MEDIA DYNAMICS IN HYBRID REGIMES:

STATE-OWNED AND INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS DURING THE ARAB SPRING IN EGYPT

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ABSTRACT

Inspired by Egypt's recent uprising against former president Hosni Mubarak and its resulting hybrid regime, this research seeks to distinguish disparities between the content and tonality of an Egyptian state-owned online English language publication and one that is independently owned. I assign scores to one hundred and twenty articles, sixty published by *Al-Ahram* and sixty published by *Egypt Independent,* based on negativity towards the Brotherhood during Morsi's reign and after it ended. Both the character of the paper as well as time period serves as independent variables. The dependent variable, negativity displayed towards the Brotherhood, is categorized based on their security, political and cultural values. Findings reveal that *Al-Ahram* is significantly more negative towards the Brotherhood than *Egypt Independent* only during the period of Islamist rule, suggesting that state-owned papers do not always operate in favor of the ruling regime. The difference in negativity between *Egypt Independent* and *Al-Ahram* decreases four-fold after Morsi is removed from office. This is a result of *Egypt Independent*'s increased negativity towards the Brotherhood's security values. In conclusion, the character of the newspaper is a more accurate predictor of negativity during the Brotherhood period while time period is a more accurate predictor of negativity for *Egypt Independent*. The convergence of negativity scores after Morsi was ousted prompts further research on the possible decline in journalistic objectivity among independent papers as well as the role of state-owned papers in Islamist and non-Islamist, secular regimes.

INTRODUCTION

The "Arab Spring" has been characterized as a Middle Eastern phenomenon that has "unleashed the forces of emancipation and spirits of social justice that swept across the region with unprecedented speed, ferocity, and joy" (Amar and Prashad 2013, vii). These turbulent and relatively rapid political transitions result in neither immediate democracy nor immediate autocracy. Measuring the ways in which these new, genre-defiant political regimes shape the media environment and influence media dynamics is a difficult but necessary task. Such research has the potential to double as an aid to greater consistency in freedom of press and speech around the world. Analyzing the media's representation of its nation's political atmosphere also broadens our comprehension of the ways in which certain media systems function under a robust set of circumstances. Furthermore, the uncertainty but momentous currency surrounding Arab Spring nations deems the research not only compelling, but also pertinent to better understanding media dynamics in our globalized world. This is especially the case for Egypt and its largest Islamist group, the Muslim Brotherhood.

Egypt has earned the name, "Mother of the World," among its people because of its long, rich history. Much of the nation's more recent political history is centered on the rise and fall of Islamist power (Amar and Prashad 2013, 26). Less than a year after Mohamed Morsi was elected president under the Muslim Brotherhood's political wing, the Freedom and Justice Party, the Brotherhood

experienced one of the most intense crackdowns since the 1950s. A.K. Yildirim, Furman University professor and political Islam scholar, stated in his article on the future of democracy in Egypt, “This brief but intense episode of Egyptian politics in the last two years shattered any appearance of a genuine democratic transition” (2013, 65).

It follows that in totality Egypt is not *fully* democratic or *fully* authoritarian, especially in its current state under the tight surveillance of the military. For this reason, nations in political limbo, so to speak, have been labeled as “hybrid.” A hybrid regime is a "political gray zone,” that is characterized somewhere between “full-fledged democracy” and “outright dictatorship" (Carothers 2002, 9). The hybrid regime’s gray zone status has made it synonymous with other terms such as “pseudo-democracy” and “electoral authoritarianism” (Diamond 2002, 22).

Although the term is not new, the Arab Spring has made it increasingly relevant to certain Middle Eastern nations such as Egypt, which turned a new political leaf less than five years ago when Mubarak was toppled. At the time of Morsi’s election, the Muslim Brotherhood openly acknowledged that Islamic governance is “best achieved through free and fair elections,” suggesting a national shift towards liberalism (Rutherford 2013, 237). However, numerous loopholes permitting unilateral decision-making on behalf of the president remain in Egypt, in spite of the presence of free and fair elections. In turn, these exceptions undermine the growth of liberalism. For example, Egypt sustains a

"vast array of laws that regulate the formation and actions of political parties, civil society groups, and the press (238). For this reason, the Brotherhood must run under a technically nonreligious platform, hence its political wing, the Freedom and Justice Party. Moreover, Egypt's leader can declare a state of emergency, giving him the authority to executively refute laws that protect the basic freedoms of citizens, quickly silence opposition, and increase police power and censorship of media (238). Since the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, Egypt has been under emergency law intermittently. It was re-declared most recently in August 2013, when conflict between Brotherhood supporters and the military broke out on the streets (Reynolds 2013, 1).

Based upon recent history, it is evident that the media dynamics of this politically turbulent nation have been influenced by multiple transitions and fluctuating Islamist power. To evaluate these dynamics, I measure the ways in which journalistic objectivity in Egypt has changed according to two main independent variables.

The first independent variable is character of the newspaper, which is defined by its status as independent or state owned. The second independent variable is time period, which is determined by whether the article of interest was published during Morsi's reign or afterwards. I hope to determine whether both or either of these factors is an indicator of Egyptian media's portrayal of the Muslim Brotherhood in either a negative, neutral, or positive light.

Out of the pool of "Arab Spring" and "hybrid" nations, Egypt was chosen in particular for a few important reasons. Firstly, Egypt is the largest nation in the Arab region, and is also historically significant. President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who ruled from 1956 until 1970, was revered as a regional leader of Arab nationalism after defeating Israel and regaining power over the Suez Canal, a major trade station (Habeeb 2012, 3). The Egyptian government has undergone multiple political transitions since late 2011, the first of which began with the election of the Muslim Brotherhood and evolved into its being officially characterized as a "terrorist organization" by the current military-run state (Habeeb 2012, 12). After Mubarak was ousted in December 2011, Morsi was elected by popular vote. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces' General el-Sisi forced Morsi to resign from office just a short year later after protests concerning his efficacy as a democratic leader erupted across the nation (Habeeb 2012, 15).

I chose to focus more intently on one specific Egyptian Islamist group—the Muslim Brotherhood– as opposed to observing a broader scope of Islamist groups because of the Brotherhood's persistent and complicated involvement in Egyptian history. The Brotherhood has been operating in Egypt since the 1920s and has spread to other nations under different nomenclature since then. Although it has remained present in Egypt at the societal level, its official political operations have been banned and cracked down upon intermittently (Nada and

Thompson 2012, 147). Interestingly, the rapid rise and fall of the Brotherhood in Egypt during the past several years reflects this historical trend.

The two papers of interest are *Al-Ahram*, a majority state-owned publication, and *Egypt Independent*, an independent publication. Both papers are accessible online and are either translated from Arabic to English or written originally in English. *Al-Ahram* was founded in 1875 and is Egypt's largest and oldest news organization. After Nasser nationalized the press in 1960, *Al-Ahram* earned a reputation as the mouthpiece of the Egyptian government (Encyclopedia Britannica 2014). *Egypt Independent,* on the contrary, was founded in November 2011 and stemmed from its parent company, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. *Egypt Independent's* reputation has been called into question in recent years.

Al-Masry Media Corporation ceased the publication's print version after accusations that the parent company, *Al-Masry Al-Youm,* was self-censoring *Egypt Independent* material. The accusations and subsequent closure of its print version exemplifies the unguaranteed objectivity of the independent paper and the external pressures affecting it (Egypt Independent 2013).

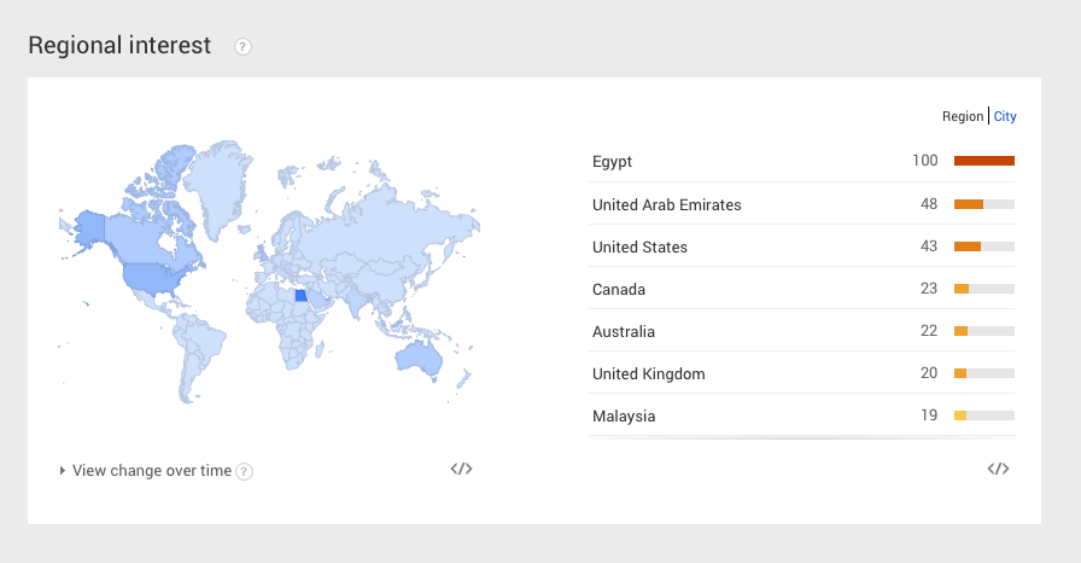
The journalistic portrayal of the nation's political state has inevitably been influence by political parties, such as the Muslim Brotherhood's political wing, the Freedom and Justice Party, and the currently ruling Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). Information flow targeted for foreign nations, as well as for the domestic population, holds significant potential in a context where citizens in previously authoritarian nations are beginning to gain more power.

Media is a powerful weapon in the hands of an authoritarian state, a dissenting party, or the collective people. The status quo interpretations, formed by the party in power, tug journalists one way, while competing power contributes an opposite force, complicating the way media portrays a nation to the rest of the world. Though this system appears to be a simple game of tug of war based upon partisan influence exercised at the expense of journalistic objectivity, the two opposing forces are often accompanied by other parties or interest groups, each of which are vying for power. To complicate the game further, each side has different motives for attempting to control what information is made transparent.

In the case of Egypt, as well as other nations in the region, Islamists have gained considerable power. As opposed to being banned altogether from governmental spheres, they are being more widely accepted as participants in them (Schwedler 2013, 10). Scholars have attempted to explain Islamists' rise to power with various theories that touch on these political groups' impressive organizational structure, ability to provide public goods that the regime cannot or will not provide, religious or ideological tenets, and promises that democracy will rise from of the ashes of civil conflict (Wegner 2011, 232).

The rise of Islamists in government bodies is controversial not only domestically, but also internationally as countries around the world take into account the implications for foreign aid and foreign relations. Google Trends shows that the third highest number of Google searches for "Muslim Brotherhood" come from the United States, suggesting that the English language

publication of *Egypt Independent* and *Al-Ahram* is loosely geared towards Americans.



"Regional Interest" of search term: "Muslim Brotherhood"
Source: Google Trends

This interconnectedness, made possible by globalization, further emphasizes the importance of observing not only Egyptian media geared towards the domestic audience, but also Egyptian media geared towards an American audience. With this rise of Islamists in government, which is relatively recent, Islamist extremist groups have become a worldwide concern after a series of terrorist attacks shook the western world. Media outlets are naïvely eager to conflate Islam and militancy under the inappropriate guise of "extremism", and certain regimes have engrained similar associations to protect their own legitimacy and suppress threatening challenges to power. In semi-authoritarian nations in particular, a common

problem is that "the political elite, whether in the government, opposition parties, or even civil society organizations, has great difficulty reaching the rest of the society (Olcott and Ottaway 1999, 14).

In contrast to the claims of repressive regimes who perceive Islamists as a threat to power, Islamists across the Middle East have attempted to coopt democratic values, regardless of interior motivations and special interests associated with doing so (Schwedler 2013, 8). Although Americans pay great attention to the tragic fates befalling western journalists abroad, the ways in which English language media, produced by Middle Eastern journalists, is compromised by political parties and threats of detainment has not been studied in depth. Additionally, analysis of Egypt's media dynamics will contribute to a world map of media environments that exist under varying political conditions. In this thesis, I hope to provide a small albeit narrow window of insight into how and why news is shaped in Egypt and whether level of objectivity can be correlated with the character of the paper or the party in power.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review's primary purpose is to contextualize the dynamics of Egyptian news media regarding the Muslim Brotherhood and the varying political conditions surrounding that news. On a broader scale, it will highlight the relative lack of research focusing on the media environments in hybrid nations. Egypt's case will be framed as a potential foil to the media effects model representative of stable, democratic nations such as the United States, as well as more authoritarian ones. A large body of research has contributed to characterizing media environments under conditions defined by liberalized media and democratic, political stability. Likewise, political scientists have devoted much time to uncovering the shape of media under authoritarian rule (James and Whittenn-Woodring 2012, 115). However, Egypt's position between democracy and military authoritarian regime suggests that under these alternative conditions, the objectivity of its journalism will not fall neatly into either prominent category. That being said, it is important to assess the state of media in nations undergoing transition and to do so, we must first understand the relationship between media and government and how they affect each other.

