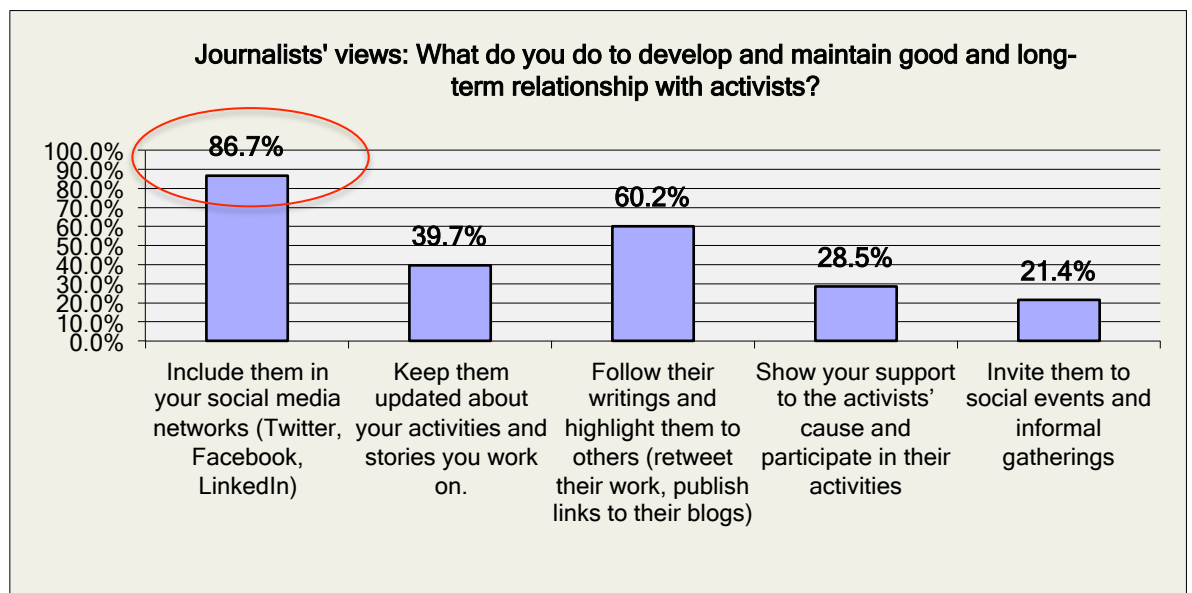
Figure (30): Activists' views: What do you od to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with journalists?
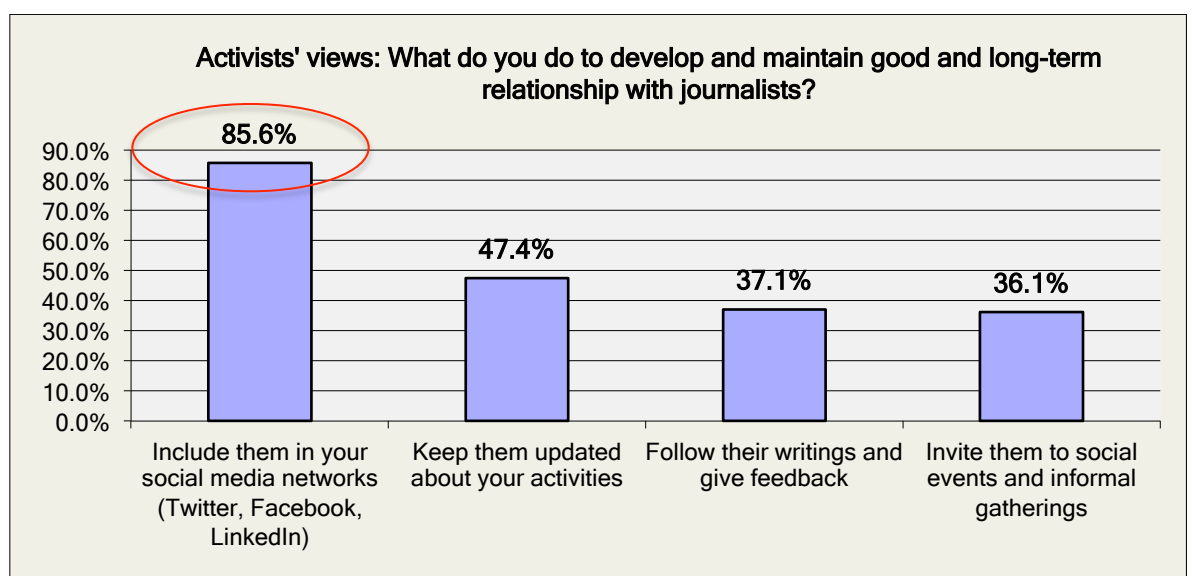
The fifth question was also shared by both questionnaires and it focused on 'news sources' with the aim of getting insights on how journalists and activists perceive this element of coverage. The survey results show that both activists and journalists agree that activists, more than any other party involved in the Egyptian Revolution, should be the prime source of news and information.

Question 5: Who do you think should be the prime source of news and information about the Egyptian Revolution?

The majority of journalists and activists surveyed said activists should be the prime source of news about the Egyptian Revolution, as Figure (31) demonstrates.

Figure (31): Journalists' versus activists' views: the prime source of news.
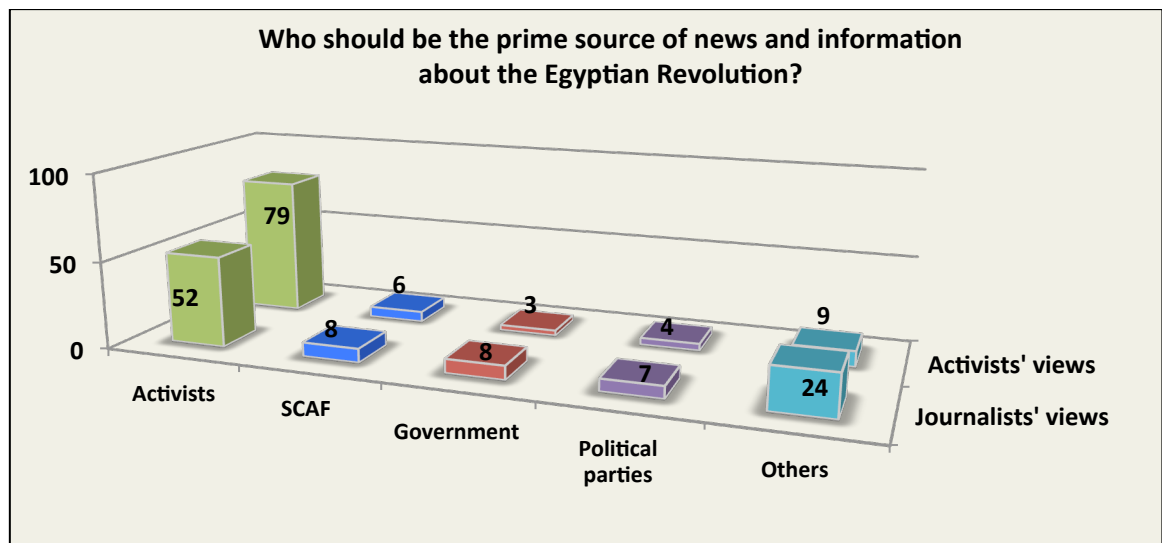
From question six onwards the questionnaires included different questions. For the journalists' questionnaire, the questions focused on their views of social media role in their relationship with activists and its impact on their reporting on activism and human rights during the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events.

Question 6: How often do you use materials (text, video and images) provided by activists on their blogs, Facebook pages and Twitter?

The majority of journalists said they used content provided by activists on their social media platforms. Approximately, 54% of them said they did when it was news worthy while 18% said they did in almost every story on the Egyptian Revolution. Around 28% said they rarely included content from activists. Journalists surveyed also said they used text more than videos and images. Figure (32) shows journalists' preferences regarding using content provided by activists on their social media platforms.

Figure (32): Journalists' views: How often do you use activists' social media content?
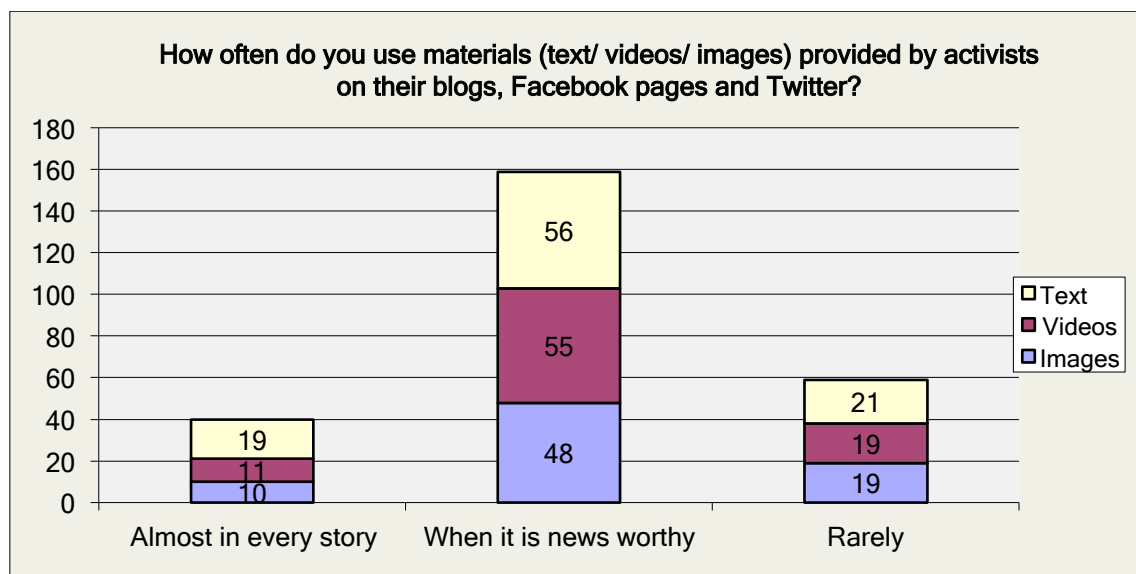
Question 7: How do you describe your relationship with activists?

More than half of journalists surveyed described their relationship with activists as professional, dealing with them just like any other news source. Figure (33) shows journalists' views of their relationship with activists.

Figure (33): Journalists' views: How do you describe your relationship with activists?

How do you describe your relationship with activists?

16.8%
15.8%
67.3%

☐ Reciprocal (they give you news tips and you give them voice)

■ Partners (you both support one cause)

☐ Professional (you deal with them just like any other news source)
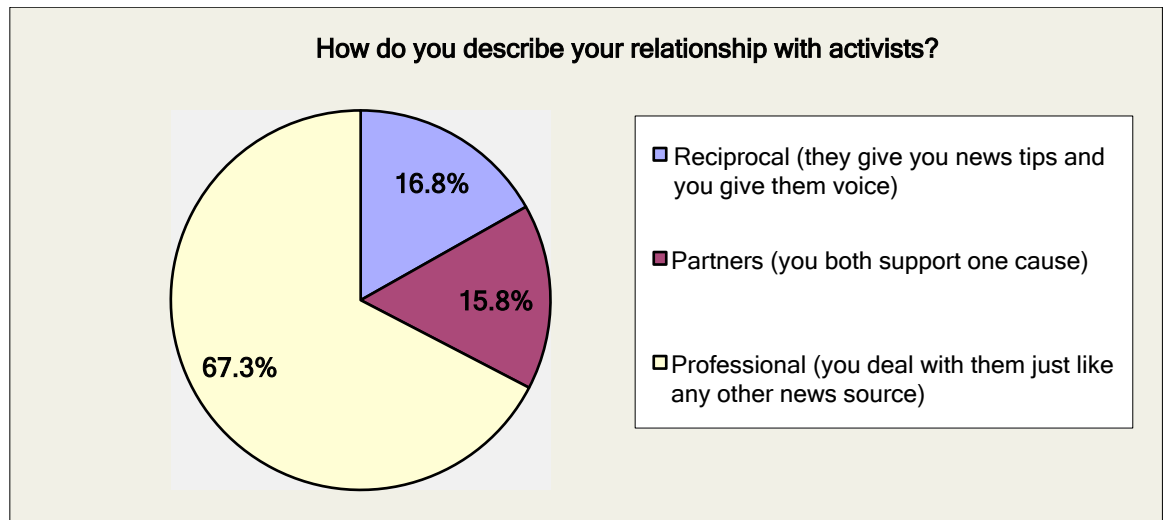
Question 8: How does your news organization facilitate your networks with activists?

More than half of journalists (67%) surveyed said their news organizations left it up to them to decide to communicate (or not) with activists and to include (or not) their voices in the coverage. However, close to one third of journalists said their news organizations encouraged them to communicate with activists, interview them and include their voices in the coverage. A slim share of 3% said their news organizations provided activists with reporting tools (camera, recorder) to cooperate with journalists in covering the Egyptian Revolution. Figure (34) shows journalists' views regarding the role of their news organizations in facilitating their networks with activists.

Figure (34): Journalists' views: How does your news organization facilitate your network with activists?

How does your news organization facilitate your networks with activists?

1.0%

29.5%

67.3%

3.0%

- Encourage you to communicate with activists, interview them and include their voices in the coverage

- Provide activists with reporting tools (camera, recorder) to cooperate with you and your colleagues in the coverage

- Leave it up to you to decide to communicate (or not) with activists and to include (or not) their voices in the coverage

- Discourage you from communicating with activists and including their voices in the story

Question 9: How would you describe the influence of your relationship with activists on your reporting on activism and human rights?

Half of journalists surveyed described the influence of their relationship with activists on their reporting on activism and human rights as strong (39%) and very strong (11%) while less than half (44%) described it as neutral. Figure (35) demonstrates journalists' perception of the influence of their relationship with activism on their reporting on activism and human rights during the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events.

Figure (35): Journalists' views: the influence of their relationship with activists

How would you describe the influence of your relationship with activists on your reporting on activism and human rights?

- 1.0% — Very weak
- 11.2% — Very strong
- 6.1% — Weak
- 43.8% — Neutral
- 38.7% — Strong

Legend:
- Very strong
- Strong
- Neutral
- Weak
- Very weak
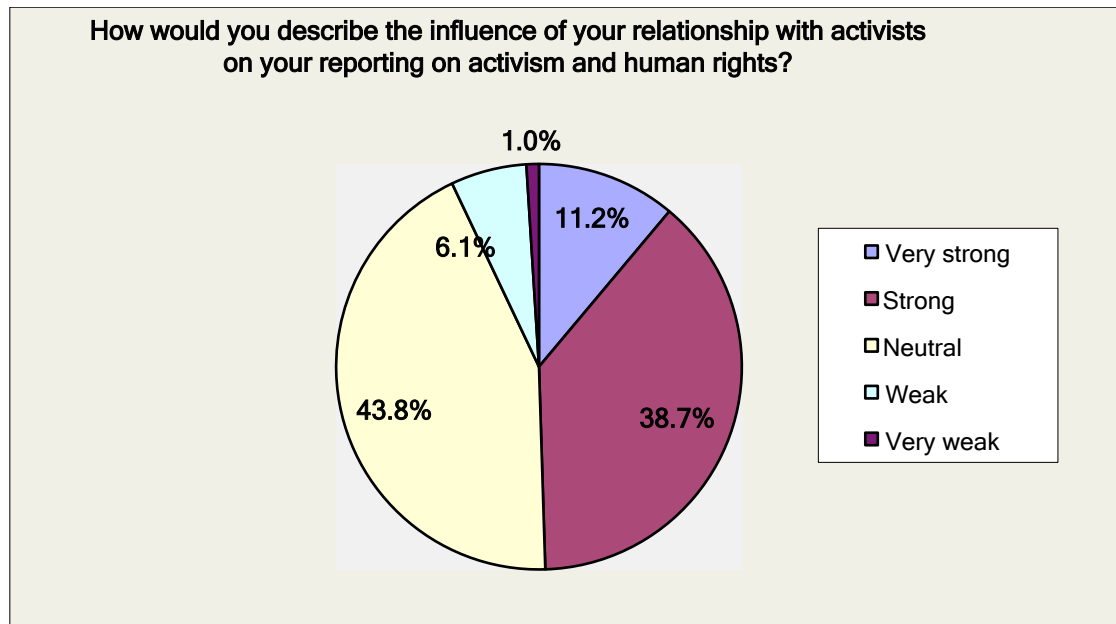
Questions 10 and 11: Which news organization do you work for? What is the language of your news reporting?

Figure (36) and Table (21) show the news organizations that journalists who participated in the survey work for and their language of reporting. When comparing their answers, they are found to be slightly different, with gaps between their answers ranging between 3% and 6%, across most of the questions except questions 5 and 7. In answering Question 5, 58% of journalists working for Arabic Language news media said activists should be the prime source for news stories when reporting on the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, while 45% of journalists who work for the English language news media said so. Also, in answering Question 7, 61% of journalists working for Arabic language news media described their relationship with activists as professional, while 70% of journalists working for English language news media said so.

Figure (36) The news media journalists participating the survey work for
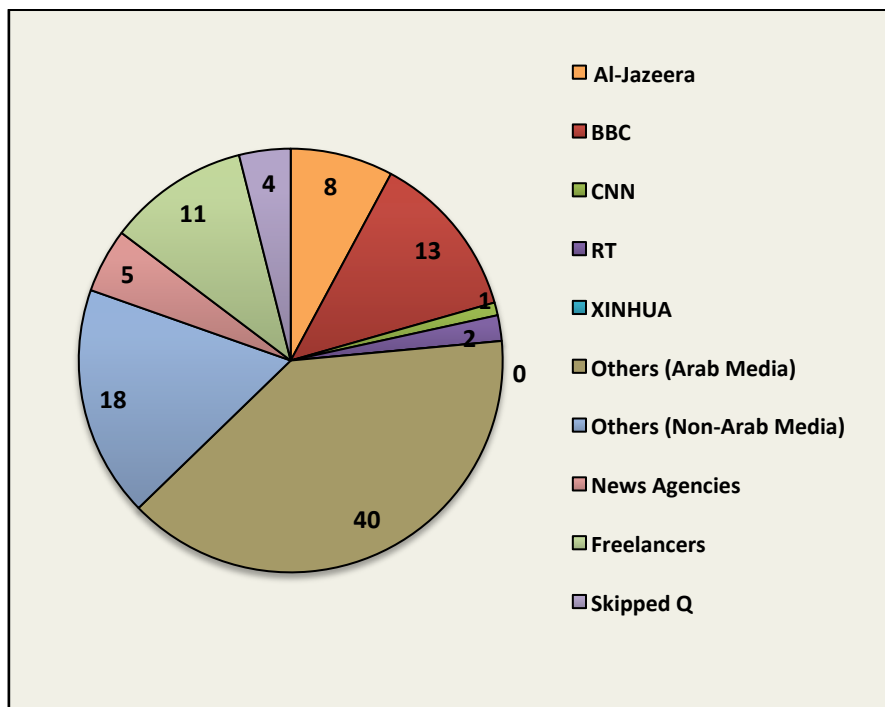
Table (21) Comparing answers of journalists working for Arabic language news media to English language news media.

Questions	Journalists work for Arabic media	Journalists work for English media	Gaps
Q1: I usually contact activists	54%	60%	6%
Q2 I usually connect with activists via Twitter	70%	65%	5%
Q3 I include activists in your social media networks (Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn)	90%	84%	6%
Q4 I communicate with activists when there are events to cover	50%	56 %	6%
Q5 When reporting on the Egyptian Revolution and its related events, activists are the prime source for my news stories	58%	45%	13%
Q6 I use materials provided by activists on their blogs, Facebook pages and Twitter when it is news worthy	85%	80%	5%
Q7 My relationship with activists is professional	61%	70%	9%
Q8 My news organization leaves it up to you to decide to communicate (or not) with activists and to include (or not) their voices in the coverage	62%	65%	3%

For the activists' questionnaire, question six onwards focused on the impact of the relationship between activists and journalists on activism, and asked activists to identify which news organization they thought was keen to network with them, interview them and highlight their activities. The aim of the questions was to explore activists' insights about the impact of networking with journalists on their visibility in the news coverage.

Question 6: How does your network with journalists benefit your activism?

Around 42% of activists said their network with journalists benefit their activities by amplifying their voices to a wider audience while 29% said it

highlighted their cause in the news agenda. Figure (37) shows activists' views of the benefits of networking with journalists for their activism.

Figure (37): Activists' views: benefit of networking with journalists on activism

How does your network with journalists benefit your activism? (you could tick more than one)
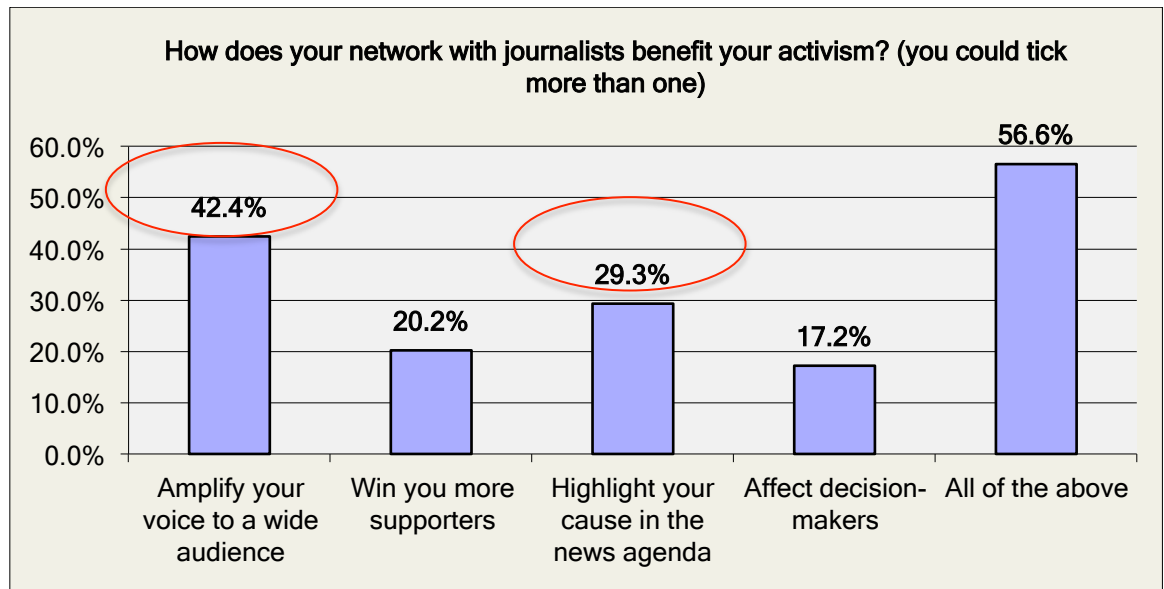
Question 7: Which of the following news organizations have you developed strong network with its journalists?

