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News sources in foreign newspapers and its relation to forming news coverage trends of Egypt's June 30, 2013 events

Master Thesis

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DEDICATION

First and Foremost, I dedicate my thesis to my family and friends. A special feeling of gratitude to my loving parents, Eman Abdel Moghny Ragab and Mohamed Abdel Aziz Abdel Dayem whose words of encouragement and push for tenacity ring in my ears. My brothers Albraa, and Belal have never left my side and are very special.

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The press – the media in general- is one of the tools the countries' foreign policy can use. They use it in order to send their political messages to the readers. That is why we can consider the press coverage of each newspaper is a reflection of the political trends of these countries towards the events that are covered by their newspapers.

The world witnessed again the strength of the Egyptian society in transitioning its serious political protests into important and vital government change in June 2013. The political protests that led to political shifts within Egypt did not occur in a vacuum, but were stimulated and continued giving critical conditions within the political, economic, and social contexts in which people were mobilized for action.

Therefore, the study of the news coverage of the foreign policy is not just a study of the process of journalism in a professional way, but is also conducted to know the relationship between the press and the foreign policy of the countries that issue the foreign newspapers. That is besides it's unveiling of the political trends in the countries that publish the international newspapers. This study tries to explore the press coverage, and find out whether the coverage contains the truth, or it includes fake news, and whether it is biased or objective. Furthermore, this study tries to detect-whether the publishing country of the newspaper interferes in the coverage or not.

The Anglo-American newspapers play an important and effective role in shaping the international opinion towards lots of issues and events, especially in the transitional stages and the conflict zones in the world. In this context, the events that happened in Egypt after the 30th of June and till now took a wide space of coverage in the foreign newspapers. This coverage was supposed to affect and shape the foreign coverage and people's opinion instead of giving the chance to the foreign press coverage to be the only source of information about the Egyptian events that already raised lots of controversy in the international arena.

The media is already known of being the main source of news, but the press coverage of the newspapers differs from one to another because many reasons such as their own attitudes, their ethical and moral standards and the attitude and direction of the capital investor, etc... The most important point is the foreign nature of this coverage, so it reports and portrays a stereotypical image of a reality which is not real based on what it supplies from framed information in order to covey-a specific message that convince-the readers at the end.

Media studies show that there is a bias in many formats. One of the media studies showed six ways of bias in the press coverage. First, it is by removing one side of the conflict in the coverage. Second, it is by picking sources that support a side against the other. Third, it is by choosing the stories that match the editorial agenda. Fourth, it is by inserting the news in certain places in their order of importance to the journalist. Fifth, it is by formulating descriptions and labels to highlight a side positively and ignore another one. Sixth, it is by rotating the facts providing one and only explanation to the events, and removing any other interpretations which defames sides over the others. ¹

These formats show the need to search for a new methodology to detect the extent of their presence and a way of evaluating it in the press coverage.

This is what some media studies did providing a number of primary and key questions with another number of secondary questions falling under it.

Answering them makes it easy to know the extent of the neutrality or the bias of them. It also helps in evaluating the- bias of them if it present. The study mentioned ten key questions which are: 'What are the sources which are used in the press coverage? Do they lack diversity? Who is the main person responsible for picking the angle of view in the coverage? Are there any double standards? Does the coverage skew the stereotype images?

¹Baker, B.H. How to identify Liberal Media Bias. Research and Publications at MediaResearchCenter.org. http://www.studentnewsdaily.com/types-of-media-bias.

What are the assumptions and hypotheses that penetrate and infiltrate coverage and seep in to the public? Does the language include certain and specific ideas? Is there lack of context in the coverage? Do the headlines match the news that is written under? Have the important news that is related to the conflict events analyzed prominently in the press coverage? ¹

In addition, some studies showed that there is bias that is related to the newspaper owner. The study decided to represent the relationship between the owner and their political trends, and the news published in the newspaper. There is a question that is always raised about the reason why the owners of newspapers accept the journalists' opinions, despite the fact that journalists are the main source of bias in the major newspapers. ²

This study starts with multiple questions that have been raised in recent times to determine the influence of the foreign press in the coverage of the recent Egyptian events that touch the foreign policy of these newspapers' countries and the consequent bias in the coverage and the deviation from being a mirror image of the real events. The researcher chose the latest, most important, and effective events in Egypt.

Those events -that relate to the 30th of June, 2013 and did identify the top and the most wide spare American and British newspapers as both countries are - most influential countries particularly in Egypt. - America -is one of the driving forces in the world events. – United Kingdom -has special relationship with Egypt, it occupied Egypt for eight decades. The subject of the study is reflected in the title of the paper "News sources in foreign newspapers and its relation to forming news coverage trends of Egypt's June 30, 2013 events".

²Sutter, D. (2001). Can the Media be so liberal? The economics of media bias. CATO Journal, 20(3).