Although both democratic and authoritarian media environments will be observed as points of comparison, my research does not attempt to *define* a new universal set of media dynamics for hybrid nations. Instead, given the limitations on time and resources as well as the narrow scope of research, I will explore Egypt's media dynamics under the current conditions with the intention of

contributing a small piece to the puzzle of media environments around the world, which exist under many different circumstances.

A comparative analysis of media systems worldwide will highlight the ways in which Egyptian media operates under an individualized set of political constraints and market conditions. Furthermore, isolating the political and commercial circumstances that distinguish the Egyptian media landscape from more definitive categorizations will encourage greater overarching questions. These questions will explore the ways in which a pluralized media scene does not necessarily imply liberalization or journalistic objectivity and whether or not media dynamics are environmentally specific.

Any question or topic housed under the umbrella of "media" derives its rudimentary importance from the assumption that media is also significantly influential in the political sphere. Media is "vital to the creation and vitality of civil society; without it, freedom of communication, and thus the foundation of democratic rule, is undermined" (O'Neil 1998, 2). Before setting out to define the degree to which external forces impact the content and tone of news, I justify the significance of news media itself and its ability to shape public opinion even in the most liberal of societies. This analysis will also double as an overview of the democratic media environment.

In research done on American media and how it operates in a democratic setting, scholars often cite the Minimal Effects Model. In his book entitled *The Effects of Mass Communication*, Joseph Klapper defines the Minimal Effects

Model, which lasts from 1948 to about 1960. It suggests that instead of changing opinion, media propaganda is more likely to reinforce predispositions and prior attitudes (Klapper 1960, 120).

Persuasion was subsequently broken down into an equation, where its possibility equals the product of the probability of exposure to a message and the probability that it is accepted (McGuire 1964, 330). Political awareness and attitude change are inversely correlated; therefore, citizens in the middle of the awareness spectrum are most vulnerable to attitude change. Additionally, the implications are somewhat unsettling since they suggest that the most intelligent people, who tend to be the most politically aware, are also the most resistant to new information.

The theory of selective exposure rationalizes the troubling dichotomy between message reception and acceptance. In their paper, "Selective Exposure to Information," David Sears and Jonathan Freedman define selective exposure as "any systematic bias in audience composition" (1963, 195). In other words, individuals, either intentionally or unintentionally, expose themselves to media that agrees with predispositions such as partisanship, gender, educational status, interest, and involvement. Disparities in accessibility to digital and print media that are both dissident and affirmative of authority must be considered in order for selective exposure to occur. If a country blocks particular opinions from being expressed publicly, selective exposure will be more difficult to achieve in a repressive environment.

The media effects model of democratic America is foiled by that of authoritarian governments who intercede in the flow of information to the public. They "seek, on one side, to fill the mass media with a steady stream of pro-government messages and, on the other, to stifle independent criticism and analysis" (Geddes and Zaller 1989, 340). Geddes and Zaller examine patterns of regime support in Brazil to reveal how effectively authoritarian governments shape political attitudes. They found that those who are exposed to media but have high levels of political awareness (have already established political predispositions) are most likely to resist government-issued propaganda. Those with low levels of political sophistication rarely expose themselves to media; hence, they bypass any possibility of being persuaded by it. On the other hand, those who expose themselves to media and are moderately politically sophisticated are most vulnerable to being persuaded. This model is congruous with the possibility of persuasion equation set up by McGuire (McGuire 1964). Thus, Geddes and Zaller conclude that the Brazilian opinion formation model, representative of authoritarian nations, conforms to the process of opinion formation in democratic countries (1989, 346). It seems as though polar opposite political regimes shape public opinion with equal success.

Now I will transition into a general analysis of the Egyptian media environment, which exists in a hybrid nation, to highlight the ways it does not fit the established "democratic" or "authoritarian" conditions. Mubarak's inauguration in 1981 marks a significant transition towards a more liberal, albeit

intermittently restrictive Egyptian media environment. After a few months in office, he freed journalists and opposition leaders from prison and allowed oppositional papers that had been silenced under Sadat to resume publication. Soon, these opposition papers outnumbered those directly controlled by the state (Rugh 2004, 200). However, the regime continues, even today, to use Anti-Terrorist Laws as an excuse to exercise unchecked restrictions on media supportive of the Islamist insurgency. Although the state cannot directly censor private media sources, it can intensify penal codes for journalists whose publications are liable to being vaguely accused of "disrupting social peace" or "spreading panic" (Rugh 2004, 158). Although there are little official regulations on content, journalists who accuse the military regime remain vulnerable to legal challenges, which may increase self-censorship.

In his report on post-revolution Egyptian media policy, Mendel, human rights NGO director, points out that informal censorship pathways and conditional intensification of press restrictions in states of emergency combine in a "complex system of control" (Mendel 2011, 1). Though the existence of independent media sources should entail an overall more liberalized media environment, the "margin of freedom allowed for the media has been constantly widening and shrinking, as it oscillates between the poles of press freedom and government repression" (Khamis 2008, 262). For example, even though Mubarak exploited the value of free media, he sentenced a blogger to four years in prison, simply for insulting the President and making "anti-Islamic" remarks (Weyman 2007, 2). Mendel attests

that media repression is heightened when the government is highly focused on opposing the Islamist insurgency and that even though prior security officials and members of the Supreme Press Council have been forced out of office in the last decade, "clear red lines remain," especially in terms of reporting on authority (Mendel 2011, 2).

In her comparative analysis of media systems, Sahar Khamis, expert on Arab and Muslim media, calls Egypt's media landscape "pluralistic and paradoxical" (2008, 259). Although access to and participation in media has become *technically* democratized due to absence of official content censorship laws, Egypt's political institutions do not reflect that of a true democracy. Khamis goes on to reference Hallin and Mancini's three media models that claim to be universally representative of "democratized" nations. The Polarized Pluralist model— the most relevant to this analysis— is exemplary of nations that have recently undergone democratization and promote state control over media (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 189). The independent variables observed to construct this definition include the structure of media markets, political parallelism, journalistic professionalism, and the role of the state. Khamis suggests that Egypt cannot be categorized according to these models due to its recent authoritarian history and incomplete transition into democracy (2008, 260).

Taking ownership of media into account, however, may yield some results. Democratization and character (ownership) of publication have been measured extensively as independent variables that influence media freedom. A

journal article titled "Who owns the media?", which observes media ownership in ninety-seven nations worldwide, finds a negative correlation between government ownership of media and media freedom (Djankov et. al 2003, 372). This does not mean that independent news outlets represent the epitome of media freedom. The study lists dependence on government subsidies, reliance upon government for sources, and laws restricting reporting as reasons why independent news outlets might self-censor themselves (Djankov et. al 2003, 369).

After this study was published, another set of researchers addressed the need to gather data on the relationship between government and media in transitioning countries. "Much of what we know about the relationship between news media and government comes from studying the United States, so we need to learn more about other countries, especially developing and non-democratic states" (James and Whittenn-Woodring 2012, 115). Specifically, fulfillment of media's watchdog role and level of democracy were measured as indicators of government repression in various nations. The findings suggested that when a media source is independent and democracy is absent, level of government repression is equivalent to the case where the media source is dependent upon the government and democracy is present. This suggests a "tradeoff effect," meaning that both conditions, democracy and independent press, should be present in order to maximize media freedom (James et. al 2012, 129).

In the United States, there is a plethora of media outlets and platforms accompanied by a relative lack of censorship. Conversely, Egypt's media

environment is significantly more restrictive, by means of its strict penal laws that encourage self-censorship and threaten imprisonment. In conclusion, the shorter analysis of Egypt's past media policies and oscillating degrees of state repression directly contextualizes how its state of political unrest separates it from more democratic media models, such as that of the United States. As a result, the review as a whole highlights the intertwining of political conditions and media environments and how they are related on a larger scale. Similarly, an analysis of Egypt's media model under a hybrid regime will instigate further studies on nations where Islamists have gained power and governments are in the process of transitioning.

HYPOTHESES

Table 1

	Egypt Independent	***Al-Ahram***
Brotherhood Period July 2012 & January 2013	M_1	M_3
Post-Brotherhood Period July 2013 & January 2014	M_2	M_4

*Where M_x represents the mean rating for negativity towards the Brotherhood for a cohort of thirty articles

Mohamed Morsi was democratically elected as Egypt's president on June 30th, 2012 (BBC News Africa 2015). Sixty articles, thirty from *Al-Ahram* and thirty from *Egypt Independent*, are taken from the time during which Morsi was president. For each publication, fifteen articles were published in July 2012 and fifteen articles were published in January 2013.

On July 3rd, 2013, Morsi fell from power after protests erupted and General el-Sisi led a military coup d'état that resulted in the resignation of the nation's first democratically elected president. El-Sisi officially assumed presidential office on June 8th, 2014 and has held this place since (BBC News Africa 2015). Sixty articles, thirty from *Al-Ahram* and thirty from *Egypt Independent*, are taken from the time during which Morsi was not in power. For each publication, fifteen articles were published in July 2013 and fifteen articles were published in January 2014.

There are eight hypotheses in total. They are separated into four sections, according to sets of varying comparisons between paper, time period, and subcategory rating. Each set of hypotheses is followed by an explanation, which references scholarly sources as well as citizen journalist accounts, providing support for my expectations.

SET I: DIFFERENCES ACROSS PAPERS

This set of three hypotheses pertains to discrepancies in negativity demonstrated towards the Muslim Brotherhood across the two papers and the two time periods.

H_1: *Al-Ahram* will be, overall, more negative towards the Muslim Brotherhood than *Egypt Independent* is in both time periods.

$M_3 < M_1$

$M_4 < M_2$

H_2: The difference in negativity towards the Brotherhood between *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* will vary according to time period. The difference will be larger during the Brotherhood Period.

$|M_3 - M_1| > |M_4 - M_2|$

H_3: In both time periods, *Al-Ahram* will be more negative towards the Brotherhood's political, security, and cultural values than *Egypt Independent* is. From one time period to the next, the largest subcategorical differences between papers will be demonstrated by political ratings and security ratings.

$[M_3 < M_1]_{\text{Politics, Security, \& Culture}}$

$[M_4 < M_2]_{\text{Politics, Security, \& Culture}}$

$[|M_3 - M_1| - |M_4 - M_2|]_{\text{Politics}} > [|M_3 - M_1| - |M_4 - M_2|]_{\text{Culture}}$

$[|M_3 - M_1| - |M_4 - M_2|]_{\text{Security}} > [|M_3 - M_1| - |M_4 - M_2|]_{\text{Culture}}$

SET I EXPLANATION

Egypt Independent, as its name suggests, is an independent publication that considers itself a "strong voice of independent and progressive journalism" (Egypt Independent 2013, 1). It follows that *Egypt Independent* should have institutional allegiance to neither the Supreme Council of Armed Forces nor the Brotherhood's political wing, and will therefore, remain neutral. On the contrary, *Al-Ahram* is majority owned by the state of Egypt (Encyclopedia Britannica 2014, 1). Thus, it is logical that *Al-Ahram* will be pressured by the state to criticize the Brotherhood to a larger degree in order to support the former military order enacted by SCAF and by el-Sisi. The consistent repression of media by the military, even under Morsi, will provide further validation of the hypotheses made.

In her book, *Transformations in Egyptian Journalism,* Naomi Sakr says that media repression was marked by the "retention of the old government controlled press," which is pioneered by *Al-Ahram*, "military summons and prosecutions for coverage unfavorable to SCAF," and accusations that journalists were working towards "foreign agendas" (2013, vii). Although the Brotherhood was in power for a short time during the post-Mubarak period, the repressive measures seem to be primarily attributed to the military, or SCAF.

Moreover, Morsi's approximate one year in office was not an adequate duration of time to exercise significant influence over *Al-Ahram* or *Egypt*

Independent, neither of which I suspect will cover the Brotherhood in a positive light. The former editor of *Egypt Independent* and current editor of its sister paper, *Mada-Masr*, explained repression by the military in an interview with the trilingual web portal, *Qantara*. She claims that the military has *consistently* controlled the media since Mubarak's ousting in 2011 and that in areas where violence and destruction are prevalent, the state is the only source of first hand news. She adds that although the Brotherhood appointed members of the Shura Council, who in turn appoints editor-in-chiefs of state papers, the changes were only "cosmetic" and "didn't reach the core of these institutions" (Hagmann 2013, 1). Accordingly, I expect that *Egypt Independent* sought, at the time, to provide an alternative to the status quo source of news, which is liable to being both limited and politically biased according to institutional allegiances.

