Expounding the Evolution of the Proto-Femme Fatale and its Correlation with the New Woman; a Study of David Mamet's Oleanna

شرح تطور نموذج شخصية المرأة اللعوب وعلاقتها بمفهوم المرأة الجديدة: دراسة لمسرحية ديفيد ماميت بعنوان أوليانا

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Abstract

The "femme fatale" figure has become synonymous with the mysterious and seductive woman whose charms captivate her lovers in desire, often leading them into compromise or downfall. Originally, a femme fatale typically uses her beauty to lead men to their destruction but in modern literature, she represents a direct attack on traditional womanhood and the nuclear family as she refuses to abide by the conventions of mainstream society creating an image of a strong independent woman who defies the control of men and rejects the institution of the family. This research aims at discussing the differences and similarities between the "femme fatale" and the "new woman". There is often confusion between the characteristics that define a new woman and a femme fatale since both women desire independence, challenge typical gender role casting, push against the limits of the patriarchal society and take control of their sexuality. The study of the femme fatale remains appealing in modern times because the fear of gender equality gives life to modern femme fatale versions while post-modern literary works introduce their readers to new versions of the deadly seductress who does not fully depend on her looks to destroy men. The idea behind writing this paper was born from reading David Mamet's two-character play Oleanna (1992) and tracing the main female protagonist/antagonist's transformation from a helpless inarticulate girl into a powerful controlling negotiator who knows how to lead a bargain and maintains the upper hand.

ملخص

أصبحت شخصية "المرأة اللعوب" تترادف مع المرأة الجذابة الغامضة والتي يأسر سحرها من ينجذبون إليها فتدفعهم إلى اشتهائها مما يذلهم أو يقودهم إلى الهاوية في سعيهم للفوز بها. وفي الأصل، فإن المرأة اللعوب تستغل جمالها لتقود الرجال لنهاية مريرة، إلا أن شخصيتها في الأدب الحديث صارت تمثّل هجومًا مباشرًا على مفهوم المرأة التقليدية وما تمثّله الأسرة باعتبارها إحدى ركائز المجتمع، حيث تهدم المرأة اللعوب أعمدة المجتمع التقليدي، فتخلق بذلك صورة المرأة القوية المستقلة الثائرة على سيطرة الرجل والرافضة لسجن الأسرة باعتبارها مؤسسة مجتمعية. ويهدف هذا البحث إلى مناقشة أوجه الفرق والشبه بين "المرأة اللعوب" و "المرأة الجديدة" لأنه غالبًا ما تلتبس السمات التي تميز المرأة الجديدة بتلك التي تميز المرأة اللعوب نظرًا لأن كلتيهما تسعيان وراء الاستقلال، وتتحدّيان الأدوار التقليدية المفروضة على كل من الجنسين، وتحطمان قيود المجتمع الذكوري بل تمسك كل منهما بزمام جنسها ورغباتها. فتظل دراسة شخصية المرأة اللعوب منشودة في عصرنا الحديث حيث لا يزال الرعب من المساواة بين الجنسين يبعث الحياة في المزيد والمزيد من الشخصيات المتنوعة التي تظهر في أثوابها المرأة اللعوب في الأعمال الأدبية الحديثة وكذلك في أدب ما بعد الحداثة، والتي يطّلع من خلالها القراء على أوجه جديدة تتلون بها تلك الفاتنة الخطيرة؛ تلك الفاتنة التي لا تعتمد فقط على جمالها لتدمر الرجال الذين يقعون في شباكها. ونشأت فكرة كتابة هذا البحث من قراءة مسرحية ديفيد ماميت بعنوان أوليانا (١٩٩٢) والتي تدور حول شخصيتين، والرغبة في بحث التحول الكبير الذي وقع لبطلة المسرحية إذ تحولت من فتاة ضعيفة مغلوبة على أمرها تخونها الكلمات ولا تقوى على التعبير عن نفسها إلى خصم لدود قادرة على التفاوض بقوة وطلاقة والإمساك بزمام الأمور لدرجة تمكنها من المساومة بل والمحافظة على يدها العليا في المساومة والتفاوض.

1. The Femme Fatale; Origin and Evolution

1.1 Introduction to the original femme fatale

The femme fatale is a French translation of the fatal woman. As a term, it implies certain characteristics of a female character that combines wit with beauty. She has often been described as deadly, seductive, independent and irresistible. Such characteristics hold negative connotations; which explains the reason she was considered the antagonist in literary texts. The idea of the femme fatale is as old as Eve except that she has only become a recognizable type in the late nineteenth century. Examples have often included Eve, Judith, Delilah, Salome, Helen of Troy, Circe, Cleopatra and others (Hanson and O'Rawe 2). The term itself first emerged after the release of a silent film that carries the name "Femme Fatale" in 1912 (MacArthur 2).

