

Framing the Egyptian Uprising by Pan Arab News Networks: Tracing the Protest Paradigm in Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya's coverage of Egyptian Protests from June 2013 to June 2014

A Comparative Study

*Yosra Jarrar, Tutku Akter **

ABSTRACT

The study explores the use of the protest paradigm indicating frames in the coverage of the Egyptian uprising between June 2013 and June, 2014 by Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya news networks. It also examines the shifts and variations in the way protests are framed in the news coverage of the websites of both networks. A structured content analysis is used to examine the shifts in adherence to the protest paradigm in the light of regime change and underlying ideological inclinations. Findings reveal that the extent to which hypothesized frames were used differed remarkably between and within both news websites indicating the use of and significant shifts in adherence to the protest paradigm.

Keywords: Protest Paradigm, Frame Analysis, Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, Muslim Brotherhood.

Introduction

Throughout history revolutions have been sparked by somewhat straightforward causes and have sought to bring about socio-economic and socio-political transformations in different societies. In particular, through their mass actions the masses communicate their unequivocal desire to not only cease existing under the same conditions as they always have in the past, but also their desire to see the dominant power holders cease living the way they always have in the past. Secondly, these conditions may include situations where oppressed masses have approached the limits of their patience with regard to enduring acute suffering and lack and thirdly, when the masses start engaging in intense, independent and historic mass actions as a result of the afore mentioned causes.

Previous research has shown that while covering social protests, mainstream media tend to filter and frame news in a way that favors particular interests, usually those of a government. Chan and Lee (1984) refer to that advocacy as the Protest Paradigm. As a "routinized template that has been naturalized through the process of

journalistic socialization" (McLeod, 2007, p.2), the Protest Paradigm provides a "template for the construction of a protest story" (McLeod & Detenber, 1999, p.5), and engulfs a set of common characteristics through which protest activities and protesters are disparaged in media.

However, in the course of the Arab Spring in particular the relation between media and protest's politics seems to become more complex as protesters embarked on a process of multidimensional change in their endeavors to rattle dictatorial regimes. Fueling this change was a shift in media environment which as suggested by recent studies (Harlow & Johnson, 2011; Lee, 2014; Weaver & Scacco, 2013) has resulted in a new manifestation of the protest paradigm since the efficacy of mainstream media censorship was jeopardized as Revolution 2.0 was flourishing (Ghonim, 2012).

Pan-Arab news networks have also played a major role throughout the wave of uprisings; Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya, as key players in the Arab and global media, have profiled themselves as open forums for 'the people'. Therefore, much attention has been directed toward the study of mobilizing and democratizing effects of non-state-controlled media and their implications for the public sphere. However, a careful consideration of the historical record of pan Arab media

* The American University of Cyprus;. Received on 31/7/2016 and Accepted for Publication on 31/10/2016.

networks in particular, may reveal traces of the host state's control of their discourse. Since Al-Jazeera began broadcasting in 1996, it has been taking over the Arab media by providing a forum for opposing opinions. Nevertheless, being privately owned by a mixed enterprise does not clash with the fact that Al-Jazeera is wholly dependent on and subsidized by the Qatari state (Achcar, 2013). For Zayani (2005), Al-Jazeera exemplifies a global trend of politicizing media ownership, through which Al-Jazeera's editorial policy has ideologically aligned with the Qatari foreign policy. Launched in 2003, Al-Arabiya, which is seen as Al-Jazeera's main rival, does not slip out from the same global trend as it is based in Dubai, but financed by a Saudi corporation. Based on a structured content analysis (deductive frame analysis), and considering the Saudi vs. Qatari domination of the political and economic environment in the Arab world, the purpose of this study is to further investigate the media-social movement relation. For this purpose, the coverage of the Egyptian uprising by two influential pan Arab news networks constitutes the case study of this research. The study explores whether Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya news websites adopted the protest paradigm in their coverage of the Egyptian protests from June 2013 to June 2014. In addition to the shifts and variations in framing protests during the period under study, this study also intends to analyze the major frames employed by the two websites during their coverage.

Problem of the Study

The media-social movement relation remains a crucial concern for media and communication theorist. Previous literature documented the adherence of mainstream media to the protest paradigm in covering protests, and recent studies have attempted to trigger a new form of the protest paradigm in news media. However, those studies examined only English-language media or Arabic-language newspapers, but as suggested by Harlow and Johnson (2011), the protest paradigm theory encompasses a broad spectrum of theoretical cornerstones that can be applied to a wide range of media outlets across different countries. Given the wave of uprisings taking over Arab countries, it is of the utmost importance to investigate the media-social movement relation by examining the degree to which the protest paradigm applies to the coverage of protests by influential Arabic-language media networks in the region.

Purpose of the Study

The study explores whether Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya's news websites adopted the protest paradigm in their coverage of the Egyptian protests from June 2013 to June 2014. In addition to the shifts and variations in framing protests during the period under study, this study intends to analyze the major frames employed by the two websites in their coverage. More specifically, the study explores the degree to which the two networks adhered to the protest paradigm in the period preceding Morsi's ouster up till the election of El-Sisi in Egypt, especially in their coverage of the various protests which took place within the period under study. At the micro level of analysis, it seeks to investigate if the observed adherence to the protest paradigm shifts in light of political changes and according to the ideological inclinations of the two networks.

Significance of the Study

Current changes in media ecology have redefined the relation between media and social movements. Further investigation of the nature of this relation, with reference to the coverage of the Arab Spring in general and the Egyptian uprising in particular, highlights different framing patterns utilized by influential pan Arab news networks. The frames are examined in connection to their political and ideological background. This may in turn influence the public opinion and the judgment of protesters and protest behavior in different countries.

As patterns of framing vary in the coverage of different media of different protests at different times (Weaver & Scacco, 2013), and since the protest paradigm concept "captures a specific type of media coverage and makes theoretical sense of it" (Lee, 2014, p.3), this study systematically features different factors that are said to influence protest coverage in different geopolitical and socio-economic contexts. By examining the coverage of Arabic-language news networks, the study is geared toward filling a gap in existing literature on the Arab spring, which placed very little emphasis on patterns of protest coverage articulated in the concept of the protest paradigm. Moreover, by analyzing the discourse of pan Arab news networks in particular, the state's influence on news networks' discourse, if exists, can be explored to show the different pan-Arab media strategies of each country and what lies behind those strategies and helps sustain the media hegemony of the news networks as producers of media content. The study may also open the

door for more studies to investigate the protest paradigm in Arabic-language media in different countries.

Research Questions

Questions of the Study

To attain the aim and purpose of this study, this study focuses on finding answers to the following main and sub-research questions:

Main Research Question:

R.Q.1: Do changes in the political landscape affect the application of the protest paradigm by media organizations?

Sub-research Questions:

In the coverage of the Egyptian protests:

R.Q.1a: Did Al-Jazeera use the protest paradigm frames that are consistent with its ideological hues?

RQ1b: Did Al-Arabiya use the protest paradigm frames that are consistent with its ideological hues?

RQ1c: Was there a shift in adhering to the protest paradigm by Al-Jazeera during the period under study?

RQ1d: Was there a shift in adhering to the protest paradigm by Al-Arabiya during the period under study?