Based on *Al-Ahram*'s closer relationship to the state and *Egypt Independent*'s conscious decision to reflect independence and therefore, objectivity, I hypothesize that *Al-Ahram's* coverage of the Muslim Brotherhood will be more negative than *Egypt Independent*'s across both time periods. Although appointees with Islamist affiliations dominate the Shura Council, state-owned publications will have already been more accustomed to supporting SCAF, who set up the elections won by Morsi and subsequently by el-Sisi.

A *New York Times* article explores *Al-Ahram*'s immediate undercutting of Morsi shortly after his election to office. It claims that Egypt's state media is "at war" with the new president yet continues to "honor" him as the first freely

elected president (Kirkpatrick and El-Sheikh 2012, 1). The contradictory albeit primarily negative coverage of Morsi supports Attalah's claim that the military retains control over media.

Demonstrative of its bias, the only *Al-Ahram* article that focused on Morsi's decision to recall Parliament was one-sided. As opposed to suggesting that democratization inevitably adopting some power at the military's expense so that decisions can be made independent of the military, *Al-Ahram* focuses only on the negative effects the decision had on the economy (Kirkpatrick and El-Sheikh 2012, 1). The negative attribution to Morsi encourages readers to believe that Egypt's president is making decisions unilaterally and these decisions ultimately detriment the nation. In turn, this decision-making process can be interpreted as a deviation from the democratic system. Furthermore, Islamists may be associated with a disruption of Egypt's political transition into democracy.

Similar political scenarios insinuate that a delicate balance remains between military authority and Islamist authority. This power struggle explicates the state's desire to delegitimize the Brotherhood via media. As mentioned earlier, Morsi re-appointed the People's Assembly, thereby violating the prior court ruling that called for its disintegration (Rashwan 2012, 1). In his blog, "Informed Comment," University of Michigan Professor of History Juan Cole explained the power struggle. He says it was "intended to give SCAF the right to appoint and oversee the constituent assembly that will draft the new constitution, so as to be in a position to safeguard the prerogatives of the military and to forestall a total

Islamization of the constitution" (2012, 1). Given the sensitivity surrounding the struggle between Islamists and the military, there will be a primary emphasis, at least content-wise, on politics.

Likewise, I expect an equal emphasis on security and large differences in security ratings between the two papers across time periods. Egypt's State Information Service Website, which features the continuously scrolling phrase "Egypt on democratic track," quotes el-Sisi. He says, "those followers of the Islamist current are in need of effort, knowledge and rehabilitation in the coming critical stage" (State Information Service 2014). He also expresses a dedication to "establishing regional stability and security in our Arab nation" (State Information Service 2014). The speech was made just weeks following Morsi's removal from office. The pending acknowledgment of the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization, as well as el-Sisi's promises to bring about stability, suggest that media also focused heavily on security values during this pivotal period.

In an article titled "The End of Reciprocity: The Muslim Brotherhood and the Security Sector," K.M. Ennarah says the Brotherhood was "poised to play the role of the guarantor of democratic legitimacy and assimilation of newly politicized social groups at the same time: the necessary ingredients for stability in post-revolution Egypt" (2014, 416). Engaging such stability had always been an important initiative, especially given recent protests and subsequent clashes between Muslim Brotherhood supporters and opponents. In December 2013, these values took on a new significance as the SCAF officially declared the Muslim

Brotherhood a terrorist organization (Wickham 2013, 162). In the military's eyes, the Muslim Brotherhood's power is antithetical to both stability and security. Emphasis on these values suggests higher coverage of the Brotherhood's violations of them.

Lastly, I hypothesize that differences in each publication's representation of Morsi will be more pronounced during Morsi's reign. I suspect that as the SCAF gained more power after ousting Morsi from office, *Egypt Independent* felt pressure to cover the Brotherhood in a more negative light as not to upset the military. As a result, I suspect that *Egypt Independent*'s coverage of the Muslim Brotherhood will inch closer to that of *Al-Ahram* during the Post-Brotherhood period.

SET II: DIFFERENCES ACROSS TIME PERIODS

This set of two hypotheses pertains to discrepancies in negativity demonstrated towards the Muslim Brotherhood by each individual publication across two time periods.

H_4: Negativity towards the Muslim Brotherhood will change across time periods.

$M_2 \neq M_1$

$M_4 \neq M_3$

H_5: Both *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* will become more negative in their overall coverage of the Muslim Brotherhood during the Post-Brotherhood period.

$M_2 < M_1$

$M_4 < M_3$

H_6: The political, security, and cultural scores of both *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* will become more negative in their coverage of the Muslim Brotherhood post-Morsi.

$M_{2\ Political} < M_{1Political}$

$M_{2\ Security} < M_{1Security}$

$M_{2\ Cultural} < M_{1\ Cultural}$

$M_{4\ Political} < M_{3\ Political}$

$M_{4\ Security} < M_{3\ Security}$

$M_{4\ Cultural} < M_{3\ Cultural}$

SET II EXPLANATION

*Egypt Independent'*s and *Al-Ahram*'s coverage of the Muslim Brotherhood during July 2013 and January 2014 should be more negative in tone compared to coverage published when Morsi was in office. This is rooted in claims that under el-Sisi, the level of repression resorted back to that of earlier years when Mubarak exercised authoritarian power over the political sphere (Sakr 2013, vi). Although Adly Mansour, not el-Sisi, served as interim president after Morsi's ouster, el-Sisi had already begun building a constituency. El-Sisi's victory over Islamist competition in the June 2014 elections represented Egypt's political regression back to a nation ruled, albeit "democratically," by the military (Sakr 2013, vii). Moreover, the *Reporters without Borders'* "Egypt File" asserts that since Morsi's 2013 ouster, the military has been pushing a "Sisification" of the media and "conducting a witch-hunt against journalists working for media directly or

indirectly affiliated with the Moslem Brotherhood, which has been banned as a 'terrorist organization' since 25 December" (2014, 2). In May 2014, Egyptian blogger Wael Abbas told *Al-Jazeera* that repression is at an all time high, suggesting that repression of journalists worsened after Morsi left office. He said, "Everyone broadcasts the same propaganda—there is no place for revolutionaries or Islamists, who are defamed as spies who want to destroy the country" (Reinl 2014, 1). Thus, I predict that self-censorship became more prevalent after Morsi's ouster as a way to avoid intensifying government repression via the military's authoritative measures.

Additionally, el-Sisi was responsible for Morsi's ousting. Hence, it is in his best interest to convince the public he is a better ruler. During these months, building a credible reputation as a viable candidate for the June 2014 elections was incredibly pertinent to el-Sisi's future election to the presidency (Sakr 2013, vii). In order to build this reputation, el-Sisi branded himself as a man who would bring about stability and security to the nation (State Information Service 2014). The Brotherhood was officially declared a terrorist organization by the state on December 25th, 2013; therefore, it is likely that el-Sisi wanted to paint the Brotherhood as a threat to the values— stability and security— he supported.

And after 2014 began, a *New York Times* opinion article revealed el-Sisi's long-standing interest in "affecting" media. According to writer Marwan Bishara, *Al-Jazeera* leaked video footage of el-Sisi saying, "It takes a long time before you're able to affect and control the media." He continued, "We are working on

this and we are achieving more positive results, but we have yet to achieve what we want" (2014, 1). This explicit intention to influence media was likely intensified as soon as Morsi was ousted from office.

Egypt Independent's shift towards negative coverage following the Brotherhood Period is exemplified by an event that occurred during the earlier 2011 military interim period, after Mubarak was ousted and before Morsi was elected. A December 2011 edition of *Egypt Independent* was supposed to feature an opinion article written by Robert Springborg, political scientist and expert on Egyptian civilian-military relations. In the article, Springborg criticized the SCAF, but subsequently collaborated with the publication's editors to omit any particularly offending comments. Although they diluted the piece's original leanings, it was never published. *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, an independent publication from which *Egypt Independent* stems, later ran an article in the publication's Arabic version, accusing Springborg of being a "conspirator against Egypt's stability" (Yasin 2011, 1). Later, *Egypt Independent*'s staff commented, "Even after 25 January, self-censorship still plagues Egyptian media. As an Egyptian newspaper, we, too, suffer from it" (Egypt Independent 2011, 1).

SET III: DIFFERENCES AMONG SUBCATEGORIES

This set of two hypotheses observes the discrepancies in negativity demonstrated towards the Muslim Brotherhood in each of three categories (political, security, and culture) across two publications and two time periods.

H_7: With time period and paper held constant in each of the 4 cases, political, security, and cultural ratings will not be equal. Political ratings and security ratings will be more negative than culture ratings.

$M_{1Political} < M_{1Culture}$ and $M_{1Security} < M_{1Culture}$

$M_{2Political} < M_{2Culture}$ and $M_{2Security} < M_{2Culture}$

$M_{3Political} < M_{3Culture}$ and $M_{3Security} < M_{3Culture}$

$M_{4Political} < M_{4Culture}$ and $M_{4Security} < M_{4Culture}$

SET III EXPLANATION

Coverage of topics relevant to political and security issues will be more negative than coverage related to culture issues simply because culture issues will be covered less frequently. As conveyed in the Set I and II explanations, politics and security will be the main focus. In other words, each hypothesis applies primarily to only two of the three categories. Significant hot button issues include the power struggle between the two parties, demonstrated by Morsi's reappointment of the Shura Council and subsequent cooptation of some military power, and the court's ensuing ruling that Morsi's decision was unconstitutional (Rashwan 2012, 1). As for security, protests towards the end of Morsi's truncated term were frequent and intense. Additionally, the Muslim Brotherhood was

declared a "terrorist organization" by the state of Egypt on December 25th, 2013. This indicates an attempt on behalf of the SCAF to further delegitimize Morsi's rule as a Brotherhood and Freedom and Justice Party member (Wickham 2013, 162).

Furthermore, I interpret the military's own dialogue and suppression of dissenting forces exemplary of a desire to be perceived as delivering political stability and squashing the volatile Muslim Brotherhood, who had been declared a "terrorist organization" by the state. Thus, security and political issues will boast higher priority during the Post-Brotherhood Period than they did during Morsi's reign.

Set IV: Overall Differences among Means

This set of hypotheses reveals the nature of the project in the lens of the largest scope by attempting to explain the broader picture by comparing each mean to the average of the other three.

H_8: The overall, political, and security scores of *Egypt Independent* during the Brotherhood Period and the overall, political, and security scores of *Al-Ahram* during the Post-Brotherhood Period will stand out significantly among the other 90 respective scores. *Egypt Independent*'s overall, political, and security scores will be significantly more positive than the rest, while *Al-Ahram*'s overall, political, and security scores during the Post-Brotherhood period will be more negative than the rest.

$M_1 > M_{(M2 + M3 + M4)}$

$M_4 < M_{(M1 + M2 + M3)}$

SET IV EXPLANATION

These will hold for the political and security categories, as well as the overall because, as explained above, I expect security and political issues to be of greatest concern to each publication. *Egypt Independent* during the Brotherhood Period and *Al-Ahram* during the Post-Brotherhood Period will stand out among the other categories because the former should be the most positive and the latter should be the most negative. In a sense, this last hypothesis is an extension of H_1 and H_5.

DATA AND MEASUREMENT

The data collected is intended to measure discrepancies in negativity towards the Muslim Brotherhood across paper and time period. On a larger scale, the comparisons will reveal which factors are pertinent to consider while predicting the press' negativity towards the Muslim Brotherhood. Although causation cannot be ensured, correlation between negativity of an article and the character of the paper along with the time period during which the article was published may be implied. Negativity towards the Muslim Brotherhood will be referred to as the dependent variable, while character of paper and time period during which an article was published will be referred to as the two independent variables.

Two publications in particular, both of which are English language Egyptian online newspapers, are of interest in this study. *Al-Ahram* is owned by the state, while *Egypt Independent*, as its title suggests, is an independent source of news. *Al-Ahram* has earned a reputation for being the "official" mouthpiece of the state, while *Egypt Independent's* original staff has gone on to found and publish *Mada-Masr*, considered by American journalists to be the last existing "objective" source of news in Egypt (Chang 2015, 1). In consideration of its self-awareness and clear initiative to be "objective," *Mada-Masr* would have been an ideal selection in place of *Egypt Independent.* However, *Mada-Masr* did not begin publishing articles until 2013, which would have made the analysis of articles published during the Brotherhood Period impossible. Furthermore, *Al-Ahram* was

founded a century earlier than *Egypt Independent* (Encyclopedia Britannica 2014). The sharp contrast in age of the publication may prove to be representative of the discrepancies between more traditional and newer styles of journalism.

Though these differences in each publication's character potentially hamper their comparison as "equals," they work to the project's advantage because they represent opposite ends of the press spectrum. Hence, the inherent discrepancy in age and character of the papers provides a broader basis for making conclusions on any variance in the dependent variable.

Articles published during two separate time periods are observed in an attempt to evaluate the extent to which Islamists and the military exercised power and influence over media. Both *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* articles published during the months of July 2012, January 2013, July 2013, and January 2014 have been analyzed.