¹http://fair.org/take-action-now/media-activism-kit/how-to-detect-bias-in-news-media/

Chapter 1

Research Methodology

Research Importance:

There are several factors affect the importance of this research:

- The importance of Egypt's role as a pivotal country in the Middle East as it plays a major and essential role in achieving balances in the region, because what happens there shuffles cards and rearranges interests in the region, especially since the Egyptian events have an impact on the nature of the political relations and special agendas of each major country in the world; which could affect the press coverage of each of the foreign newspapers issued by these countries.
- There is a problem that faces the foreign newspapers in its dealing with the news of the third world country in light of the choices and interests that control the news flow and that leads to focusing on a specific angle in the coverage that helps in shaping certain perceptions about the events in Egypt.
- The current analysis and the undisclosed bias in the coverage of newspapers when studying the Egyptian affairs, gives us the opportunity to understand the mechanisms which are used to frame the news in the press coverage.

Research Problem:

The international arena witnessed lots of controversies about the role of the Anglo-American press in covering the hot events in the Middle East in the wake of the Arab Spring revolutions and the increase of the escalation of the controversy after what Egypt witnessed on the last 30th of June. These controversies revealed lots of problems facing these newspapers in their way of dealing with the third world countries, especially in the light of the accusations of using crises and picking selected information that support the pro-states and implement their interests.

In this context,

The research problem tries to find out the extent of the contribution of the news sources in the Anglo-American press in shaping trends in press coverage to the events that took place in the Egyptian domain since June 30 till now. In addition, it tackles the factors affecting these sources, whether related to editorial policy in the newspaper or to the agenda interests in international relations and attitudes of state policies towards the events taking place in Egypt. These attitudes are expressed through the mechanisms of the international news flow and their impact on these newspapers' coverage for landmark and breakthrough events such as those taking place in Egypt since June 30.

Research Goals:

This study aims to achieve the following:

- Identifying the sources that the newspapers under study relied on in the news coverage of the Egyptian events since June 30.
- Understanding the role of the news sources that foreign newspapers provide and depend on in shaping the trends of the press coverage towards the Egyptian events since June 30.
- Knowing the language and the pattern of coverage provided in the newspapers under study.
- Knowing the factors that influence the news coverage, and how the interests of the countries that issue the newspapers can affect the news coverage.
- Comparing between the newspapers under study's trends in the coverage of the Egyptian events since June 30 and the factors affecting each of them.
- Identifying and determining the mechanisms used by the bias in the newspapers under study when covering the international events applying that on Egyptian case.

Review of Related Literature:

Literature can be classified into three dimensions:

- **The First Dimension:** Previous studies around the news sources in the Anglo-American newspapers and its relationship to forming news coverage trends.
- **The Second Dimension:** Previous studies around the news sources.
- The Third Dimension: Previous studies around the news coverage and the international news flow

The First Dimension: Previous studies around the news sources in the Anglo-American newspapers and its relationship to forming news coverage trends.

(1) Daniela V Dimitrova and Jesper Strömbäck study. 2012 (Election news in Sweden and the United States: A comparative study of sources and media frames) $^{\rm 1}$

This is a comparative study that compares between the news coverage and the news sources and frames that included in each one of them. This news coverage is in United States and Sweden.

Several hypotheses are tested in this study as researchers want to find out whether the strategic game frame or conflict frame is used more in US than in Swedish election news coverage or not. The study did not ignore the fact that the sources have a great impact during the election campaigns. That is why the researchers tested several hypotheses to find the link between using the different sources and the presence of certain frames in the news coverage of the elections in both US and Sweden. They tested the domestic politicians, media analysts and ordinary citizens as sources. They tested the issue and conflict as frames present in the coverage.

¹Dimitrova D.V. & Strömbäck.J. (2012), Election news in Sweden and the United States: A comparative study of sources and media frames. Journalism, 13(5), PP. 604-619.

Findings showed that the predicted framing theory - are different in news framing. It showed that the news frames have a huge impact as they shaped people's understanding of the election news. The US election news coverage was not more concerned with using the conflict frame rather than the Swedish news coverage, and the strategic game frame is used more in the US elections news coverage than the Swedish. This frame is used when the media analysts' sources are involved.

(2) Diego Rinallo, et al. study. 2012 (The Media and Their Advertisers: Exploring Ethical Dilemmas in Product Coverage Decisions) ¹

This study focused on knowing the factors affecting the press coverage as for example the newspapers focus on covering the news that is related to the well-known companies in the country, but it does not focus on the small companies. That is why the products of the well-known companies take a huge space of the coverage of the newspapers. This effect is not confined to the local newspapers only, but also extends in the newspapers of other countries as it focuses on the well-known and huge companies which are focused on by the newspaper of the country itself.