Hypotheses of the Study

As shown in many studies, media bias is one of the most robust characteristics of the media-social movement literature. One of the factors that is said to contribute to shaping the news coverage of international social movements is the country's own foreign policy. As the Qatari and Saudi governments have different policies toward the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and in light of the regime changes within the period under study, the following hypotheses are proposed:

In the coverage of the Egyptian protests within the period under study:

H1: Al-Jazeera used the frames of protest paradigm that are consistent with its ideological inclinations.

H2: Al-Arabiya used the frames of protest paradigm that are consistent with its ideological inclinations.

H3: There was a significant shift in adhering to the protest paradigm by Al-Jazeera when political changes occurred.

H4: There was a significant shift in adhering to the protest paradigm by Al-Arabiya when political changes occurred.

Limitations of the Study

The analysis examines news reports that cover the

Egyptian protests on both Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya's news websites. The analysis is limited to only two websites because it seeks to investigate whether the foreign policy of two influential Arab countries, namely KSA and Qatar, is reflected in the coverage of the two pan Arab networks.

Moreover, the analysis covers the time period from June 2013 to June 2014, that is to say the period preceding Morsi's ouster up till the election of El-Sisi in Egypt. The time frame covers the ousting of Morsi which signaled the end of the Muslim Brotherhood governance, the military rule, and the inauguration of El-Sisi. It, thus, makes it possible to investigate the shift, if exists, in adhering to the protest paradigm by the two networks in light of political changes.

Content analysis in this study does not take into account the visual information associated with reports. Analyzing visual framing of collective actions requires a combination of content analysis and semiotic meaning interpretation which is beyond the scope of this study.

Moreover, the study examines one medium: news websites. Other new media representations (Twitter, blogs...etc) are not included because they have been already investigated by other researchers and the study aims to explore the coverage of pan Arab news networks in particular.

It is also beyond the scope of this study to provide an account for framing effects by analyzing readers' comments. The study follows the critical paradigm of framing that relates media practices to power relations and hegemony theories. Analyzing framing effects, however, requires implementing the cognitive paradigm to framing studies which requires a different line of research.

Theoretical Framework

The Protest Paradigm

The protest paradigm refers to one of the numerous categories of news frames which is particularly valuable in the examination of the framing patterns of protests and social movements as they occur. McLeod (2007) provides a comprehensive definition of the protest paradigm as patterns of news coverage which reflect the coverage intricacies of news media. He notes that these patterns reveal a general disposition towards discrediting protesters and preventing them from attaining credible status as important participants in the political sphere. The seemingly lack of appreciation for the contributions

and efforts protesters make in bringing about societal change and thus the lack of appreciation of the value of social protests reflected in such coverage has led to the systematic frustration and discouragement of protesters ultimately leading to ineffective confrontations. Corroborating, McQuail (1993), notes that the fact that mainstream media are usually called upon by the authorities to take responsibility for most of the media coverage of such events that may pose a threat to the stability of a society- such as natural disasters, crimes, economic downturns or progress, moral and ethical issues and other related events- provides them with the opportunity to build, amass and establish some semblance of legitimacy for themselves, while inclined to uphold the legitimacy of the state and delegitimize sources of social unrest. This often puts mainstream media in the position of one hell-bent on decreasing the intensity or even putting out the flame of the socio-political causes the protesters try to highlight, while at the same time amplifying the magnitude of threat the protesters pose to societal order. Having been disenfranchised by the mainstream media, and with limited resources, protesters resort to the initiation of dramatic events to force media attention, however the limited and often disorderly fashion in which such events occur ironically legitimizes the spun perception propagated by media that protesters are a source of societal disorder.

In a bid to understand how the protest paradigm comes into being, McLeod (2007) notes that it emanates out of the combined forces of the individual reporter's bias, the effect of the news organization's policy, the principles of the profession of journalism, the ideological and cultural factors within a society, and the limitations of the news medium- all of which determine how news items are produced within a given society.

According to McLeod and Hertog (1998) as mentioned earlier, core features of the protest paradigm includes news frames, dependence on official news sources, the elicitation of public opinion, de-legitimization and demonization techniques.

In expatiating on the news frames previously mentioned, McLeod and Hertog (1998) use Entman's (1993) popular definition of frames: "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment or recommendation for the item described" (p.52). They are

also of the opinion that the most popular frames used in the news coverage of protests are the crime story, the carnival, and the riot frames. The second feature of protest paradigm harps on the penchant mainstream media has for official sources as it provides some degree of legitimacy for the news they generate. This is because the use of official sources provides objectivity and represents integrity in the journalism profession. However, according to Johnson-Cartee (2005) despite the merits of this dependence on official sources, strict adherence to this practice provides a mechanism for maintaining the status quo, and prevents any challenge to the already established norms. With regard to the third feature of the protest paradigm, it is important to note that the protest paradigm often focuses on highlighting the differences between the society and protesters. In essence, news reports about protesters are inundated with quotes and select sources upon which reporters draw and base generalized conclusions which are then propagated as public opinion. These generalized opinions are made with the intention of portraying protesters as well as their causes as being in the minority and practically irrelevant. Thus in actual practice, a lot of effort is made to identify and highlight select features of members of the protest groups such as behavioral patterns observed, physical appearances, the identity of select members of the protest group, as well as to ensure that any actions contrary to societal norms observed- such as skirmishes with law enforcement agents usually stationed at mass protests, as well as any lawlessness exhibited by select members of the group. The focus on such aspects of protests from the protest paradigm perspective is to portray the protesters as individuals acting in ways that are divergent from accepted societal norms. According to McLeod (2007), from an operational perspective adherents of the protest paradigm would most likely single out individual bystanders as candidates representing public opinion. These individuals are often not part of the protest group, and there is a high probability that they share opposing views when mirrored against those of the protesters. Singling them out for interviews as representatives of the public thus provides adherents of the protest paradigm an avenue to invoke and orchestrate what would appear to be public opinion.

The fourth feature of the protest paradigm is the process of de-legitimization. This process is very important to the paradigm in that it is a logical next step after efforts to portray the protesters as opposed to

societal norms. It entails calculated efforts to make the public see protesters and their causes as aimless, illogical, meaningless and fruitless. McLeod (2007) notes that in a bid to shape public opinion about protesters, adherents to the protest paradigm ignore the numerous importance of protests such as the dissemination of crucial information, developing vital information sources, providing individuals of like minds the opportunity to bond, and most of all drawing the public attention to important issues of societal interest. The fifth feature of the protest paradigm according to McLeod and Hertog (1998) is the use of a demonizing frame of reference when referring to protesters. This is carried out by not only emphasizing but also amplifying the perceived or falsely constructed threat posed by members of protest groups to the larger society, by emphasizing negative actions singled out while observing select protesters in action and their consequences while simultaneously ignoring the peaceful intentions and activities often carried out by a majority of the protesters. In reality, this is reflected in such media coverage of protests which tend to be fixated on violent actions, the vandalization of select public properties, the disruption of traffic as well as the amount of tax payer's funds spent on securing such protests as well as other negatives exhibited by a few of the protesters.