Morsi was elected to the presidency on June 30th, 2012 and ousted on July 3rd, 2013 (BBC News Africa 2015). Thus, articles dated in July 2012 and January 2013 represent the beginning and middle point of the period during which the majority of the Egyptian government was comprised of Islamists. Although General el-Sisi was not formally elected to the presidency until June 8th, 2014, the military, led by el-Sisi, was in charge of the nation during the interim period and was responsible for organizing subsequent elections (BBC News Africa 2015). Articles dated in July 2013 and January 2014 represent this period of military

rule, at its beginning stages and approximate middle point. Military rule over the state eventually became more permanent upon el-Sisi's victory in the June 2014 elections.

Al-Ahram articles, organized by the month they were published online, were obtained from the *Lexis Nexis* search engine, and sorted by relevancy to the search term, "Morsi OR Brotherhood." Since religious parties are banned from participating in Egypt's political sphere, Morsi could not run under the party platform, "Muslim Brotherhood." Instead, he ran under the Freedom and Justice Party, a political party formed by Brotherhood members so that they could participate in government elections (Trager 2011, 1). Therefore, I deemed it necessary to include "Morsi" in the search box because of his connection with the FJP and less officially, the Muslim Brotherhood. "Brotherhood" was chosen instead of "Muslim Brotherhood" because it is a common abbreviated term used frequently by journalists to refer to the Islamist group. These choices in search terms were intended to maximize my collection of articles relevant to the Brotherhood's rule.

Egypt Independent articles published during July 2013 and January 2014 were also available on *Lexis Nexis* and obtained by the same method as explained above. However, the academic search engine's archive curiously contained no *Egypt Independent* articles published during the earlier months of Morsi's rule. *Egypt Independent* articles published in July 2012 and January 2013 were instead retrieved from the publication's website using the "advanced search" option to

sort by relevancy to the search term "'Brotherhood' OR 'Morsi' OR 'Morsy.'" *Egypt Independent* oftentimes spelled "Morsi" with a "y" whereas *Al-Ahram* did not, hence the minor difference in search terms.

Articles are coded on a seven-digit scale of -3 to +3 with 0 representing a tone of neutrality and -3 representing maximum negativity in tone towards the Muslim Brotherhood. This coding scheme was applied to three categories: politics, security, and culture. Content falling in the realm of politics primarily entailed discussion of policy, elections, or the state of repair in post-revolution Egypt. Content relevant to security was gauged based on mentions of terrorism or violence occurring during protests, regardless of whether it was civilians or figures of authority that committed such acts. Content applicable to culture was determined based on reference to social justice, women's rights, detainment of journalists, and general wellbeing of the community. If article content lacked relevancy to any category, that category received a rating of "0." The overall rating represents the sum of the three categories' separate ratings. A key of adjectives that are perceived as either positive or negative in tone was not uniformly followed because I found that tone was determined more commonly on the basis of the presence or omission of conflicting viewpoints in each article. Instead, a positive or negative score of "1" represents the slightest bias, while a positive or negative score of "3" represents clear statements, made by the article's author, that are unquestionably favorable or unfavorable of the Brotherhood or Morsi. These explicitly biased statements rarely occurred.

Coding articles on the basis of tonality is, inevitably, a subjective process. The development of a particular system for coding, used throughout the research process, ensured some consistency in the coding procedure. Articles from July 2012 and January 2013 represent the period during which the Muslim Brotherhood is in power, while articles from July 2013 and January 2014 represent the Post-Brotherhood Period. Thus, there are thirty articles per paper, per period. This system constitutes a sum of 120 articles in total. Each of the 120 articles is coded according to the three mentioned categories.

To better explain the coding process, I will provide a total of six examples illustrating how I determined a positive rating and a negative rating for each category.

POLITICAL

An *Al-Ahram* article titled "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood rejects new constitutional declaration" and published in July 2013 during the Post-Brotherhood Period received a political rating of "-3". Referring to the rejection of a political roadmap created by the interim President Adly Mansour, the article says, "Morsi gave himself wide powers and immunity from judicial oversight, effectively entrenching bitter polarisation in Egyptian politics, one of the main reasons millions of Egyptians had demonstrated in demand of early elections on 30 June" (*Ahram Online* 2013). Here, the authors, who are anonymous, clearly advocate the publication's own subjective interpretation of Morsi's rejection of

the roadmap as detrimental to the nation. This unfavorable interpretation pinpoints Morsi as the sole creator of political polarization in the nation. The statement, as well as the assumption that this type of behavior on behalf of Morsi led dissidents to protest on the streets, is unfounded and lacks quotes or facts to affirm it.

An *Egypt Independent* article titled "Morsy questions accomplishments of 1952 revolution" and published in July 2012 during the Brotherhood Period received a political rating of "+2". In each of the 120 articles, no author made statements that showed clear, explicit support of Morsi or the Brotherhood; therefore, no articles received a political rating of "+3". This article suggests, however, that Morsi's criticism of the revolution and its failure to establish democracy indicates an initiative on his part to make Egypt more democratic. It hints support for Morsi indirectly by quoting an Egyptian citizen who warns Egyptian citizens from partaking in the celebration of the continuation of military rule. The author, who is anonymous, also references Egypt's history of military-backed rulers and intentionally mentions that Morsi is the first leader to not have a military background (*Egypt Independent* 2012). The article received a "+2" because it as favorable or hopeful of Morsi as it can be without directly saying so.

Security

An *Egypt Independent* article titled "National Security Council: Brotherhood and allies bought arms from abroad" and published in July 2013

during the post-Brotherhood period received a security rating of "-3". The article claims that investigations showed "the Brotherhood's plan was aimed to distort the military and paralyze the country with the bloodshed that it had planned," and went on to associate the Brotherhood with "extremists" and "mask and armed terrorists" (*Egypt Independent* 2013). The explicit association between terrorism and the Brotherhood along with the sole placement of blame on the Brotherhood for deaths that occurred during clashes between Morsi supporters *and* Morsi opponents amounted the most negative security rating.

Another *Egypt Independent* article titled "On 25 January, one anniversary but two commemorations" and published in January 2013 during the Brotherhood Period received a security rating of "+1". The article begins by outlining a Brotherhood service campaign launched in honor of the beginning of the January 2011 uprisings that led to Mubarak's ousting (Rabie 2013). On the contrary, Brotherhood opponents planned on taking to the street to protest Morsi's performance as president. The juxtaposition of these two "commemorations" suggests that the Brotherhood is supporting stability and that the opposition is inciting violence. The article provides viewpoints that both criticize and support the Brotherhood's decision and this relative balance erases the possibility of the article's receiving a "+2" or a "+3". Nonetheless, towards the end of the article, a Brotherhood member is quoted as insisting that the Brotherhood does not plan to incite violence against protestors. This positive "last word," so to speak, justifies a slightly positive rating.

CULTURE

An *Egypt Independent* article titled "Copts wait to see what Morsy's rule will bring" and published in July 2012 during the Brotherhood period received a culture rating of "-2". A student at Cairo University expresses concern that the Brotherhood will enforce Sharia. "If so, we'll be back in the Middle Ages — we will see only covered women with almost no rights, like in Saudi Arabia, for example," he said. "What we need is a civilized country, and I'm scared that the Muslim Brotherhood and Mohamed Morsy won't bring that to us" (Nguyen 2012). The reference to the "Middle Ages" and deviation from a "civilized country" suggests cultural backwardness. Since this is expressed by a source and not by the author directly, the article received a considerably negative score of "-2".

Another *Egypt Independent* article titled "Living on borrowed time: Morsy's political economics" and also published in July 2012 during the Brotherhood period received a culture rating of "+2". The article explains the implications of a new social allowance raise for public sector workers. The articles quotes supporters of the incentive and those who believe it will lead to inflation; however, such criticism of the plan does not attack the character of the Brotherhood itself (Marroushi 2012). The author goes on to include the insight of a Brotherhood member who claims the raise will help thousands of citizens. Though some sources disapproved of the plan, the dissent was never presented as

an argument against the Brotherhood's values or a claim that those values are backwards.

Reliability

The employment of two additional coders improved reliability and guided me in refining my own coding process. Furthermore, I recoded a third of the articles two months after the initial coding session to evaluate and improve, when necessary, my own consistency in coding. Initially, two students were hired to code 20 articles each. The 20 articles were selected randomly from each paper and time period. They were copied and pasted into a document with the date and paper name omitted from each article to avoid possible preconceptions among the coders. To ensure clarity of methodology and consistent level of background knowledge, the coders also received a synopsis of Egypt's political situation as of 2011, along with an explanation of what type of content fits under each category. Upon receiving the results, I arranged meetings with the coders to gain a better understanding of the discrepancies in our ratings. For example, if a coder rated a particular article as positive and I had rated it as very negative, I asked him or her to explain their coding process for this single article. From there, I considered both viewpoints and altered my scoring methodology accordingly. Thus, I recoded three quarters of the articles.

One of these coders agreed to code another 20 articles, which were also selected randomly. The differences between my own ratings and the coder's

ratings of the second set of articles was considerably less than in the first set. The two coders were college students with little specialized knowledge of Egypt, but enough general knowledge to understand its current political state, as well as the Arab Spring. Refer to pages 76-77 of the appendix for the specific comparisons between the coders' ratings and my own.

Ideally, more coders would have been involved if given more time and resources to locate credible coders. Even so, the comparisons were invaluable in aiding my refinement of my own coding process and in remembering to set aside the "extra" background knowledge I have on the topic of Egyptian journalism that most citizens reading the articles would not have. Additionally, the resultant data set would have been more conclusive if a greater quantity of articles had been coded. In this case, spending additional time coding articles would have unfortunately taken away from the level of analysis, as well as the depth of the thesis itself and the time taken to write it. Readers should be cautious of interpreting the findings as representative of absolute truths or causation. That being said, the 120-article data set establishes a strong basis for furthering the research and providing insight into how well and to what degree a paper's character and the party in power can help predict the objectivity of an article. Due to the fact that causation cannot be drawn from this study, the thesis stands as a more exploratory project that sets groundwork for future research of media environments and the political conditions under which they exist.

FINDINGS

Table 1: Statistics for Al-Ahram articles

	Overall	**Political**	**Security**	**Culture**
Brotherhood Period (M_3)	-0.80	-0.57	-0.23	0
Post-Brotherhood Period (M_4)	-0.83	-0.33	-0.50	0
Brotherhood Period (σ_3)	1.27	0.97	0.63	0
Post-Brotherhood Period (σ_4)	1.39	1.03	0.82	0

Table 2: Statistics for Egypt Independent articles

	Overall	**Political**	**Security**	**Culture**
Brotherhood Period (M_1)	0.2	0.1	0.03	0.07
Post-Brotherhood Period (M_2)	-0.56	-0.26	-0.43	0
Brotherhood Period (σ_1)	1.42	0.99	0.18	0
Post-Brotherhood Period (σ_2)	1.21	0.91	0.96	0

Figure 1

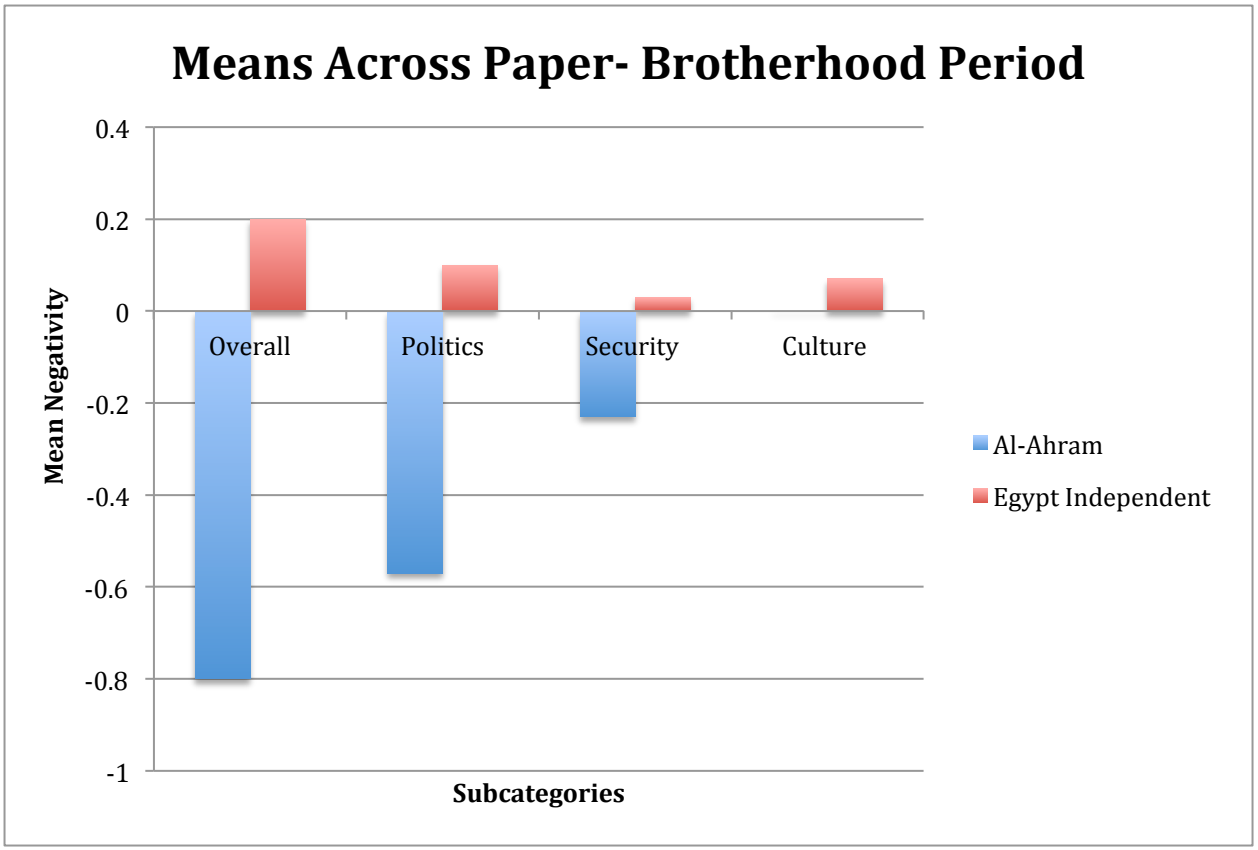

Means Across Paper- Brotherhood Period
0.4
0.2
0
-0.2
-0.4
-0.6
-0.8
-1
Mean Negativity
Overall
Politics
Security
Culture
Subcategories
Al-Ahram
Egypt Independent