Approximately, 63% of activists said they have developed a strong network with BBC Arabic journalists, followed by Al-Jazeera Arabic with 62%. BBC English came third, followed by Al-Jazeera English. None of the activists said they developed strong networks with XINHUA Arabic and English journalists. Figure (38) shows the news organizations activists developed networks with their journalists.

Figure (38): Activists' networks with journalists, by news organization

Which of the following news organizations have you developed a strong network with its journalists? (You could tick more than one)

Al-Jazeera Ar: 63.5%, Al-Jazeera En: 62.2%, BBC Ar: 39.2%, BBC En: 36.5%, CNN Ar: 25.7%, CNN En: 23.0%, RT Ar: 13.5%, RT En: 5.4%, XINHUA Ar: 0.0%, XINHUA En: 0.0%
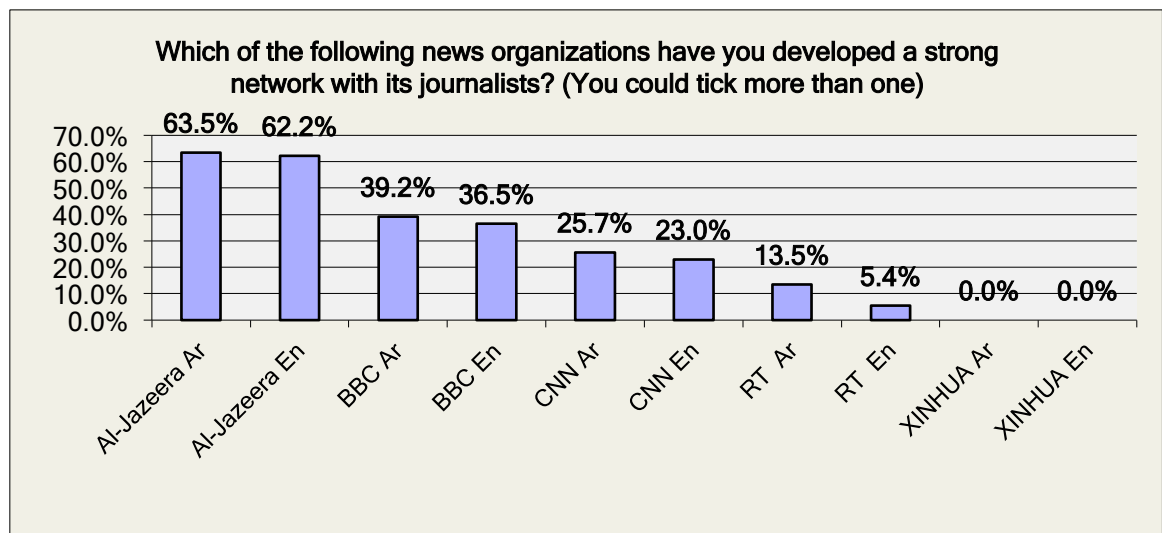
Question 8: Which of the following news organizations do you think you are most frequently interviewed by?

Around 41% of activists surveyed ranked Al-Jazeera Arabic first among the selected news organizations, which they were frequently interviewed by, followed by BBC Arabic came (22%) and Al-Jazeera English (15%). None of the activists said RT Arabic, RT English, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English interviewed them. Figure (39) shows the news organizations that activists were interviewed (or ignored) by.

Figure (39): Activists' interviews with news organizations

Which of the following news organizations do you think you are most frequently interviewed by?

Activists' numbers — Al-Jazeera Ar: 33, BBC Ar: 18, Al-Jazeera En: 12, BBC En: 8, CNN En: 6, CNN Ar: 4, RT Ar: 0, RT En: 0, XINHUA Ar: 0, XINHUA En: 0
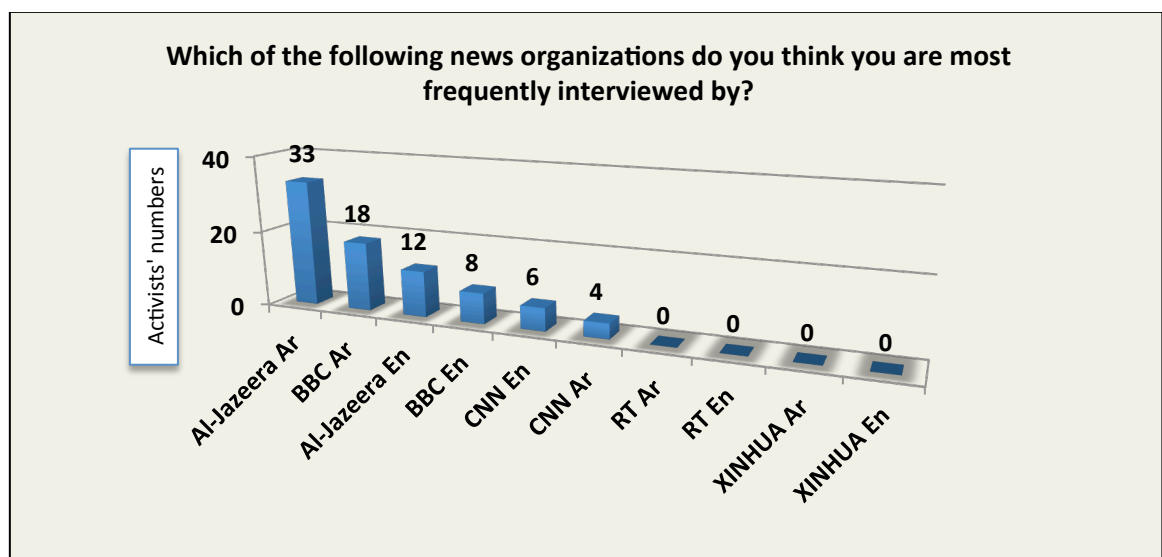
Question 9: Which of the following news organizations do you think is the most keen on highlighting your activities?

Around 49% of activists surveyed ranked Al-Jazeera Arabic first among the selected news organizations, which were keen on highlighting their activities. BBC Arabic came second (24%) and Al-Jazeera English came third (12%). None of the activists said XINHUA English, RT Arabic and RT English were keen on highlighting their activities. Figure (40) shows the news organizations that were keen on highlighting activists' more and others that did not.

Figure (40): Highlighting activists' work, per news organization
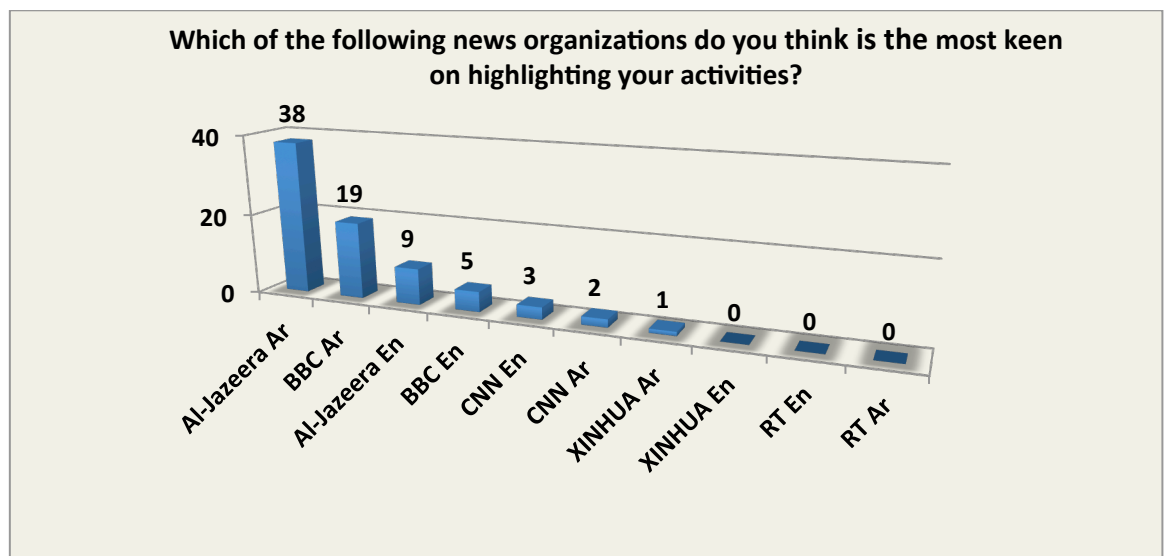
The findings of the two research methods used in the thesis, the integrated content-textual analysis and the survey, were explained in the first part of the chapter. They were grouped under five sections: revealing disparities in news coverage, identifying sourcing practices, measuring social media impact, identifying human rights-centered reporting and collecting news stakeholders' insights. The next part of the chapter gives the answers to the research questions raised in the thesis.

Research questions answered

In light of the research findings, answers to the research questions are explained below.

Research Question 1- How were SCAF-associated events covered by the selected news organizations, in terms of voices cited in headlines and leads, and source attribution?

The findings of the analysis of 913 news stories produced by the Arabic and the English news sites of Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA reveal the Arabic and the English news sites of the five news organizations shared certain patterns in the coverage, but with relative disparities. There were also disparities in the coverage, not only among the five news organizations, but also between the Arabic and the English news coverage of the same news organization. First, the coverage given to the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events by the ten news sites included in the study focused on two main parties involved in the conflict: the SCAF and the activists. The majority of voices in headlines and leads and also the majority of sources used in news text were either of SCAF or activists. The blue and the green areas in Figure (41) reflect the heavy visibility of SCAF (blue) and activists (green) in headlines, leads and as sources, comparing to other parties involved in the Egyptian Revolution. Second, with the exception of BBC English, other significant parties like the Egyptian Government and the political parties had low visibility in the coverage of the Arabic and the English news sites of the five news organizations despite their important roles in Egypt's transitional period between January 2011 and June 2012. Focusing the news coverage on the conflict between SCAF and activists mirrors, to a large extent, activists' discourse on their social media platforms where they reported intensively and throughout the transitional period on SCAF practices and the events of clashes with the security forces.

Figure (41): Comparative news coverage of SCAF-associated events
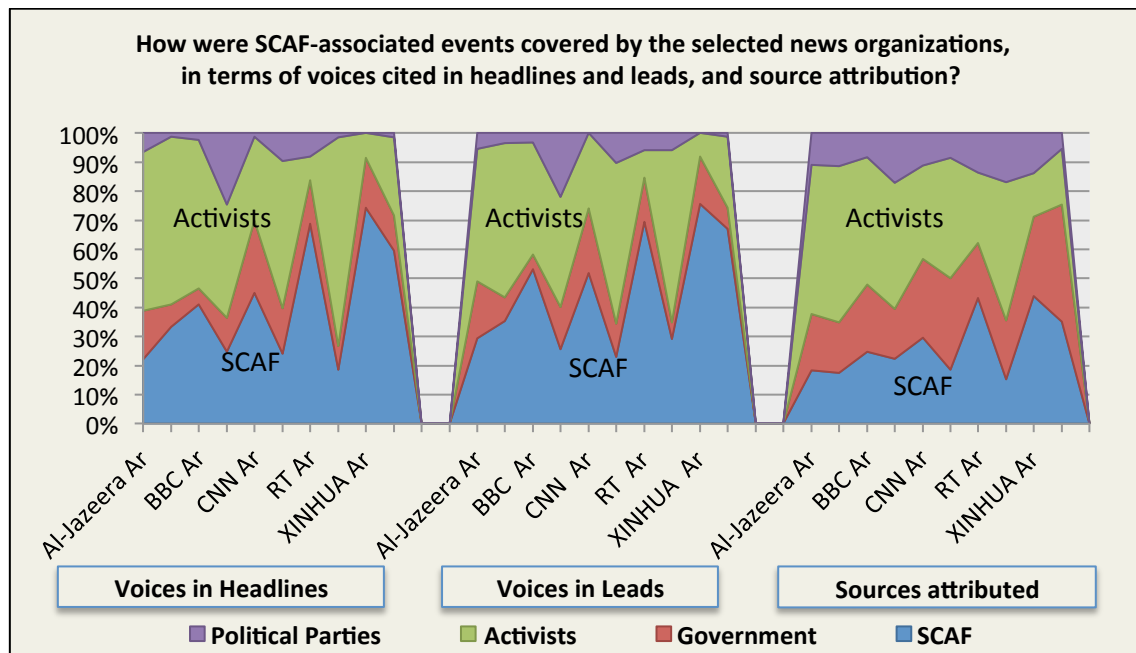
To answer Q1 in more details, the coming part explains how each of the news organization reported on the Egyptian Revolution and its associated event and the main characteristics of its coverage.

Al-Jazeera

Al-Jazeera network, with its Arabic and English news services, was one of the significant news organizations that covered the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. To many Egyptians, it was the voice of the January 25th Revolution and the revolutionaries (Yousuf, 2013). The findings of the analysis of Al-Jazeera's coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events affirm this description. In a total of 215 news stories (146 Arabic and 69 English), the Egyptian activists who led January 25th Revolution and continued their activism for 18 months till the first presidential elections on June 30th, 2013, were the most frequently voice cited in headlines and leads, and the most frequently source attributed in news text. Ranging between 42% and 45%, activists were visible in both Al-Jazeera's Arabic and English coverage more

than any other party involved in the conflict. The ruling military regime, SCAF, was less visible than activists, with visibility that ranged between 14% and 30%. The Egyptian Government came second with visibility that ranged between 7% and 18%. Though the period between January 2011 and June 2012 was a transition to a new democratic Egypt and political parties were actively working on their programs for the parliamentary elections and then the presidential elections, they had low visibility in Al-Jazeera's coverage, ranged between 1% and 9%. In summary, Al-Jazeera's coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events was characterised by the following:

- Al-Jazeera was mostly consistent across its Arabic and English news stories.
- It privileged activists, in all coverage elements, over any other parties involved.
- It gave low visibility to the Egyptian Government.
- It marginalized the Egyptian political parties across its Arabic and English coverage.
- It focused on the clashes between the activists and the ruling military regime at the expense of the political transition to a new democratic Egypt.

BBC

With its long tradition of broadcasting in the Arab region since 1936, BBC was one of the main sources of news about the Egyptian Revolution and its audience, particularly audience using its Arabic service across all platforms, increased (BBC's Media Centre, 2013). Similar to Al-Jazeera's coverage of the Egyptian Revolution, activists were predominantly the most cited voice and the most used source in a total of 194 news stories (93 Arabic and 101 English) sampled in the study. Ranging between 30% and 46%, activists were predominant in headlines, leads and sources with the exception of BBC Arabic leads, where they came second to SCAF. Also, similar to Al-Jazeera's coverage, the Egyptian Government and the Egyptian political parties were less visible in BBC's coverage. However, among all news sites included in the study, BBC English leads gave the political parties their highest visibility of 19%. BBC English was the only news site to pay attention to the role of the

Egyptian political parties and to give them visibility above 10% in its headlines, leads and as sources. The rest of the news sites, including BBC Arabic, marginalized the Egyptian political parties, giving them visibility that ranged between 10% and zero. BBC coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events was characterised by the following:

- It has some inconsistency (limited disparities) between its Arabic and English sites.

- With the exception of the BBC Arabic leads, BBC privileged activists over other parties involved in the Egyptian Revolution across all elements of coverage and in its Arabic and English news sites.

- BBC English was the only news site that gave considerable visibility (of more than 10%) to Egyptian political parties.

- While BBC Arabic coverage focused on the escalated clashes between the activists and the ruling military regime, and it overlooked the role of the Egyptian Government and the Egyptian political parties, BBC English paid some attention to their role, citing them more often in its news stories.

CNN

Since its outstanding coverage of the first Gulf War, CNN has gained popularity in covering the Middle East affairs, and so it provided extensive coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The analysis of a sample 141 news stories retrieved from the Arabic and the English news sites of CNN, revealed that activists were visible more than any other party involved in the revolution in all coverage elements of the CNN English news sites. They came in 42% of voices in headlines, 48% of voices in leads and 29% of sources used in the CNN English stories. For CNN Arabic, the SCAF was privileged over other parties in at least two of the coverage elements. SCAF came in 36% of voices cited in Arabic headlines and in 40% of its Arabic leads. Similar to Al-Jazeera, the Egyptian political parties had low visibility in CNN Arabic and English, ranging between 0% and 9%. The Egyptian Government had a relatively higher visibility in CNN's coverage than Al-Jazeera's and BBC's. The Egyptian Government voices and sources made between 10% and 22% in CNN's coverage. The Egyptian Ministry of Health in particular was a voice

frequently cited in the leads and it was also a source frequently used in the news text. Because of the bloody nature of the clashes and street fights between the Egyptian activists and the security forces, the Egyptian Health Ministry's officials and reports were often seen in the coverage. In summary, CNN's coverage of the Egyptian Revolution was characterised by the following:

- It lacks consistency between its Arabic and English news sites.
- CNN Arabic privileged SCAF over other parties involved in the revolution.
- CNN English privileged activists over SCAF and other parties involved in the revolution.
- CNN coverage carried the voices of the Egyptian Government, but their visibility remained lower than SCAF and the Egyptian activists.
- CNN focused on the frequent clashes between SCAF and activists and hence gave Egyptian political parties the lowest visibility in the coverage.

RT

As a multi-lingual international news provider, Russia Today (RT) provided daily coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events and had crews of Arabic, English and Russian journalists and news producers reporting from Tahrir Square and other hot spots around Cairo. During the early days of the January 25th Revolution, the coverage of RT was criticised for portraying the uprising as a US conspiracy and adding extreme opinions into the stories (Global Post, 2011; Der Spiegel, 2013). As the revolution unfolded and Mubarak had to step down and SCAF took over, criticism of RT's coverage was toned down. The Russian news organization continued to cover the Egyptian Revolution's associated events and reported on the conflict between SCAF and activists. The findings of the analysis of a sample of 124 news stories (61 Arabic and 63 English) retrieved from the Arabic and the English news sites of RT indicated major disparities in coverage between both sites. While the Egyptian activists were the most cited voice in RT English headlines and leads, and the most frequently source used in news text, they had the lowest visibility across all elements of RT Arabic coverage. Activists' visibility in RT Arabic ranged between 6% and 18%. Meanwhile, SCAF was the most

visible party in the coverage, with visibility ranging between 32% and 59%. Similar to Al-Jazeera and CNN, RT's coverage did not pay attention to the role of the Egyptian political parties and they had the lowest visibility in both RT Arabic and English, ranging between 1% and 10%. The Egyptian Government voices and sources were also relatively low, ranging between 6% and 14%. We can conclude that RT's coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events was characterized by the following:

- There were major disparities in coverage between its Arabic and English news sites.
- RT Arabic privileged SCAF over other parties involved in the revolution.
- RT English privileged activists over SCAF and other parties involved.
- RT Arabic and English coverage overlooked the Egyptian political parties and the Egyptian Government, and focused more on the conflicting SCAF and activists.
- RT English coverage was to a great extent similar to BBC and CNN, as it mainly targets Western audiences in the US and Europe, and it is keen to present the modern 'post-communist', 'pro-democracy' new face of Russia. It has been working aggressively since its launch on reaching out to a global audience and present the Russian point of view. It has employed young Western educated reporters and also succeeded in attracting well-known Western journalists like Lary King, who was "the face of CNN for 25 years" to join the organization (Der Spiegel, August 12, 2013).[60]
- RT English coverage of the Egyptian Revolution was a good opportunity for the news organization to get the Russian perspective of global affairs while appealing to international, mostly Western, audiences.

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[60] "King's new show, "Politicking," has been on Russia Today since June. His guests have included former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani and former Senator Joe Lieberman, two men who would normally never set foot in a Russian studio." (Der Spiegel, August 12, 2013)

XINHUA

Considering the nature of XINHUA as a news agency, its Arabic and English news sites provided extensive coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. A total of 239 news stories were retrieved from XINHUAnet, 134 from the Arabic news site and 105 from the English news site. During the early days of the revolution, XINHUA's coverage almost lacked the voices of January 25th revolutionaries, but as Mubarak stepped down and SCAF took over and recognized the protesters' demands, XINHUA, particularly its English news site, started to give activists some visibility, though remained quite low comparing to coverage provided by other international news organizations. Similar to RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic privileged SCAF across all coverage elements, over other parties involved in the Egyptian Revolution. SCAF had visibility of 52% in headlines, 56% in leads and 32% as a source. Activists' visibility in XINHUA Arabic was low, ranging between 6% and 11%. XINHUA English also privileged SCAF, but its visibility was relatively less than XINHUA Arabic ranging between 33% and 55%. Activists' share of voices in XINHUA English headlines and leads was 20% while it was 18% in sources. For the other parties involved in the Egyptian Revolution, the Egyptian Government had relatively low visibility as voices cited in headlines and leads, ranging between 6% and 12%. Meanwhile, the Egyptian Government sources were considerably used in both XINHUA Arabic (20%) and XINHUA English (38%). Such visibility of the Egyptian Government in coverage is because the Egyptian Health Ministry was the main official source of information about casualties during clashes between the security forces and the activists. For the political parties, they were absent from XINHUA Arabic headlines and leads (0%) and had a low share of 10% in sources. Also, they were almost absent from XINHUA English headlines and leads (1%) and had a low visibility of 5% as sources. In summary, XINHUA's coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events was characterised by the following:

- XINHUA was mostly consistent across its Arabic and English news sites.
- It privileged SCAF more than any other party involved.