Having highlighted all of these prominent features of the protest paradigm, it is important to note that this paradigm has over the years drawn the ire of critics from within and outside the discipline. Literature is rife with instances where the protest paradigm in its entirety or aspects of it have been criticized or shown to deviate from its core theoretical standing. However, some of the most prominent illustrations of the deviant nature of the protest paradigm include one highlighted by McLeod (2007) where he postulated that under certain conditions, journalists will abandon core tenets of the protest paradigm, allowing for a more objective coverage of the related news event. He further mentioned that such conditions include instances where the protests are too large and diverse for journalists to ignore, situations where the protesters' cause is one shared by prominent elites within the society, and the apparent absence of any dramatic eventualities and conflict which in turn prevents journalists from using the protest paradigm tools to cover the protest. Another point made by Johnson-Cartee (2005) seeks to expose the fact that the protest paradigm could be abandoned in certain cases. For example, protests which happen in nations for which the

journalist's home country has a friendly foreign policy towards are abandoned, ignored, or delegitimized, while protests in nations for which the journalist's home country has an unfriendly foreign policy towards are reported and maybe amplified.

In light of these, it is the position of this study that the occasional deviation from the protest paradigm is not in itself a theoretical pitfall, but may become the new reality or manifestation of the protest paradigm, as journalists may exhibit shifts in adherence to the protest paradigm to accommodate foreign policy changes.

Literature Review: Framing Social Movements and Protests

Despite the inadequate nature of research on how social movements are framed, there exist a few prominent studies that may have made the effort to uncover this process. Key among them is the work of Brasted (2005) who carried out a descriptive analysis of the content of the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune regarding the student movement and protests of the Chicago Democratic Convention of 1968. The study revealed that in covering the story, both newspaper agencies used the protest paradigm to frame the news reports thus a battle or conflict narrative perspective, dependence on official sources, and the invocation of public opinion were used, leading to the de-legitimization of the protesters' cause. The adaptation of the protest paradigm in covering that event automatically led to the maintenance of the status quo. The author concluded that the way both newspapers covered the event went a long way in shaping how readers viewed the protesters and helped shape the public opinion about the protesting students.

Another prominent work on the framing of social movements is the work of Kensicki (2001) which studied the positive media framing used in the coverage of the 'Deaf President Now' (DPN) political movement. It found that the four positive frames, through which news coverage of the event was constructed, were a result of the presence of some exceptional factors. These include the presence and easy access to protest sources, the fact that elite sources were inexpedient to how the protests were organized, the fact that members of the elite group were also a part of the movement, the sponsorship of the event by corporate organizations, the consultations between members of the protest group and journalists, the fact that the cause the protesters were pushing for was of a very narrow nature, and finally, the way and manner the

society viewed disabled people from an ideological standpoint. The author noted that the protest was able to achieve positive framing in mainstream media only because it was characterized by a combination of the factors listed above. Moreover, Kensicki stressed that the fact that positive framing was achieved did not necessarily mean it contradicted either the established characteristics the protest paradigm serves or the interests of hegemonic stakeholders mainstream media are believed to protect.

The work of Weaver and Scacco (2013) focused on understanding how cable news outlets covered the Tea Party movement, a movement known to be heavily right leaning. Using a content analysis approach, the authors examined how liberal and conservative nightly cable news outlets (Fox News and MSNBC respectively) applied key frames of the protest paradigm in the coverage of the Tea Party movement, using the Associated Press (AP) as a neutral point of reference. The authors sought to understand if the protest paradigm could be conveniently applied to the coverage of right leaning political movements and if the ideological differences inherent in the selected media outlets would produce different observable patterns or degrees of application of the protest paradigm. The authors found a variation in the degree to which issue and marginalization frames were used by ideological channels, interestingly however, they found that such traditional and seemingly neutral media channels like the AP also utilized these framing techniques.

Another interesting dimension on the framing of social events is the perspective that seeks to understand how the adherence to the protest paradigm is affected by the nature of the communities from which the story to be covered originates. One key research which focused on this area of analysis is the work of McCluskey, Stein, Boyle, and McLeod (2009). The authors sought to understand the effect of pluralistic and less pluralistic communities, as news originating sources, on adherence to the protest paradigm. It compared newspaper coverage of social protests within communities exhibiting different pluralistic characteristics from a structural perspective. Findings reveal that within less pluralistic communities, media outlets had a higher tendency to criticize and delegitimize protesters especially where such protests targeted the local government. This study made a significant contribution to the framing of social events literature in revealing that the context within which social

protests take place determines the extent to which the protest paradigm is adhered to especially from the perspective of protest originating community perspective.

Shedding further light on the findings above is the work of Boyle, McLeod, and Armstrong (2012) which tried to observe the adherence to the protest paradigm from two major perspectives: the protest group's tactics and its goals. Findings from the study indicate that the protest group's tactics was the most important determinant of the extent to which the protest paradigm was applied in covering the protests. They also reveal that the most influential elements of a group's tactics, which for the authors are indirectly responsible for the overall tendency said to affect protest's coverage, are the protest issue and the protest location.

Lee (2014), upon examining a newspaper coverage of protests carried out in Hong Kong, revealed that the adoption of the protest paradigm in covering social protests is usually triggered by dramatic and extreme practices carried out by the protesters, when the target of the protest approaches the media with a well prepared and organized response that addresses elements of the cause the protesters are agitating for or against, and for politically conservative media organizations when the protesters seek to draw attention to a political issue. The author concluded that with regard to the way protests are covered in Hong Kong, protests addressing political issues receive a smaller degree of negative coverage compared to other issues and overall the coverage of protests has over the years declined in negativity. This section sought to present an examination of how social movements and protests are framed by media around the world. The next section provides a succinct description of the employed method.

Method

Sampling method and data collection

The news reports which form the body of data for analysis in this research are solely extracted from the contents of the websites of Al-Arabiya and Al-Jazeera: <http://www.alarabiya.com> and <http://www.aljazeera.net>. This study chose Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya as the subjects of study because previous research found that both of these media organizations have an extremely high credibility among audiences in the Middle Eastern region (Association for International Broadcasting, 2008; Auter, Arafa, & Jaber 2004; Johnson and Fahmy, 2008, 2009).

The launch of the websites of Al-Jazeera and Al-

Arabiya in 2001 and 2004 respectively was a huge investment move by both organizations in a novel social and technological platform. This was done with the intent of increasing visibility and accessibility thereby enabling both organizations stay updated about evolutionary trends and transformations occurring within the media ecology. According to Anduiza, Jensen and Jorba (2012) from the perspective of online access to news media items in the Middle Eastern Region, www.aljazeera.net and www.alarabiya.net ranked 2nd and 4th respectively as at 2009. During the Egyptian uprisings which followed the ouster of Hosni Mubarak, both websites provided a hyperlink to increase interaction among members of the public especially the protesters. www.aljazeera.net provided a hyperlink titled ‘The crises in Egypt’ while www.alarabiya.net provided one titled ‘Egypt’. Also, the fact that the financial sponsors of both media organizations are Qatar and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, key players in the political and economic scene of the region, increases the significance of the choice of both media organizations.

Sample selection

This research uses the stratified sampling method and the constructed-week sampling technique as the sampling technique of choice. However, due to the fact that of the entire news items retrieved for the month of June, 2013, only news items from the last week of that month were relevant to this study as it was the week in which the protests against Mohammed Morsi began. Thus, this study applies the consecutive-day sampling technique when dealing with news items from that particular week, while using the constructed-week sampling procedure for the rest of the news items. This is because it is important to shed light on the events leading up to the start of the protests as well as those occurring as the protests ran their full course.

Thus the sampling process begins with the collection of elements of the news coverage of both www.aljazeera.net and www.alarabiya.net from the 27th of June, 2013 to the 3rd of July, 2013- a consecutive natural week preceding Morsi’s ouster, followed by a collection of news reports from the media coverage of the websites of both organizations from July 2013 to June 2014. The Sampling frame is from July 2013, to June 2014 and the stratified samples generated within the sampling frame were further categorized into (1) protests against Morsi’s ouster (July-October) (2) protests against

the suing of Morsi (November-February) and protests against El-Sisi’s presidential bid (March-June).