Figure 2

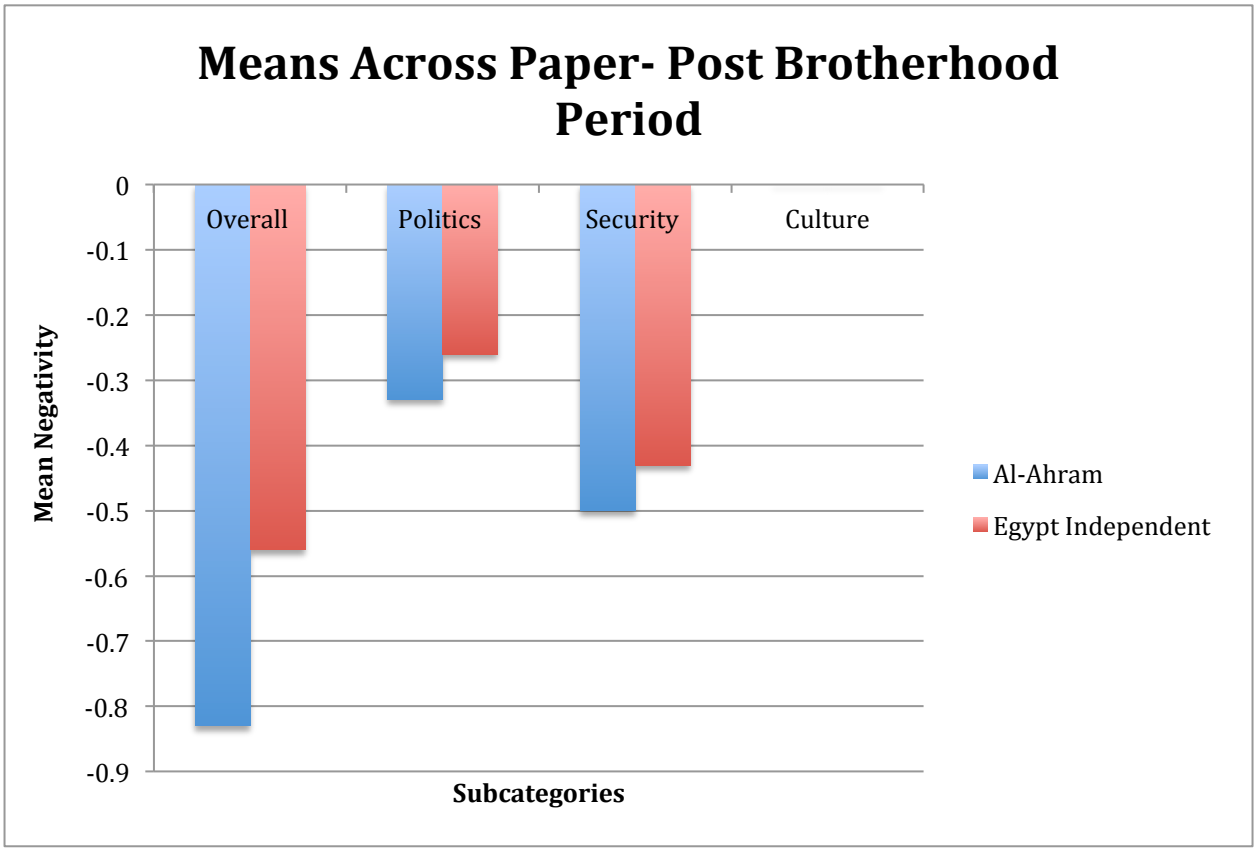
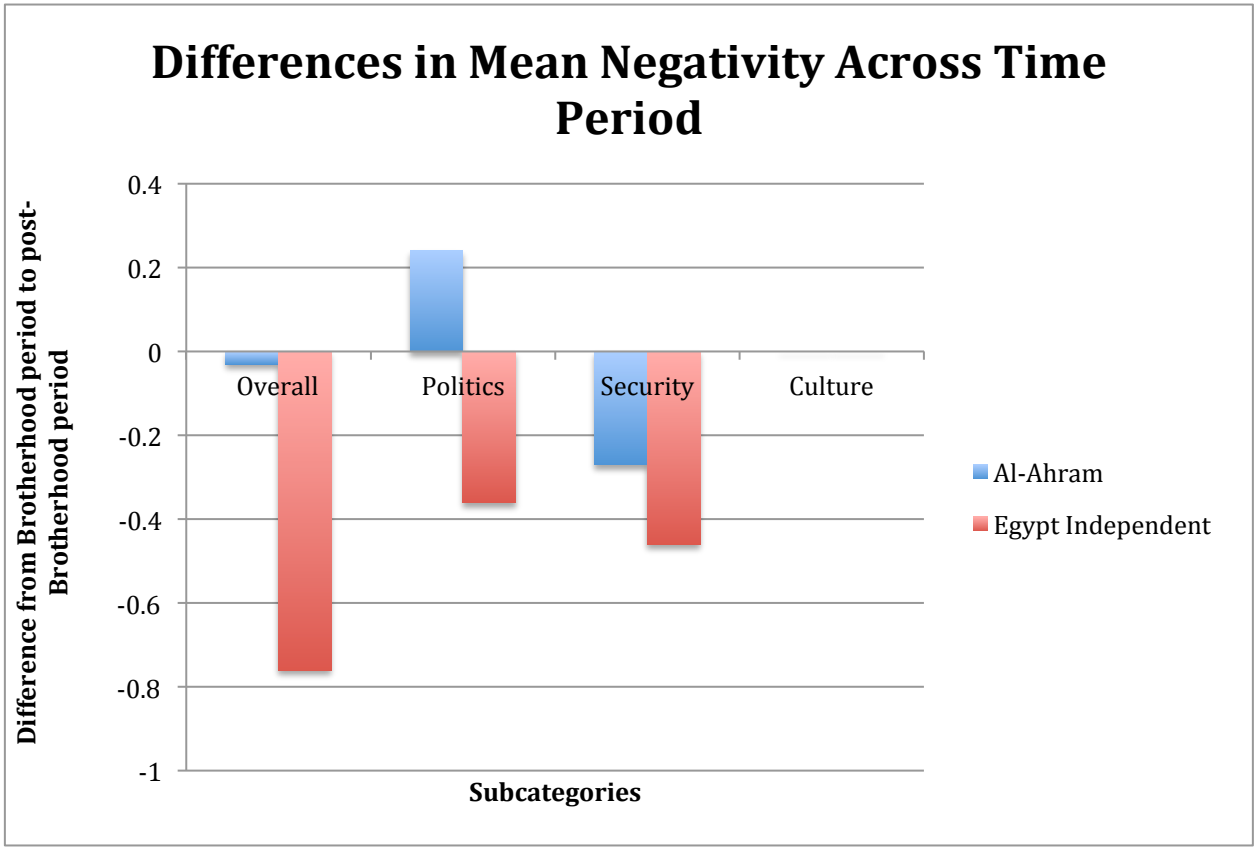

Means Across Paper- Post Brotherhood Period
0
-0.1
-0.2
-0.3
-0.4
-0.5
-0.6
-0.7
-0.8
-0.9
Mean Negativity
Overall
Politics
Security
Culture
Subcategories
Al-Ahram
Egypt Independent

Figure 3


Differences in Mean Negativity Across Time Period
Difference from Brotherhood period to post-Brotherhood period
0.4
0.2
0
-0.2
-0.4
-0.6
-0.8
-1
Overall
Politics
Security
Culture
Subcategories
Al-Ahram
Egypt Independent

T-tests determined whether the differences between means were significant in a majority of these hypotheses. Although some differences were not quite statistically significant, they closely approached it; therefore, differences that remain unconfirmed should not be ruled out. Instead, the implications of a possible significant difference, based upon a larger sample size for example, should be considered.

SET I: DIFFERENCES ACROSS PAPERS

This set of three hypotheses pertains to discrepancies in negativity demonstrated towards the Muslim Brotherhood across both two papers and two time periods.

H_1: *Al-Ahram* is, overall, more negative towards the Muslim Brotherhood than *Egypt Independent* is overall in both time periods.

$M_3 < M_1$: **Confirmed**. The difference between -0.80 and 0.2 is statistically significant. The overall mean rating of *Egypt Independent* during the Brotherhood Period is significantly more positive than that of *Al-Ahram* during the same time period. $p= 0.0056 < 0.05$; $t= 2.88$.

$M_4 < M_2$: **Unconfirmed**. Although -0.83 is less than -0.56 the difference is not statistically significant. This can be said with a large amount of confidence because $p= 0.43 > 0.1$. The overall mean rating of *Egypt Independent* during the Post-Brotherhood period is not significantly more positive than that of *Al-Ahram* during the same time period.

H_2: The difference in negativity towards the Brotherhood between *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* will vary according to time period. The difference will be larger during the Brotherhood Period.

$|M_3 – M_1| > |M_4 - M_2|$: **Confirmed**. $1 > 0.27$; H_1 confirms that the difference between *Egypt Independent* and *Al-Ahram* during the Brotherhood period is significant, but the same cannot be said for the difference during the Post-Brotherhood period. Thus, we can conclude that the difference between the dependent variable, M being negativity towards the Brotherhood, across papers is greater in the Brotherhood period than during the Post-Brotherhood period, during which *Egypt Independent*'s negativity, in each subcategory, more closely approaches that of *Al-Ahram*.

H_3: In both time periods, *Al-Ahram* will be more negative towards the Brotherhood's political, security, and cultural values than *Egypt Independent* is. From one time period to the next, the largest subcategorical differences between papers will be demonstrated by political ratings and security ratings.

$[M_3 < M_1]_{Politics}$: **Confirmed**. The difference between -0.57 and 0.1 is statistically significant. *Egypt Independent*'s mean political rating is significantly more positive than that of *Al-Ahram* during the Brotherhood period.
$p = 0.011 < 0.05$; $t = 2.64$

$[M_3 < M_1]_{Security}$: **Unconfirmed.** Although $-0.23 < 0.03$, the difference is not statistically significant. *Egypt Independent*'s mean security rating is not significantly more positive than that of *Al-Ahram* during the Brotherhood period; however, the -0.20 is worth noting and researching further.

$[M_3 < M_1]_{Culture}$: **Unconfirmed.** 0.07 is slightly greater than 0. The difference between the mean culture ratings of *Egypt Independent* and *Al-Ahram* during the Brotherhood Period is negligible and not statistically significant.

$[M_4 < M_2]_{Politics}$: **Unconfirmed.** Although -0.33 is slightly less than -0.26, the difference is quite small and not statistically significant. *Egypt Independent*'s mean political rating is not significantly more positive than that of *Al-Ahram* during the Post-Brotherhood period.

$[M_4 < M_2]_{Security}$: **Unconfirmed.** Although -0.50 is slightly less than -0.43, the difference is not statistically significant. *Egypt Independent*'s mean security rating is not significantly more positive than that of *Al-Ahram* during the Post-Brotherhood period.

$[M_4 < M_2]_{Culture}$: **Unconfirmed.** Both means equal 0. Across both paper and time period, the culture ratings show little variance.