The "femme fatale" has become synonymous with the mysterious woman whose charms captivate her lovers leading them to downfall. One of her main characteristics is her desire to be in complete control of her future. She rejects male dominance and marital duties as she aspires for a life of complete independence (MacArthur 1). She is an archetypal woman who uses her charm and sexual powers to seduce her lovers and complete her victory. She intentionally uses her beauty to lead men to their destruction; she possesses "equal parts of beauty, cunning and malice" (Maxfield1). In David Mamet's play Oleanna (1992) discussed in this paper, Carol represents a direct attack on traditional womanhood. She refuses to abide by the society mainstream creating an image of a strong independent woman who defies the control of men. She is often portrayed as void of emotion (Binias 38). She is a stereotype of a dangerous female who refuses being possessed by anyone (MacArthur 9-10). In this two-character play that takes place between a male professor and his female student, power struggle is displayed. MacArthur explains:

> The femme fatale is the personification of how women can gain a certain level of equality within a male dominated society … The femme fatale threatens …the hero because she controls her own sexuality outside of marriage. She uses sex for pleasure and as a weapon or a tool to control men, not merely in the culturally acceptable capacity of procreation within marriage (9).

The femme fatale is one of the oldest themes of art, literature, mythology and religion. She is as old as Eve in ancient history but modern as comic books and dime novels (Place 47).

1.2 Eve the proto-femme fatale

In her essay "The Mother of All Femmes Fatales: Eve as Temptress in Genesis 3", Karen L. Edwards mentions that the story of the fall regularly portrays Eve as the typical femme fatale. She tempts Adam to participate in a divinely forbidden act in order to gain illicit knowledge luring him to his death: along with the rest of mankind (35). Eve is not only depicted in biblical accounts as a mother and wife but also as the woman who introduced the Original Sin into the world (Barnes-Smith 15). In Genesis, the tale of Eve and the snake is recountedi.

There have been many retellings of the biblical fall of man, but perhaps the most famous one is found in Milton's Paradise Lost. Milton's Eve as seen in Book IX feels the need to find a way to equality so she muses over whether or not to share with Adam her newly found knowledge. Hence, Adam eats the fruit after Eve tells him how deliciously harmless it is "against his better knowledge, not deceived, / But fondly overcome with female charm" (Milton 998-9). For a while, the couple rejoices, but later they start blaming each other. Adam tells Eve "Thus it shall befall / Him who, to worth in women overtrusting" (1182-1183). Eve is considered a proto-femme fatale (Barnes-Smith 17) because the underlying key fact of a femme fatale is that she is never exactly what she seems to be. There is a threat which is not legible, manageable, or predictable (Doane 1).

1.3 The femme fatale in Greek mythology

The concept of the femme fatale is rooted in the works of artists, poets and critics. Fiction and mythology introduced both types of women; "the damsel in distress" and the "femme fatale". Greek mythology introduces Andromeda the mortal damsel that needs to be saved by a male figure as well as Pandora, Circe and the Sirens as the ultimate femme fatales responsible for the fall of men. According to MacArthur "these women had to be punished and women needed to be kept down in order to maintain stability or else heroes could never succeed and the world would be in chaos" (11). Thus, the fate of a woman is to live out the stories which her cultural schema encodes either as a fatal temptress or a domesticated wife (Pollock 30).

For example, Odysseus insists on sailing across the island of the Sirens, yet resists their song. He binds himself to the mast in order to control himself and not get seduced by their voices. His men, who row the ship past the islands, have their ears closed so that they never hear, or be tempted by, the song. On the advice of Circe, Odysseus had his sailors plug their ears with beeswax. He ordered his men to leave him tied tightly to the mast, no matter how much he would beg (Odyssey XII, 39). Odysseus alone hears their seductive song promising him to be wiser. He begs to be released, but his faithful men only bind him tighter. Some post-Homeric authors state that the Sirens were fated to die if someone heard their singing and escaped them, and that after Odysseus passed by, they flung themselves into the water and perished (March 446).

1.4 Cleopatra

When one thinks of femme fatales in history, Cleopatra comes to mind. The Egyptian Greek queen still fascinates historians and biographers. Through her character, charm, mystery and beauty, she was able to marry two important leaders of her

time, split the Roman Empire into two, cause Anthony to lose his throne and eventually lost hers. She posed a threat because she aroused fear in the hearts of men. Plutarch mentions that besides her beauty, she possessed other traits that made her irresistible:

> And besides her beautie, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her words and dedes, was a spurre that pricked her to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were marvelous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of musicke to diverse sports and pastimes, the which she easily turned to any language that pleased her (125).

Cleopatra spoke seven languages. She was skilled at "financial acumen" (Grant 38), "alchemy" (40) as well as "philosophy, literature and the visual arts" (181) except that all these aspects of her character were ignored. Hamouda suggests that she was regarded as a symbol of destructive sensuality by male Western writers throughout history because she was both from the East (according to Western writers, being a foreigner added to her peculiarity) and a woman. She writes:

> Cleopatra is thus not the stereotype of the seductress who merely entices through feminine wiles and voluptuousness, but a person who can compete equally with men on their ground of erudition and achievements. It was in *this* multiplicity of her character that her "infinite variety" lay (128-9).