- Though it marginalized activists comparing to SCAF's share of voices and sources, their share of voices in XINHUA English headlines and leads was 20% and their share of sources was 18%.
- It gave low visibility to political parties
- XINHUA, particularly its English news site, paid attention to the Egyptian Government and used it as the main official source.

Research Question 2- To what extent did the coverage of SCAF-associated events by the selected news organizations reveal sourcing practices?

The findings of the analysis of the sampled news stories across the selected news organizations reveal 'a counter-elite sourcing practice'. As explained earlier in the thesis, 'counter-elite sourcing' has been a practice associated with alternative media coverage when they privilege activists and voices of the groups that are usually marginalised over elite sources. Such practice was identified in the coverage of seven out of ten news sites included in the study. The Egyptian activists, who are usually marginalized by mainstream media, were often used more than elite and official sources involved in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. Activists were clearly privileged over official sources such as the ruling military regime of the country, SCAF, and the Egyptian Government. The Egyptian activists were the most frequently used source in both the Arabic and the English news coverage of Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN (Figure 42). They were also the most used source in RT English coverage. RT Arabic and XINHUA Arabic and English were the only news sites that kept the practice of elite sourcing in their coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, privileging the ruling SCAF over others. Nevertheless, activists were still seen as sources in their coverage. For example, RT Arabic gave them a share of 18%, XINHUA Arabic gave them 11% and XINHUA English gave them 18%.

In a total 3903 sources, appeared in 913 news stories, activists' share was higher than any other party involved in the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. Activists' share was 31% while an official source like SCAF came in 19% of all sources used, followed by another official source, which

was the Egyptian Government sources with 18%. To answer Q2, we can conclude that the coverage given to the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events carried a counter-elite sourcing practice shared by seven of ten news sites included in the study and though such a practice is usually seen in alternative media, it is considered an emerging pattern in news media coverage.

Figure (42): Counter-elite sourcing practices in the ten news sites
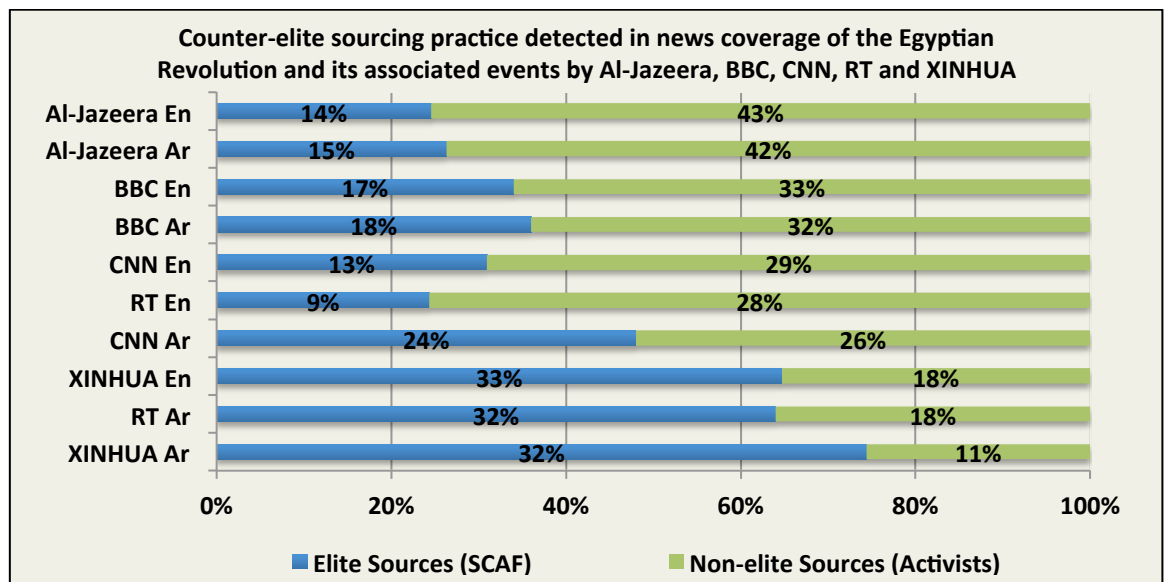
Research Question 3- To what extent did social media tools, particularly Facebook and Twitter, influence the relationship between activists and journalists covering the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events?

After years of being marginalized and almost absent from the news, the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events brought activists to the spotlight. The findings of the content analysis, as explained earlier, show that the Egyptian activists were the most visible voice and the most used source in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. Privileging activists in coverage was not only politically motivated as it did not happen only as the beginning of the uprising they led against Mubarak's regime, but it also continued throughout the months that followed, despite having a ruling military regime, SCAF, in control of the country.

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When activists frequently clashed with SCAF, six of the news sites continued to privilege them in the coverage. Including activists' voices in the news coverage naturally reflects an evolving relationship between the two sides, journalists and activists, and this relationship has been furthered by the social media tools used by both to serve their purposes. As the results of the surveys that targeted journalists and activists revealed a significant role played by social media in furthering journalist-activist relationship as following:

- Both journalists and activists said they used social media tools (Twitter 70% and Facebook 40%) to communicate with each other.

- The majority of journalists and activists surveyed (85%) said they used social media to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with each other.

- More than half of journalists surveyed (60%) said they followed the writings of activists, highlighted them to others, re-tweeted their work and published links to their blogs.

- More than half of journalists surveyed (52%) said they thought activists should be the prime source of news about the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events.

The views expressed by journalists and activists about their relationship on social media are also supported by two indicators observed in the coverage:

- First, the news sites that privileged activists in headlines and leads and as sources, also used more references to and direct quotations from activists' posts on their social media platforms than that news sites that did not privilege them. In six of the news sites that privileged activists in their coverage, 50% (and above) of references to social media in news stories came from activists' posts. This suggests that social media contributed to making activists more visible in the coverage.

- Second, the analysis of lexical consonance between the sampled news stories and activists' posts on social media revealed that all of the ten news sites included in the study had lexical consonance with activists, ranging between 78% (in XINHUA Arabic) and 98% (in Al-Jazeera English). This means that even journalists who did not include

references to or direct quotes from activists' posts on social media, their non-attributed lexical choices came in consonance with activists' language.

- Third, focusing the coverage on the conflict between activists and SCAF and on the street clashes they had with security forces mirrors activists' discourse on their social media platforms. Activists were intensively reporting and documenting the violations they were exposed to and they witnessed on social media where they connect with journalists. Also, the textual analysis revealed consonance between activists' lexical choices in describing SCAF's practices and violations and journalists' non-attributed key phrases and statements also describing SCAF's.

Research Question 4- To what extent did the sourcing practices and an evolving journalist-activist relationship lead to conflict reporting that is more centered on human rights violations?

Reporting on human rights violations committed during conflicts requires hearing the voices of people who were exposed to or witnessed these violations. As explained in Chapter Two, numerous studies that looked at news media coverage of wars and conflicts critiqued the performance of news media for marginalizing the voices of human rights victims and witnesses. Under what some media scholars describe as an 'elite sourcing practice', relying on official (elite) sources for news about conflicts, such as reports coming from the military or interviews with war generals, turn war causalities and victims of human rights violations into mere numbers that do not tell the full story. As the answer to Q3 indicates, such elite sourcing practice has changed in the coverage given to the Egyptian Revolution and throughout the conflict between the ruling military regime and the Egyptian activists. The 'counter-elite sourcing practice' identified in the coverage has marginalized the ruling elite 'SCAF' instead and brought the once-marginalized activists into the coverage and made them visible as voices cited in headlines and leads and as sources quoted in news text. Throughout the Egyptian revolution and its associated events, the January 25th revolutionaries and activists were not only victims of

security forces' atrocities, but they were also witnesses to the events on the ground. They documented human rights violations committed and published them on their social media platforms where they network with journalists. Therefore, by privileging activists, the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events was driven into more human rights-centered reporting. The findings of the textual analysis also support this outcome. Key phrases and statements used by activists in their social media posts to describe SCAF's practices, and mostly human rights violations and atrocities committed by security forces against activists and protesters, were in consonance with non-attributed lexical choices also describing SCAF in news stories. As the research findings show lexical consonance that ranged between 78% and 98%, this means that also the majority of the sampled news stories shared the focus on human rights' violations.

Additionally, views expressed by journalists and activists surveyed uphold this assumption. Half of journalists surveyed said the their relationship with activists had 'strong to very strong' impact on their reporting on activism and human rights. Also, more than 90% of activists surveyed replied to the question on the benefits of networking with journalists on their activism, saying their network with journalists benefited their activism by amplifying their voices to a wider audience (42%), highlighting their cause in the news agenda (20%) and helping them win more supporters to their cause (17%).

To conclude, it is safe to say that the new 'counter-elite sourcing practice' embraced by seven of the news organizations which covered the Egyptian Revolution and a social media enhanced relationship between journalists and activists have brought positive changes to the coverage of human rights violations. Moving away from the official-elite dominant style of coverage, reporting on the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events was more human rights centered.

Research Question 5- How do different news stakeholders perceive the role of social media in reshaping their relationship and its impact on their work?

Views of activists and journalists surveyed reflected that both of them thought that social media had significant role in furthering their relationship and in turn their social-media enhanced relationship had an impact on their work. For activists and journalists, networking via social media was significant to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with each other. Twitter, in particular, was chosen by both, as the means of communication they often used to connect with each other. Both journalists and activists considered Twitter as important as telephone.

Networking via social media brought benefits to journalists and activists. For activists, close to half of them said their network with journalists benefited their activism as they amplified their voices to a wide audience and as they highlighted their cause in the news agenda. For journalists, the majority said they used in their news stories content provided by activists on social media. More than half of journalists said they included content from activists' entries on social media only when it was news worthy while 18% said they did it in almost every story on the Egyptian Revolution. Around 28% said they rarely included content from activists. Journalists surveyed also said they used text more than videos and images provided by activists on social media.

Networking with activists via social media was a professional choice for more than half of journalists surveyed as the news organizations they worked for had left it up to them to network with activists or not. While more than half of journalists described their relationship with activists as professional (they dealt with them just like any other source), it was still seen by 17% as reciprocal, where activists gave journalists news tips and in return journalists gave them voice in the coverage. Also, 16% of journalists perceived their relationship with activists as partners supporting one cause. This might explain why more than half of journalists surveyed described the influence of their relationship with activists on their reporting on activism and human rights between 'strong' and 'very strong'. Also, this explains why lexical consonance

(between non-attributed key phrases and statements used by journalists to describe SCAF and activists' lexical choices in their social media posts) was quite high ranging between 78% to 98% although two of the news sites (XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English) included in the study had limited reference to and direct quotes from activists' entries on social media. It is possible to argue that the relationship between the Egyptian activists and the journalists, who covered the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, was enhanced by their networking via social media. Also, their social media enhanced relationship left its direct and indirect impact of the coverage. The direct impact came in activists' visibility in the coverage and in using references to and direct quotes from their entries on social media. The indirect impact came in the lexical consonance between news stories and activists' entries on social media. Both the direct and indirect impacts of social media have contributed to the emergence of other practices in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, as explained in the answers to the other research questions above.

Conclusion: Identifying Emerging Patterns in Journalism Practices

> "What constitutes journalism is not constant. New modes of journalistic practice, new circumstances in which journalism can and does operate, and new purposes for which journalism is called into action have all contributed to an expansion of what journalism is." (Zelizer, 2007, p. 4)

History of media tells us that journalism practices are not self-produced. They are rather the outcomes of an amalgam of socio-political circumstances and technological developments. Thus, they are not constant as journalists keep embracing changes around them. From the end of the Cold War, the introduction of the satellite TV and the Internet in the early 1990s, to the development of social media and the most recent Arab Uprisings, media scholars have been studying how journalists cope with these developments, sometimes modifying practices, and other times departing from old practices to new ones. Also, what constitutes journalism is changing and expanding to contain new concepts and new practices, usually triggered by technological developments (Zelizer, 2007; Bonin, 2013). Media scholars have been discussing new concepts and modes emerging since the 1990s such as civic journalism, online journalism, multi-media journalism, participatory journalism and more recently networked journalism and citizen journalism (Steensen, 2010; Nohrstedt, 2009).

Similar to the 1990s, the intense circumstances of the Arab uprisings, primarily the rise of anti-government group and individual activists, equipped with social media tools, have left their impact on journalism. "New media and more recently social media are the newest lenses through which we are experiencing the products of journalism." (Bonin, 2013) Under the technological and political circumstances of the Arab uprisings, some journalism practices have changed and new ones have emerged.

The importance of this thesis lies in its contribution to the understanding of changes taking place in journalism practices, probing factors causing them and analysing their impact on news coverage of the

contemporary Arab uprisings. As the thesis belongs to journalism studies, a multidisciplinary area of study that critically analyses the processes of news gathering, researching, writing, editing and reporting, it does not only give descriptions of current journalism practices (Erjavec & Zajc, 2011), but attempts to give explanations of such practices through probing the circumstances that might have pushed journalists to abandon long-established practices, modify some or embrace new ones. The thesis' contribution to the field of journalism studies came in its analysis of news media coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The findings have revealed that the circumstances of the Arab uprisings, combined with the development of social media tools, particularly Twitter and Facebook, have accelerated changes in journalism practices in a way that created a need for further research into certain areas of journalism studies. These areas include journalist-activist relationship, sourcing practices and human rights reporting. Also, significant questions have been raised about the impact of social media on journalism practices. One of the main questions asked is: are we witnessing a new era in journalism, marked with (new) or at least modified practices, driven by technological and political developments? The research findings of this thesis have identified the early features of a new era in journalism and traced three emerging patterns: a counter-elite sourcing practice, human rights-centered reporting and a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks. These early features and emerging patterns have appeared, at varying extents, in the performance of the sampled news organizations that covered the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. For the field of journalism studies, pointing out the fact that there are early features of a new era in journalism open the door for further research to explore if these emerging patterns will continue to consolidate into permanent practices.

The following conclusion to the thesis gives a summary of the research findings, explains the emerging patterns identified in light of the findings and the previous scholarly work done on these areas, and followed by the study limitations and areas for further research.

Summary of the research findings

This thesis was set to examine the news coverage given to the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events by a spectrum of news organizations, with the aim of revealing possible changes in journalism practices brought by the intense circumstance of the Arab uprisings. It focused on the news coverage of SCAF-associated events for the period (January, 2011 – June, 2012) by the Arabic and the English news sites of five international news organizations, Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, Russia Today and XINHUA, which represent a geopolitical spectrum of media ecologies. In order to explore possible changes in journalism practices, I sought answers to specific research questions that focused first on how each of the selected news organizations covered the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, in terms of voices in headlines and leads, and source attribution. Then, I questioned if there were different sourcing practices embraced by these news organizations. Also, I sought to examine the role of social media in furthering the relationship between activists and journalists working for these organizations, and consequently, contributing to changing their sourcing practices? If journalists and activists had a social media-enhanced relationship during their revolution and its associated events and if new sourcing practices were embraced, did both factors drive the coverage towards human rights-centered reporting? Finally, it was significant to survey the views of the news stakeholders, activists and journalists, to find out how they perceived the impact of social media on their relationship and on their work.

I used two research methods to answer the research questions. The first method was an integrated content-textual analysis of a sample of 913 news stories published on the Arabic and English news sites of the selected news organizations and a sample of 1989 activists' entries on social media. The second method was a survey of two sets that targeted Egyptian activists and journalists who covered the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. A total of 205 journalists and activists participated in the surveys, 102 were journalists and 103 were activists.

The research findings of the content-textual analysis method revealed relative disparities in the coverage given by the ten news sites included in the study. The coverage given by six of the news sites (Al-Jazeera Arabic, Al-Jazeera English, BBC Arabic, BBC English, CNN English and RT English) focused on activists more than any other party involved in the revolution and its associated events. Meanwhile, the other four sites (CNN Arabic, RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English) focused on the ruling military regime and gave the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) more visibility than any other party.

The analysis of the news stories sampled in the study also revealed that the sourcing practices of the ten news organizations were of two different directions: one direction privileged activists and the other one privileged the ruling military regime (SCAF). Seven news sites (Al-Jazeera Arabic, Al-Jazeera English, BBC Arabic, BBC English, CNN Arabic, CNN English and RT English) privileged activists as sources. The other three news sites (RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English) privileged SCAF. With seven out of ten news sites included in the study privileging activists as sources over the elite sources of the ruling SCAF, this indicated the emergence of counter-elite sourcing practices, embraced at different degrees by these news organizations.

Also, the findings of the first research method revealed social media-related practices in the sampled news stories. One of the practices was easily identified in the coverage when journalists used content from activists' entries on their social media platforms. Nine news sites included references to or direct quotations from activists' entries on social media, but the same seven news sites that privileged activists as sources were the ones that used their entries in half or more of the social media content they used in their news stories. Another social media related practice, which was subtle in the coverage, was the lexical consonance that the news stories had with activists' entries on social media. When a sample of activists' entries on their social media platforms was analysed to find the most frequent key phrases and statements describing SCAF, and then compare them to the non-attributed key phrases and statements also describing SCAF in news stories, all news sites

were found to have high lexical consonance with activists. Such significant social media-related practices revealed a social media-enhanced relationship between journalists and activists. Also, both, the sourcing practices that privileged activists and the social media that furthered their relationship with activists, were also found to be driving the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution towards human rights-centered reporting. By having activists as the dominant voices in the headlines and the leads, and the most frequently used source in news text and by having their social media entries widely used and their lexical choice in consonance with news stories, then it is safe to say that activists, more than any other party, were driving the news coverage. When activists drove the news coverage, it was expected to see their own concerns and interests, mostly about human rights violations committed by the ruling regime, highlighted.

The results of the surveys that targeted activists and journalists supported, to a large extent, the research findings of the analysis method. For the sourcing practices, more than half of journalists surveyed said that activists should be the prime source of news about the revolution and its associated events. Views expressed by journalists surveyed clearly supported one of the main research findings, which was the practice of privileging activists.

For the role and impact of social media, both activists and journalists surveyed said they used social media to communicate with each other during the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The majority of both said they used social media tools to develop and maintain good and long-term relationship with each other. Also, more than half of journalists said they followed the writings of activists, highlighted them to others, re-tweeted their work and published links to their blogs.

Activists' and journalists' views of social media supported the research findings that indicated a social media-enhanced journalist-activist relationship. More specifically, views expressed by journalists and activists surveyed upheld the assumption that social media had a significant impact on the news coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The analysis findings revealed high lexical consonance between news stories and activists, most of

which focused on human rights violations committed against protesters and activists. Also, half of journalists surveyed said the their relationship with activists had 'strong to very strong' impact on their reporting on activism and human rights.

Emerging patterns identified

Based on the findings of both the content analysis of the news coverage and the survey that targeted journalists and activists, three emerging patterns can be identified in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events by the selected news organizations, Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA. The three patterns are: a counter-elite sourcing practice, human rights-centered reporting and a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks. These patterns are interrelated and often lead to each other. For example, there is a linkage between a counter-elite sourcing practice and human rights center-reporting. These practices together have contributed to a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks, observed in the coverage of some of the selected news organizations. Also, social media appeared to be the central line, contributing to the emergence of these patterns and connecting them together. In the coming part of the chapter, these emerging patterns are discussed in light of the research findings, explain how they are manifested in the news coverage and how they are interrelated.

A counter-elite sourcing practice

From Bennett's study on the New York Times' coverage of the conflict in Nicaragua in the 1980s to the recent studies on media coverage of the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, media scholars have been critiquing news media organizations for presenting an 'official version' of the events they cover. Bennett (1990) maintained that voices included in news stories or expressed in editorials reflect the range of views expressed in mainstream government debate. The practice of indexing, as described by Bennett (*ibid*), undermines the role of news media in expressing public opinion by focusing on the views of the elite sources (Calcutt & Hammond, 2011). The voices of others who are

less powerful, be they ordinary people from the public or activists, were usually marginalized in coverage and in some cases they were totally absent.

The history of news media reporting on conflicts and wars reveal that it was widely practiced in mainstream media, which motivated the marginalized to create their own alternative media, and to take advantage of the Internet and its tools to make their voices heard. Media scholars like Atton and Wickenden (2005) looked at alternative media practices and revealed the practice of 'counter-elite sourcing'. It is the practice of privileging the usually marginalized groups, like activists and protesters, as sources in the coverage over elite sources. The practice of 'counter-elite sourcing' remained limited to alternative media though, with the development of more Internet tools, this kind of media kept expanding and developing to contain online forums and networks, blogging and lately social media. With hundreds of websites, online forums and networks, blogs and micro-blogs, the practice of 'counter-elite sourcing' has become widely exercised. Hermida, et al. (2012) took a quantitative content analysis of the sources cited by National Public Radio's Andy Carvin on Twitter during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian uprisings. The results of the study showed that non-elite sources had greater visibility than elite-sources.

With social media's diversity of sources and plurality of views, other media scholars started to argue that news media at one point of time, and to be able to stand competition in a complex media environment, will follow the practices of alternative and social media. They predict that news media will have to depart from their conventional elite-sourcing routine towards more source diversity and non-elite sourcing practices. Hermida (2010) was one of the scholars who initially argued that the traditional news model, which defines news as information and quotes from official sources; is in a period of transition. Social media tools are contributing to its reshaping by facilitating "the immediate dissemination of digital fragments of news and information from official and unofficial sources over a variety of systems and devices."

However, findings of studies done on journalist-sources relationship and the role of social media in diversifying sources are conflicting. Some

studies found out that social media drive journalists to diversify sources in their reporting and give voices to the usually marginalized groups. Other studies do not agree that social media might lead to source diversification in news stories; it rather reinforces the practice of elite sourcing since journalists tend to use and republish social media posts made by known politicians and public figures (the elites) more than ordinary citizens and marginalized voices. Amid conflicting findings and a complex media scene, Hermida (2013) and a number of other media scholars (Lowrey, 2006; Hearns-Branaman, 2009; Ali and Fahmy, 2013) have become less positive about the impact of social media and doubt seeing counter-elite sourcing practiced by mainstream news media. They maintain that despite the emergence of new technologies, the practice of 'officiating' news through official sources is still widely seen. Hermida (2013) argues that even with the contribution of Twitter to the coverage of events, the traditional voices and sources remain the loudest 'at least with the constraints of established news publications."