$[|M_3 - M_1| - |M_4 - M_2|]_{Politics} > [|M_3 - M_1| - |M_4 - M_2|]_{Culture}$:

Confirmed. The number, 0.60, obtained by subtracting the difference in political ratings of *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* during the Post-Brotherhood period from that same difference during the Brotherhood period is much greater than the number, 0.07, obtained by doing the same for cultural ratings. This suggests that there is more variance in political scores across both paper and time period than there is in cultural scores, which tend to remain neutral.

$[|M_3 - M_1| - |M_4 - M_2|]_{Security} > [|M_3 - M_1| - |M_4 - M_2|]_{Culture}$:

Confirmed: The number, 0.19, obtained by subtracting the difference in security ratings of *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* during the Post-Brotherhood period from that same difference during the Brotherhood period is greater than the number, 0, obtained by doing the same for cultural ratings. This suggests that there is more variance in security scores across both paper and time period than there is in cultural scores, but less variance in security scores than there is in political scores.

SET I IMPLICATIONS

Overall, *Egypt Independent* is significantly more positive than *Al-Ahram* in its ratings, but only during the Brotherhood period. According to the data sets, the difference between the overall scores of *Egypt Independent* and *Al-Ahram* during the Brotherhood period is almost four times greater than the same difference during the Post-Brotherhood period. Thus, the character of the paper (whether it is independent or not) is an accurate predictor of negativity only when the Brotherhood is in power. During the Brotherhood Period, only political ratings between papers vary significantly. *Al-Ahram*'s political ratings are much more negative than those of *Egypt Independent.* Although the difference between the security scores of *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* during the Brotherhood period is not statistically significant, it should still be considered as a noticeable difference. Security ratings, in this case, are still secondary for an additional reason. Political issues may have received the most coverage during the Brotherhood period simply because of the recent elections. Protests did not

significantly erupt again until the latter days of Morsi's reign. Thus, it is logical that the media would prioritize political issues before security issues at this point.

SET II: DIFFERENCES ACROSS TIME PERIODS

This set of two hypotheses pertains to discrepancies in negativity demonstrated towards the Muslim Brotherhood by each individual publication across two time periods.

H_4: Negativity towards the Muslim Brotherhood will change across time periods.

$M_2 \neq M_1$: **Confirmed.** The difference between -0.56 and 0.2 is statistically significant. *Egypt Independent*'s mean overall rating during the Brotherhood period is significantly more positive than its mean overall rating during the Post-Brotherhood period. $p=0.030 < 0.05$; $t= 2.23$

$M_4 \neq M_3$: **Unconfirmed:** The difference between -0.83 and -0.80 is not statistically significant. It is negligible because -0.83 can be rounded to -0.80. Little variance in the overall mean rating of *Al-Ahram* from one time period to the next suggests that for the state-owned paper, the nature of the ruling regime (time period) is not as large of a factor in predicting negativity towards the Brotherhood in the I had expected it to be.

H_5: Both *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* will become more negative in their coverage of the Muslim Brotherhood during the Post-Brotherhood Period.

$M_2 < M_1$: **Confirmed.** The difference between -0.56 and 0.2, as explained above, is statistically significant. The same can be said for the mean security ratings, for which $-0.43 < 0.03$, $p= 0.011$, and $t= 2.64$. This suggests that for *Egypt Independent,* an independent publication, the party of the ruling regime (time period) is a necessary factor to consider in predicting its negativity towards the brotherhood.

$M_4 < M_3$: **Unconfirmed.** The difference between -0.83 and -0.80 is negligible and not statistically significant. *Al-Ahram's* overall mean rating remained fairly constant from one time period to the next, suggesting the party of the ruling regime isn't a reliable factor for predicting negativity towards the Brotherhood.

H_6: The political, security, and cultural scores of both *Al-Ahram* and *Egypt Independent* will become more negative in their coverage of the Muslim Brotherhood during the Post-Brotherhood Period.

$[M_2 < M_1]_{\text{Political}}$: **Unconfirmed.** The difference between -0.26 and 0.1 is not statistically significant. This can be said with a fair amount of confidence because $p=0.14 > 0.1$.

$[M_2 < M_1]_{\text{Security}}$: **Confirmed.** The difference between -0.43 and 0.03 is statistically significant. *Egypt Independent*'s security scores became increasingly more negative over time after Morsi was ousted. $p=0.012$; $t=2.58$

$[M_2 < M_1]_{\text{Cultural}}$: **Unconfirmed.** There is no significant difference between 0 and 0.07. For *Egypt Independent*, there is little to no change in cultural scores overtime.

$[M_4 < M_3]_{\text{Political}}$: **Unconfirmed**. *Al-Ahram* actually becomes more positive in political ratings overtime as the average rating increases from -0.57 to -0.33. However, the difference is negligible because $p= 0.36 > 0.1$ and is most definitely not significant. There is little difference in *Al-Ahram*'s political ratings from one time period to the next.

$[M_4 < M_3]_{\text{Security}}$: **Unconfirmed.** Although $-0.50 < -0.23$, the difference is not statistically significant and this can be said with confidence because
$p= 0.16 > 0.1$. There is little difference in *Al-Ahram*'s security ratings from one time period to the next.

$[M_4 < M_3]_{\text{Cultural}}$: **Unconfirmed.** During both time periods, *Al-Ahram*'s culture ratings remain neutral.

SET II IMPLICATIONS

Time period is a significant predictor of the negativity of both overall and security ratings for *Egypt Independent* but not for *Al-Ahram.* For *Al-Ahram*, none of the scores become significantly more negative after Morsi is ousted; instead, they remain negative and relatively constant. H_6 indicates that for *Egypt Independent* scores, security ratings experience the largest shift in tone overtime.

Security ratings likely experienced the largest shift towards negativity after Morsi was ousted because of SCAF's official statement deeming the Brotherhood a terrorist organization on Dec. 25th, 2013. This most likely prompted more frequent coverage of the Brotherhood's status as a terrorist organization and in an unspoken way discouraged the independent publication from publishing viewpoints contrary to the government's declaration (Habeeb 2012, 15). Doing so could have proven dangerous, especially because of the intense crackdown on Brotherhood members and the imprisonment of Morsi.

SET III: DIFFERENCES AMONG SUBCATEGORIES

This set of two hypotheses observes the discrepancies in negativity demonstrated towards the Muslim Brotherhood in each of three subcategories (political, security, and culture) across two publications and two time periods.

H_7: With time period and paper held constant in each of the 4 cases, the ratings for political, security, and culture values will not be equal. Political and security ratings will be more negative than culture ratings.

$M_{1Political} < M_{1Culture}$: **Unconfirmed.** 0.1 is not less than 0.07. This suggests that *Egypt Independent*'s cultural and political scores during the Brotherhood Period were not significantly positive or negative and that, on average, they both remained relatively neutral towards the Brotherhood.

$M_{1Security} < M_{1Culture}$: **Unconfirmed.** Although 0.03 is slightly less than 0.07, the difference is exceedingly small and not statistically significant. Similarly to *Egypt Independent*'s mean political score during the Brotherhood period, its mean security score during this time is also fairly neutral.

$M_{2Political} < M_{2Culture}$: **Unconfirmed:** The difference between -0.26 and 0 is not statistically significant. This can be said with a large degree of confidence because $p = 0.12 > 0.1$. Even so, the difference should be acknowledged as an indicator of *Egypt Independent's* greater coverage of political than cultural issues during the Post-Brotherhood period.

$M_{2Security} < M_{2Culture}$: **Confirmed.** The difference between -0.43 and 0 is statistically significant. p= 0.017 < 0.05; t=2.45. *Egypt Independent*'s mean security score during the Post-Brotherhood Period is significantly more negative than its mean culture score. This suggests both that security issues receive greater coverage during this time and that the paper's level of negativity towards the Brotherhood's security values needs to be analyzed further.

$M_{3Political} < M_{3Culture}$: **Confirmed.** The difference between -0.57 and 0 is statistically significant. p= 0.0021 < 0.05; t=3.22. *Al-Ahram*'s mean political score during the Brotherhood Period is significantly more negative than its mean cultural score. This indicates greater coverage of political issues and encourages a closer look at the significance of *Al-Ahram*'s level of negativity towards the Brotherhood's political values.

$M_{3Security} < M_{3Culture}$: **Confirmed.** The difference between -0.23 and 0 is exactly on the cusp of being statistically significant. p= 0.05; t= 2.0. We will assume that if the sample size was slightly larger, *Al-Ahram*'s mean security rating during the Brotherhood Period would be significantly more negative than its cultural rating.

$M_{4Political} < M_{4Culture}$: **Unconfirmed.** Although -0.33 is noticeably less than 0, the difference is not statistically significant. p= 0.068 > 0.05; t= 1.86. However, since p < 0.1, there is a possibility that had the sample size been larger, *Al-Ahram's* political scores during the Post-Brotherhood period would have been significantly more negative than the culture scores.

$M_{4Security} < M_{4Culture}$: **Confirmed.** The difference between -0.50 and 0 is statistically significant. p= 0.0015 < 0.05; t=3.34. *Al-Ahram*'s mean security score during the Post-Brotherhood Period is significantly more negative than its mean cultural score. This indicates greater coverage of security issues than cultural issues and shows that in terms of security topics, *Al-Ahram* is not neutral towards the Muslim Brotherhood during this time period.

SET III IMPLICATIONS

There is almost no variance in the culture scores for each paper during both time periods. Culture scores remained consistently neutral and in only two cases, received slightly above and below neutral scores, resulting in a mean score of 0.07 for *Egypt Independent* during the Brotherhood period. After reading each

article and rating it according to the three categories, it was apparent that the majority of articles did not focus on cultural issues. Hence, they received a "0" not because they covered culture neutrally, but because issues relevant to culture were discussed minimally, if at all. This indicates that political and security issues were of greater concern for both papers, during both time periods. The difference between cultural, political, and security scores is smallest for *Egypt Independent* during the Brotherhood period. Political and security issues were definitely given attention, unlike culture issues, but they were often covered neutrally; hence, there is a difference between the neutral political and security scores and the neutral cultural scores.

Overall, cultural topics, including social rights and women rights in particular, are not discussed by either publication for two possible reasons. Firstly, it is possible that such issues spark little debate or concern because they are not a problem in that society. Conversely, it is also possible that authority figures look down upon or even condemn dialogue critiquing such culturally sensitive issues. I lean towards the second possibility. Regardless, lack of coverage of a topic does not automatically entail society's lack of concern for it.

Set IV: Overall Differences among Means

This set of hypotheses reveals the nature of the project in the lens of the largest scope. This hypothesis attempts to explain the broader picture by comparing each mean to the average of the other three.

H_8: The overall, political, and security scores of *Egypt Independent* during the Brotherhood Period and the overall, political, and security scores of *Al-Ahram*

during the Post-Brotherhood Period will stand out significantly among the other 90 respective scores. *Egypt Independent*'s overall, political, and security scores will be significantly more positive than the rest, while *Al-Ahram*'s overall, political, and security scores during the Post-Brotherhood period will be more negative than the rest.

$M_1 > M_{(M2 + M3 + M4)}$: **Confirmed.** The difference between the overall scores, 0.2 and -0.78, is extremely significant. $p= 0.0006 < 0.05$; $t= 3.55$. The political ratings of *Egypt Independent*, during the Brotherhood period, like the overall ratings, are also significantly more positive than the rest. $p=0.019 < 0.05$; $t=2.38$

$M_4 < M_{(M1 + M2 + M3)}$: **Unconfirmed.** The difference between -0.83 and -0.39 is not statistically significant. *Al-Ahram*'s mean ratings during the Post-Brotherhood period are not significantly more negative than the average of the other 90 scores.

SET IV IMPLICATIONS

In comparison to the average of the other ninety ratings, only those of *Egypt Independent* during the Brotherhood Period stood out significantly among the rest. Of those scores, the overall and political scores were significantly more positive than those same sets of scores from the other 90 articles. Since *Al-Ahram's* negativity towards the Brotherhood during neither the Brotherhood Period nor the Post-Brotherhood period, is significant in comparison to the mean of the other ninety scores, it appears as though the tone of the state-owned paper was not affected by the change in presidency. I interpret this as suggesting that although Morsi was elected to office, the military retained influence over media during both time periods. In the Brotherhood Period, *Al-Ahram* is significantly more negative towards the Muslim Brotherhood than *Egypt Independent,* which is almost neutral towards the Brotherhood at this time. In this particular instance, the

state-owned paper is curiously more negative towards the regime in power. This finding is interesting for two main reasons.

Firstly, *Al-Ahram*'s negativity towards the Muslim Brotherhood, to which the president belongs, during Morsi's presidency problematizes the commonly held assumption that state-owned papers tend to favor the party in power. In this case, during the Brotherhood period, the state-owned paper appears to be an organ of the old regime, SCAF. This prompts the question: What is the role of a state-owned paper if it is not promoting the state's political leader? Does this only occur under Islamist regimes?