There are many examples of femme fatales throughout history. In general, they were women who posed threat on men due to their charm and wit. They were different from the image imposed on women by male writers and historians. For some, they depicted the dangerous seductresses but for others, they were versions of strong independent women who refused to abide by the patriarchal social norms and preferred to stand on solid ground and have equal rights with men.

1.5 The evolution of femme fatale in art

> Literary critics and writers have traced the history of the femme fatale. In her book The Femme Fatale: Erotic Icon, Virginia Allen notes the progression of women in art. She discusses how Salome, the biblical

daughter of Herodias who danced for the Jewish leader Herod in order to win the head of John the Baptist is depicted in three separate paintings throughout time as a very different woman (10-11).

Allen explains that the first painting of Salome with the Head of John the Baptist was by Baroque painter Guido Reni. In this painting, she is depicted as young and modest. She does not even hold up the head, rather it is presented to her on a platter, held up by a serving boy. In a later painting by French Symbolist painter Gustave Moreau called "The Apparition", Salome is completely naked but the details of her genitals are not clearly illustrated. She stands victoriously and points proudly to the head of John the Baptist hanging on the wall and shining brightly. In the final example of Salome's transition through artistic history is her portrayal in Aubrey Beardsley' J'ai Baisé Ta Bouche, Iokanaan ("I have Kissed your Mouth, Iokanaan") who painted it for Oscar Wilde's play Salome. In this painting, Salome is a non-erotic femme fatale. She is bending angrily. She is portrayed holding the bleeding head of John the Baptist and is about to kiss it (28).

Salome evolved by time through art, but Oscar Wilde recreated the figure of Salome in his play Salome and "gave [her] what she had heretofore lacked: a personality, a psychology of her own" (28). In the last portrait, Salome is no longer the erotic woman who obtains the necessary charm to captivate men but a person with a personality, motifs and a considerable amount of wit.

The following section discusses the differences and similarities between the femme fatale and the new woman and how they are perceived by the audience. It discusses the literary tradition of portraying women using two different archetypes; the angel and the monster.

2. New Woman or Femme Fatale

2.1 Angel or monster

Writers Sandra Gilbert and Suzan Gubar refer to the male author's use of the female as a muse who embodies either the extreme image of angel or monster (17). The angel is the perfect woman and the male's ideal of virginity. She is characterized by purity, innocence and motherhood like the Virgin Mary for example. On the other hand, an opposing stereotype is that of a monster. Any female refusal or inability to conform to the angelic pure domestic image of a woman is seen as a rebellion. Both Gilbert and Gubar claim in their book that this image is propagated as a result of male authors' fear of women's autonomy. The archetype of the monster gives male figures the right to call their sources of fear names like bitch, witch …etc. Just as Eve the monstrous proto-femme fatale brought sin to the world through her deceit, Virgin Mary the typical angelic virgin is expected to save the world from the Original sin through giving birth to her son; the Savior (Sroka 1-2).

2.2 The new woman pushes against the limits

The femme fatale shares certain characteristics represented by the new woman movement of the 1920s in the United States (MacArthur 2). It was a societal movement that started in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The movement sought the emancipation of women by portraying them as more than sex beings only useful for procreation and taking care of the home. By the turn of the nineteenth century, feminists wanted to be able to have the same rights as men in respect to their behavior, and in terms of exploring their own sexuality. "The New Woman" term was coined to encompass the women who pushed against the limits that had been set by the male dominated society. The rise of the number of women in the workforce prompted both men and women to re-examine the role of women in society.

Gender was a dominant theme in the first quarter of the twentieth century and most dramatists responded to its presence (Newlin 1). "Unlike sex, which is a biological concept, gender is a social construct specifying the socially and culturally prescribed roles that men and women are to follow" (Ghisoiu 70). While most nineteenth-century women's lives tended to revolve around their domestic chores, modern women ventured into jobs, politics and life outside the domestic realm (MacArthur 4). Technological advancements and the increased demand for workers during the First World War required that women ventured into the work place in order to replace men. At the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, plays emerged touching on the theme of the new woman trying to maintain her independence while still trying to express love for a man without compromising who she is (5). Plays like The New Woman (1894) by Sydney Grundy, The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith (1895) by Arthur Wing Pinero, A Doll's House (1897) by Henrik Ibsen, Votes for Women (1909) by Elizabeth Robins show that they were not always successful and had to choose one over the other. Women were able to

> highlight the double standard that lies between the old and new concepts of womanhood and attitudes towards marriage and family. The new woman sold the idea of "you can have it all", but the reality was that something (either independence or desire for family) would be sacrificed (MacArthur 5).

Alexandra Kollantai - in her essay "The New Woman" from The New Morality and the Working Class - describes the transformation of women. According to her, a woman gradually changes "from the object of tragedy of the male soul into the subject of an independent tragedy" (qtd. in Rotkirch 139). Kollantai explains that the new woman is single because she is professionally and emotionally independent, no longer defined through her relation to man. Single women are new types of heroines who are independent inwardly and self-reliant outwardly (qtd. in Rotkirch 140).