Such conflicting views of possible changes in sourcing practices brought by the social media or other factors, bring Bennett's indexing theory to the attention. Bennett (1990) predicted that news media's elite sourcing and 'indexing' system might change if triggered by outside events that would reshape the relationships among the systems' actors. The events could be a big decline in the market for news, the loss of public confidence in the media, or individual 'idealistic' reporters who would insist on covering more social voices.

Looking at the intense circumstances of the Arab uprisings, we can see factors that could possibly trigger change in the news media sourcing practices. The first factor is the rise of social media-equipped group and individual activists who reported and documented in text, image and video the events of the uprisings as they unfolded on the ground. In many cases, social media activists were the ones who broke the news first before news media and they have become indispensible sources of news. Social media-equipped activists fit Bennett's description of individual 'idealistic' reporters who would insist on covering more social voices. They also form what Newman et al. (2013) called "an emerging Fifth Estate, built on the activities of networked individuals

sourcing and distributing their own information." Second, mainstream news media, particularly in the Arab region, have a credibility crisis caused by government's excessive control over media institutions and news media's practice of marginalizing the public voice, particularly dissidents' and activists' voices (Khamis, 2011). Under these circumstances where news media are losing credibility and alternative (social) media are gaining popularity and independence, if the news organizations would not modify their practices, they will lose their audiences to the emerging social media. Encapsulating such a complex media scene, the 2013 State of the News Media Report by Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism notes:

> "There are all sorts of contributions in the evolving landscape of news and, in many ways, more opportunities for citizens to access information. But there are more signs than ever that the reduced reporting power in the news industry is having an effect and may weaken both the industry's capacity to produced in-depth journalism and its credibility with the public at the same time that others are gaining more voice."

As the Arab countries were shaken by an unprecedented wave of uprisings, the gap between social media practices and news media practices has become wider and many news organizations covering these events realized that they have to modify their practices and possibly embrace new ones. Under the intense circumstances of the Arab uprisings, news media's collaboration with social media-equipped group and individual activists has been furthered and naturally reflected on journalism practices, particularly sourcing practices. Therefore, when this thesis analyzed the sourcing practices of ten news sites that covered the Egyptian Revolution and its associated event, it revealed an emerging pattern of 'counter-elite sourcing practice' by seven (out of ten) of the news sites included in the study. As demonstrated in Figures 4 and 10 and tables 15 and 16, the Arabic and the English news sites of Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN, and the English news site of RT, privileged activists as sources over all other parties involved in the conflict.

The counter-elite sourcing practice might have positive and negative implications on the coverage. One of the positive implications of this practice

is the focus on human rights, which is also another emerging pattern identified in the research findings of this thesis. By privileging the Egyptian activists as sources, the coverage was found to be driven towards human rights-centered reporting, a characteristic that was missing from the coverage of conflicts under elite sourcing practices. Several studies assessing media coverage of human rights found out that reporting on human rights was influenced by the government's policies towards the issues and the countries or the regions where human rights violations were committed. Thus, with official and elite-sourcing practices, human rights issues become visible in the media discourse only when the upper political circles of the government start to address them (Chomsky, 1982; Cassara, 1989; Ovsiovitch, 1993; Caliendo et al., 1999; and Ramos et al., 2007). Human rights centered-reporting, as an emerging pattern in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, will be further discussed in the coming section.

The counter-elite sourcing practice has its negative implications as well. The analysis of sources in the ten news sites revealed that with the exception of BBC English, the Egyptian political parties were almost absent from the coverage despite their significant role at that time. As demonstrated in Figure 10, the analysis of 3903 sources revealed that the Egyptian political parties had a slim share of 349, which is less than 10% of the total sources used. Following the collapse of Mubarak's regime and for 18 months, between January 2011 and June 2012, Egypt experienced a transitional stage to a new democratic state, and presumably it was a preparative time for the country's political parties to work on their programs and share them with the public in preparation for the parliamentary elections and then the presidential election. Despite the significant role of the Egyptian political parties at that time, only activists were privileged and their concern about the military rule was the focus of the coverage, at the expense of the political parties and their significant contribution to the democratic transition of the country.

Human rights-centered reporting

Numerous studies that assess news media coverage of conflicts critique their coverage of human rights violations for being limited and seasonal, focusing on certain countries and regions and only at certain times. One of the main causes of irregular and problematic coverage of human rights during conflicts, as most of these studies found out, was journalists' dependence on official sources to tell stories (Chomsky, 1978, 1982, 2002; Cassara, 1989; Ovsiovitch, 1993; and Hafner-Burton & Ron, 2009). The coverage of many conflicts that happened in the last century and early in the 21st century lacked the voices of the victims or those who were affected by war atrocities. They were almost absent from news media, which gave the official version of the conflict's stories. By relying on official sources, such as government reports or interviews with military generals, turn victims of human rights violations and war atrocities into mere numbers that do not provoke the public and politicians to take actions. Chomsky (1978, 1982, 2002) drew the attention to many cases where human rights violations during conflicts went unreported in the media and gave an example of the coverage of East Timor's crisis in the 1970s. Chomsky (1982) noted that human rights violations committed by the pro-US Indonesian authorities went unreported and the voices of the victims were absent.

> "Timorese refuges were scrupulously avoided, in dramatic contrast to refugees from Communist oppression. When Henry Kamm, the Pulitzer Prize-winning Southeast Asian Correspondent of the New York Times, deigned to mention East Timor while the war raged in full fury, he did not rely on reports on refugees, priests, or the numerous other sources available. Rather, he interviewed Indonesian generals..." (Chomsky, 1982, p. 194)

As it is evident from previous studies, official 'elite' sourcing practices had a negative impact on media coverage of human rights violations during conflicts. Therefore, if news organizations modify their sourcing practice, there is a possibility for reporting on human rights to improve, as research findings of this thesis indicate.

During the first 18 days of the January 25th Revolution, protesters in Tahrir Square and in other hot spots around the country were engaged in daily confrontations with Mubarak's security forces, which used fierce violence killing and injuring hundreds of them. When Mubarak stepped down and SCAF took over, it was a short truce before bloody clashes between the ruling military regime and protesters, led by January 25th Revolutionaries and activists, restarted. As activists were pressing for a fast pace of reform and a quick transfer from military to civilian rule, SCAF was slow, reluctant and appeared strongly clinging to power. The security forces, under the ruling military regime, committed human rights violations against protesters and activists, detained thousands of young men and women and put them for military trials (Azzam, 2012). As the events of the early days of the revolution were documented and uploaded by activists on social media platforms, they did the same with SCAF's violations. They documented, in text, image and videos, abuses by security forces to protesters and activists. The infamous image of the Egyptian blue bra-girl who was dragged, stripped and brutally beaten by security forces in Tahrir Square, is one of many cases of human rights abuses, documented and disseminated on social media platforms by citizen journalists and activists. The image of the blue bra-girl and similar images and stories made front-page news in media across the world. Moreover, the voices of activists who were often victims and witnesses of human rights violations were privileged in the coverage, as identified in this thesis.

As indicated earlier, a counter-elite sourcing practice that privileged the January 25th Revolutionaries and activists could be seen as one of the factors that drove the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events towards human rights-centered reporting. Activists, who were the most frequently used source in the coverage as they counted for 1198 times of a total 3903 sources used, appeared to tell their stories and to expose human rights abuses committed by the ruling regime. Beside being privileged as sources, indications of human rights centered reporting came in other elements of the coverage. The voices in the headlines and the leads, which were also predominantly of activists, and the non-attributed key phrases and statements describing SCAF were in lexical consonance with activists' description of

SCAF's practices in their social media's entries. As explained earlier, when activists' frequently used statements to describe SCAF's practices, they were actually describing human rights violations committed by SCAF's security forces against protesters and activists (see Figure 17). This is in addition to including content from activists' entries on social media, which again carried a great deal of anti-SCAF narrative (see Figure 13).

A disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks

The first two emerging patterns identified in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, a counter-elite sourcing practice and human rights-centered reporting, have contributed to the emergence of a third pattern, which can be described as a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks. A typological constrain reporting is the outcome of the relationship between the news organizations and the political system. To many media scholars, differences noted in reporting practices, which might result in disparities in news coverage of the same events by different news organizations, are the outcomes of different political environments where these organizations operate.[61]   In reasoning disparities in news coverage, media scholars often use a media typologies' approach to understand why news organizations in different countries behave differently. This is particularly seen in comparative studies of news coverage of major events such as wars or conflicts. Thus, many scholars were driven to develop media typologies and list the features of each in order to provide frames of reference that could help explain why media behave the way they do in certain countries. By using a typologies' approach, it was not difficult for media researchers to explain for example why Arab opposition voices were absent from the media in Saudi Arabia, or why human rights reports by foreign NGOs did not reach the Chinese media (Hearns-Branaman, 2009). It is the closed political system, authoritarian as in the Saudi Kingdom, or Communist as in China, which imposes heavy censorship on the news media and forces journalists to skip stories deemed threatening to the political system. Media scholars have been

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[61] Gross (2002) defines a media typology as an approach "to explain the relationship between the media and the economic, political, and ideological realities of a society."

pre-occupied with the notion that the relationship between the political regime and the media plays the most significant role in shaping the media system. While early attempts to develop media typologies were based mainly on this notion, significant political and technological developments that started in the early 1990s[62] forced media scholars like Altschull (1995), Hallin and Manchini (2004), Norris (2008), Hachten (2012) and Rugh (2007), to modify previously set media typologies such as Siebert and his colleagues' *Four Theories of the Press*.

The circumstances of the Arab uprisings, which forced several Arab regimes to collapse, and witnessed the rise of social media-equipped group and individual activists, are once again pushing media scholars to re-assess their approaches. Similar to the 1990s' and reflecting today's complex media scene, there are calls for less ideological comparative approaches in reasoning disparities in news coverage (Jakubowicz & Sükösd, 2008). The complexity of the media scene, since the beginning of the uprisings' wave in December 2010, has become more visible to media scholars and researchers than before.

Prior to the Arab uprisings, there were signs of such complexity in the media scene. Al-Jazeera news organization is one of those signs. It is complex to explain why a news organization like Al-Jazeera, which is based, owned and managed by a closed political regime like the Qatari royal family, privileges revolutionaries and human rights activists and gives voice to political opposition movements throughout the Arab region. Al-Jazeera is an example of news media organizations that are seen as supporters of democracy, freedom and human rights despite the fact that they belong, financially and geographically, to states notoriously classified as dictatorial and authoritarian. As explained earlier, media scholars have been faced with a paradox that drives them to think about a new paradigm in the media-state relationship that would explain how such 'democratic' media operate and survive under undemocratic regimes (Abdelmoula, 2012).

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[62] As explained in Chapter two, while the early 1990s witnessed the collapse of the Soviet Union followed by a wave of anti-communism revolutions across Eastern Europe, it also experienced around the same time the proliferation of satellite channels.

The Arab uprisings have added more complexity to the media scene with the rise of social media-equipped anti-regime movements. The old centers of powers (political regimes) are weakened but still resisting change, and new centers of power have emerged (social media-equipped groups and individual activists) and they are trying to make their voices widely heard. The old and the new centers of powers are in a race and they often clash, not only on the ground, but also on news screens. News reporting of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events expose to a large extent the complex media scene and the roles played by the old and the new powers in driving coverage. The research findings show signs of the rising power of anti-regime group and individual activists, being privileged in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. In at least seven of the news sites, Al-Jazeera Arabic, Al-Jazeera English, BBC Arabic, BBC English, CNN Arabic, CNN English and RT English, the rising power of anti-regime group and individual activists is visible in most of the coverage elements. They are the dominant voices in the headlines and the leads, they are the most frequently used source in news text, and their social media entries are the most referred to. Their rising power is also seen, but subtly in the coverage given by the other three news sites, RT Arabic, XINHUA Arabic and XINHUA English. Ranging between 78% and 84%, their non-attributed key phrases and statements describing SCAF and its practices are in consonance with the lexical choices of activists' entries on their social media platforms. While it is argued that lexical consonance between news stories and activists' entries on social media neither imply that activists influenced journalists, nor that journalists influenced activists, it does reflect a social media enhanced relationship between journalists and activists at the expenses of journalists' relationship with the ruling military regime, SCAF, and other parties involved in the revolution. Therefore, a comparative overview of the coverage given to the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events by the ten news sites included in the study reveals that these news organizations, regardless of the political environments they operate in, have embraced, at varying degrees, the rising power of Egypt's anti-regime groups and individual activists. This also means that a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks is seen in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events. The signs of this disruption, as

an emerging pattern in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, are clearly seen in two cases: Al-Jazeera and XINHUA.

For Al-Jazeera, the signs of a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks have been noticed since it was launched in 1996, but it became more visible in the coverage of the Arab uprising. Al-Jazeera's practices are in conflict with the restrictions the Qatari ruling regime imposes on the rest of the media organizations that operate in the country. While Al-Jazeera's coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events privileged activists across all coverage elements, Qatar still restricts freedom of speech, Qatari media tend to self-censor and journalists could face criminal penalties, including prison terms, for defamation (Human Rights Watch, 2013).[63] Rugh (2004) classifies the media system in Qatar as 'loyalist', a group that gathers the Saudi Kingdom, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Oman and Palestine. The loyalist media system is characterized by combining development with traditional authoritarianism, where media organizations, though privately owned and well developed, are under direct and indirect control of the political regime. Under the loyalist media system of Qatar, Al-Jazeera's practices in covering the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events can be described as a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks.

For XINHUA, its coverage is another example of a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks. XINHUA is a news organization that is based, owned and operated by a communist regime, classified as a closed political system that uses the media to serve its political agenda. XINHUA's sources are predominantly official sources and when it comes to issues related to human rights and freedom of speech, XINHUA's journalists are highly sensitive in covering them. Hearns-Branaman (2009) noted that the Chinese media largely ignore reports on issues of human rights

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[63] "After his arrest in November 2011, Qatari poet Muhammad ibn al-Dheeb al-Ajami remained in detention a year later for a poem he recited in which he insulted the emir, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani. Article 134 of the penal code provides for five years' imprisonment for criticism of the ruler. The state prosecutor charged al-Dheeb with "inciting the overthrow of the ruling regime" under article 130 of the penal code, a charge that can carry the death penalty." (Human Rights Watch, 2013, p. 1)

and freedom, particularly by foreign NGOs. However, XINHUA's coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events did not exactly match the classification given to the Chinese media. The Egyptian activists who led the January 25th Revolution against Mubarak's regime and who called for freedom and respect of human rights were not absent from XINHUA's Arabic and English coverage. Though considered low, comparing to other news sites included in the study, activists were still visible in XINHUA's headlines (6%) and leads (6%) and as sources (11%). In XINHUA's English, activists were even more visible in the coverage; they came in 20% of voices in the headlines, 20% of voices in the leads and 18% of sources used. Moreover, XINHUA's Arabic news stories had lexical consonance with activists' entries on social media of 78% and it went up to 84% in XINHUA's English news stories. The emerging pattern of a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks identified in XINHUA's coverage has also been noticed by a recent study by Chen, et al. (2012). Chen and his colleagues analyzed news sources in four selected Chinese newspapers over ten years, between 2001 and 2010, and identified a trend of embracing more non-governmental civilian voices as news sources. They noted:

> "Though the government remains as the dominating "news source" for newspapers, other non-mainstream news sources (e.g. grass-root civilians) have emerged. Growing from the used-to-be "silent mass," they have become the "subordinate majority" nowadays, having strong influence in certain coverage. This trend has corresponded well with a growing understanding, as reflected by Chinese public opinions and possibly supportive literature references, that the Chinese government is growing increasingly tolerant of public participation, even dissenting voices, as it regards social and economic development." (Chen, et al. 2012, p. 697)

As the media, under political regimes known to be closed, are becoming more open allowing the voices of the rising power of social media-equipped groups and individual activists to be heard, a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks is observed. This means to media researchers that they will need to avoid reliance on previously set media typologies. Nevertheless, this doesn't mean to totally overlook historical

contexts and previously studied frames of reference, where such media developed and operated at certain times, but to deal with them as subordinate factors, among several other possible variables arising.

Interrelated emerging patterns

The three emerging patterns identified are interrelated and to a large extent function together. When the news organizations embraced counter-elite sourcing practices that privileged activists more than any other source involved in the revolution, they allowed their concerns about human rights violations committed against revolutionaries and protesters to be highlighted in the news narrative. As a result, the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events was driven towards human rights centered reporting and it was conveyed openly through direct quotations from activists and references to their social media entries, and subtly through lexical consonance with activists' social media entries. Embracing counter-elite sourcing practices and human rights centered reporting meant that the news organizations allowed new centers of power (social media-equipped groups and individual activists) to drive the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events at the expense of the old center of power (the political regime). As a result, a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks emerged and could be seen particularly in the coverage of news organizations that were classified as being parts of certain media systems. Amid these emerging patterns, social media is seen as a central factor contributing to their emergence.

The Social Media Effect

Since the beginning of the Arab uprisings, numerous studies looked at the role of social media, from mobilizing protesters and organizing massive demonstrations to reporting on the events and communicating them to the international community and the media. The debate around how effective was the role of social is still going on. Part of the debate goes on to the impact of social media on news media coverage of the Arab uprisings. Ghannam (2011), Cottle (2011), Iskander (2011), Sasseen (2012), Radsch (2012), Miar and

Keeble (2012) and Barkai (2012) argued that social media have equipped activists with effective communication tools that enable them to instantly document and disseminate their messages and actions in different forms: text, images and videos. Also, Idle & Nunns (2011) noted that social media tools have created strong ties between activists and journalists to the benefits of both sides as activists were not only networking with each other, but extending their networks to journalists working for international news organizations. Both activists and journalists cooperated together to report on the Arab uprisings' events and their central stage, platform and tools were social media. "The result was like a company of artists painting constantly updated pictures of events." (Idle & Nunns, 2011, p. 20) Also, as this thesis identifies certain emerging patterns of journalism practices in the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, as an example of the Arab uprisings, social media appear to be the central line, contributing to the emergence of these patterns and connecting them together.

For the first emerging pattern, the counter-elite sourcing practice, the research findings suggest a connection between social media related practices and journalists' tendency to privilege activists in the coverage over the ruling elite, SCAF, and other parties involved in the conflict. Social media related practices examined in the study were: references to activists' social media entries, lexical consonance with activists' social media entries and journalist-activist networks. The seven news sites that privileged activists were the ones that used more often content from activists' social media entries and also had the highest lexical consonance with activists' lexical choices in their social media entries. Additionally, when activists surveyed were asked about the news organizations they have developed strong networks with their journalists, between 63% and 13% mentioned the same seven news sites. The other three news sites that did not privilege activists in the coverage had a slim mention of 5% (in the case of RT Arabic) and zero mention (in the cases of XINHUA Arabic and English). These findings support what Hermida, et al. (2012) proposed when he evaluated social media's role in diversifying sources/voices involved in the construction of news. He argued that the open nature of social media help promote "pluralism in media discourse by providing channels for a

greater number and diversity of news sources." (Hermida, 2012, p. 480) Table (22) shows connections between using activists as sources in news stories, and social media related practices.

Table (22): Activists as sources and social media related practices

News Sites	Activists used as sources in news stories	References to activists' social media entries	Lexical consonance with activists' social media entries	Activists' views
Al-Jazeera Ar	42%	68%	94%	63%
Al-Jazeera En	43%	85%	98%	62%
BBC Ar	32%	50%	92%	39%
BBC En	33%	84%	92%	36%
CNN Ar	26%	33%	91%	26%
CNN En	29%	55%	88%	23%
RT En	28%	73%	89%	13%
RT Ar	18%	0%	80%	5%
XINHUA Ar	11%	20%	78%	0%
XINHUA En	18%	16%	84%	0%

For the second pattern, human rights centered reporting, social media contributed in driving the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events towards a more human rights-centered reporting. The signs of this contribution came in social media related practices, noted in this thesis. As Table (22) shows, nine of the ten news sites included in the study used references to activists' entries on their social media platforms. Also, all of the news sites included in the study had lexical consonance with activists' entries on social media, which were mostly descriptive of violations and abuses of human rights committed against revolutionaries and protesters. Activists' discourse, which was mostly concerned with human rights violations, was mirrored in the news coverage given by the ten news sites, which as indicated earlier, contributed to driving the coverage towards human rights centered

reporting. These findings correspond well to studies by Milovic (2000), McLagan (2003), Allan et al. (2007), Zayan and Carter (2009) Faller (2011) Khamis and Vaughn (2011) ICHRP (2011) Wiesslitz (2001) Joseph (2012), and Brough and Li (2013), which agree that the development of the Internet and its platforms and tools, from emails, websites, forums, to blogs and social media, have helped reporting on human rights and empowered human rights organizations and individual activists in different parts of the world to report on violations as they happen. Human rights violations reported by activists and citizen journalists via social media would not have been paid attention to without news organizations re-reporting them to a wider global audience and amplifying activists' voices to the international community.