A total of 407 news reports were analyzed (separate from the reports used for inter-coder reliability) over a year from both websites under study. Of the total, 250 news reports were retrieved and analyzed from Al-Jazeera’s website; while 157 were collected from Al-Arabiya’s website.

For the first consecutive-day sampling (continuous week), i.e from the 27th of June to the 3rd of July 2013- the week preceding Morsi’s ouster a total of 50 and 32 news reports were retrieved from Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya respectively.

For the three constructed weeks, 200 news reports and 125 news reports were retrieved from Al-Jazeera’s and Al-Arabiya’s websites respectively (See table 1). The constructed weeks include news reports retrieved from both websites on the following dates: first constructed week: September 23, 2013/ September 3, 2013/ august 14, 2013/ October 3, 2013/ August 16, 2013/ July 27, 2013/ July 7, 2013; second constructed week: November 4, 2013/ November 19, 2013/ December 25, 2013/ January 9, 2014/ December 7, 2013/ February 15, 2014/ January 12, 2014.; third constructed week: April 1, 2014/ March 26, 2014/ May 8, 2014/ April 11, 2014/ May 24, 2014/ March 16, 2014/ June 9, 2014.

Table (1): Distribution of news reports by both sites for the constructed weeks

Weeks	News Items		
	Al-Jazeera	Al-Arabiya	% tage of Total News Items
1 st	67	49	35.69%
2 nd	75	40	35.38%
3 rd	58	36	28.92%
Total	200	125	100%
Grand Total	325		

Methods of Data Analysis

The study uses content analysis procedures that focus on a set of thematic codes for frames that are derived from media-social movement literature. Following Han (2007) among many others (Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams, & Trammell, 2005; de vrees, Poter & Semetko, 2001; Igarua, cheng, & Muniz, 2005, Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), the deductive approach in framing is adopted in this study. Six frames derived from literature and identified by Harlow and Johnson (2011) are

hypothesized. The frames include: injustice, sympathy, de-legitimizing, accountability, spectacle, and contextual frames.

Protesters-supporting frames include injustice frames that blame the government or security agencies for the disorder; evaluate the uprising in light of justice and fairness for protesters and provide protesters with ample opportunity to express their anger at the conduct of the security agencies (Gamson, 1992). Sympathy frames support protesters' cause or actions; drum up public support, and provoke sympathy, compassion or empathy for the protesters (Wolfsfeld, 1997). Accountability frames bring to the forefront a government's failure within its agencies; reveal a government's violation of law and harps on the need to put government policies and actions in check (Boyle & Hoeschen, 2001; Harlow & Johnson, 2011).

Both spectacle and delegitimizing frames are protesters-undermining frames. Spectacle frames present protesters as deviant, violent and unrepresentative, portray the protesters as being unruly and violent, emphasize destructive tendencies, and dramatically fixate on protesters negative emotional displays (Gans 1979; Harlow & Johnson; 2011, McLeod & Hertog 1998). Delegitimizing frames belittle the goals and causes of the protesters, highlight opposing demonstrators and capitalize and amplify internal dissent among protesters (Carragee, 1991; Dardis, 2006; Gitlin, 1980; McLeod & Detenber 1999). Contextual frames present a positive or negative contextualization of the events by providing comparisons to other protests (Dardis, 2006; Harlow & Johnson; 2011).

Following Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), a minimum of three questions is required to measure a hypothesized frame. Accordingly, four questions are developed to measure each of the six frames in this study. In all cases, each news report is coded (1) for the presence of a given code and (0) for the absence of any. The visibility of frames is detected by adding up the presence of any codes associated with each frame. The total visibility score for each frame indicator thus ranged from 0.00-1.00 generically signaling absence and presence of frames respectively.

Factor analysis is used to verify the six hypothesized frames through the determination of clusters among informational items pre-defined for each frame. Also an analysis of variance (ANOVA) test is employed to determine any marked differences with regard to the

specific frames within each of the websites at different time periods.

However, accommodation is made for the likelihood of other unspecified frames emerging from the data analysis process. These 'emergent frames' according to De Vreese (2005), may contain more subtle or in-depth explanations of the circumstances surrounding a news report and may arise as a result of the extended period of coverage such a news item had received over time. This category of frames may surface as more and more news reports are examined. Identified frames which do not belong to any of the pre-define frames (if exist) are to be coded as 'other frames'. In case an emergent frame occurs very frequently during the observations, it replaces an undetected pre-defined frame.

Reliability check

The researcher and an Arabic language professor experienced in frame and discourse studies were responsible for coding the news reports. A randomly selected subset of the study population constituting 20% (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003) of news reports was coded by the coders to preliminarily test the integrity of the coding procedure while inter-coder reliability was examined by carrying out a reliability test using Scott's pi. News reports used at the preliminary test phase were excluded from the group of reports used in the final analysis. A 0.79% Scott's pi score was recorded as the inter-coder agreement for the coding of news reports from Al-Jazeera's website. While a Scot's pi score of 0.83 % was recorded for the inter-coder agreement for news reports retrieved from Al-Arabiya's website. To further check reliability based on an analysis of the internal consistency of the frame indicating instrument, Cronbach's Alpha was conducted. Detailed explanation and discussion of the findings are presented in subsequent sections.

Internal and external validity

To ensure the internal validity of the research instrument used in the quantitative frame analytic method deployed here, factor analysis was carried out- especially to observe how the frame indicators correlated and clustered to frames. To accommodate the binary nature of the frame indicating data, the usual Pearson's correlation coefficient appropriate for the factor analysis of non-binary, continuous data, was substituted for the Tetrachoric correlation coefficient more appropriate for binary data, using IBM's R-Expressions plug-in.

On the other hand, to ensure the external validity of the study, the sample selection technique used was the probability sampling, especially the stratified random sampling procedure, which ensured that the target population was first of all broken down into strata and next the sample elements randomly were selected in such a way that each element had an equal and independent chance of being included in the study sample.

Findings

Outcomes of factor analysis

Output tables show loading values for the individual frame indicators, against the underlying hypothesized news frames (injustice, sympathy, accountability, spectacle, de-legitimization and contextualization.). Six frame indicators which did not cluster appropriately to any of the hypothesized frames were deleted and only three frame indicators were left to identify each of the hypothesized frames. Table (2) shows the factor solution output in which only frame indicators with factor loadings greater than 0.40 (Han, 2007) were considered to have adequately loaded onto the hypothesized news frames. It reveals that the six frames explained 74.68% of the total variance in the initial Eigenvalue which adequately signifies the presence of the hypothesized news frames and the ability to individually distinguish them one from the other within the news reports of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya.

Internal consistency outcomes

To further analyze the reliability of the coding instrument, the internal consistencies of the frame indicators, for each hypothesized news frame, were examined using Cronbach's alpha. The alpha coefficients for the frame indicators which clustered to the injustice, sympathy, accountability, spectacle, de-legitimization and contextualization frames were 0.877, 0.76, 0.81, 0.68, 0.73 and 0.42 respectively. The contextualization frame recorded the lowest alpha coefficient (0.42) and because this value is less than 0.60 (Han, 2007), this news frame was omitted from further study, and the study proceeded with only the items clustering to five of the hypothesized frames: injustice, sympathy, accountability, spectacle and de-legitimization frames.