The new woman is defined by three main characteristics; first, she is no longer defined solely by her feelings, second, she makes high demands on her partner, and third, she expects him to respect her freedom and her workii. She also takes pride in her sexuality and is sexually active (Rotkirch 140). The development of these traits comes from the rejection of the characteristics of idealized womanhood, which are presented to the woman from a very young age through watching her mother (MacArthur 7). The new woman rejects a man who tries to control her or tries to make her feel inferior in any way. Although men may love her, the way this love is expressed by the male influences her response (7).

2.3 Categorizing female characters

There is often confusion between the characteristics that define a new woman and a femme fatale since both female characters share similarities. Both women desire independence, both challenge typical and defined gender roles in society, both push against the limits of the male dominated society and both take control of their sexuality. They represent the positive and negative image of the same model (MacArthur 8). Whereas a new woman generally serves as the protagonist of a literary piece, a femme fatale serves as the villain or antagonist.

This is a prominent distinction because the femme fatale is usually destroyed at the end of melodramatic literary texts as a sort of punishment without becoming a martyr. In the case of the new woman; the protagonist stands for herself, defends her rights and the character is regarded successful and victorious at the end of the play. In fact, the line between a new woman and a femme fatale is fine and blurred (8). It is up to the male writer to decide whether the character can be considered an avant-garde new woman or a proto- femme fatale.

The most essential element - of feminist analysis of female characters - seems to still focus on men since both women challenge "men". Their refusal to be narrowly defined as mothers or wives is a blow against the male desire for control. Both women are unpredictable with an attractive quality of mystery. They have different goals in every fictional work of art. "If the female character succeeds- then it is a comedy about the new woman and if she fails in her mission, the piece is usually considered a tragedy and she is considered a femme fatale"(16) says MacArthur. After all, "the femme fatale is not a symbol of feminism but rather a symptom of male fears about feminism" (Doane 3). In the end, it is men who are destructive to themselves (MacArthur 15).The struggle for victory defines whether the woman will be categorized as a femme fatale or will receive a more decent label as the new woman.

3. Carol the contemporary femme fatale/new woman in David Mamet's Oleanna

3.1 Gender schema theory

Gender schema theory focuses on how individuals come to understand gender differences. It is based on the premise that humans develop cognitive schemas, which are organizing systems that store information about particular objects or concepts. Howard and Hollander explain their theory in their book Gendered Situations, Gendered Selves: A Gender Lens in the Social Psychology (1997) in detail:

> Through schemas, people simplify reality, interpreting specific instances in light of a general category. Schemas are vital for processing information. Schemas influence what information we attend to and what information we do not "see" in social situations (71).

According to the schema theory, the ability to create schemas helped people to process information and make judgments which confirm existing schemas. Hence, "individuals

perpetuated both individual and societal expectations about others" (72) because schemas organized a vast amount of information, they are rigid and "highly resistant to change" (72). The schema theory explains gender role development since individuals live in a sex-typed world.

3.2 Mamet's power struggle in Oleanna[iii]

Contemporary American playwright and author David Alan Mamet won a Pulitzer Prize and received Tony nominations for two of his screenplays: Glengarry Glen Ross (1984) and Speed-the-Plow (1988). His play Oleanna (1992) is set on an unidentified college campus in the late 1980s or the early 1990s. The play is Mamet's exploration of the power struggle between John, the male college professor, and Carol, his female student. The only two characters in the play represent the power struggle between men and women.

At the beginning of the play, Carol is portrayed as a weak submissive student who constantly describes herself as stupid in front of authoritative bragging John. He does all the talking while she listens to him attentively taking notes seeking his help. Later, the tables are turned when Carol bravely admits that she has filed a complaint of sexual harassment against him with the Tenure Committee. In contrast to the first act where she is inarticulate, Carol becomes more self-confident and more able to articulate how she feels and what she thinks. John becomes more helpless in front of her wit and power as he realizes he can lose his reputation, job, house and family prospects. In the final act, the intellectual civilized teacher loses control over his temper and attempts to beat his student as he feels intimidated by the criminal charge she files against him of attempted rape.

In Act I of the play, Carol is in John's office to plead her case about her grade. She is failing his course, and she is there to get help in understanding the course material. John is about to be

granted tenure, and so he is purchasing a home on the prospect of having a long career with the university. His wife never makes an appearance on stage. She is only heard of through the numerous phone calls with her husband. John repeatedly interrupts Carol and his wife on the phone and finishes their sentences or changes the topic of conversation. John, obviously, "likes" Carol because he offers to give her an A in his class if only she will come to his office a few more times for tutoring sessions (Mamet 25).