(3) Jennifer Hoewe and Brian J. Bowe study. 2011 (Clash of Coverage: An analysis of the cultural framing components of U.S. newspaper reporting on the 2011 protests in Bahrain) 2

The researchers tried to analyse the U.S newspapers 'coverage of the protests in different Arab countries, especially the 2011 protests in Bahrain. The New York Times, Los

¹Rinallo, D., et al. (2012), The Media and their advertisers: Exploring Ethical Dilemmas in Product Coverage Decisions. Journal of Business Ethics (2013), 114, PP. 425-441.

²Hoewe, J. & Bowe, B.J. (2011), Clash of coverage: An analysis of the cultural framing components of U.S. newspaper reporting on the 2011 protests in Bahrain. Annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism & Mass Communication, Renaissance Grand & Suites Hotel, St. Louis, from http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p518599_index.html

Angeles Times and Washington Post were the newspapers that were examined in this research.

Sources play a major role in the coverage as they can make the researcher identify whether this coverage is objective or not. For example, "the protesters of Bahrain and individuals supporting the government of Bahrain ought to be found in a news story". The research questioned about the way the sources were used in the coverage in order to know if they were biased to a side -than other. This is in addition to questioning about the frames that were used in Bahrain coverage in the newspapers under study.

The three newspapers showed that there was a clear bias in the Bahrain –protest coverage. In addition to the usage of the sources which supported this coverage bias. The news coverage bias appeared when they used the protesters in Bahrain as sources rather than using individuals who supported the government.

Five frames were used in the newspapers under study. These frames are "slightly against the government of Bahrain, strongly against the government of Bahrain, strongly in favour of the government of Bahrain, slightly against the United States' involvement in Bahrain, and slightly in favour of the United States' involvement in Bahrain."

(4) James Matthews study. 2010 (News sources and Perceptual Effects: An Analysis of Source Attribution within News Coverage of Alleged Terrorist Plots)¹

This study started from the point where there are two principles of bases and backgrounds for analysis. The first way is by examining the link between the journalist and the news sources he chooses, and the second way is -defining the source's position and its importance in the news which is written by the journalist. The study concentrated on the news coverage of terrorism.

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¹Matthews, J. (2010), News sources and Perceptual Effects: An Analysis of Source Attribution within News Coverage of Alleged Terrorist Plots. Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Bournemouth University.

The researcher used the content analysis to analyse the UK newspaper coverage of five suspected terrorist plots, where there are some types of attributed sources in the news coverage. These plots are the Ricin plot, old Trafford Bomb plot, Canary Wharf Plot, Transatlantic Airliners Plot and Kidnap Plot.

The main gaol of this research was trying to find out the ways the journalists can use by attributing specific information to specific sources in order to shape the reader's interpretation when they read the written piece of news. The researcher was trying to discover the types of sources that are attributed in the news coverage of the terrorism and its relationship with how the readers interpret the news.

Matthews found that lots of anonymous veiled sources were used within the news coverage about the terrorism plots. In other words, lots of attributed sources in the news coverage were vague. Only, few of the government sources were clear and attributed correctly. This affected the readers' interpretation and credibility of the media. In the study, the researcher stated that any journalist who reports about terrorism will need to fetch an official source as this type of source will offer information and can easily comment on the threat. This research found that the official sources were not only identifiable, but they were used more often as a direction quotation.

The analysis showed that the UK news coverage of the Islamist terrorism increased the "visibility and the accountability" of government attributed sources in its coverage.

(5) Jonas Xavier Caballero study. 2010 (The impact of Media Bias on Coverage of Catastrophic Events: Case Study from The New York Times' Coverage of the Palestine-Israel Conflict) $^{\rm 1}$

This study explores how the newspapers use bias and till what extent it affects the news coverage of the Palestine-Israel Conflict. The researcher started working from the point where the previous studies concluded that The New York Times used to be biased towards Israel when covering the Palestine-Israel conflict. The study worked on The New York Times only. They worked on the Operation Cast Lead.

The study proved that the newspaper coverage through using sources stayed bias favouring Israel. It increased the distortion. In addition, the bias in coverage was shown through the omission of facts too.

(6) Yashar Keramati study. 2008 (An Historical Analysis of United States Newspapers' bias in reporting the Al-Aqsa Intifada)²

The study examined the bias in the American newspapers during their coverage to Al-Aqsa Intifada. It tries to examine also how the American media portrayed the events and whether they were biased for or against Palestine.

The study revealed that the three major newspapers in the United States were biased towards Israel side by choosing certain sources to present their viewpoint. The study found that the primary sources used to make "the reporting go largely unquestioned, allowing bias to go unnoticed".

²Keramati, Y. (2008), An Historical Analysis of United States Newspapers' bias in reporting the Al-Aqsa Intifada. Nebula, 5(1), PP. 134-150.

¹ Caballero, J.X. (2010), The impact of Media Bias on Coverage of Catastrophic Events: Case Study from The New York Times' Coverage of the Palestine-Israel Conflict. Degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, University of Pittsburgh.