Secondly, the significance of the degree to which *Egypt Independent's* political and overall scores are more positive than the rest (*Egypt Independent* during the Post-Brotherhood period and *Al-Ahram* during both periods) suggests the possibility that the presence of Islamists in government does not have a significant effect on the neutrality of an independent paper. For those who believe democracy and Islamism are incompatible, the independent press' relative objectivity may also come as a surprise. On the contrary, it is also possible that the Brotherhood's time in office was simply cut short and as a result, they lacked the momentum necessary to noticeably influence media. In other words, if Morsi had been in power for a longer period of time, perhaps the independent press would not be as objective.

Additionally, *Egypt Independent*'s almost neutral tone towards the Brotherhood, during the Brotherhood period, insinuates one of two possible

implications. Firstly, it is possible that the Brotherhood had insufficient time to affect the independent publication, as discussed above. Secondly, it is also possible that the Brotherhood *was* exercising significant influence on the independent publication and that had it not, *Egypt Independent* would have covered the Brotherhood more negatively as opposed to neutrally. Pressure from the Brotherhood to avoid covering it in a negative light may have been present. Although we have no way of knowing for certain, the second option deserves more skepticism. *Al-Ahram*'s negative coverage of the Brotherhood while Morsi was in power suggests that the Islamist government simply did not have the ability to affect media during this time. If it had the ability to affect media, the state-owned publication would have logically been the first to model favorable coverage of the ruling regime. And this was not the case.

SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

As a future journalist, the objective dissemination of information is of great concern to me. Objectivity and honesty in journalism is invaluable, especially in countries that are politically unstable and at times repressive—countries such as Egypt. The shutting down of *Egypt Independent*'s print version in 2013 shows how independent, and perhaps dissenting views, are being repressed; however, the source of repression and reason for it is oftentimes not immediately transparent. After *Egypt Independent*'s print version was shut down, the editors founded a new publication called *Mada-Masr*, which *The Guardian* has since dubbed "the news website that's keeping press freedom alive in Egypt" (Chang 2015, 1). The title of the article alone hints that press freedom in Egypt is in danger.

After hand coding one hundred and twenty articles, which were divided into four subsections based on character of paper (independent or state-owned) and time period (Brotherhood in power or Post-Brotherhood), some shifts in negativity towards the Brotherhood were significantly apparent. Though the causes for such shifts cannot be isolated for certain, the two independent variables, being character of paper and time period, should be regarded as tools for predicting negativity towards the Brotherhood. The two independent variables are broad in scope, but serve as a necessary first step to assessing the media environment of Egypt under certain basic conditions.

According to the data, time period is a significant indicator of negativity towards the Brotherhood only for the independent publication, *Egypt Independent.* For this publication, the mean security category ratings were primarily responsible for the shift, as they grew significantly more negative during the Post-Brotherhood Period after Morsi was ousted from office. Security ratings likely became more negative because of the el-Sisi's official statement made on Dec. 25th, 2013, which declared the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization and thus began a crackdown on group members. Upon being ousted, Morsi was arrested and imprisoned (Habeeb 2012, 15).

Complimenting this finding, the character of the paper (independent or state-owned) was only significant for the Brotherhood period. During Morsi's presidency, *Al-Ahram's* political ratings were significantly more negative than those of *Egypt Independent*. Though security issues were of most concern during the Post-Brotherhood Period, after Morsi was imprisoned and protests erupted again, political concerns proved to be top priority during the Brotherhood period. There are countless explanations for this topical focus. The most plausible has to do with the ongoing political struggle between SCAF and the Muslim Brotherhood upon Morsi's election to office.

In fact, it is possible that SCAF was acting "behind the scenes" even during Morsi's time in office. Two particular findings support this explanation. Firstly, there is no significant difference between *Al-Ahram's* ratings during the Brotherhood Period or after it. The publication maintained a rather constant

negativity in both political and security ratings overtime. Contrary to common assumption, this suggests that the state-owned paper, *Al-Ahram*, was not supporting the party in power during the Brotherhood period. This implies remnants of loyalty to the previous source of political power, SCAF. Secondly, because time period is a significant indicator of negativity for *Egypt Independent*, which becomes more negative overtime, but not for *Al-Ahram,* it is evident that the scores of the independent and state-owned publications begin to merge with each other. The intersecting scores could indicate an increase in self-censorship on behalf of the independent paper after Morsi was ousted and SCAF regained power. On the contrary, *Egypt Independent* may have censored itself during the Brotherhood period if the Brotherhood pressured it to refrain from negative coverage. However, I am more inclined to believe that self-censorship became more prevalent during the Post-Brotherhood period because of the simultaneous drop in security ratings and condemnation of Brotherhood supporters by the military.

Most interestingly, these findings suggest that state-owned papers do not always support the state's leading party, seriously putting into question the role of state-owned papers in hybrid regimes. The fact that Egypt's first freely elected president was Islamist is especially compelling and more research would be required to determine whether state-owned papers act uncharacteristically in other political environments. In particular, it would be most informative to observe the character of state-owned papers in political environments where Islamists have

not been included in government bodies and contrastingly, where Islamist government is regarded as the status quo. These additional observations could help discern whether the Islamist nature of government plays a role in the state-owned papers' refusal to support the state's ruling party. On the surface, it may seem as though the ruling party has full control over the state, but in reality, there are often other significant players working behind the scenes. For Egypt, SCAF likely retained much of its power over Egypt even after Morsi was elected to office.

Additionally, the prevalence of self-censorship in hybrid regimes and the repercussions if such censorship is not achieved requires further research. For example, *Egypt Independent*'s coverage of the Muslim Brotherhood's security values became significantly more negative after Morsi was ousted and SCAF regained power; however, we cannot isolate SCAF or el-Sisi as the catalyst or cause of the independent paper's self-censorship. Even if SCAF is the culprit, it remains unclear as to whether the same self-censorship would occur under a previously ruling regime that was not so closely associated with the nation's military. It is also unclear as to whether the same results would occur if the military were weak. Is *Egypt Independent'*s shift in negativity a result of SCAF's desire to gain popularity by criticizing the Islamist opponent or are there other motivations involved? Furthermore, would the same shift in negativity occur if the prior regime were run by Islamists and not by the military?

The data I have collected from the cohort of 120 articles suggests that both the character of the paper and time period are factors that should be taken into account while determining the objectivity of a paper during a given time period. Most significantly, *Egypt Independent*'s slant in coverage of the Brotherhood began to approach that of the state-owned paper, *Al-Ahram,* after Morsi was ousted from office. The *decreasing* differentiation between the two papers is a testament to the threats faced by independent journalism in Egypt. The independent publication became more negative during the Post-Brotherhood Period, but we cannot immediately attribute military rule to less neutral coverage on behalf of independent papers.

To understand how future research can improve and build upon this thesis, it is important to consider limitations. The biggest limitation confronted in the process is the number of articles coded, as well as the small number of additional coders. These particular setbacks made it impossible to ensure one hundred percent coding reliability on my part. If given more time, I would have not only hired more coders and coded more articles, but I would have also expanded upon my scope of research. From a broader perspective, this research prompts further study not only of other nations with hybrid regimes. Also, analysis of a set of nations where the military plays varying roles would shed light on the more specific political conditions under which independent and state-owned media will intersect in their slant of coverage.

Additionally, as opposed to observing only Egypt, I would have taken a look at more Arab Spring nations and gathered data on their collective coverage of Islamists to gauge domestic support for and varying representations of Islamist parties. From there, I would like to expand upon the concept of press freedom and how it may, or may not, be increasingly endangered in spite of globalization and greater accessibility to news through multimedia platforms.

Most broadly, this thesis constitutes one step towards determining whether media dynamics are environment-specific. In the past, the media dynamics of both democratic and authoritarian nations have been studied in-depth, but categorizing nations' regimes is not always a precise process. Certain nations, such as Egypt, do not fall neatly into the democratic or the authoritarian genre but nevertheless deserve the same level of attention for the sake of defining the varying natures of media environments around the world. Assessing any given media environment and the variables that affect its dynamics is pertinent to eventually confronting and mending its flaws. Although Egypt is just one small piece of the puzzle, this research provides a starting point from which the influences on Egyptian press may become more transparent to both journalists and audiences alike.

APPENDIX

HYPOTHESES

Table 1

	Egypt Independent	***Al-Ahram***
Brotherhood Period July 2012 & January 2013	M_1	M_3
Post-Brotherhood Period July 2013 & January 2014	M_2	M_4

FINDINGS

Findings: Table 1: Statistics for Al-Ahram articles

	Overall	**Political**	**Security**	**Culture**
Brotherhood Period (M_3)	-0.80	-0.57	-0.23	0
Post-Brotherhood Period (M_4)	-0.83	-0.33	-0.50	0
Brotherhood Period (σ_3)	1.27	0.97	0.63	0
Post-Brotherhood Period (σ_4)	1.39	1.03	0.82	0

Table 2: Statistics for Egypt Independent articles

	Overall	**Political**	**Security**	**Culture**
Brotherhood Period (M_1)	0.2	0.1	0.03	0.07
Post-Brotherhood Period (M_2)	-0.56	-0.26	-0.43	0
Brotherhood Period (σ_1)	1.42	0.99	0.18	0
Post-Brotherhood Period (σ_2)	1.21	0.91	0.96	0

Figure 1

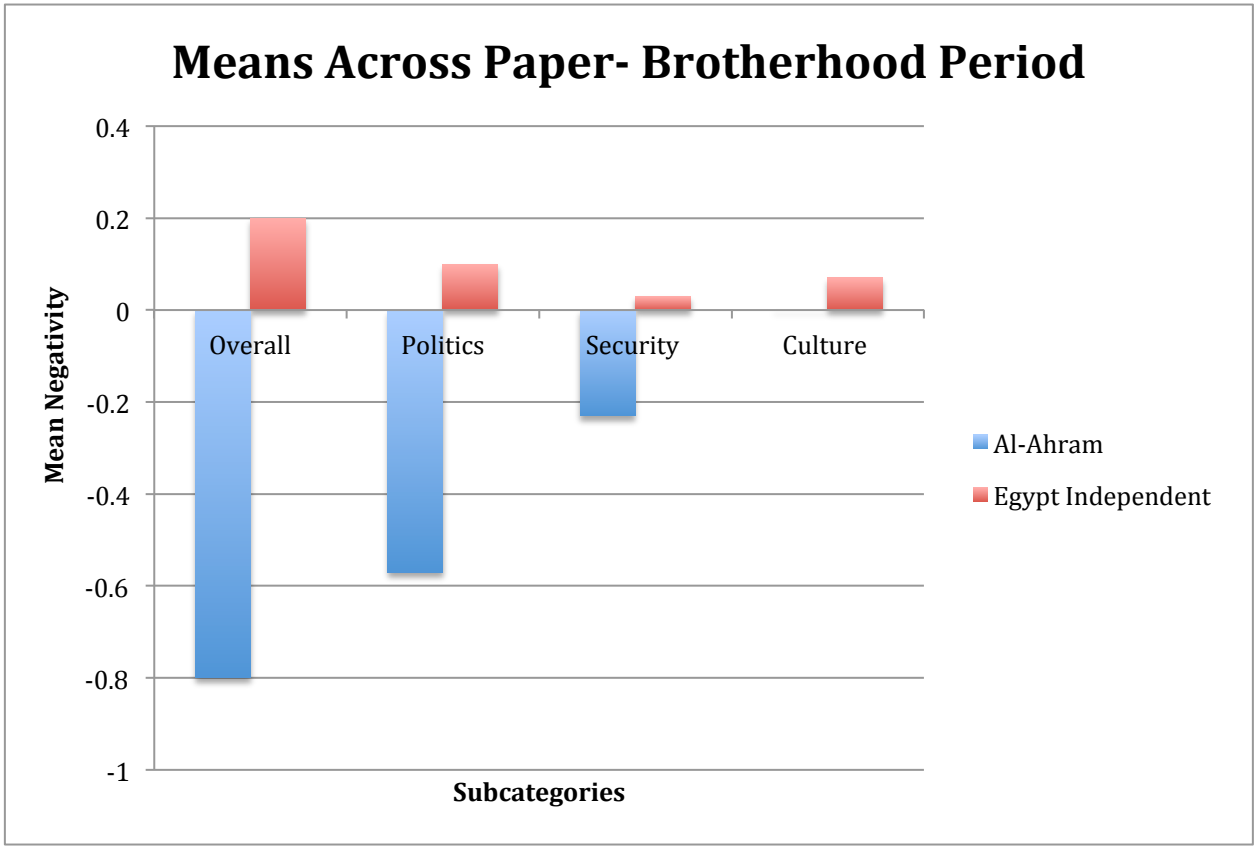

Means Across Paper- Brotherhood Period
0.4
0.2
0
-0.2
-0.4
-0.6
-0.8
-1
Mean Negativity
Overall
Politics
Security
Culture
Subcategories
Al-Ahram
Egypt Independent