In Act II, John discovers that Carol has filed a complaint of sexual harassment against him with the Tenure Committee. The Tenure Committee has called a special meeting to investigate the charges. In his frustration, John tries to physically restrain Carol in his office so she will continue to talk to him. Carol begins screaming for help, manages to break free, and runs from his office (Mamet 57).

In Act III, John is condemned for improper behavior by the Tenure Committee, he is in danger of being terminated by the University, and he has spent two nights thinking through how his life has changed. Carol, who is now a member and spokesperson for a group of activists, refuses to change her mind. John finds out, through a telephone call that Carol is planning to bring criminal charges of attempted rape against him for the behavior he demonstrated when he put his arms round her shoulder in his office. Holding the upper hand in the situation, Carol asks John to sign a list of demands including a list of books that her group wants banned from the campus because of their sexist themes. John's book is on the list, and he refuses to sign the document. John receives a final phone call from his wife, and during the phone call, he calls his wife "baby" (78). Carol comments loudly that the pet name is diminutive and sexist. In the closing moments of the play, John loses control and brutally beats Carol (79).

3.3 Behavioral characteristics

John and Carol begin by exhibiting traditional gender behavior characteristics that are soon reversed. John portrays a strong and an articulate persona at the beginning of the play but by the end, he exhibits a weaker and an inarticulate one. This same change is also applicable to Carol who moves from weak to strong in how she presents herself. The play neither includes references to the characters' appearance, nor their physical traits. Beauty and physical appeal are not the basis of attraction and repulsion in the play. Carol derives her power from her wit and not her looks.

> During the entire first act, John exhibits masculine behavior traits. He is objective, logical, direct, self-confident, and is non-emotional except for brief moments of anger. He has little patience with his wife. He implies she is not good at solving problems because during the opening telephone conversation, he insists she calls his friend Jerry to help solve the supposed problem with the purchase of the house ... draws his esteem from his position as a college professor … his classroom is his to control and to operate as he alone sees fit (Copenhaver 239).

John is cynical and his remarks regarding the tenure committee are more of statements that characterize how he looks at his position in the world (240).

> JOHN: They're garbage. They're a joke. Look at me. Look at me. The Tenure Committee. The Tenure Committee. Come to judge me. The Bad Tenure Committee. The "Test." Do you see? They put me to the test. Why, they had people voting on me I wouldn't employ to wax my car. And yet, I go before the Great Tenure Committee (Mamet 23).

John gets personal with Carol and begins to tell her something about his childhood. He tells her about memories of being told he was stupid which left him feeling unworthy. He offers to "take off the Artificial Stricture, of Teacher and Student" in order to help Carol understand the material (21). He suggests that her grade for the whole term is an "A", if only she

comes back and meets him a few more times in his office. She refuses but he insists because it is his class, and he can make the rules. Finally, in a domineering manner, he goes over and puts his arm around her shoulders. She quickly rejects the physical infringement that does not comply with the teacher-student relationship.

In contrast to John's excessive self-assurance, Carol is weak and in need for help. She mentions three times that she has been doing what she was told to do, but that she does not understand the course material or what John is talking about (36).

> CAROL: I don't understand. I don't understand what anything means…and I walk around. From morning 'til night: with this one thought in my head. I'm stupid (12).

Throughout the entire first act, she lacks self-esteem but Act II is considered a transitional act for both John and Carol. Earlier, Carol came to John seeking help, but in this act, John initiates the meeting with Carol. He tries to get Carol to withdraw her complaint from the tenure committee by pleading mercy to understand his role as a provider of his household.

His first appeal is based on maintaining a job that he loves. He says "You see, (pause) I love to teach. And flatter myself I am skilled at it. And I love the, the aspect of performance. I think I must confess that" (Mamet 43). His second appeal is to point out that the report could jeopardize his provider status with his family. He tells Carol, "Now, as you don't have your own family, at this point, you may not know what that means" (Mamet 44). John concludes this argument by informing Carol that if the tenure committee reverses its decision and does not grant him tenure then his future is in jeopardy. Carol remains unmoved and does not show any sign of sympathy or emotions. In a move that is traditionally feminine, he tries to express his feelings: "I was hurt. When I received the report. Of the tenure committee. I was shocked. And I was hurt" (45). Again, Carol is unmoved by his

display of emotions, and she says, "I don't care what you feel" (50). In a return to masculine behavior and as a last resort born out of frustration to control Carol, he tries to physically restrain her in his office, which prompts Carol to scream. Carol's way of expressing her mind freely and precisely has seen great transformation. Both her verbal and written expressions intimidate John who only receives one telephone call in Act II. The call is from his wife, and she is concerned about losing the house and the deposit that they made on it. When John realizes he cannot calm his wife as he did in Act I, he sends another man to help her, "Baby, baby, will you just call Jerry" (55). This telephone call is different from the Act I calls in that at the end of the call, after he hangs up the telephone, he turns to Carol and says, "I'm sorry we were interrupted" (55). John shows Carol more respect than he did in Act I.