Descriptive Analysis of Frame Visibility

The average occurrence of each news frame within Al-Jazeera's news coverage and Al-Arabiya's news

coverage is presented in Table (3) below. All in all, higher mean values recorded for the spectacle and de-legitimization frames and lower values for injustice, sympathy and accountability frames reveal that most of Al-Arabiya's coverage of protests during the second phase of the Egyptian uprising which started with the ouster of Morsi and culminated in the election of El-Sisi as president of Egypt; adhered to the protest paradigm. In contrast, an analysis of Al-Jazeera's coverage of the uprising shows that on the average injustice, sympathy and accountability frames recorded higher values than the spectacle and de-legitimization frames, indicating that Al-Jazeera's coverage remarkably deviated from protest paradigm.

Further analysis to determine the occurrence of news frames within and across both news websites is carried in subsequent sections using ANOVA test.

Presence of news frames within Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya's coverage over the period under study

In order to test the third and fourth hypotheses, a One-way ANOVA was carried out to determine the change in adherence to the protest paradigm within the news coverage of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya spanning two time periods: one continuous and three constructed weeks. The independent variable: news coverage before and after the regime change included the two time periods earlier mentioned which together includes four group levels: 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th weeks of news coverage. The dependent variable was the dynamic manifestation of the protest paradigm across the two time periods. A post hoc test using Bonferoni adjustment (because of the inequality of group size) was performed and Tables(4) and (5)below provide a summary of the comparisons.

Table (4) shows that when compared with each other, there was a significant difference in the manifestation of the dependent variable 'protest paradigm' between the first and second weeks, the first and third weeks and the first and fourth weeks. It also reveals that the difference in the manifestation of the protest paradigm between the second and third and the second and fourth weeks as well as the third and fourth week were insignificant. This implies that in the news coverage of Al-Jazeera spanning the two time periods, the protest paradigm was present in the first (continuous) week before Morsi's ouster, while it was absent in the second, third and fourth constructed weeks after Morsi's ouster up until the election of El-Sisi as the Egyptian president.

Table: (2) Rotated Factor Solutions for Frame Indicators

Frame Indicators	Rotated Factor Solutions for Frame indicators					
	Injustice	Sympathy	Accountability	Spectacle	De-legitimization	Contextualization
<i>Injustice Frame</i>						
Does the news report attribute the cause of a problem to the government/police/military?	.471	.111	.109	.114	.103	.132
Does the news report provide evaluations about what is fair for protesters?	.655	.120	.198	.172	.185	.203
Does the news report give protesters the right to express their grievances through a sense of moral outrage?	.760	.149	.242	.138	.258	.143
Does the news provide a “political consciousness” to defy any form of injustice?	.217	.103	.230	.139	.118	.022
<i>Sympathy Frame</i>						
Does the news report support protesters’ cause/actions?	.236	.592	.142	.293	.112	.189
Does the news report enlist public support for protesters?	.145	.782	.272	.383	.174	.211
Does the news report provoke sympathy or compassion for protesters?	.164	.692	.113	.135	.251	.239
Does the news report seek to influence governmental authorities?	.151	.101	.232	.142	-.142	.118
<i>Accountability Frame</i>						
Does the news report highlight a government’s failures within its agencies?	.172	.131	.781	.158	.228	.102
Does the news report point out a government’s violations of law?	.164	.158	.655	.217	.336	.195
Does the report stress the need to monitor government’s actions?	.160	.217	.844	.105	.348	.108
Does the news report demand a change in a government’s actions?	.229	.204	.276	.247	.130	.359
<i>Spectacle Frame</i>						
Does the news report emphasize deviant & violent behavior of protesters?	.196	.106	.109	.451	.136	.302
Does the news report disparage protesters by number?	.189	.669	.132	.273	.243	.248
Does the report emphasize potential threats & negative consequences of protesters?	.166	.116	.001	.552	.111	.117
Does the news report depict protesters’ negative emotions (angry, irrational)?	.189	.189	.064	.437	.121	.224
<i>De-legitimization Frame</i>						
Does the news report trivialize protesters’ cause/goals?	.113	.224	.105	.158	.487	.090

Rotated Factor Solutions for Frame indicators						
Frame Indicators	Factors					
	Injustice	Sympathy	Accountability	Spectacle	De-legitimization	Contextualization
Does the news report portray protesters' actions as irrational?	.190	.186	.103	.261	.264	.168
Does the news report emphasize counter demonstrations?	.103	.159	.157	.364	.738	.261
Does the report emphasize internal dissent within the protesting group?	.027	-.318	.172	.347	.556	.194
Contextualization Frame						
Does the news report provide historical explanations to the protests?	-.021	.451	-.257	.223	.137	.561
Does the news report provide comparisons to other current protests?	.051	.004	.038	.729	.158	.438
Does the news report observed stem from a certain ideology?	-.006	-.097	-.011	-.069	.268	.410
Does the overall tone of the contextualization portray a positive image of protesters?	.065	.037	.017	.037	.042	.127

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Correlation coefficient: Tetrachoric correlations.

Initial Eigenvalues: Cumulative % variance explained by the six factors: 74.68%

Table 3: Mean and Standard Deviation Values for the Visibility of News Frames in Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya

Frames	Al-Jazeera		Al-Arabiya	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Injustice	0.74	0.44	0.20	0.40
Sympathy	0.57	0.40	0.13	0.48
Accountability	0.68	0.44	0.15	0.35
Spectacle	0.16	0.35	0.61	0.43
Delegitimization	0.12	0.30	0.66	0.43

****** Visibility was coded as 1=Present and 0= Absent. The values were obtained by summing up the scores recorded for each of the frame indicators for each factor and averaged by the number of frame indicators for each factor.

Table (5) shows that when compared with each other, there was a significant difference in the manifestation of the dependent variable 'protest paradigm' between the first and second week, the first and third and the first and fourth weeks. However the difference between the second and third, second and fourth and third and fourth weeks were insignificant. This implies that in the coverage of

Al-Arabiya encompassing the two time periods, the protest paradigm was absent in the first (continuous) week before the ousting of Morsi. However, it was significantly present in the second, third and fourth (constructed) weeks, after Morsi's ouster and heralding the election of El-Sisi as the president of Egypt.