For the third emerging pattern, a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks, it was the outcome of two conflicting centers of power, the old power of the ruling regime and the rising power of social media-equipped group and individual activists. As the analysis of the coverage of the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events revealed, the rising power of group and individual activists won the race against the old power of the ruling regime, at least on news screens, seeing them privileged in most of the coverage. Those activists neither had the physical force, like SCAF's security forces, not the legal force that put civilians for military trials, but they were equipped with social media tools that gave them a voice and connected them with journalists who amplified their voices to the international community. This means that news organizations have started dealing with activists as sources of power, and recognized their prominence as news sources. This was not the case prior to the development of the Internet and its novelty, social media. Anti-regime group and individual activists were struggling to get media coverage, particularly in parts of the world (including most Arab countries) ruled by authoritarian regimes, their relationship with journalists was usually restricted and problematic, and they were often deliberately isolated from the media scene. Storck (2011) and Miladi noted that anti-regime activities in Egypt and Tunisia, for example, were often unreported and many protests were not covered by local and international media. Also, in countries where news organizations operate independently from state control, although activists

seemed to be more visible in the media, but their relationship was problematic too. Bennett (2003), Rodgers (2002), Jong et al. (2005), Meier, (2007), Kanavalava (2007) and Harlow and Johnson (2011) noted that media often focused on events associated with violence and disturbance more than the messages or the objectives of staging such events. As several studies on media and activism described media coverage of activism as limited and problematic, Cottle (2000) reasoned this by referring to "a hierarchy of sources with a clear preference for political, governmental and corporate institutions." This was seen clearly with the failure of scattered activism efforts to make their way to the media, while organized activism whose lobbyists are active among politicians is given media coverage (Jong et al. , 2005). However, as social media empowering activists by providing them with established platforms, Cottle's hierarchy of sources requires review. It is not the institutional power of the corporates or the fierce force of the governments, but it is the soft power of social media that changed the hierarchy and brought activists to the front. It is, consequently, the reason why media scholars find it difficult to continue relying on the notion of state-media relationship when assessing news organizations' behaviors, causing a disruption in existing normative media typology frameworks.

Study limitations and areas for further research

Since this thesis focused on the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events during a transitional period of Egypt's political history that is marked by extraordinary circumstances, the research findings are limited to this particular case study. Therefore, it is significant to re-examine the emerging patterns in journalism practices that this thesis identified in other times and under different conditions and there are needs for further studies that would look at the news coverage of Egypt's affairs post the transitional period. Further research is recommended to focus, for instance, on the news coverage given to the conflict between the former ruling regime of the Muslim Brotherhood and the activists or to focus on a later stage on the conflict between the army and supporters of the ousted president, Mohamed Morsi. It is also recommended that such studies examine the continuation of these emerging patterns; to find out if they have

been developed into established practices or they had a short life span that was ended when conditions changed. This is particularly significant when it comes to assessing the coverage of a news organization like Al-Jazeera, which has been lately critiqued for openly supporting the Muslim Brotherhood regime, first against activists and later against the Egyptian Army after their winning presidential candidate, Morsi, was ousted.

Also, since the research in this thesis was limited to the Egyptian case as an example of the Arab uprisings, similar studies that will examine the news coverage of other Arab uprisings such as the Tunisian, the Libyan or the Syrian, are needed. It is significant to see if these studies will yield similar findings and will it be able to identify similar emerging patterns in the coverage.

Also, as the thesis identified an emerging pattern in news reporting that focuses on human rights violations committed during the Egyptian Revolution and its associated events, it was just a small part of a comprehensive study that examined several other elements of the coverage. It did not offer enough evidences to generalize this emerging pattern. Thus, there is a need for further studies that primarily address news coverage of human rights violations during conflicts. As indicated earlier in the thesis, despite many challenges facing news organizations when reporting on human rights, studies evaluating media coverage of human rights violations are still limited and there are gaps in this significant area of research. With most of the studies focusing on the coverage by Western news organizations, mostly American and European, it is not known how news media in other parts of the world report on human rights violations. Also, most of the studies, previously done, took a quantitative approach, mainly looking at coverage intensity over time, and focusing on certain geographical areas. However, both quantitative and qualitative methods are needed to be able to tell if there is an established pattern to drive the news coverage towards human right-centered reporting or not. Also, the role of social media in enhancing human rights reporting is another significant area of research. Though this thesis suggested that social media enhanced journalist-activist relations and contributed to driving human rights-centered reporting, it was identified as an emerging pattern that certainly needs further research to

see if it would develop into an established pattern, embraced by different news organizations.

Also, while there have been numerous studies done on sourcing practices and the majority of them concluded that the official elite sources are usually privileged in the coverage, very few empirical studies have questioned the shifts noticed in sourcing practices and started to explore the impact of social media on them. So, further studies that focus on the impact of social media on sourcing practices in news media are also needed.

The last area that is recommended for further research is related to the typologies' approach in understanding media performance. As indicated earlier in the thesis, media scholars have been pre-occupied with the notion that the relationship between the political regime and the media plays the most significant role in shaping the media system. However, the Arab uprisings have brought to the media scene new players who have been driving coverage away from the impact of the political regime. The rise of social media-equipped group and individual activists and seeing the news media embracing this rising power at the expense of the political regime, as this thesis suggested, open the door for more research that would investigate the possibility of seeing a new 'news paradigm' developing. The three emerging patterns identified in the research findings of this thesis could be among the early features of this paradigm.

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Appendix (1)

Non-attributed key phrases and statements in news stories

Non-attributed key phrases and statements in the sampled news stories of the ten news sites	
Al-Jazeera Arabic	**Al-Jazeera English**
-Bloody clashes between army and Coptic protesters. -Army and police forces increased in Tahrir, burning protesters' tents and chasing them in nearby streets. -Ten killed and 300 injured in clashes with army and police. -Violent clashes between police and protesters Protesters demanding SCAF to transfer power to civilian president, -Violent clashes killing 30 and injuring hundreds who suffocated from tear gas. -Demonstrations against SCAF's practices and its head, Tantawi. -State of anger for dragging and stripping a female protester. -It is important for Morsi to expand his political circles to face SCAF's power, who has been trying to weaken presidential power. -Military police used forces to disperse Tahrir's set-in. Military police … killing nine and injuring more than 300 in clashes. -Military police burned down protesters' tents and chased them away in streets around Tahrir Square. -Clashes between soldiers and protesters. -Harsh criticism of SCAF -Thousands of protesters demand SCAF to step down. -Protesters against SCAF, accusing the council of trying to influence presidential elections' results. -Thousands demand SCAF speed transfer of power. -Increasing numbers of protesters demanding SCAF to leave. -Protesters demand SCAF to leave. -Thousands in Alex demand SCAF	-Military cracked down on post revolution protests. -Military-backed violence against mostly Christian demonstrators, military brutality. -Cooperation between military and angry crowds seeking out Christians. -Another Coptic demonstration that had been violently dispersed by the military. -Several thousands protesters demanding an end to military rule. -Tens of thousands of demonstrators demanding Egypt's military rulers step down. -Angry over the military's perceived reluctance to dismantle legacy of Mubarak's 29 years rule. -Ruling SCAF cracked down on pro-democracy protests SCAF handed more than 10,00 civilians to trial before military tribunals. -SCAF became target of protesters' wrath over human rights abuses and stifling of dissent. -Security forces clashes with protesters. -Riot police set tents alight. -Live ammunition was fired, violence committed. -Army thugs brutally beating and kicking women. -There has been widespread condemnation of the Egyptian army's harsh response to the demonstrations. -Beating of female protesters by the ruling military. -Well-documented violence against women. -Attack on women, violence against protesters. -People dead and injured, condemnation against the military.

to step down.	-Army generals and their advisors have
-Increasing demands of SCAF to	condemned the pro-democracy
leave.	protesters, sometimes in extraordinary
-Criticism doubled against SCAF.	harsh terms.
-Anger, worldwide, caused by the	-Copts and Muslims alike have
image of a female activist dragged	intensive calls for the immediate end of
and beaten up by army.	military rule.
-Anger at SCAF for following	-SCAF, in the opinion of many, steered
Mubarak's regime and oppressive	the country closer to the brink of chaos.
policies.	-Targeting of activists and media
-Hundreds of activists protesting,	persons goes hand in hand with the
demand SCAF to leave.	security crackdown on protesters.
-Demonstrations demand SCAF to	-Clashes continue in Egypt over
leave.	military rule.
-More criticism against SCAF.	–Amid deepening distrust of the ruling
-Ultras accuse police and SCAF of	Supreme Council of the Armed Forces.
violence in Port Said.	-Chanting against Field Marshal
-Protesters demand SCAF to leave	Muhammed Hussien Tantawim, the
and transfer power to civilians.	Chairman of the SCAF.
-Protesters hold SCAF responsible	-Protesters continued their set-in-
for bloodshed.	despite the presence of thick clouds of
-Thousands protest against SCAF.	tear gas waffling through the air.
-SCAF's slow pace, not annulling	-Riot police and military forces used
Emergency Law, and keeping	rubber bullets and tear gas, armed with
Shafiq's government.	rocks and petrol bombs.
-Escalating unrest and protests.	-Hundreds of injured protesters, people
-Protesters remain in Tahrir Square	killed and live ammunition used.
demanding SCAF to provide times	-Egyptians angry over the slow
promised of changes, halt emergency	transition to civilian rule.
law and release those arrested in	-Complete abdication of power by
Jan.25th.	SCAF.
-Hundreds of protests clash with	-Criticism of the military has grown in
army who tried to disperse them.	recent days.
-Killing, injuring and arresting tens	-Thousands of protesters seeking an
of protesters by army.	end to military rule.
-Clashes between army and	-Police back by army officers fired tear
protesters.	gas and charged demonstrators.
-Ten killed and hundreds in clashes	Security forces fired tear gas and
with army and police in Tahrir.	attacked a makeshift field hospital.
-Army and police clash in Tahrir	-Tahrir violence and brutal crackdown
burning protesters' tents.	against peaceful protesters.
-Army evaluated Tahrir and Qasir	-Mood turns against military.
Al-Aini, burning down protesters'	-Mass rally to pressure the ruling
tents.	military to hand over power to a
-Political groups and PMs held	civilian government.
SCAF responsible for violence.	-Opposition to the military's perceived
-Protesters want Tantawi to step-	power grab comes from all sides.
down.	-Opposition to the military's perceived
-SCAF's steps have not stopped	power grab comes from all sides.
protesters' anger.	-Weeks of lessening goodwill between

-Demanding SCAF to step down and transfer and try those involved in recent clashed. -Bloody clashes between army and revolutionaries. -Two people killed and 750 injured in bloody clashes. -Protesters chant against SCAF's head, Tantawi. -Violent clashes killed a protester and injured 676 others. Many other were arrested. -Security forces clashed with Jan.25h injured and victims' family setting-in Tahrir, used rubber bullets and tear gas.	the people and the military. -Military police accused of baseless arrests, abuse and torture. -Military's heavy- handed street actions. -Egypt's military criticized for sentencing thousands of civilians in military courts. -Protests and street battles between demonstrators and security forces. -Clashes, and killing and injuring people. -Scuffles broke out as soldiers tried to remove activists from the square. -Military remarks are in stark contrast with witness and activists account, which blame soldiers for shooting and crushing protesters to death. -Riot police and soldiers are often asked to work in sync, and since protests reignited in Cairo, both groups have been seen clubbing the fleeing crowds. -Increasing reports of arrests and violence against local and international journalists. -Clashes between protesters and security forces, protesters suffering from tear-gas inhalation. -SCAF under intense criticism for failure to restore security, stop the rapid worsening of the economy or introduce the far-reaching reforms. -Vague roadmap for handing over power, never set a precise date for transferring. -Tantawi's assertion is similar to Mubarak's. Armed men attacked pro-reform campaigners. -Mass rally to demand the army cede power. -Clashes, tear gas and rubber bullets. -Police brutality continued. -Death toll rose. -Security crackdown on protesters. -Assailants supporting military -Military rulers asserted control over the legislative process. -Military power grab

BBC Arabic	BBC English
-SCAF is facing protests demanding transfer of power to civilians before June.	-Many Egyptian are frustrated with the pace of change.
-Human rights organizations protesting, demanding SCAF to transfer power to civilians.	-Violent and sectarian clashes
-The worst violent wave.	-Relations deteriorate between Muslims and Copts.
-Bloody clashes occurred between security forces and protesters demanding immediate transfer of power to civilians.	-Worries, distrust and intolerance
	-Killings added to a sense of lawlessness and insecurity.
-Thousands of protesters are back to control Tahrir following clashes with security forces.	-Military does not have sufficient troops to take over full policing duties.
-Protesters chant anti SCAF.	-Deadly protests against interim military rulers.
-13 people were killed and hundreds were injured in violent clashes between protesters and security forces.	-Demonstrators killed and injured.
	-Protesters have not been satisfied with SCAF'S pledges.
-Army police shot protesters in Tahrir with tear gas.	-SCAF under immense pressure from political groups and protesters, especially the Islamists, to drop what is called the 'El-Silmi' Constitutional document.
-Protests escalated against SCAF, accusing the council of being a continuation of the old regime.	
-Many Egyptians think SCAF failed to meet revolution demands and it brought back the old regime.	-Security forces used tear gas and rubber bullets against protesters.
	-Deadly protests, demonstrators killed and injured.
-Protesters chanting anti-SCAF demanding its departure.	-Attack on free speech and an attempt by SCAF to silence critics.
-Marches protesting against SCAF.	-SCAF shied away from the tough challenge of police reform.
-Tens injured in clashes in Tahrir Square.	-Fear military council is trying to consolidate power and resist democratic changes.
Hundreds protest demanding SCAF to immediate end military rule.	-Decision of the Supreme Constitutional court is a 'soft coup'.
-Anti-SCAF marches	-Growing sense that SCAF is reluctant to hand over its powers and privileges.
-Protesters reject Tantawi's speech.	-Distorted political chorography
-Protesters chant anti-SCAF slogans.	-In protests, people killed and injured
-Protesters demand transfer of power from SCAF to civilian and rejecting Tantawi.	-Many Egyptians have grown frustrations with the pace of change in their country.
-Protesters clash with security forces when they protest demanding SCAF to leave.	-Uncertainties about the intentions of the military had already been raised.
	-Days of tension
-Thousands of protesters demand SCAF to transfer power to civilians.	-SCAF gave itself sweeping powers
-Pressure on SCAF increased by protesters.	-Military council has taken many presidential powers.
-Clashes between security forces and protesters demanding SCAF to leave.	-Chaotic period of political transition, public frustration has mounted.
	Thousands protest against SCAF

-Massive demonstrations demanding SCAF leave. -Increasing numbers of protesters demanding SCAF to leave. -Many Egyptians are frustrated for SCAF's slow pace of political reforms. -Protests continue despite SCAF's promises to transfer power to civilians. -Massive demonstrations in Tahrir demand army to transfer power. -Thousands demonstrate against SCAF. -Anger escalated against SCAF for not fulfilling promises and continuing Mubaraks' oppressive measures. -Thousands of Egyptians participate in marches in Tahrir demanding reforms from SCAF. -News that SCAF is banning meeting of Syndicates and Unions. -Security forces used violence against protesters in Tahrir. -SCAF warns against protests and demonstrations. -Criticism and accusations against SCAF for the latest security crisis and its desire to stay in power. -Strikes aim to pressurize SCAF to transfer power to civilians. -Army soldiers are shooting in Tahrir Square and using clubs to dismantle protests. -Tens o thousands protest to demand SCAF to leave. -Clashes between army and protesters. -A female protester beaten up, dragged and stripped by soldiers. -Many Egyptians believe SCAF is not qualified to manage the country's internal security and carrying out reforms. -Army banned strikes and some violence occurred. -SCAF gives anti-protest threats. -SCAF's statements have strong tones.	-Soldiers used water canons and tear gas against protesters. -Dozens were arrested, unidentified assailants attacked protesters. -Unknown attackers used rocks, clubs, firebombs and shotguns to attack a protest news the Egyptian Ministry of Defence. -Attempts by SCAF to silent critics. -Attack on freedom of speech. -Violent street protests. -Anger at the authorities' inability to prevent a riot at a football match. -Securities fired tear gas at protesters. -Military used the term 'thugs' to justify the crackdown on people demanding a return to civilian rule. -Unrest, dozens died and injured. -Security forces tried to break up massive protests. -Violent protests and clashes -Egyptians fear military intends to cling to power. -Violence the worst, clashes, street battles -Violence and clashes. -Protesters gave a cautious welcome to the army statement. -Military warning and talking tough -Violence, dozes injured and killed -Army crackdown on protesters using gunshots. -Storm of criticism against the army -Violence and clashes -Copts grievances against interim government. -State of flux and confusion -Massive protests, worst violence -Anti-military protests -Thousands of protesters, many killed and injured. -Violence and tension, tear gas and birdshots used. -Violent clashes and fierce fighting -Speculations the delay gives time for backroom dealings between SCAF and Muslim Brotherhood. -Trust in army may be unrealistic -It may not be the unified and disciplined institution that it seems

-Army leaves Tahrir after forcing protesters out, burning their tents, beating and arresting some of them. -Clashes led to the killing of nine people and more than 300 were injured. -Lack of confidence, violations of human rights -Chaos and strikes -Images and footage showing SCAF's violations, dragging female protesters and using live ammunition against demonstrators and protestors. -Ten of thousands gather in Tahrir to demand SCAF to leave. -Anger escalated against SCAF.	from outside. -Protests against the army -Copts grievances against interim government. -Clashes between Copts and security forces killed and injured many. -Demonstrators assaulted by attackers in plain clothes. -Sectarian tension and the worst violence -Badly handed military response. -Security services accused of failing to intervene to stop sectarian clashes. -Transitional government accused of failing to address sectarian grievance. -Police fired on protesters. -Hundreds of demonstrators -People injured in clashes. -Spirit of protest, wave of labor strikes, demand better wages and conditions. -Local labor grievance and serious economic crisis. -Violent clashes and running battles between security forces and protests. -Deadly clashes and confrontations, ill-suited armed forces, month of anger. -Anger running high for use of violence against protesters. -Deadly clashes injuring and killing hundreds. -People killed and hundreds injured -Pubic anger against police -Clashes and violence -Protests triggered by suspicious military intends to hang on to power. -Wave of protests led to the worst violence. -Deadly clashes, the worst violence. -Security forces tried to break massive protests. -Thousands have taken to the streets demanding the military council to hand over power to a civilian government. -Patches of blood and violence -Soldiers beating activists and dragging a woman causing outrage. -Brutality used by security forces, international condemnation. -Deadly clashes, outraged Egyptians -Military used the term 'thugs' to

	justify crackdown on people demanding a return to civil rule. -Military used the term 'thugs' to justify crackdown on people demanding a return to civil rule. -Dead and injured in clashes. -Anger over death -Widespread frustrations at the pace of reform by interim military rulers. -Unknown attackers used rocks, clubs, fire bombs and shotguns. -Protesters retaliated, beating some assailants, and police intervened after six hours. -Thousands protest against SCAF -Clashes, water cannons and tear gas used. -Dozens of people arrested. -Unidentified assailants attacked protesters.
CNN Arabic	**CNN English**
-Clashes in Tahrir Square killing ten. -Security forces stormed into Tahrir Square, bloody clashes, rock throwing and tear gas. -Political groups criticize SCAF for being slow in issuing the political isolation law. -Clashes continued between protesters and security forces close to Interior Ministry. -22 people were killed and 1700 were injured in clashes. -Violent, bloody clashes -Clashes between protesters and army in Tahrir. -Protesters chanting slogans against SCAF, demanding power transfer to civilians. -Army soldiers sieged Tahrir, burned down protesters' tents. -SCAF is accused of planning a coup. -SCAF is criticized for delaying the political isolation law. -A million-man march demand SCAF to transfer power as scheduled. -Activists hold SCAF responsible for	Pro-democracy demonstrators battle Egyptian security, angered with image of military police stomping on a woman's exposed stomach over the weekend. -March to protest military's treatment of female demonstrators. -Security forces used live ammunition, tear ga and bird shots. -Days of clashes, beating of women by military officers. -Violence, people killed and wounded. -Shocking images of brutality. -Pro-democracy demonstrators battled Egyptian security forces. -Clashes involving soldiers and pro-Coptic Christian protesters. -Violence, escalating sectarian tension. -SCAF moved to neutral civilian movement, gave itself unprecedented powers. -Egyptians losing faith in politics, political chaos and worsening economy. -SCAF triggered fears revolution will unravel, and Cairo braced for angry protests. -Tensions between Muslim

Cabinet events. -Events escalated with clashes between Cabinet protesters and military police following news of beating up a protester. -Hundreds of protesters were injured and fire broke out in a number of buildings and cars. -Ganzouri's government and SCAF have been silent. -Clashes with anti-riot police left hundreds killed and injured. -Bloody clashes and doubts about the legitimacy of SCAF. -Clashes with protesters and tens of people injured and killed. -Events escalated with protests demanding dismantling 'State Security' -Parliament is in confrontation with SCAF. -Political parties hold SCAF responsible for the wrong path leading to a crisis, -SCAF is practicing pressure over political parties. -Ambiguity surrounding elections and a wave of confrontations between protesters and security forces.	Brotherhood and SCAF have risen. -Chaos, fighting, raising questions about Egypt's future. -Violence, clashes between security forces and protesters. -Military under increasing criticism, complaints of human rights abuses, lack of transparency. -A growing number of Egyptians accused SCAF's Head of protecting Mubarak from prosecution. The direction of the military was just on of many uncertainties that remain. -Widespread strikes and demonstrations. -Unrest, military police dispersed and arrested protesters. -Protesters put pressure on SCAF. -Egyptians angered by military crackdown. -Clashes, unrest, fighting, gunshots, people killed and injured. -Demonstration against military council. -Worsening unrest -Demonstrations calling for immediate end to the military rule. -Street clashes, gunshots, people killed and injured. -New clashes erupted in Tahrir. -Demonstrations against SCAF. -Worries about Egypt's SCAF might hijack the elections. -Egyptians grow weary, impatient and angry over the election process and military grip on power. -Court's decision sparking accusations of a coup d'état -Old bosses linked to Mubarak are about to move back into their headquarters, angered protesters question the military will relinquish power. -Violence and country divided over SCAF rule and Ganzouri. -Violence and country divided over SCAF rule. -Anger over the trials -Dissolution of parliament gives SCAF full legislative and executive power.