Regarding behavioral pattern reverse, John is seen accusing Carol of having no feelings which is a total reverse of gender role casting. Carol shows immense power in addressing John pinpointing his insecurities. She faces him with the God-rights he gives himself taking the liberty to mock, grant, deny and even hug his students.

> CAROL: You feel yourself empowered … you say so yourself. To strut. To posture. To perform. To call me here … Eh? You say that Higher Education is a joke. And treat it as such, you treat it as such. And confess to a taste to play the Patriarch in your class. To grant this. To deny that. To embrace your students (51).

In Act III, she goes further by condemning and cursing him for his shameful attitude. She accuses him of thriving for unlimited power (66). Carol describes what John thinks about women like her believing they are frightened, repressed and confused (68). After John finds out about the charge of rape and about the list of demands that Carol's group wants signed, Carol achieves complete victory through dominance. She asks him if he hates her, his answer is yes. She states "because I have, you think,

power over you … (Pause) it is the power that you hate" (69). Finally, Carol is in the position to bargain with him. As John finds himself in the weaker position, he resorts to the only outlet that he has left as a man which is a parade of physical force.

3.4 Communicational patterns

In Act III, the transformation that started in Act II is complete. John has lost his verbal power while Carol has gained confidence, strength and a commanding speaking ability (Copenhaver 244). In Act I, John does almost all of the talking during his initial meeting with Carol. He speaks in long sentences. John's speech maintains his power and authority as a college professor who keeps interrupting her or completing her sentences. John uses gender exclusive language, for example, he refers to the child using the personal pronoun "he" while Carol keeps using the noun "child". In the following example, John is talking to a female college student while he continues to refer to a generic college student with a masculine pronoun.

> JOHN: Should all kids go to college? Why…
> CAROL (Pause): To learn.
> JOHN: But if he does not learn.
> CAROL: If the child does not learn?
> JOHN: Then why is he in college? Because he was told it was his "right" (Mamet 34)?

In Act II, John speaks less than in Act I. In this act, Carol is the one who interrupts John. In the following example, Carol does not hold back:

> JOHN: I would like to help you now. I would. Before this escalates.
> CAROL (simultaneously with "escalates"): You see. I don't think that I need your help. I don't think I need anything that you have.
> JOHN: I feel…
> CAROL: I don't care what you feel. Do you see? DO YOU SEE? You can't do that anymore (50).

In addition to interrupting John, Carol calls attention to his gender-biased speech. When he refers to the tenure committee as

"Good Men and True," Carol mentions that it is a demeaning sexist remark (50-51).

By Act III, the communication pattern transformation is complete. Now, John is the one who asks for an explanation of words or asks Carol to repeat that which he does not understand (Copenhaver 249). Carol shows that she does not only speak for herself but as a representative of a whole group of oppressed women. She says "The issue here is not what I feel. It is not my feelings, but the feelings of women" (Mamet 63). As Carol speaks and John listens, roles are reversed. She lectures while he needs explanations. She assures that it is not up to him anymore because she has "a say":

> CAROL: My charges are not trivial …To lay a hand on someone's shoulder.
> JOHN: It was devoid of sexual content.
> CAROL: I say it was not. I SAY IT WAS NOT. Don't you begin to see…? Don't you begin to understand? IT'S NOT FOR YOU TO SAY (70).

Senior lecturer Anne Dean described Mamet's theatre as being a theatre of language (Peberdy 78) since the characters' lines are not merely words that express particular ideas or emotions. In fact, "they are the ideas or emotions themselves" (78).

3.5 Carol between the femme fatale and the new woman

At the time of the play's premiere in 1992, and for several years afterward, the play was widely thought to be about sexual harassment (Murphy 124) but Mamet has repeatedly resisted this interpretation of the play, stating that it is not a play about sexual harassment and that it was mainly about power (Kane 125). The text never mentions any sexual contact between Carol and John, nor does the text suggest that John's ulterior motive was sexual in nature, but he does use the power of his position to bargain with Carol (Copenhaver 252).

The play is controversial in the way that for some, Carol is the mouthpiece of an oppressed group that stood for women's rights which makes her the ultimate new woman but for others she is a contemporary "femme-fatale" who uses her wit instead of her looks to destroy John by alleging sexual assault (Mufson 111). Carol sets John up with her charge of alleged rape destroying all his chances of maintaining a career or a family. Her charge against him shifted the sympathy away from her and moved it to John (Ryan 401). John is a patriarchal educator who has defects but not a rapist (Copenhaver 256). Since it is difficult to believe that Carol's attitude has changed overnight from a weak passive inarticulate girl to a powerful expressive situational seductress, it is acceptable to say that she was feigning the first behavior to trick John driving him to self-destruction. When asked in an interview about Oleanna, Mamet said:

> If you have got a play with two characters on stage and one is a man and one is a woman … they must be antagonists or else the play is no good … I don't take personally the side of one rather than the other. I think they are absolutely both wrong and they are absolutely both right … I think something is provocative because it is artistic (qtd. in Kane 144).