Table (4): Multiple Comparisons of the Usages of the Protest Paradigm in Al-Jazeera's Coverage within the Four Weeks

Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable: Paradigm Bonferroni						
(I) Weeks	(J) Weeks	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Wk1	WK2	.765*	.062	.000	.60	.93
	WK3	.733*	.060	.000	.57	.89
	WK4	.668*	.064	.000	.50	.84
WK2	Wk1	-.765*	.062	.000	-.93	-.60
	WK3	-.032	.055	1.000	-.18	.12
	WK4	-.098	.059	.598	-.26	.06
WK3	Wk1	-.733*	.060	.000	-.89	-.57
	WK2	.032	.055	1.000	-.12	.18
	WK4	-.066	.058	1.000	-.22	.09
WK4	Wk1	-.668*	.064	.000	-.84	-.50
	WK2	.098	.059	.598	-.06	.26
	WK3	.066	.058	1.000	-.09	.22

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table (5): Multiple Comparisons of the Usages of the Protest Paradigm in Al-Arabiya's Coverage within the Four Weeks

Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable: Paradigm Bonferroni						
(I) Weeks	(J) Weeks	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
WK1	WK2	-.762*	.065	.000	-.94	-.59
	WK3	-.769*	.068	.000	-.95	-.59
	WK4	-.788*	.070	.000	-.97	-.60
WK2	WK1	.762*	.065	.000	.59	.94
	WK3	-.007	.061	1.000	-.17	.16
	WK4	-.026	.063	1.000	-.19	.14
WK3	WK1	.769*	.068	.000	.59	.95
	WK2	.007	.061	1.000	-.16	.17
	WK4	-.019	.066	1.000	-.20	.16
WK4	WK1	.788*	.070	.000	.60	.97
	WK2	.026	.063	1.000	-.14	.19
	WK3	.019	.066	1.000	-.16	.20

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Discussions of Findings

Findings of the factor analysis conducted showed that all six hypothesized frames were present in the news coverage of the websites of both news networks. After the conduct of the factor analysis and confirmation of the presence of all of the hypothesized news frames, an

examination of the coding instrument was carried out to determine the internal consistency of the coding scheme used. This was done using the Cronbach's Alpha test. Findings revealed that the frame indicators for the first five frames all recorded high alpha coefficients while the frame indicators for the sixth frame- contextualization,

recorded a low alpha coefficient. Thus the contextualization frame was excluded from further analysis, while the first five frames (deemed to be reliable given their alpha coefficient values) were used in further analysis.

To better put the findings about the existence or manifestation of all five frames into perspective, a descriptive analysis of the occurrence of news frames was carried out. A summary of the descriptive analysis revealed that there was a low occurrence of the injustice, sympathy and accountability frames (seeking to support the protesters) in Al-Arabiya's news coverage in contrast with the high occurrence of these frames in Al-Jazeera's news coverage. Moreover, frames which sought to undermine the protesters such as the spectacle and delegitimizing frames recorded a high degree of occurrence in Al-Arabiya as opposed to the low occurrence recorded for Al-Jazeera. Findings from the One-Way ANOVA revealed that in the coverage of Al-Jazeera covering both time periods under study, the protest paradigm was observed to be present in the first (continuous) week before Morsi's ouster and absent in the second, third, and fourth (constructed) weeks after Morsi was ousted from office up until the election of El-Sisi as the Egyptian president. On the other hand, ANOVA findings showed that in the coverage of Al-Arabiya within both time periods under study, the protest paradigm was not present in the first (continuous) week before the ousting of Morsi, but was significantly present in the second, third and fourth (constructed) weeks after Morsi was ousted from office up until the election of El-Sisi as the Egyptian president.

This finding is interesting given the fact that a complete shift is noticed in how the media networks covered the uprising in the first week and the second, third and fourth weeks respectively. It is important to note that in most of the extant literature, news outlets either adhered to the protest paradigm or deviated from it. In other words, before Morsi's ouster, Al-Jazeera adhered to the protest paradigm in order to delegitimize anti-Morsi protesters in their agitation. However, after Morsi's ouster, protesters who were anti-military rule took to the streets as well and Al-Jazeera became supportive of the protesters. Al-Arabiya on the other hand did not adhere to the protest paradigm during the first week (obviously as a result of its ideological stance against the Muslim brotherhood) but adhered to the protest paradigm in the second, third and fourth weeks due to the fact that the

protesters were mostly comprised of individuals in support of the ousted former president Morsi.

The present manifestation of Al-Jazeera's and Al-Arabiya's news coverage patterns can be better understood in light of the historical evolution of both media organizations over time. Chronologically, Al-Jazeera was the pioneering news network which pushed to the forefront a more or less democratic and pan-Arab discourse and contributed significantly in the development of a transnational Arab communal identity built on mutual respect and irrespective of national boundaries. It is difficult to argue against the fact that Al-Jazeera's style and influence on rival news networks led to the immense and mass liberalization of media discourse in the Arab world, which contributed albeit indirectly to the pressure the general populace began to mount on their mostly authoritarian regimes. However, Al-Jazeera's respectable pioneering reputation gradually became questionable, and this peaked specifically following its coverage of the Arab spring. The dent on its reputation is inextricable from the fact that it depends on the Qatari government for a considerable amount of its funding and taking into consideration Qatar's foreign policy *viz-a-viz* the Arab region and the Muslim brotherhood, significant of which is its subtle yet intense rivalry with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, has had a remarkable impact on Al-Jazeera's ideological stance, and hence its observable coverage patterns especially of the Arab spring. The Egyptian uprising presented Qatar with a strategic opportunity to tilt the balance of regional power to its benefit using two of its most potent tools: a vastly expanding network of Islamist allies and the far reaching coverage and reputation of its media powerhouse represented by Al-Jazeera. This saw the Qatari government lend an unequivocal support for the Muslim brotherhood in most Arab countries where the wind of the Arab spring had swept through- especially Egypt, and Al-Jazeera being a pun in the country's foreign policy offensive had to tag along.

The major bone of contention in the regional power tussle between Saudi Arabia and Qatar especially during the Egyptian uprising has been the divergent classification of the Muslim brotherhood as a threat and as an ally respectively. This disagreement on the Muslim brotherhood had strongly influenced both Qatar and Saudi Arabia's foreign policy in the region and by extension had an impact on the coverage patterns of Qatar based Al-Jazeera's and Saudi owned Al-Arabiya. Another

argument regarding Qatar's support for the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt is the observation that Qatar pursues a foreign policy that aims to align itself with parties forecasted to come out as winners in the region, and having read Egypt's Muslim brotherhood led by Morsi to come out tops in the unfolding democratic dispensation in the country encouraged it to further do all in its power to place all of its bets on the Muslim brotherhood as opposed to the other political stake holders in Egypt, especially its Military establishment (Khatib, 2014).

From a Saudi standpoint however, the government was more concerned initially of a spillover effect of the Arab spring on its territory. It took a slightly opposite stance supporting the ousted regimes in Tunisia and Egypt and a generally antagonistic policy towards Islamist movements in the region unlike the Qatari government. This difference in policy outlooks placed a more indelible strain on the relations between both countries and as expected, Al-Arabiya's connections to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, meant that it reflected directly or indirectly, KSA's policy outlook.

However, more recent events reveal that Qatar may have miscalculated in its foreign policy inclinations, as the Muslim brotherhood led by Morsi made certain grievous mistakes chief among which were unilateral actions perceived by both local and foreign stakeholders to be tantamount to an attempt to monopolize power at the expense of national harmony. Despite these obvious lapses in judgment by the then ruling Muslim brotherhood party, the Qatari government was unequivocal in their support for the movement. This gravely irritated Egypt's secularists, the Egyptian military establishment as well as foreign partners, culminating in the Muslim brotherhood being evicted from power, while a military backed regime supported by Saudi Arabia took a firm but proactive grip on power in Egypt. Subsequently, the Saudi government classified the Muslim brotherhood as a terrorist organization, and led two other regional countries UAE and Bahrain to recall their ambassadors from Qatar in March, 2014 on the allegation that Qatar was supporting a fundamentalist group. However, in November 2014, they reinstated their ambassadors bringing to an end the dramatic show of disagreement between both nations, however the rifts and disagreements continue subtly till this day.