	-Distrust and rage against SCAF and slow pace of reform, delaying of transition to a civilian rule. -Protests erupted amid frustrations about the pace of reform and SCAF delaying transition to a civilian rule. -Violence killed 11 people. -Frustrations over the pace of reform -Concerns SCAF is delaying transition to a civilian rule. -Violence and clashes. -Demonstrators clash with police. -Anger mounts, 40 people arrested. -Police used tear gas and protesters threw rocks. -Many Egyptians have grown concerns the generals will try to cling to power and remain in charge. -Soccer violence reignited demands for military led government to make reforms and improve security. -Soccer violence reignited demands for military led government to make reforms and improve security. -Tantawi pardoned prisoners hoping to appease protesters' calling on him to step down and hand authority to a civilian body. -Millions of Egyptians are protesting to demand the end of the military rule and military tribunals. -Battle between the military and pro-democracy protesters, struggling to pave a clear path for their ongoing revolution. -Escalating violence by security forces. -Security forces beating and shooting protesters. -Assaults by police, use of live ammunition outraged Egyptians -Bloody clashes, people killed and injured. -Live ammunition used and escalating violence. -Men dressing in military uniform threw cement blocks and rocks on protesters. -Army soldiers beating and arresting protesters. -Doctors in Tahrir clinic attacked.

	-Tents in Tahrir set alight. -Clashes, people hurt, gunshots used. -Protesters called for an immediate end to military rule. -Clashes and ongoing demonstrations against the military. -Street battles, steady streams of violence -Political unrest -Violence and clashes, people were killed and injured. -Protests against Egypt's military rulers. -Protest plans for a constitution that would shield military from public oversight. -People are not satisfied with the pace of transition and the resolve of the military rulers. -Protesting a constitution that would shield military from public oversight. -Series of incidents in which post-Mubarak military regime cracked down on protesters and opponents. -Muslim Brotherhood, secular and liberal groups put pressure on SCAF. -Military rode a wave of popularity, now under increasing criticism amid complaints of human rights abuses and lack of transparency. -Wave of unrest and harassing media people -Egyptian protesters clash with troops -SCAF under criticism for human rights abuses and lack of transparency. -Protesters angry with SCAF -Violent military crackdown on protesters left Egyptians shocked, confused and angered. -Machine-gun fire, scores of soldiers and armed personnel raided the square, pool of blood, wounded and bleeding men. -The new military regime is in a prickly position. -Bloodshed in Cairo and burning of a Coptic church. -Violence against demonstrators -Deadly clashes -Frustrations at pace of reform and

	SCAF delaying transition to civilian rule.
	-Military rulers extend their power and sparking accusations of a coup.
	-SCAF maintains widespread control over the country, and president is a figurehead.
	-Distrust and anger against the military's power in government affairs.
	-Protests and deadly clashes.
RT Arabic	**RT English**
-Democratic groups are worried SCAF might hold on to power.	-Non-violent coup by the ruling military junta
-Egyptians have doubts SCAF will give up power.	-Egyptian army fire blindly into clusters of demonstrators
-People's Assembly protest SCAF's decision to keep Ganzouri's government.	-Suspicions the interim military government is using stalling tactics to cling to power.
-Clashes started when security forces tried to disperse protesters' set-in in front of the Cabinet	-The military elite face widespread anger for killing protesters, jailing critics and military trials.
-Protesters demand SCAF to immediately transfer power to civilians.	-Speculations generals are manipulating presidential ballot to ensure victory of a pro-military candidate and preserve their power.
-Protesters demand SCAF to transfer power to a civilian government.	-People's unhappiness with the military council.
-General strike to pressurize SCAF to transfer power to civilians.	-People dead and wounded.
-Public pressure on SCAF to transfer power to a civilian government.	-Security forces used batons to drive the protesters and burned their tents.
-SCAF's Constitutional Declaration provoked protests and demonstrations	-Tension escalated, brutal crackdown
-SCAF's Constitutional Declaration caused worry it wants to hold on to power and not transfer it on June 30.	-Protesters demand an end to military rule.
-Protest across many sectors.	-Angry protesters
-Tantawi's speech angered protesters in Tahrir for not apologizing for army violence and for describing people killed as victims, not martyrs.	-Military police battling protesters
	-Egyptian military police more than brutal.
-Protesters demand SCAF to speed up transfer of power to a civilian leadership.	-Army soldiers savagely beat female protester.
-Political groups protest in demand of SCAF's departure, firing Shafiq's government and forming a national salvation government.	-Security forces lashed out ruthlessly on armless civilians.
	-Burned down tents for protesting against the military rule.
	-Tens of thousands rallied against Egypt's military rulers.
	-Clashes, trust in the military has fallen sharply.
-24 people killed and 330 injured in	-Thousands of Egyptians are demanding an immediate end to

bloody clashes between Coptic protesters and army soldiers.	military rule. -The crowd is demanding the ruling military generals to step down. -Police clashed with protesters -Violence, people killed, injured and arrested. -Riot police attacked peaceful demonstrators. -Military vehicles were clearly seen driving through crowds and ploughing into people while army infantry fired rubber bullets and tear gas. -The mood between the protesters and army is still tense. -A country policed by the army is hardly the image that many in the West associate with a democratic nation. -Large scale protests against the military -Decision to dissolve parliament seen as a non-violent coup by the ruling military junta. -People demand the military to step aside -People want the military to go -Violent clashes between the army and the protesters. -Military forces used live ammunition, hitting people in necks and heads. -Every encounter of a Cairo resident with army has become more problematic. -The anger against SCAF generals is rising. -Tantawi is facing mounting pressure to step down immediately. -People killed and injured in clashes. -Demand Tantawi to step down. -A delaying passage of the anti-discrimination law, inspiring clashes and mass protests. -Military employed Mubarak's style tactics to disperse protests. -Military vehicles seen driving through crowds and ploughing into people.

XINHUA Arabic	XINHUA English
-Protesters demand SCAF's apology for beating and stripping female protesters and killing 14 protesters. -25 people including 3 army soldiers killed in clashes between Coptic protesters, army and security forces. -Protesters across the country demanding change of government and quick transfer to civilian rule. -SCAF is faced with unprecedented opposition. -Protesters chant against SCAF. -People are angry at SCAF's decision to grip more power -Thousands gather to protest SCAF's decisions. -A wave of protests against SCAF's declaration and seizure of presidential power. -More voices calling SCAF to transfer power and leave. -Egypt is witnessing bloody clashes between protesters and the army around parliament, killing 14 and injuring more than 800. -Bloody clashes between protesters and security forces. -Tantawi's decision was met with sarcasm. -Violent clashes between protesters and army around Defense Ministry. -Bloody clashes between protesters and security forces, killing 8 and injuring 299. -Clashes between protesters and security forces killed and injured 299. -Egypt witnessed bloody clashes. -Protesters demand Tantawi to leave. -Voices call for speedy transfer to civilian rule - Bloody clashes killing 14 and inuring more than 800.	-Violent clashes, instability -Violence raised new concerns about stability and credibility of the government. -Dead and injured in clashes -People injured in clashes -Military police clashed with protesters. -Tens of thousands protest a constitutional principle and the military rule. -Police used tear gas to disperse the crowds. -Tens of thousands demonstrate to demand the military rulers transfer power to a civilian government. -Clashes, death toll rose, people injured. -Protesters were trying to camp in the square until the country's ruling military council hand the power to a civilian authority. -Military police clash with protesters. -Protesters demand early transfer of power to civilian rule. -Military police clashed with protesters. -Protesters demand an early transfer of power to civilian rule. -Military police clashed with protesters, people killed and injured. -Tea gas used and protesters arrested. -A wave of anger among many political groups, with boycott threats from some parties and movements. -Bloody clashes broke out .. -Thousands of Coptic Christians demonstrate leaving 25 dead and about 329 injured. -Deadly violence clashes killing at least 25, mostly Copts. -Clashes, people dead and injured -Concerns were mounting regarding military rule -Peaceful demonstrations turned into clashes between protesters and security forces. -The conflict was the most violent since the fall of Mubarak.

|	-Large protests urging military to hand over power quickly. -People dead and injured in clashes. -Egypt's ruling military council has met unprecedented opposition from protesters after it took power on Feb. 11th.

Appendix (2) : Pilot Study

Who's driving the Arab Spring Coverage, the Egyptian Case? Examining an Interdependency Relationship between (cyber) political activists and International News Sites: Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA

Though toppling Mubarak's regime was the most significant achievement of the January 25th Revolution, post-revolution events, mostly associated with the interim ruling authority of the country, the Egyptian Supreme Council of Armed forces (SCAF), have also received intense media coverage. Media focus on SCAF associated events was not only because such events, collectively, represented a crucial transitional stage to a new democratic Egypt, but also because of their dramatic nature of re-occurred bloody clashes and violence between the January 25th Revolutionaries and SCAF. Though the early days of the January 25th Revolution received unprecedented international media coverage that kept the world's viewers on the edge of their seats watching the plunge of another corrupt Arab regime, shortly after Bin Ali's collapse, news media organizations have continued to intensively cover the revolution aftermath, but each in a distinctive way. Variations noticed in coverage by international news organizations are caused by a group of factors, among which could be news media's relationship/interaction with political activists and citizen journalists, who witness, record and often drive events on the ground. As an initial examination of how the relationship between news media organizations and political activists impacted their coverage, a pilot study has been conducted to look at how SCAF-associated events post January 25th Revolution have been framed by five international news sites, Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA, which represent a geopolitical spectrum of media ecologies. The pilot study aims to achieve two main objectives: designing a methodology to conduct quantitative and qualitative analysis of SCAF coverage, and testing the proposed methodology on a small sample of news stories to reach an initial reading of the proposed study.

Sampling

The pilot study evaluated a total of **194** articles and posts: **72 Arabic** and **68 English** and **54 online posts** by political activists on social media platforms: Facebook, blogs and Twitter. The sample drawn for the pilot study is based on a quantitative study of SCAF-driven coverage by the Arabic and English news sites of Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA. The study showed relative intense coverage (50 stories+ per week) of SCAF-associated news occurred in **the second and third weeks of February 2011, the first week of March 2011, the third and fourth weeks of November 2011 and the third week of December 2011.** See coverage intensity in Figure (1) and sample distribution table (1) below.

Figure (1): Coverage Intensity

SCAF-Coverage Intensity in Arabic and English news sites of Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, RT and XINHUA (1673 mentions between 01/01/2011- 31/01/ 2012)
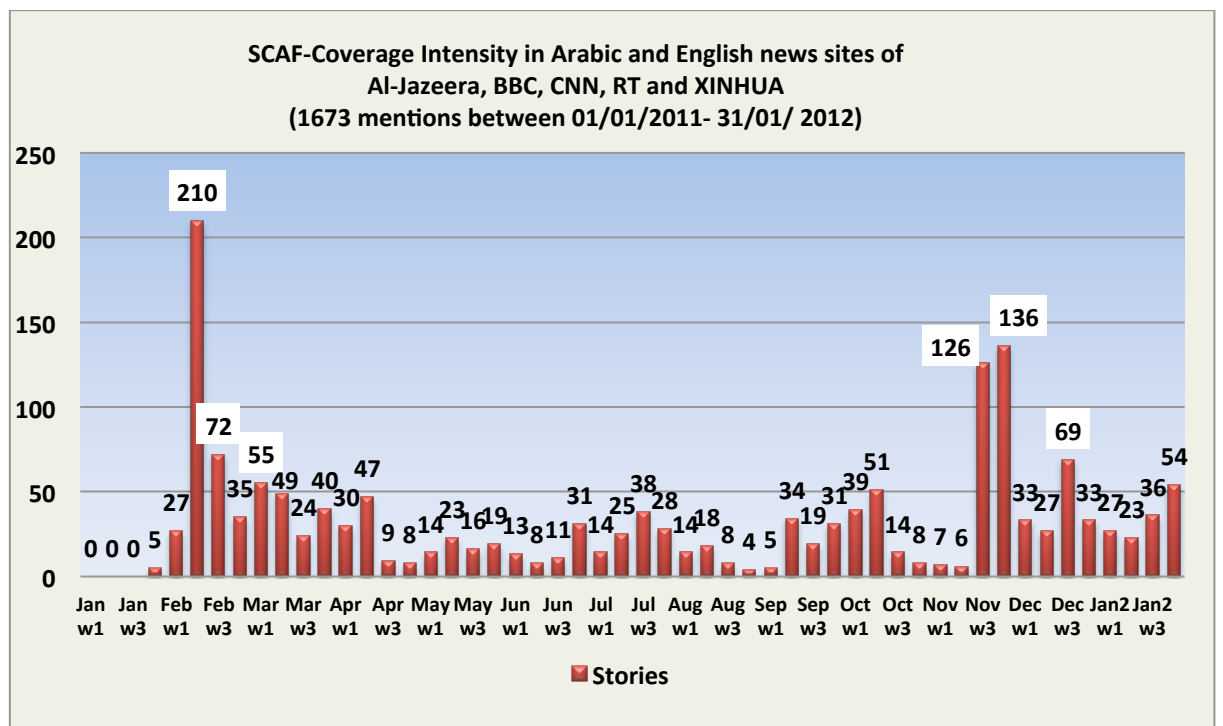
Table (1): Sample Distribution

News Site	Feb W2	Feb W3	March W1	Nov W3	Nov W4	Dec W3	Total
Al-Jazeera Arabic	4	2	5	2	2	2	17
BBC Arabic	4	2	2	1	2	2	13
CNN Arabic	2	2	3	4	2	3	16
RT Arabic	2	2	2	1	2	3	12
XINHUA Arabic	2	2	3	2	2	3	14
							72
Al-Jazeera English	3	1	2	4	2	2	13
BBC English	2	2	3	3	2	3	15
CNN English	2	3	2	2	2	3	14
RT English	2	2	1	2	2	2	11
XINHUA English	3	2	2	2	3	3	15
							68
April 6th – Facebook							10
Khalid Said – Facebook							10
Hossam Alhamalawy- blog/twitter	23	6	19	6			9
Asma Mahfouz- twitter							5
Zeinobia – blog/twitter							10
Nawara Negm- Twitter							10
							54

Methodology

In this pilot study, the researcher used both quantitative content analysis and qualitative (textual) analysis of a sample of news stories published on the Arabic and English news sites of the selected news organizations. The core assumption of the pilot study comes in agreement with what Claes Vreese (2003) referred to as a "frame building process (that) takes place in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites and social movements. The outcomes of the frame-building process are the frames manifest in the text." Frames are referred to as media packages that consist of indicators or framing devices by which the frame can be identified. Framing devices could include choosing the news angle, selecting the sources and avoiding or

downplaying others, formulating the headline, the lead and selecting the visual elements, and making the lexical choices (Vreese, 2005).

For this purpose, the researcher designed a news analysis form, see Table (2), which specifies **four coverage elements** (framing devices) that would be used to understand how the relationship between political activists/citizen journalists and news organizations manifested itself in their news coverage. Quantitative analysis of news stories included comparatively looking at **dominant voices in headlines, main players in leads and sources used in stories.** Qualitative analysis of news stories focused on examining **the lexical choices (non-attributed key words and phrases)** made by the selected news sites and comparing them to **the lexical choices made by political activists on their social media platforms**, mainly Facebook, blogs and Twitter. The interpretations of numerical and textual data aggregated using the news analysis forms would then serve in understanding how the relationship between each of the selected news organizations and political activists manifested itself in their coverage of post January 25th SCAF-associated events.

Table (2): News Analysis Form

Date	Voices in headline	Main news player in lead (who)	Attribution (selection of sources)					Non-attributed key words (lexical choices)		
			SCAF	Government	Activists	Political Parties	Others (Third	Positive	Neutral	Negative

The first element of coverage quantitatively examined was the **dominant voices in headlines**. Voices were not put initially in categories, but according to study findings, they mostly belonged to three categories: SCAF, government, and activists. A fourth category, named 'others' has been added

by the researcher to accommodate miscellaneous, but limited voices recorded by the study.

The main player in the lead was the second element of coverage that was also quantitatively examined. Similar to dominant voices in headlines, main players in leads have not been categorized, but they lend themselves to three categories identical to the ones of the dominant voices in headlines. They fell into: SCAF, government and activists. A fourth category, named 'others' has also been added to accommodate occurrences of other miscellaneous news players in leads. Identifying the main news player in a lead was based on locating the 'Who', of the Five Ws and H of news stories: Who did what when where why and how?

Attribution (selection of sources) was the third element examined. News sources used in each news story included in the sample were put in five pre-defined categories: SCAF, government, activists, political parties and third party/others.

Table (3) below shows the definition of each news source:

Table (3)

Source	Definition
SCAF	Egypt's Supreme Council of Armed Forces or any of its members
Government	Egypt's Cabinet, and individuals or authorities, organizations and departments associated with it. Amr Moussa, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, belonged to this category before he officially announced running for presidency.
Activists	January 25th protesters (referred to collectively or individually), all groups, movements and individuals participated in January 25th and anti-SCAF protests post January 25th. Muslim Brothers were included in this category only when they identified themselves as so, not as a political party.
Political Parties	All Egyptian political parties
Third Party/Others	Foreign governments' officials, political commentators and analysts, news correspondents in Egypt, other news media (like Egypt's State TV) and news agencies

Non-attributed key words/phrases (lexical choices) were the fourth element of coverage examined. Analyzing the lexical choices in each news story required identifying non-attributed phrases and key words that gave description

of SCAF and its practices. Key words and phrases were classified based on their direct obvious meanings into: positive, neutral and negative. Categorized lexical choices of each news sites were then aggregated to serve two purposes:

- Evaluate the tonality of coverage by each news site
- Provide lexical references of key words and phrases used by each of the selected news sites. Such lexical references would then be used in a comparative textual analysis with posts made by political activists on their social media platforms.

Content Analysis Findings: <u>Arabic News Sites</u>

Dominant Voices in Headlines:

The pilot study findings show that activists were the most frequent voices in Al-Jazeera's Arabic headlines with **59%** recorded for them against **23%** for SCAF and **18%** for government voices. The BBC Arabic came second with **57%** of dominant voices in headlines were of activists, and CNN Arabic came third with **56%.** The study also shows SCAF was the most frequent voice in Russia Today's Arabic headlines with **59%** recorded for it while a thin slice of 8% goes to activists. The least frequency of activists' voices the study recorded was in the XINHUA's Arabic headlines with **zero%** against **86%** going to SCAF**.**

Figures (2), (3) and (4) below illustrate dominant voices in headlines in the selected news sites:

<center>**Figure (2)**   **Figure (3)**</center>

Figure (4)

Dominant voices in headlines
(Arabic news sites)
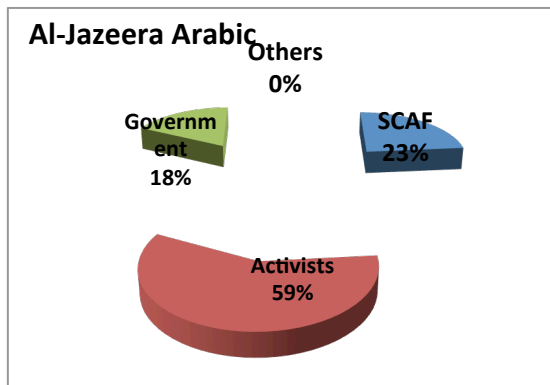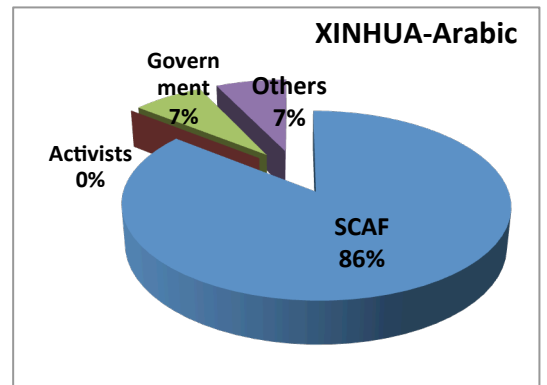
Main Players in Leads:

Similar to dominant voices in headlines, activists topped main players in Al-Jazeera's Arabic leads while SCAF was the main news player in BBC Arabic, CN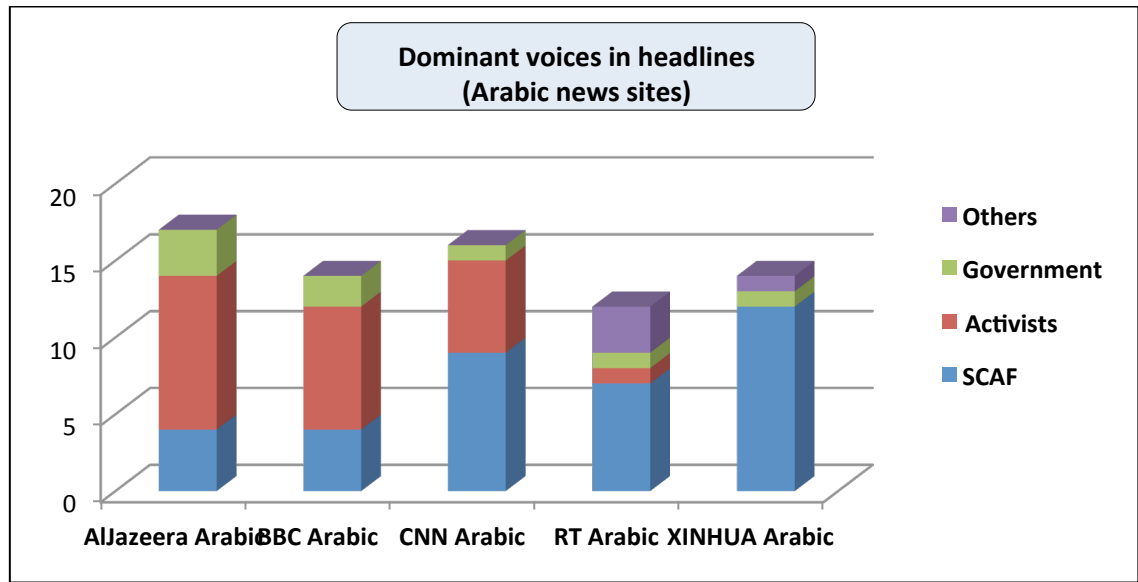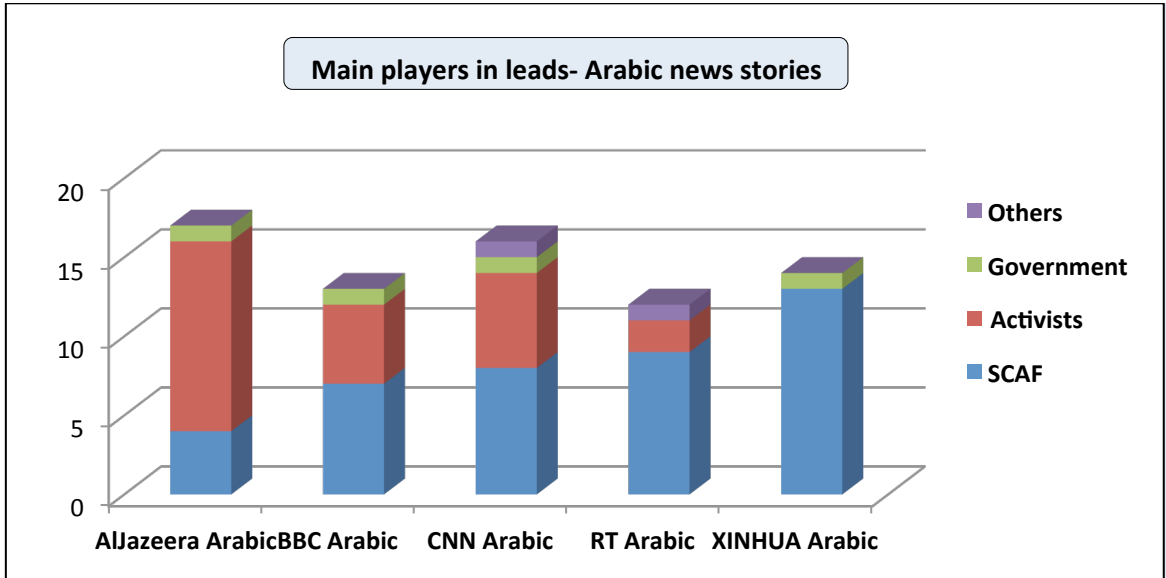N Arabic and RT's Arabic leads. Again, activists were absent from all XINHUA's Arabic leads. Figure (5) below illustrates main players in news leads across the selected news sites.