In fact, T C. Jung has argued that the female psyche contains a male component called the animus while the male psyche has a female component called the anima. For the individual to be psychologically healthy, he/she has to be androgynous, one in whom these traits are balanced (Valle and Kruger 382-3).

3.6 Conclusion

The study of the femme fatale theme remains appealing even in modern times since today one ceases to use such a term but the implications of "slut" or "bitch" that revolutionary new women often hear are the same. The fear of gender equality gives life to modern femme fatale versions (Barnes-Smith 22) and

more modern literary works written by male authors introduce their readers to new versions of the deadly seductress. Recently, twenty-first century women have often described themselves as "strong independent women" on social media in hope for achieving two characteristics that are often associated with men. They have hoped to achieve the balance between having a career, maintaining some social and financial freedom as well as starting a family and enjoying the company of a partner. Literature has reflected women's suffering often choosing one over the other proving that though women were able to take huge steps towards their emancipation except that they were never able to achieve complete freedom in their fight for their rights. On one hand, the new woman has won some rights but concurrently has lost others in return. She still lives in a judgmental patriarchal society that classifies and then labels her.

Endnotes

i   Now the serpent was craftier than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said to the woman, "Indeed, God said, 'You shall not eat from any tree of the garden?'" And the woman said to the serpent, "From the fruit of the trees of the garden we may eat; but from the fruit of the tree which is in the middle of the garden, God has said, 'You shall not eat from it or touch it, lest you die.'" And the serpent said to the woman, "You surely shall not die! "For God knows that in the day you eat from it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil." When the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was desirable to make one wise, she took from its fruit and ate; and she gave also to her husband with, and he ate (3:1-6).

ii   This can reflect the idea that even a married woman can adopt a "single" mindset if she thinks and travels independently from her male counterpart.

iii   David Mamet added the epigraph from a folk song he had sung at camp to the published version:

> Oh, to be in Oleanna,
> That's where I would rather be.
> Than be bound in Norway
> And drag the chains of slavery.

Oleanna was a nineteenth-century utopian community founded by the Norwegian violinist Ole Bull and his wife Anna: thus "Oleanna." This agricultural community failed because the land it had bought was rocky and infertile, and the settlers had to return to Norway (Murphy 124).

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June Jordan: A Third-Wave Feminist towards a Gendered-Democratic Poetics

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Abstract

The aim of the present study is threefold: to prove that the American poet June Jordan (1936-2002) is able to combine her social and political views along with her personal life to serve public causes such as political oppression, African-American identity, democracy in the US, and racial inequality; to reflect her feminist advocation of shared human rights and goals for a better society; and to underline her globalized notion of solidarity amongst the world's marginalized and oppressed in their search for democracy and freedom. The study is based on Nicky Marsh's Democracy in Contemporary US Women's Poetry (2007), its debate on third-wave feminism and democratic theory, and the complexities of being public in the US culture. The study proves that Jordan's poetry examines the discursive assumptions of democracy in the US, contributes to the democratic tradition of the US contemporary culture through the gender theory that considers citizenship and publicness as the main concepts of third-wave feminism, and suggests new democratic cultures by its variety of publics and feminist discourse. The study concludes that Jordan's feminist discourse focuses on the relation between the private, the political and the public and creates a strong public discourse capable of reforming the inequality deeply implanted in the contaminated formative discourses. As a third-wave feminist, Jordan is concerned with the conflict between a feminist and a democratic identity to form a new poetic language for being public. She adopts the gender theory that investigates the socio-political implications of democracy and exhibits the female identity as a societal construct. Jordan's poetry suggests new models of gendered democratic poetics and shows that social reality shapes the poet's identity through which reality is deconstructed and offered alternatives.

Key words: **Feminist discourse, Gendered-democratic poetics, Political activism, The political and the personal, The public and the private, Third-wave feminism**

جون جوردان : شاعرة الموجة النسوية الثالثة والشاعرية الجنسانية الديمقراطية
ملخص

ترتكز الدراسة الحالية على ثلاثة محاور أساسية، ألا وهى أولاً: إثبات أن الشاعرة الأمريكية جون جوردان (١٩٣٦-٢٠٠٢) تمتلك القدرة على الدمج بين آرائها الاجتماعية والسياسية وحياتها الخاصة لخدمة قضايا عامة مثل القهر السياسي، والهوية الأفريقية الأمريكية، والديمقراطية في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، والتمييز العنصري. وثانيًا: توضيح دعم جوردان النسوي لحقوق وأهداف الإنسان المشتركة نحو مجتمع أفضل. وثالثًا: إلقاء الضوء على مفهومها عن التضامن العالمي بين المهمشين والمقهورين في العالم أثناء بحثهم عن الديمقراطية والحرية.

وتستخدم الدراسة كتاب الكاتبة النسوية نيكي مارش "الديمقراطية في شعر الشاعرات الأمريكيات المعاصرات" (٢٠٠٧)، وما يشمله من تعريف بالموجة الثالثة النسوية والنظرية الديمقراطية وصعوبات التحول إلى الخطاب العام في الثقافة الأمريكية.