In this study, empirical evidence presented show that in the second, third and fourth weeks after Morsi's ouster,

Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya changed their perspective towards protesters and most significantly, the study observed a shift in adherence to the protest paradigm. While Al-Jazeera adhered to the protest paradigm before Morsi's Ouster, it quickly deviated and stopped adhering to the protest paradigm after Morsi's ouster. In contrast, Al-Arabiya did not adhere to the protest paradigm before Morsi's ouster, but quickly started adhering to the protest paradigm after Morsi's ouster. This dramatic u-turns in paradigmatic stance by both media organizations is a perfect reflection of how supposedly independent Pan-Arab media networks mirror their benefactor governments' foreign policies.

To elaborate further, it is clear that the Egyptian uprising significantly contributed to the polarization of the Pan-Arab media along the policy lines of the major nations whose funds fuels growth in the sector. This however put the two dominant media networks at risk of losing their reputation as unbiased platforms through which current events are broadcast and analyzed. Another interesting observation is the tactical and perceptual stance both news networks use in propagating the predominant ideological perspectives or takes on news items, especially the Egyptian uprising. Whereas Al-Jazeera described the ousting of Morsi as similar to the conduct of a military coup against a legitimately and democratically elected president; Al-Arabiya on the other hand, referred to the same event as an embodiment of the fruits of a second revolution. This tendency to lean more towards a situation where the party that pays the piper is allowed to detect the tune, further confirms to any keen observer that both channels are oblivious or simply choose to ignore the professional tenets there are universally accountable for; instead they choose to operate according to the policies of their major funders forgetting that political policies and ideologies change rapidly and are unstable. The fact that there is always a consistent political undertone underneath their editorial policies which obviously seem to promote their geopolitical and regional interest consequently blurring the boundaries between journalistic practice and the desire to actively promote their own perspective of unfolding events further casts a long shadow on the credibility of both media networks. Thus, directly or indirectly becoming a part of the problem rather than a neutral and unbiased professional media agency. The empirical evidence provided in the findings section of this study further buttress this point. In particular, the

One-way Analysis of Variance revealed that the shift of power from one political party representing a different ideology to another, automatically led to a shift in framing patterns of the coverage especially in light of the use or deviation from the protest paradigm.

Conclusion

In order to conclude, it is important to begin with a reiteration in clear terms of a concise summary of the findings of the study. In testing the first and second sub-hypotheses, the study found that five out of the six hypothesized frames were present in the coverage of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya of the Egyptian uprising (250 reports, 157 reports respectively). These frames include the injustice, sympathy, accountability, spectacle, and delegitimization frames of the protest paradigm. The contextual frame was conspicuously absent from the analyzed news coverage of both media organizations. In other words, both media organizations at some point adhered to the protest paradigm.

The testing of the third and fourth sub-hypotheses further revealed that with political changes in Egypt, each of the media organizations shifted in their adherence to the protest paradigm in accordance with the foreign policies and ideological inclinations of their benefactor nations.

From a holistic perspective the null hypothesis of the main hypothesis (Ho) is rejected as the results of the study provide evidence in support of the alternate hypothesis of the main hypothesis (H1). In other words, evidence from the results shows that a manifested application of the protest paradigm by media organizations is dependent on changes in the political landscape as premeditated by their ideological inclinations.

Despite the empirical findings of this study as well as the prevailing and ongoing evidence of the shifts in the news coverage of both media organizations during the Arab spring, it is interesting to note that both networks strive to portray themselves as immune to political influence emanating from their predominantly government sponsored operations.

Initially, Al-Jazeera's respect and reputation as a news agency came from the fact that it was judged to be a very professional network with a pioneering commitment to values which promoted media freedom and eventually led to the revolutionary transformation of news coverage in the middle east; however that very reputation has recently

been called into question especially with the infrequent politicization of its media coverage. Al-Jazeera's reputation as an unbiased media network took a plunge specifically after its pro-Muslim brotherhood stance during the coverage of the Egyptian uprising. Despite the fact that its logic was aimed at protecting democratic values, especially the argument that Morsi's government was a democratically elected government and its dismantlement by the military was undemocratic, it still boiled down to the fact that it should have maintained neutrality in the coverage of the events during and after the uprising.

Just like Al-Jazeera, the Saudi backed Al-Arabiya, a significant and perhaps the only major regional competitor to Al-Jazeera has also been known for politicizing its coverage in the region, especially the Egyptian uprising. However, while the possibility of the channel taking a pro Saudi stance was always likely, the surprise and disappointment was more towards Al-Jazeera's journalistic conduct within that period. This is because within the Region, Al-Jazeera was placed on the loftiest pedestal of journalistic practice, and so to allow itself engage in petty rivalry with Al-Arabiya was evident of the presence behind the scenes of higher puppet masters pulling the strings, and effectively and subtly bringing into full glare the political skirmishes between the officialdom-based policies of the Qatari government and the hegemonic policies of the Saudi government. In fact at the height of the misunderstandings, a popular exchange between notable political figures on both sides had public exchange of words, with a Saudi prince notably quoted by the Wall Street Journal as referring to Qatar as "nothing more than 300 people... and a TV channel" and in response Qatar's foreign minister was quoted as saying that "one Qatari citizen is worth an entire people. This is what we tell our sons, with respect to the others" ("Prince Bandar", 2013).

It is thus obvious that both Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya have strayed from their initial commitment to promoting independent journalism and fostering pan-Arab debates in order to counter the numerous authoritarian governments and their propaganda machines. Their original motto which implied a commitment to providing the region with an unbiased and professional coverage, where all parties have the opportunities to have their angle and their sides of stories heard; were quickly disregarded. For instance, Al-Jazeera's open support for the Muslim brotherhood whose primary ideology was Pan-Islamism, contradicted

the network's Pan-Arabic posture, especially in the sense that Pan-Islamism in its current form envisages a unification of the Arab world without recognition of cultural and ethnic minorities and diversity, neither does it seek to support other public opinions within the region.

Given the fact that this study focused on the period leading to the ouster of Morsi up until the election of El-Sisi the findings presented in this work are however a reflection of that time period. However, to further understand the depth of the fluctuations in ideological underpinnings especially as influenced by the political stance of the funding governments of both news networks, a key recommendation for further research is the study of the coverage and framing patterns of both networks after the election of El-Sisi till present to understand if there were further shifts in ideological inclinations and thus the framing of news events by both channels. The need for this recommended study is that more recently it can be noticed that the Qatari government's policies towards the Muslim brotherhood

has shifted as Qatar seeks to foster a closer relationship with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). This is evident in the recent reinstatement of the Saudi, Emirati and Bahraini ambassadors to Qatar, and the expulsion of seven leading members of the Muslim brotherhood from Qatar in 2014.

While this study focuses on empirically examining the effect of foreign policy and its ideological underpinnings on media, it is recommended that researchers of Arabic language media conduct an empirical study of the effect of media on foreign policy- especially to understand the long-term change effects of media content on foreign policy. It is also important to conduct further empirical analysis on the framing effects of media through the analysis of readers' comments. It can be effectively carried through the use of the cognitive paradigm to framing studies. Finally, from a methodological standpoint, the traditional use of factor analysis as a tool for the reduction of frame indicators to distinguishable frames should be revisited.