Figure (5)

Main players in leads- Arabic news stories

Attribution (selection of sources): Numerical data aggregated from a quantitative analysis of a sample of 72 stories show that **activists topped all other sources used by the Arabic news sites of Al-Jazeera, BBC and CNN** while **SCAF was the most frequent source in RT's and XINHUA's stories.** Among **93 sources used by Al-Jazeera Arabic** in a sample of 17 stories covering SCAF-associated events, **43 were activists** while **12 were SCAF**. Meanwhile, the study also revealed that **XINHUA Arabic** used just **one activist** source and **16 SCAF** sources in a total of **40 sources**. See Figures (6) and (7)

Figure (6)	**Figure (7)**

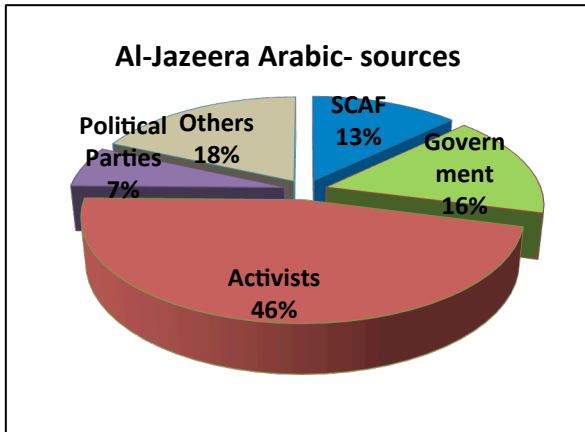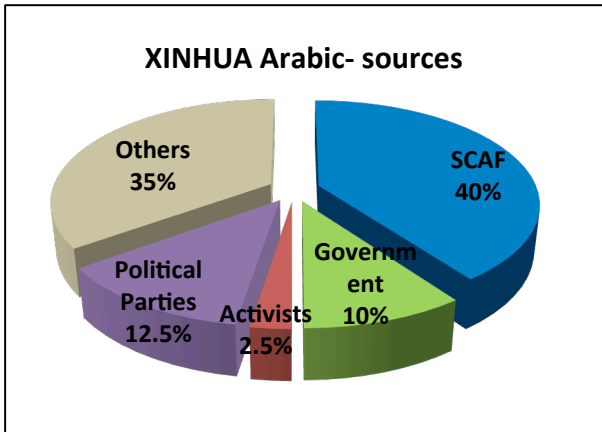BBC used activists 21 times as sources in its Arabic news stories, from a total of 60 sources. CNN Arabic used activists 22 times, but from a total of 78 sources. RT Arabic used activists 10 times out of a total of 40 sources. SCAF was used more frequently by XINHUA Arabic (16 out of 40). SCAF and activists represented very close shares of sources in the Arabic news sites of CNN and RT, as Figure (8) shows.

253

Figure (8)

Attribution (selection of sources) in (Arabic) news stories
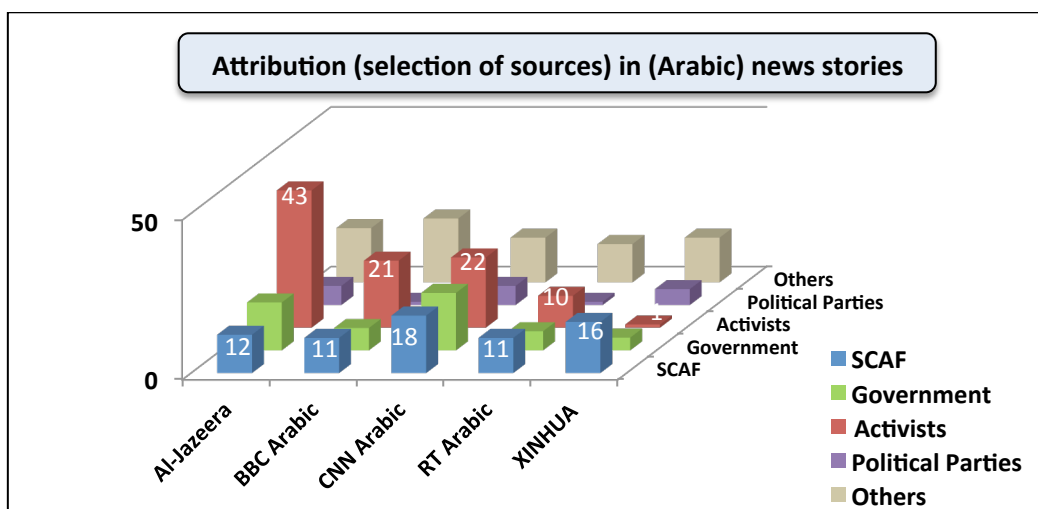
English News Sites

Dominant Voices in Headlines: Findings of the content analysis of the sampled news stories published on the English news sites of the selected news organizations show **significant presence of activists' voices across all news sites, including XINHUA**, unlike its Arabic news stories, which had 0% activists' voices. Also, Russia Today's English news stories scored higher than Al-Jazeera in using activists' voices in headlines and unlike its Arabic news stories (where SCAF was the dominate voice in headlines and a thin slice of 8% went to activists). **Activists were the most frequent voices in RT English headlines with 91% recorded for them against 9% for SCAF.** The study also shows that Al-Jazeera English followed RT with 67% recorded for activists' voices in its headlines against 16% for SCAF. **The least frequency of activists' voices that study recorded was in the XINHUA's English headlines with 36%, which is a significant share comparing to its Arabic headlines.**

Figures (9), (10), (11) and (12) illustrate dominate voices in headlines in the selected news sites.

 Figure (9)   **Figure (10)**   **Figure (11)**
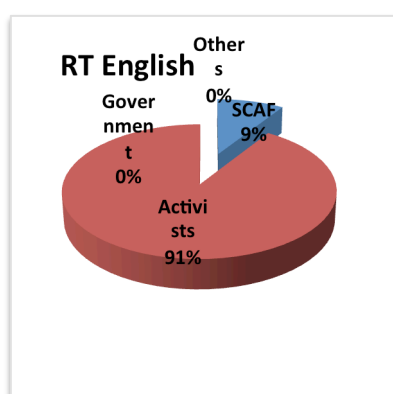
RT English

AlJazeera English

XINHUA English

Figure (12)

Donminant Voices in Headlines
(English News Stories)
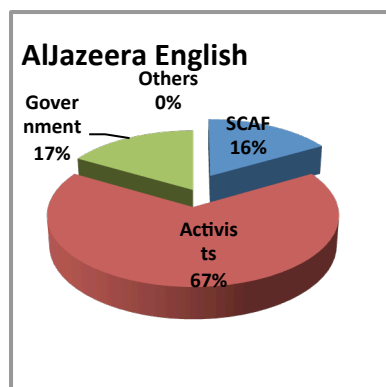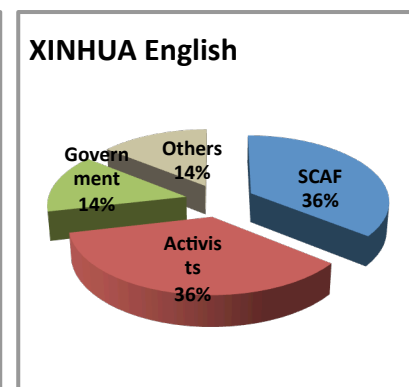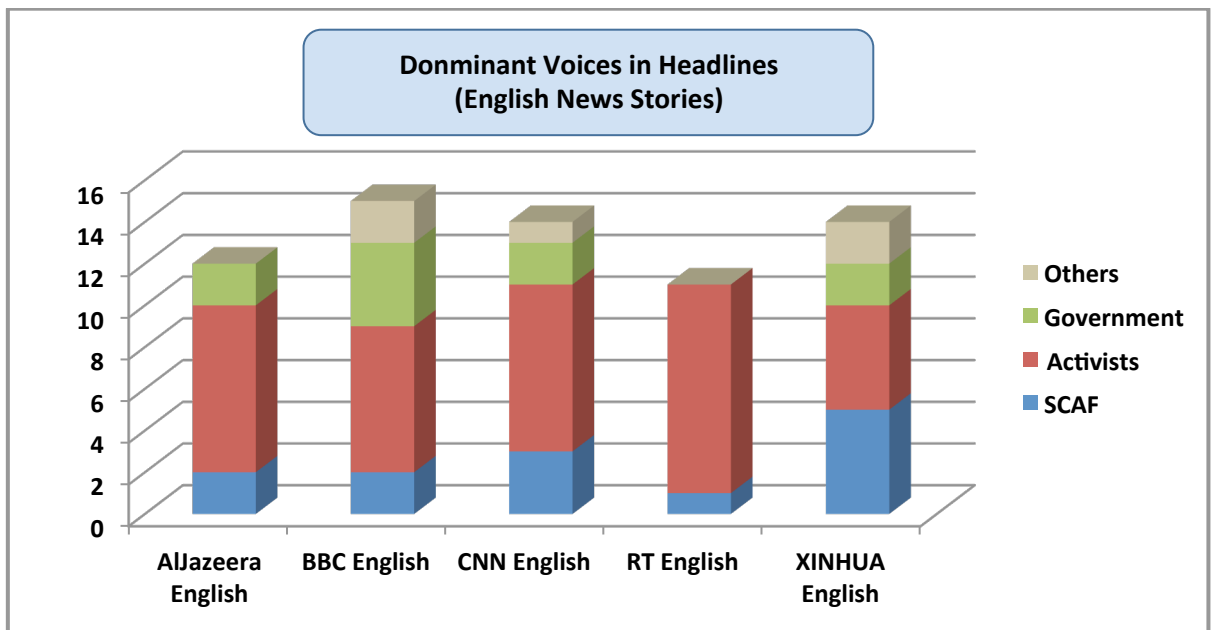
Main Players in Leads: Similar to dominant voices in headlines, activists were significantly present in leads across the sampled English news stories. They (activists) topped main players in the English news sites of RT, Al-Jazeera, BBC, and CNN, while SCAF was the main news player in XINHUA English news stories. Figure (13) shows main players in leads across the selected news sites.

Figure (13)

Main Players in English News Leads
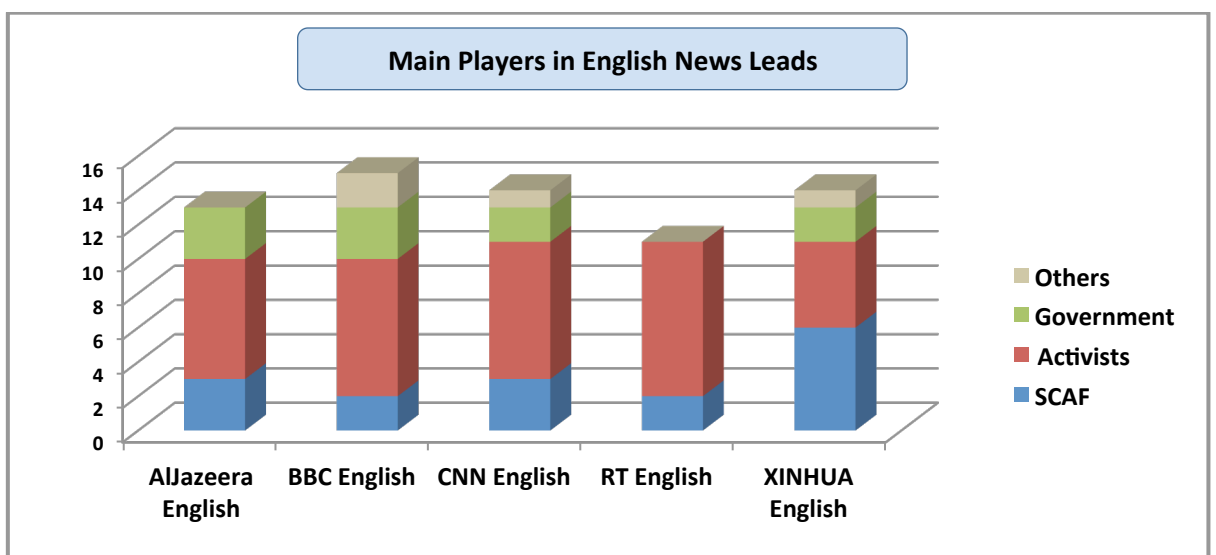
Attribution (selection of sources): Quantitative analysis of a sample of 68 news stories published on the English websites of five selected news organizations shows that activists are the most frequently source used across Al-Jazeera, BBC, CNN, and RT. Among 90 sources used in a sample of 13 news stories published on Al-Jazeera English news site, 37% were of activists against 17% SCAF sources. It is also the case with BBC English (38%), CNN English (31%) and RT English (32%) of their sources were activists. Unlike its Arabic stories, XINHUA's English stories used activists in 13% of their sources. Figure (14) and Table (4) show sources shares in the selected news sites.

Figure (14)
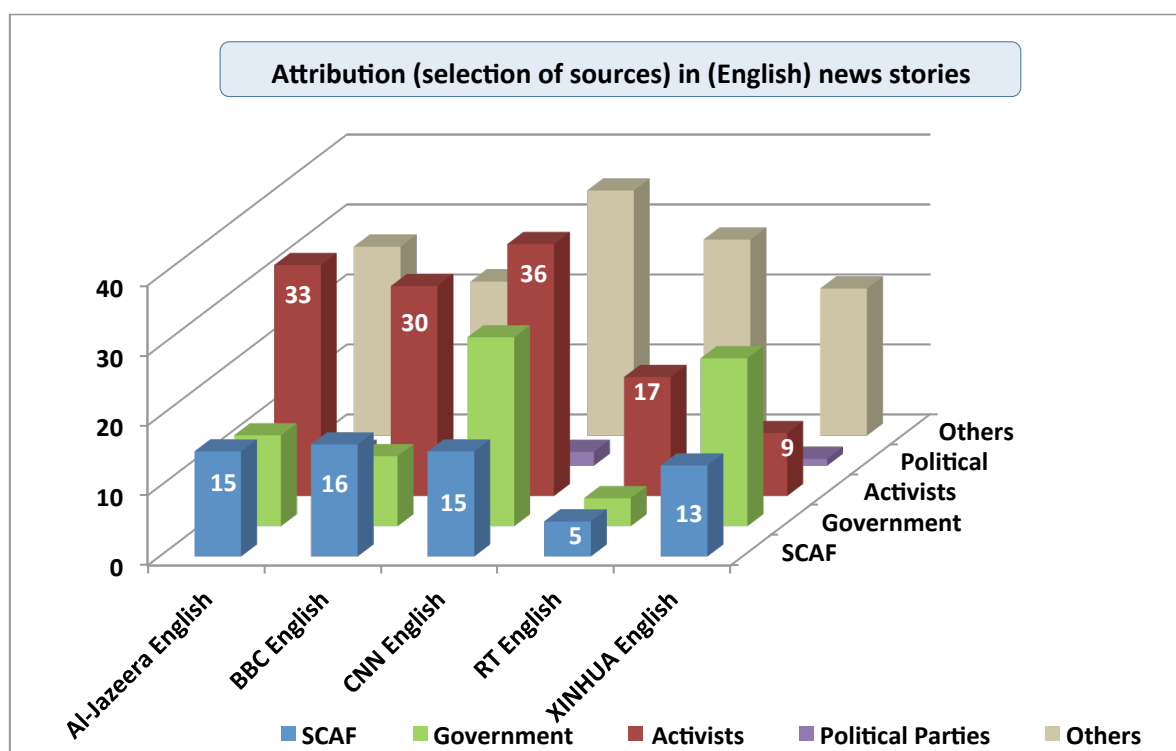
Table (4)

News sites	Total no. of sources	News sites	Total no. of sources
Al-Jazeera Arabic	93	Al-Jazeera English	90
BBC Arabic	60	BBC English	79
CNN Arabic	78	CNN English	115
RT Arabic	40	RT English	54
XINHUA Arabic	40	XINHUA English	68

Sources Distribution across all selected news sites

Table (5) and Figure (15) below show sources distribution in the sampled Arabic and English news stories (together). Study findings show Al-Jazeera is topping all in including activists' voices in its Arabic and English stories with 41.5% of sources given to activists. XINHUA, on the contrary, gives activists a thin slice of 9.2% of sources included in its Arabic and English stories. BBC comes second with 38% of sources coming from activists.

Table (5)

News Sites	Total no. of sources	Activists no.	Activists %	SCAF no.	SCAF %
Al-Jazeera	183	76	41.5	27	14.7
BBC	139	53	38	27	19.4
CNN	193	57	29.5	33	17
RT	94	27	28.7	16	17
XINHUA	108	10	9.2	29	26.8

Figure (15)
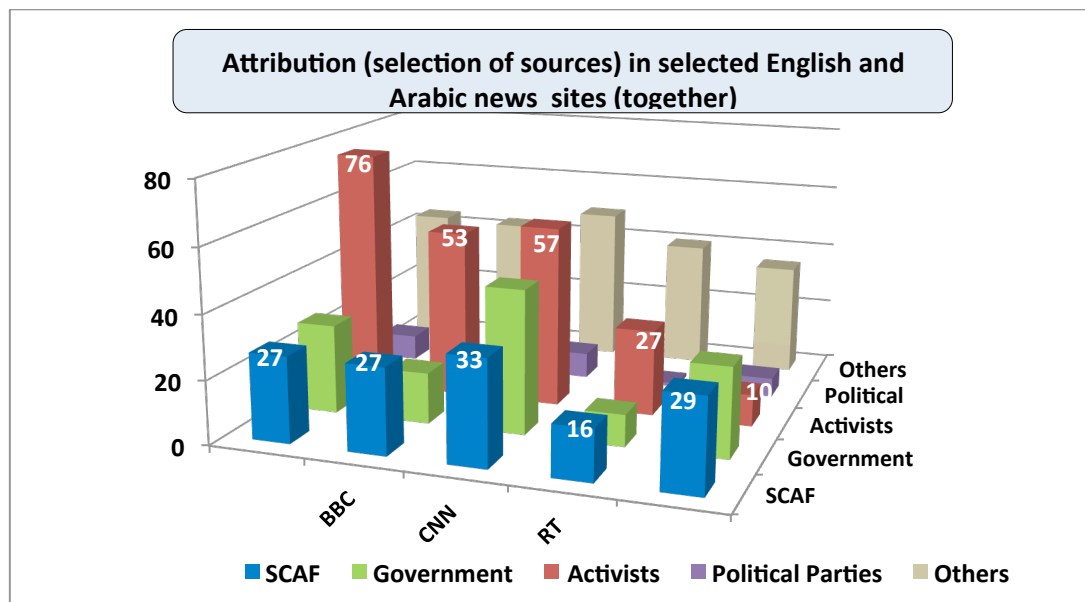
Textual Analysis Findings
(Arabic and English news sites)

Lexical choices of news sites:

Al-Jazeera Arabic: Non-attributed key words and phrases in Al-Jazeera Arabic new stories were predominantly negative against SCAF, describing its actions as slow and late. They also highlighted anti-SCAF chants and a

rejection mood among protesters. Army forces' clashes with protesters were described as bloody; killing and injuring hundreds of them, and detaining activists. Al-Jazeera's stories also highlighted security forces' usage of rubber bullets and tear gas and their violence against Tahrir Square's protesters fiercely dismantling and burning their tents. On three occasions, out of 17 stories sampled in the pilot study, non-attributed positive phrases were used to describe public welcome of SCAF's decisions, and army's intervention to impose a truce between protesters and policemen. Non-attributed positive phrases were used in the same stories that also included non-attributed negative phrases.

Al-Jazeera English: Non-attributed key words and phrases in Al-Jazeera English news stories were also predominantly anti-SCAF, describing the practices of its military police as violent and brutal against protesters, particularly women. Al-Jazeera English used the phrases 'army thugs' and 'beating of women by the ruling military' in what sounds like direct accusations to SCAF of committing violence against protesters. On the other hand, Al-Jazeera English used very few non-attributed positive key words and phrases to describe SCAF and its practices. These include 'distant itself from violence', 'its role in toppling Mubarak', and 'it made concessions and most Egyptians seem content with'. Table (6) shows non-attributed key phrases and words identified in Al-Jazeera's Arabic and English stories.