Figure 2

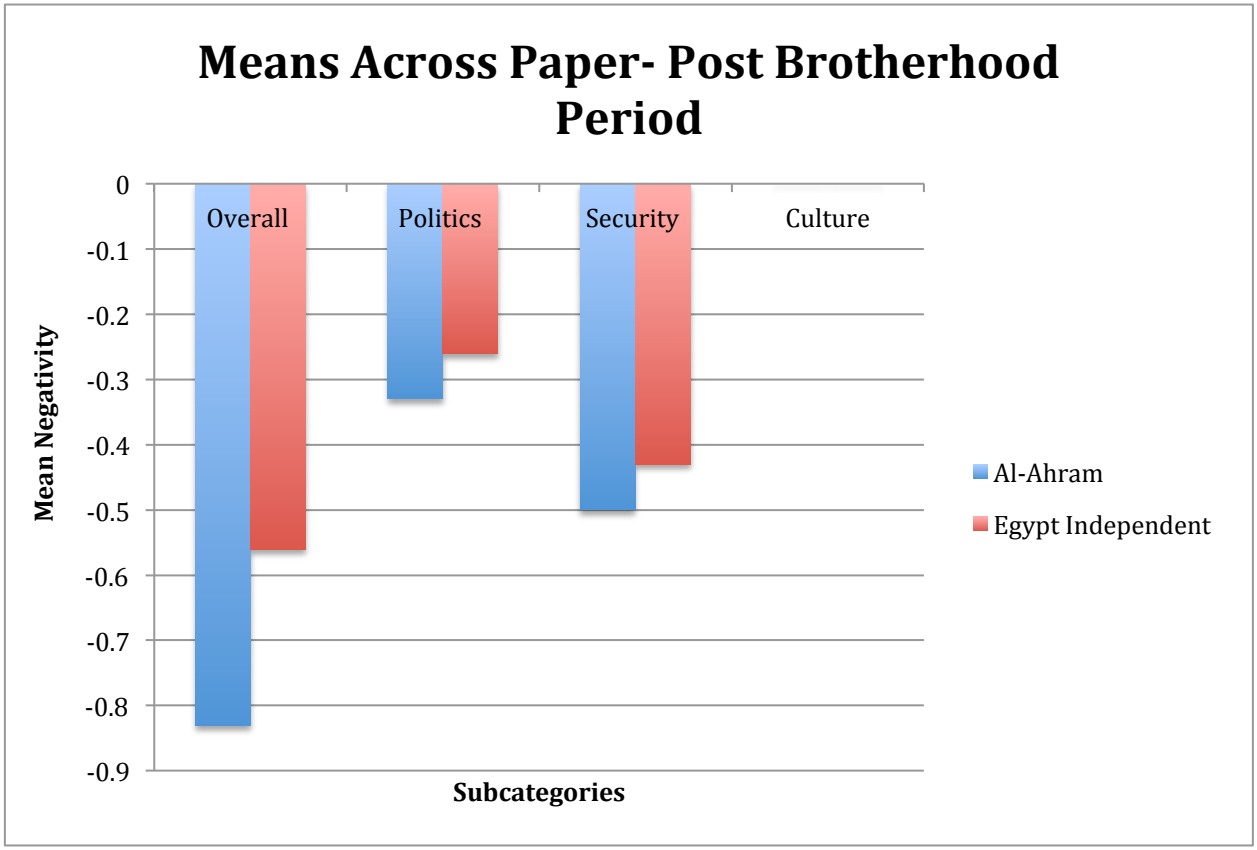
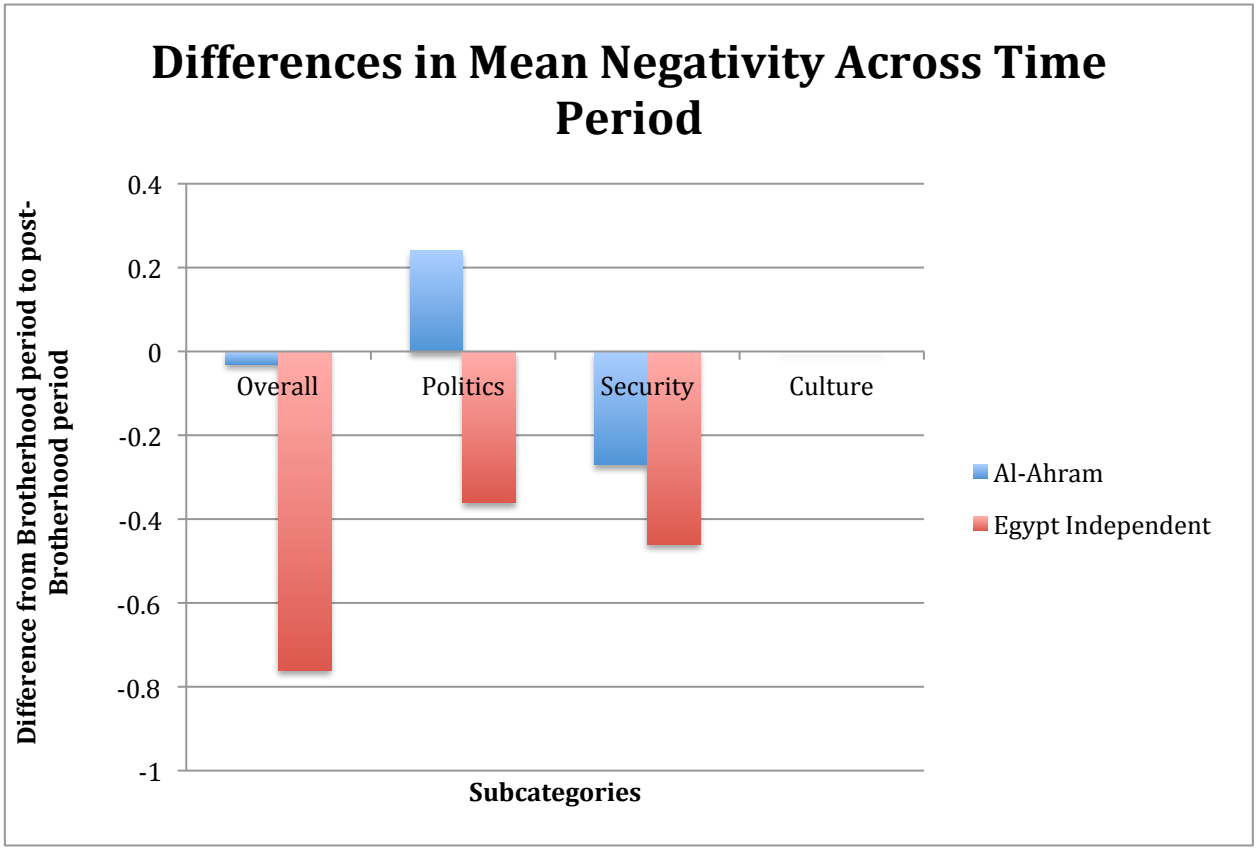

Means Across Paper- Post Brotherhood Period
0
-0.1
-0.2
-0.3
-0.4
-0.5
-0.6
-0.7
-0.8
-0.9
Mean Negativity
Overall
Politics
Security
Culture
Subcategories
Al-Ahram
Egypt Independent

Figure 3


Differences in Mean Negativity Across Time Period
Difference from Brotherhood period to post-Brotherhood period
0.4
0.2
0
-0.2
-0.4
-0.6
-0.8
-1
Overall
Politics
Security
Culture
Subcategories
Al-Ahram
Egypt Independent

CODING DATA CHARTS

Al-Ahram Coding July 2012

	Politics	Security	Culture	Overall
1	1	0	0	1
2	1	0	0	1
3	1	0	0	1
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0
7	-1	0	0	-1
8	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0
12	+1	0	0	+1
13	0	-2	0	-2
14	0	0	0	0
15	-2	0	0	-2

Al-Ahram Coding January 2013

	Politics	Security	Culture	Overall
1	-1	0	0	-1
2	-1	0	0	-1
3	-2	0	0	-2
4	-1	0	0	-1
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0
7	-1	0	0	-1
8	-2	-1	0	-3
9	-1	0	0	-1
10	-1	0	0	-1
11	-2	0	0	-2
12	-1	-2	0	-3
13	-2	0	0	-2
14	-1	0	0	-1
15	-2	-2	0	-4

Al-Ahram Coding July 2013

	Politics	Security	Culture	Overall
1	2	0	0	2
2	0	-2	0	-2
3	-2	0	0	-2
4	0	-1	0	-1
5	0	-1	0	-1
6	-1	0	0	-1
7	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0
10	+1	0	0	+1
11	0	-2	0	-2
12	-3	0	0	-3
13	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	0
15	-2	0	0	-2

Al-Ahram Coding January 2014

	Politics	Security	Culture	Overall
1	-1	-2	0	-3
2	-2	-2	0	-4
3	0	0	0	0
4	0	-1	0	-1
5	-1	0	0	-1
6	0	0	0	0
7	0	-1	0	-1
8	+1	+1	0	+2
9	0	-2	0	-2
10	0	0	0	0
11	0	-1	0	-1
12	0	-1	0	-1
13	0	0	0	0
14	-2	0	0	-2
15	0	0	0	0

Egypt Independent Coding July 2012

	Politics	Security	Culture	Overall
1	0	0	0	0
2	-2	0	0	-2
3	1	0	2	3
4	0	0	0	0
5	1	0	0	1
6	-1	0	0	-1
7	1	0	0	1
8	2	0	0	2
9	1	0	0	1
10	-1	0	0	-1
11	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	-2	-2
13	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	-1	-1
15	+1	0	0	+1

Egypt Independent Coding January 2013

	Politics	Security	Culture	Overall
1	2	1	1	4
2	-2	0	0	-2
3	0	0	0	0
4	-1	0	0	-1
5	-1	0	0	-1
6	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	2	+2
9	0	0	-1	-1
10	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	+1	+1
13	+2	0	0	+2
14	0	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	0

Egypt Independent Coding July 2013

	Politics	Security	Culture	Overall
1	-1	0	0	-1
2	-2	0	0	-2
3	1	0	0	1
4	-1	0	0	-1
5	0	-2	0	-2
6	0	+1	0	+1
7	1	0	0	1
8	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0
13	-3	0	0	-3
14	0	-3	0	-3
15	0	0	0	0

Egypt Independent Coding January 2014

	Politics	Security	Culture	Overall
1	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0
7	0	-2	0	-2
8	0	0	0	0
9	0	-2	0	-2
10	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0
12	0	-1	0	-1
13	0	-2	0	-2
14	-3	0	0	-3
15	0	-2	0	-2

Coding For Reliability: Set I

	P [H]	S [H]	C [H]	O [H]	P [1]	S [1]	C [1]	O [1]	P [2]	S [2]	C [2]	O [2]
1	0	-2	0	-2	-2	-2	0	-4	-1	-2	0	-3
2	-2	0	0	-2	-1	-2	0	-3	-1	-1	0	-2
3	-1	-2	0	-3	-2	-2	0	-4	-1	0	0	-1
4	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-1	1	0	0	1
5	-1	0	0	-1	-1	0	0	-1	-2	0	0	-2
6	-1	0	0	-1	1	0	2	3	0	0	3	3
7	+1	+1	0	+2	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	2
8	0	-1	0	-1	0	-1	0	-1	0	-1	0	-1
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	2
11	-2	0	0	-2	-3	-3	0	-6	-1	-3	0	-4
12	1	0	0	1	2	0	3	5	1	0	3	4
13	-2	0	0	-2	-2	0	0	-2	0	0	-2	-2
14	-2	0	0	-2	-1	0	0	-1	-1	0	0	-1
15	0	0	-1	-1	-1	0	-2	-3	-3	0	0	-3
16	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-1	-2	0	0	-2
17	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	-3	0	-1	-4
18	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
19	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	0	1	4
20	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1

* Where P= political scores, S= security scores, C= cultural scores and O= overall scores. My scores are identified with "[H]" while "[1]" and "[2]" represent the scores determined by my additional coders.

Coding For Reliability: Set II

	P [H]	S [H]	C [H]	O [H]	P [S]	S [S]	C [S]	O [S]
1	-2	-2	0	-4	-2	0	0	-2
2	+1	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0
3	+1	0	0	+1	+1	0	0	+1
4	+1	0	0	+1	-1	0	0	-1
5	-2	-1	0	-3	-2	0	0	-2
6	-1	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0
7	0	-1	0	-1	-1	-1	0	-2
8	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	2
9	0	-2	0	-2	-1	0	0	-1
10	-2	0	0	-2	-1	0	-1	-2
11	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	2
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	1	0	2	3	1	0	1	2
14	2	1	1	4	1	2	2	5
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	-2	0	-2	-1	-1	0	-2
17	0	+1	0	+1	0	0	0	0
18	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-1
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	-1	-3	0	-4

* This is the second round of sample coding, completed only Coder 1.

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