REFERENCES

- Achcar, G. (2013). *The People Want: A radical exploration of the Arab uprising*. London: Saqi Books.
- AnduizaPerea, E., Jensen, M. J., & Jorba, L. (2012). *Digital media and political engagement worldwide: A comparative study*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Association for International Broadcasting. (2008). *Al-Jazeera tops credibility polls*. Retrieved March 15, 2013, from <http://www.aib.org.uk>
- Auter, P., Arafat, M. M., & Jaber, K. (2004). *News credibility in the Arab world: An analysis of Arabic people's usage patterns of Al-Jazeera after September 11, 2001 and before the Iraq War*. Paper Presented at the Global Fusion conference, St, Louis MO.
- Boyle, E. H., & Hosechen, A. (2001). *Theorizing the form of media coverage over time*. *Sociological Quarterly*, 42(4), 511-527.
- Boyle, M. P., McLeod, D. M., & Armstrong, C. L. (2012). *Adherence to the protest paradigm: The influence of protest goals and tactics on news coverage in U.S. and international newspaper*. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 17(2), 127-144.
- Brasted, M. (2005). *Framing Protest: The Chicago Tribune and the New York Times during the 1986 democratic convention*. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 13(1), 1-25.
- Carragee, K. (1991). *News and ideology: an analysis of coverage of the West German Green Party by the N.Y. Times*. *Journalism Monograph*, 128, 130.
- Carragee, k., & Roefs, W. (2004). *The neglect of power in recent framing research*. *Journal of Communication*, 54(2), 214-233.
- Dardis, F. E. (2006). *Marginalization devices in the U.S. press coverage of Iraq war protest: A content analysis*. *Mass communication and Society*, 9, 117-135.
- De Vreese, C. H., Peter, J., & Semetko, H. A. (2001). *Framing politics at the launch of the euro: A cross-national comparative study of frames in the news*. *Political Communication*, 18, 107-122.
- De Vreese, C. H. (2005). *News framing: Theory and typology*. *Information Design Journal*, 13 (1), 51-62.
- Dimitrova, D. V., Kaid, L. L., Williams, A., & Trammell, K. D. (2005). *War on the web: The immediate news framing Of gulf war II*. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 10, 22-44. Retrieved December 5, 2014, from <http://www2.fiu.edu/~surisc/war%20on%20the%20web.pdf>
- Entman, R. M. (1993). *Framing: towards clarification of a fractured paradigm*, *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. Retrieved July 8, 2014, from Web of Science.
- Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gans, H. (1979). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS*

- Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time. New York: Vintage Books.
- Ghonim, W. (2012). *Revolution 2.0: The power of the people is greater than the people in power* : A memoir. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Han, G. K. (2007). Mainland China frames Taiwan: How China's news websites covered Taiwan's 2008 presidential elections. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 17(1), 40-57. Retrieved July 5, 2014, from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01292980601114547#.U_h9ivm1YmY
- Harlow, S., & Johnson, T. J. (2011). Overthrowing the protest paradigm? How the New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter covered the Egyptian revolution. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 1359-1374. Retrieved August 1, 2014, from <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/1239>
- Igartua, J. J., Cheng, L., & Muñiz, C. (2005). Framing Latin America in the Spanish press: A cooled down friendship between two fraternal lands. *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research*, 30, 359-372. Retrieved September 20, 2014, from Web of Science.
- Johanson- Cartee, K. S. (2005). *News narratives and news framing: Constructing political reality*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Johanson, T. J. & Fahmy, S. (2009). See no evil, hear no evil, judge as evil? Examining the degree to which users of Al-Jazeera English-language website transfer credibility views to its satellite network counterpart. In G.
- Golan, T. J. Johanson, and W. Wanta (Eds.), *International Communication in a Global Age*. Philadelphia: Routledge: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Johanson, T. J. & Fahmy, S. (2008). CNN of the Arab world or shell for terrorists? How support for press freedom and political ideology predict credibility of Al-Jazeera among its audience. *Gazette: The International Communication Gazette*, 70(5), 339-362.
- Kensicki, L. J. (2001). Deaf president now! Positive media framing of a social movement within a hegemonic political environment. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 25(2), 147-166.
- Khatib, L. (2014). Qatar and the recalibration of power in the Gulf. Washington/D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Lee, F. L. F. (2014). Triggering the protest paradigm: examining factors affecting news coverage of protests. *International Journal of Communication* 8, 2318-2339. Retrieved October 5, 2014, from <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/2873>
- McCluskey, M., Stein, S. E., Boyle, M., & McLeod, D. M. (2009). Community structure and social protest: Influences on newspaper coverage. *Mass Communication and Society*, 12(3), 353-371.
- McLeod, D. M. (2007). News coverage and social protest: How the media's protest paradigm exacerbates social conflicts. *Journal of Dispute Resolution*, 1, 185-194.
- McLeod, D. M., & Detenber, B. H. (1999). Framing effects of television news coverage of social protests. *Journal of Communication*, 49 (3), 3-23. Retrieved September 20, 2014, from Web of Science.
- McLeod, D. M., & Hertog, J.K. (1998). Social control and mass media's role in the regulation of protest groups: The communicative acts perspective. In D. Demers & K. Viswanth (Eds.), *Mass media, social control and social change* (pp. 305-330). Ames: Iowa State University Press.
- McQuail, D. (1993). *Media performance: Mass communication and public interest*. Sage: London.
- Prince Bandar: Qatar nothing more than 300 people, a TV channel. (2013, September 6). Alalam. Retrieved May 14, 2014, from <http://en.alalam.ir/news/1513924>
- Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M., (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication*, 50, 93-109. Retrieved January 1, 2015, from Web of Science.
- Weaver, D., & Scacco, J. (2013). Revisiting the protest paradigm: The Tea Party as filtered through prime-time cable news. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 18 (10), 61-84. Retrieved September 20, 2014, from <http://hij.sagepub.com/content/18/1/61>
- Wimmer, R.D., & Dominick, J.R. (2003). *Mass media research: An introduction* (7th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (1997). *Media and political conflict: News from the Middle East*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Zayani, M. (2005). Al-Jazeera and the vicissitudes of the new Arab mediascape. In M. Zayani (Eds.), *The Al-Jazeera phenomenon: Critical perspective on new Arab media* (p.p 1-46). London: Pluto Press.

تأطير الربيع المصري من خلال شبكات الأخبار العربية الجديدة: تتبع النموذج الاحتجاجي في تغطيتي الجزيرة والعربية
للاحتجاجات المصرية من حزيران 2013 إلى حزيران 2014
دراسة مقارنة

يسرى جرار، توتكو أكتير*

ملخص

تستكشف هذه الدراسة توظيف الأطر الدالة للنموذج الاحتجاجي في تغطية الحراك المصري بين حزيران 2013 وحزيران 2014 من خلال شبكتي الجزيرة والعربية الإخباريتين. وتفحص العدولات والمتغيرات التي يوظفها المحتجون من خلالها في التغطيات الإخبارية في الموقعين الإلكترونيين للشبكتين. وقد استعمل تحليل المحتوى لفحص تلك العدولات في مناسبة النموذج الاحتجاجي، في ضوء التغيرات الإقليمية وتداخلاتها مع الميول الإيديولوجية. وتكشف النتائج درجة تباين الأطر المفترضة المستعملة بشكل صارخ بين الموقعين الإلكترونيين المذكورين وإلى درجة دالة بما ينسجم والنموذج الاحتجاجي المشار إليه.

الكلمات الدالة: النموذج الاحتجاجي، تحليل مؤطر، الجزيرة، العربية، الإخوان المسلمون.

* الجامعة الأمريكية في قبرص. تاريخ استلام البحث 2016/7/31، وتاريخ قبوله 2016/10/31.