Table (6)

Positive	Negative
(Al-Jazeera Arabic) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
Welcome SCAF's decisions	SCAF's slow procedures, not lifting emergency law and keeping Shafiq government
Army imposes truce between protesters and security forces	Tahrir clashes between protesters and security forces
	Violent clashes killing and injuring people
	Anti-SCAF chants
	Dismantling and burning tents
	Security forces firing rubber bullets and tear gas
	Violent confrontations
	Escalating unrest
	Employees Strike
	Detaining activists

(Al-Jazeera English) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
SCAF tries to distant itself from violence, reiterates its commitment to its roadmap	Violence, police backed by army officers fired tear gas and charged demonstrations.
Egypt's military was widely feted for its role in the toppling of Hosni Mubarak	Protesters suffering from ammunition wounds, killed and injured
SCAF made some concessions and most Egyptians seem content with what they did	Clashes and crackdown on protesters
	Tahrir violence, brutal crackdown against peaceful protesters
	Mass rally to demand the army to cede power
	Police brutality, death toll rose
	Protesters chanting against SCAF's head, Field Marshal Tantawy
	Army thugs brutally beating and kicking women, army's harsh response to protesters.
	Beating of female protesters by the ruling military
	Violence against women
	Condemnation against the military, outrage

BBC Arabic: Non-attributed key words and phrases in BBC Arabic stories were mostly anti-SCAF, describing army clashes with protesters as bloody, killing and injuring many and violating human rights. Anti-SCAF chants, late decisions and failure were referred to in stories and linked to protests and demonstrations. BBC Arabic stories also included non-attributed positive key words and phrases but less frequent than the negative ones. They included references to majority's content with SCAF's decisions, SCAF's commitment to democratic reforms and SCAF's honesty and respect.

BBC English: Similar to BBC Arabic, non-attributed key words and phrases in BBC English were mostly ant-SCAF. It used phrases like 'army warning and talking tough', 'violence and tension escalated', 'deadly clashes', 'thousands demand the military to hand over power to a civilian government' and 'beating protesters, dragging women and outraged Egyptians'. On infrequent occasions, positive words and phrases were used by BBC English to describe SCAF was described by BBC English. In a story covering UK PM David Cameron's visit to Cairo and his meeting with SCAF members, BBC English described SCAF as 'Egypt's new leaders'. On another occasion, it described a rival rally to show support for the military. Table (7) below shows non-attributed key phrases and words identified in BBC Arabic and English stories.

Table (7)

Positive	Negative
(BBC Arabic) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
Majority welcome SCAF's decisions	Chaos, bloody clashes
Content with SCAF's decisions	Army is expected to ban strikes
SCAF's honesty and respect	Threats to anti-SCAF protesters
SCAF's commitment to democratic reforms	Lack of confidence
	Violations of human rights
	Violence, injuring and killing protesters, thugs
	Anti-SCAF chants
	SCAF's late decisions, failure
	Attacking demonstrators
	Army officers fired tear gas
	SCAF's statement strong tone
(BBC English) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
Egypt's new leaders	Army warning and talking tough
People celebrate – Huge party	Trust (in army) maybe unrealistic
Rival rally to show support for the military	It may not be the unified and disciplined institution that is seems from outside
	Anti-military protests, wave of labor strikes, violence
	Police fired at protesters
	Hundreds of demonstrations, people injured in clashes
	Violence and tension escalated tear gas and birdshots against protesters.
	Deadly clashes, confrontations, months of anger
	Thousands have taken to the streets demanding the military to hand over power to a civilian government
	Patches of blood, violence, beating protesters, dragging women, outraged Egyptians
	Brutality used by security forces, international condemnation

CNN Arabic: Similar to BBC Arabic, non-attributed key words and phrases identified in CNN Arabic stories were predominantly negative against SCAF, focusing mainly on violent clashes with protesters. Words describing security forces' behaviour included 'attacking', 'killing' and injuring protesters. CNN Arabic stories also included few anti-SCAF non-attributed phrases such as 'doubts in SCAF's legitimacy' and reference to 'anti-SCAF chants'. CNN Arabic stories which included non-attributed anti-SCAF phrases also included positive ones, which make them appear less harsh on SCAF comparing to BBC

or Al-Jazeera Arabic stories. Also, CNN Arabic stories included non-attributed phrases describing pro-SCAF demonstrations as 'thousands'.

CNN English: Non-attributed words and phrases used by CNN English, to describe SCAF and its practices, were predominantly negative. On many occasions, the news sites referred to violence against protesters committed by army soldiers and military officers. Among negative non-attributed phrases used by CNN English was 'shocking images of brutality', 'harassing media people', 'the new military regime is in a prickly position'. In very few occasions, CNN English used positive phrases to describe how people feel about SCAF, particularly in the early days that followed the collapse of Mubarak's regime. These include 'Most Egyptians seem ready to give the military a chance to guide the country from dictatorship to democracy' and 'Egypt's military government moves to appease protesters'.

Table (8) below shows non-attributed key phrases and words identified in CNN Arabic and English stories.

Table (8)

Positive	Negative
(CNN Arabic) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
Free Egypt	Storming and setting fires on buildings
SCAF honoring revolution martyrs	Thousands demonstrating
SCAF lifting restrictions on freedom and rights	Violent clashes with protesters, injuring and killing tens
SCAF ordered bonus and pension raise	Storming Tahrir Square
Thousands of pro-SCAF demonstrators	Attacking protesters
	Conflicting reports
	Bloody events
	Doubts in SCAF's legitimacy
	Escalation of events
	Anti-SCAF chants
(CNN English) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
Most Egyptians seem ready to give the military a chance to guide the country from dictatorship to democracy	The direction of the military was just one of many uncertainties.
Egypt's military government move to appease protesters.	Widespread strikes and demonstrations
Voters expressed jubilation	Waves of unrest
	Military police dispersed and arrested protesters.
	The new military regime in a prickly position.
	Harassing media people
	Gunshots, fighting, people killed and wounded
	Demonstrations against the military council
	Bloody clashes, live ammunition, escalating violence
	Army soldiers beating and arresting protesters.

	Doctors in Tahrir clinic attacked, tents in Tahrir set alight
	Beating women by military officers
	Shocking images of brutality
	Pro-democracy battled Egyptian security forces

RT Arabic: RT Arabic stories included non-attributed positive key words and phrases to describe how people felt about SCAF's decisions and its early actions to support revolution and bring order to Tahrir. They also included non-attributed negative key words and phrases (like killing and injuring) to describe violent clashes, without pointing out directly to SCAF or army's involvement, and mostly framed as protesters trying to break into Ministry of Interior and Central State Security Offices. Just one non-attributed negative phrase was used to describe people's reaction to a speech given by Major General Tantawy, the Head of SCAF and Minister of Defence.

RT English: Unlike its Arabic stories, RT English stories repeatedly used non-attributed negative words and phrases to describe SCAF and its practices. These include phrases like 'Risking replacing one tyrannical regime for another', 'trust in the military is falling down' and Tantawy is facing mounting pressure to step down immediately. The news sites also used negative words that described military practices against protesters such as: violence, angry protesters, tension escalated and brutal crackdown. Similar to Al-Jazeera, BBC and CNN, RT English used less positive words to describe SCAF. Positive words/phrases included reference to SCAF as 'a source of stability' and 'growing counter-demonstrations in support of the current regime'. Table (9) below shows non-attributed key words and phrases included in RT Arabic and English stories.

Table (9)

Positive	Negative
(RT Arabic) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
Welcome SCAF's decisions	Gun shooting, violent clashes
Content with SCAF's decisions	Injuring, killing, victims
Bloodless clashes	Protests across many sectors
New victory	Tantawy's speech angered people because he
Protesters broke into and burned central	used victims not martyrs

state security offices	
(RT English) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
Many Egyptians view the military as a source of stability	Western involvement
Encouraging genuine and lasting reforms	Risking replacing one tyrannical regime for another
Growing counter- demonstrations in support of the current regime	Country policed by the army is hardly the image that many in the west associate with a democratic nation
	Violence and Police clashed with protesters
	People injured, killed and arrested
	Riot police attacked peaceful demonstration
	Trust in the military has fallen sharply
	Tantawy is facing mounting pressure to step down immediately
	Angry protesters, tension escalated, brutal crackdown

XINHUA Arabic: XINHUA Arabic stories used very few non-attributed negative words and phrases against SCAF. Non-attributed key words and phrases describing SCAF and its actions were predominantly positive. Based on interviews included in stories covering SCAF-associated events, pro-SCAF inferences were made in headlines and text. A headline reads: 'Amy enjoys Egyptians' and Arabs' confidence in its ability to bring security, stability and prosperity to Egypt.' Another headline reads: 'People are content and appreciative of army's support.'

XINHUA English: XINHUA English lexical choices of non-attributed words and phrases describing SCAF and its practices, were similar to the Arabic ones; mostly positive. Positive phrases used included 'military soft approach', 'military met basic demands of protesters', and 'renewed confidence in the army forces, longing for stability'. They also included non-attributed phrases justifying military's practices against protesters such as 'Soldiers cordoned off protesters in order to facilitate the flow of traffic', 'warning shots fired, no one was hurt', and 'military halted a small disturbance at a polling station'. Limited negative words and phrases started to appear in XINHUA English stories when violence against protesters, particularly female ones, was escalated. The news site used less negative words and phrases such as 'concerns are mounting regarding the military rule', 'violence, clashes and death toll', and 'Large protests urging military to hand over power quickly'.

Table (10) shows positive and negative non-attributed key words and phrases used by XINHUA Arabic and English:

Table (10)

Positive	negative
(XINHUA Arabic) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
Amy enjoys Egyptians' and Arabs' confidence in its ability to bring security, stability and prosperity to Egypt.	Bloody clashes, people injured and killed.
People approved SCAF's decisions	Call for Tantawy to leave and transfer power to civilian authority
People are content and appreciative of army's support	
SCAF is doing its best	
Confidence in army	
Stability and prosperity	
Army guarding government buildings clashing with protesters trying to break into buildings	
(XINHUA English) non-attributed words/phrases (Lexical choices)	
Military soft approach	Concerns were mounting regarding military ruling
Soldiers cordoned off protesters in order to facilitate the flow of traffic	Military police clashed with protesters, people killed and injured
Warning shots fired, No one was hurt	Police used tear gas
Minor clashes	Violence, clashes, death toll
Military met basic demands of protesters	Protesters arrested
Welcome the army's decision	Large protests urging military to hand over power quickly
Joy and relief overwhelmed the crowds in Tahrir Square	Instability
Renewed confidence in the army forces, longing for stability	
Military halted a small disturbance at a polling station	

Lexical choices of political activists:

The pilot study also examined 54 posts made by six political activists/movements on their social media platforms, namely Facebook, Twitter and Blogs. A single blog or a Facebook entry, regardless of its length, is considered a post. Also, a single tweet is counted as a post (this might be expanded later in the research to full-day tweets).

The sampled posts were randomly selected within the proposed timeframe: the second and third weeks of February, the first week of March, the third and fourth weeks of November and the third week of December 2011. They were

analysed to identify the lexical choices made by political activists in describing SCAF and its practices.

Lexical choices made by political activists on their social media platforms were then compared with lexical choices of non-attributed key words and phrases used by news organizations in their online stories. The purpose of the comparison is to examine the extent of influence of activists' lexical choices over news organizations' usage of non-attributed key words and phrases describing SCAF and its practices.

Table (11) below lists key words and phrases included in the sampled (Arabic and English) posts of activists on their social media platforms.[64]

Table (11)

Activists	Lexical Choices (describing SCAF and its practices)
April 6th (Facebook) 10	- We **thank the army** for supporting the revolution. - Army released Muslim Brotherhood detainees - March in **support of the new prime minster and SCAF** -Soon we will question **the army who allowed thugs to attack protesters** in the Camel Battle. -**Army used violence to dismantle Tahrir protest**, beating and electrocuting protesters. -Security forces and thugs attacked protesters in Tahrir Square. -**Military police clashed with protesters, and people killed and injured.** -Army and police attacked mobile clinic in Tahrir. -Attacking protesters in a crime, **Tantawy is responsible.** -Security forces **used rubber bullets and tear gas** against protesters.
We are all Khalid Said page (Facebook)- 10	- I **trust the Egyptian army** - We welcome the appointment of the new prime minister, Essam Sharaf -**People and the Army are one hand** -Army allowed protesters to storm into State Security Offices. -**Demanding SCAF to hand over power** to a civilian authority after it failed to do a role, caused the loss of souls, and failed the revolution -Images and footage show how brutal the military police was in dealing with protesters. -**SCAF is protecting a counter- revolution**; it attacked protesters in Tahrir, killing tens and injuring more than a thousand. -Beating, dragging and torturing protesters. -**Army officers and soldiers used violence and brutality** with protesters. -**Female protesters beaten and dragged by soldiers.**

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[64]Activists tend to post in both languages (Arabic and English).

Hossam Alhamalawy – 3RABAWY Blog (Blog) – 9	- Army officer firing in the air celebrating Mubarak's stepping down. - **Strikes**, clashes with thugs, military intervened and took away one of the thugs. -The **army didn't protect the protesters.** - Weapons and live ammunition found in two military police jeeps in Tahrir. -I don't trust for one second the generals at the Supreme Council of Armed Forces. -Final warning to protest organizers before army intervenes and imposes an outright ban on gatherings, strikes and sit-ins. -SCAF will ban meetings by labor unions or professional syndicates, effectively forbidding strikes. -Those army leaders need to be investigated. -Egypt's new military rulers' warning against anyone who creates a 'chaos and disorder'.
Asma Mahfouz (Twitter) – 5	**- SCAF should leave** **- Down with SCAF** -**SCAF committed bloody crimes and is ruining the country.** -Under SCAF, many Egyptians were killed. - Showing documentary on SCAF violations
Zeinobia (Twitter) – 10	- The military council is ruling the country now, I got tears in my eyes, we're free. Yes, we're free. -The counter revolution is spreading lies about the army and lies about sectarian tensions. -**The army is not our enemy**, remember Ahmed Shoman. -Egypt's military promises free and fair presidential elections later this year. -The army is betraying us. -A gang regime -Why does the **army confiscate cameras** from everyone? -Thuggery acts in 6 October, hello police, hello army!? Anybody here -Army gave 30 minutes for protesters to leave -The army doesn't allow journalists and channels to enter the square.
Nawara Negm (Twitter) – 10	-Down with SCAF (2) -SCAF has to go (2) -The military is stupidly attacking -We want SCAF to go because we don't want to see more people killed every day. -Cannot believe it! Army attacked unarmed protesters. They (army) are thugs. -The revolution is still on. -SCAF is not one of us (2)

For the purpose of comparing the lexical choices used by the study's selected news organizations and political activists, a grid has been created to highlight the extent of influence of activists' lexical choices over news organizations' usage of non-attributed key words and phrases describing SCAF and its practices. As highlighted below in Table (12), Al-Jazeera appeared to be the most influenced by activists' lexical choices, followed by CNN. BBC and RT came under equal influence while XINHUA was the least influenced.

Table (12)

key words and phrases	Al-Jazeera	BBC	CNN	RT	XINHUA
Thank the army					▨
March in support of the new prime minster and SCAF	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Army allowed thugs to attack protesters	▨				
Army used violence to dismantle Tahrir protest	▨	▨	▨		
Military police clashed with protesters	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
People killed and injured	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨
Tantawy is responsible	▨			▨	
Used rubber bullets and tear gas	▨	▨	▨		
Trust in the Egyptian army				▨	▨
People and the Army are one hand					
Demanding SCAF to hand over power	▨	▨		▨	
SCAF is protecting a counter- revolution					
Army officers & soldiers used violence and brutality	▨	▨	▨	▨	
Female protesters beaten and dragged by soldiers	▨		▨		
Army didn't protect the protesters.	▨				
Strikes	▨		▨		
SCAF should leave					
Down with SCAF					
Tahrir clinic attacked			▨		
SCAF committed bloody crimes and is ruining the country					
The army is not our enemy					
Army confiscates cameras			▨		
Each coloured box indicates (at least) one usage of the key words/phrase in the sampled news stories.	**12**	**7**	**10**	**7**	**6**

Interpretations of findings

In examining the relationship between political activists and news organizations covering SCAF-associated events post-January 25th Revolution and its implications on the coverage, the pilot study proposes a paradigm of interaction between political activists and news organizations. In the proposed paradigm (see Figure 16), three levels of interaction are looked at; to examine

how a presumed interdependency relationship between political activists and news organizations manifests itself in news stories.

Figure (16)

Using political activists as dominant voices in headlines, main players in leads and frequent sources quoted in news stories

Making lexical choices of non-attributed key words and phrases similar to the lexical choices made by political activists in the content they created on their social media platforms

Using content created by political activists on their own social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter and Blogs)

At the first level of interaction, as the findings of content analysis indicate, Al-Jazeera appears to be the most connected with political activists. Such connection is represented in the heavy presence of activists in both Al-Jazeera Arabic and English sampled news stories, comparing to news stories of the other news organizations included in the study. Activists were the dominant voices in Al-Jazeera's headlines. They were also the main players in its news leads and the most frequent sources used in Al-Jazeera's stories, as Table (16) shows.

Table (13)

Activists in Al-Jazeera	Al-Jazeera Arabic	Al-Jazeera English
Headlines	59%	67%
Leads	70%	54%
Sources	46%	37%

At the second level of interaction, findings of the textual analysis of the sampled news stories and posts made by political activists on their social media platforms show that news organizations' lexical choices, negative or positive, were influenced by activists' lexical choices. Such influence comes at different degrees, which indicates different degrees of connectivity between news organizations and activists. Similar to the first level of interaction, Al-Jazeera also comes first as the most influenced by activists' lexical choices.

At the third level of interaction, Al-Jazeera also appears to be the most connected with political activists via its deployment of content they provided on their social media platforms. In Al-Jazeera (sampled) news stories, there were at least 17 references to social media content, 11 of them were from political activists' Facebook pages, Tweets and blogs, while there were 6 references to SCAF Facebook page.

Figure (17) References to social media sources in sampled news stories
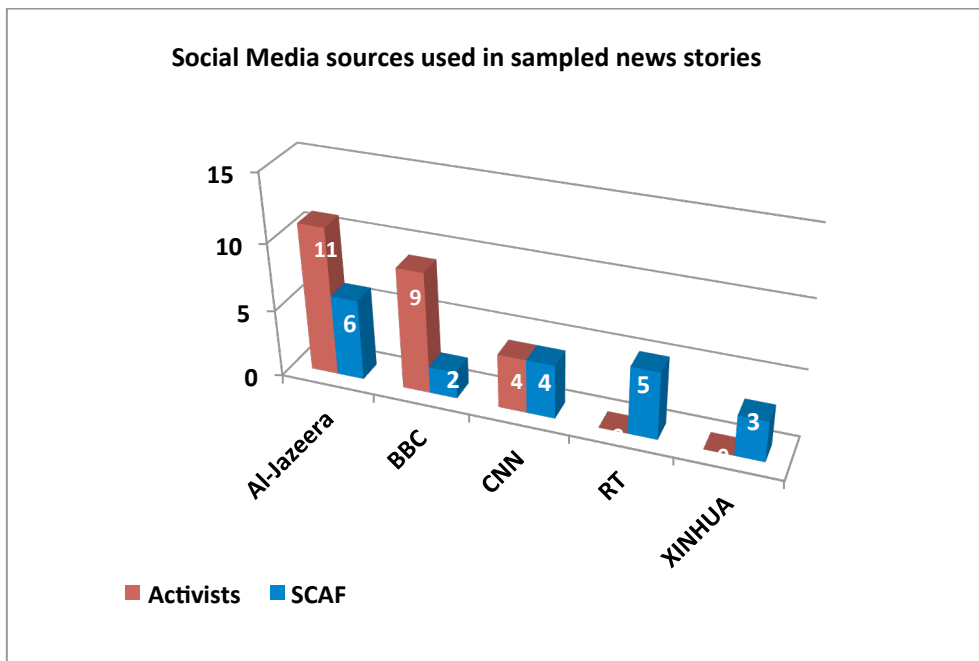
When applying the levels of interaction, Al-Jazeera matches the diagram to a great extent, while XINHUA hardly matches. For BBC, CNN and RT, the study reveals differences between their Arabic and English news stories. When applying the diagram of interaction only on the Arabic news stories, the news

organizations don't match very well, but when combining both, their Arabic and English stories, the diagram of interaction does match, but to a lesser extent than Al-Jazeera. This justifies the attention given to Al-Jazeera's coverage of SCAF, and the harsh measures taken against the news organization by the ruling military authority, which thinks Al-Jazeera is a partner to January 25th Revolutionaries and activists.

Al-Jazeera, more than any news organizations, has been continually under fire from the ruling authorities in Egypt both pre and post January 25th Revolution. Post January 25th, SCAF's fingers are pointed at Al-Jazeera accusing the channel of inciting the Egyptian public against them. The tension between SCAF and Al-Jazeera's escalated on September 12th, 2011 when the Egyptian security forces raided its office in Cairo, disrupted the transmission of Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr, confiscated equipment and arrested its staff. Such harsh measures against Al-Jazeera came out of SCAF's accusation that the channel was not only reporting, but igniting tension through its networking with the anti-regime cyber-activists and its relationship with citizen journalists. Hossam Al-Hamalawy, an Egyptian journalist and a political activist, has put it quite straightforward when he said, "In a dictatorship, independent journalism by default becomes a form of activism, and the spread of information is essentially an act of agitation."

Notes on the pilot study: The pilot study has met its objectives:

- It enabled the researcher to design a methodology and tested it on a reasonably sized sample.
- It enabled the researcher to test the main research question and provide an initial reading of the results.

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