وتثبت الدراسة قيام جوردان بتحليل الافتراضات الخطابية حول الديمقراطية بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، وإسهامها في التقاليد الديمقراطية للثقافة المعاصرة للولايات المتحدة من خلال نظرية النوع التي تعتبر المواطنة والعمومية بمثابة المفهومين الرئيسيين في الموجة الثالثة النسوية، وطرحها لثقافات ديمقراطية جديدة من خلال التنوع في الآراء العامة والخطاب النسوي. وتخلص الدراسة إلى أن الخطاب النسوي لجوردان يركز على العلاقة بين الخاص والسياسي والعام ويطور خطابًا عامًا قويًا يستطيع إصلاح اللامساواة المترسخة في وسائل الخطاب الشكلية الملوثة.

ولكونها شاعرة تندرج تحت مظلة الموجة الثالثة النسوية ، تهتم جوردان بالصراع بين المرأة والهوية الديمقراطية لصياغة لغة شعرية جديدة لمعالجة القضايا العامة. وتتبنى جوردان نظرية النوع التي تبحث في مضامين الديمقراطية الاجتماعية والسياسية وتوضح الهوية النسوية ككيان مجتمعي.

كما يقدم شعر جوردان أيضًا نماذجًا جديدة للشاعرية الديمقراطية ويبين كيفية تشكيل الواقع الاجتماعي لهوية الشاعر وتفككه من خلال تلك الهوية لطرح بدائل جديدة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الخطاب النسوي – الشاعرية الجنسانية الديمقراطية – النشاط السياسي – السياسي والخاص – العام والخاص – الموجة الثالثة النسوية

1. Introduction

1.1 Significance of the Study

The American poet, June Jordan (1936-2002) was a poet, playwright, essayist, and professor of English at the University of California, Berkeley. Jordan has earned critical praise and popular recognition for her exceptional literary skill and her strong social and political insights. She is one of the widely-published and highly-acclaimed African-American writers in history. Jordan believes that the role of the poet in society is to earn the trust of his/her audience and to be as honest and as careful as he/she possibly can.

This paper attempts to show Jordan's revolutionary spirit through her social commitment and conscientious activism, which are evident in her poems, and to prove that she is able to combine her social and political works and views with her personal life to serve public causes. In addition, the paper explains that Jordan uses conversational, often vernacular English, to address topics on family, political oppression, African-American identity and racial inequality. Her poetry highlights the African-American personal struggles of everyday life and the political oppression that this race is subjected to in a satirical style, which reflects the poet's bitterness and rage. Jordan uses Black English and irony to reflect a culture that is violent, anti-black, and anti-feminist. Her images combine different emotions and voices that reflect her wide-ranging aesthetic and human concerns. Jordan's poetry reflects her feminist advocacy of human rights. Through her influential feminist vision, Jordan creates an "antiracist, antihomophobic US feminism" in an aesthetic form that is thematically "comprehensive, humane, and charged with conviction" ("June Jordan" 237).

Jordan addresses shared human goals in search for a better society. Her poetry tackles issues related to identity and the recreation of the private/personal. It is associated with politics and foregrounds "a radical, globalized notion of solidarity amongst the world's marginalized and oppressed" (Phillips). She belongs to the "second renaissance" of African-American arts in the 1960s and 1970s, as she is one of the initiators of the "cultural revival and the rise of the black consciousness in the 1960s" ("June Jordan" 236). Jordan bridges the gap between local and international issues, fights for humanity at large, opposes injustice that is rampant in the whole world, and calls for freedom for all the oppressed minorities. She draws attention to the "emotional, physical and political spaces required for the survival of marginalized peoples everywhere" (Kinloch 163-64). This is manifested in her commitment to the people in the US, Nicaragua, Lebanon, South Africa, Bosnia, Palestine, etc. This commitment enables her to discover the multicultural and multiracial identities as well as feminist politics, third-world activism, and power movements. Consequently, her dedication to freedom and to humanity at large has a provocative and strengthening effect on civil rights movements and the lives of disenfranchised women, children, and men. Jordan also plays a significant role in some of the major African-American political movements calling for the rights of women and for a democratic society.

The significance of studying Jordan's poetry is thus threefold. Firstly, her poetry examines the discursive assumptions or the discursive representation of democracy in the US culture. Secondly, it contributes to the democratic tradition in the US contemporary culture through the gender theory, which argues that citizenship and publicness are the main concepts of third-wave feminism. Thirdly, it suggests new kinds of democratic cultures by means of its variety of publics and its feminist discourse, which renews the possibilities of the democratic contract.

1.2 Democracy in the US and Third-Wave Feminism Alternatives

This paper analyzes Jordan's contribution to the democratic tradition in the US contemporary culture through the recent gender theory, which argues about citizenship and publicness as the main concepts of third-wave feminism, in an attempt to reveal that her poetry suggests new kinds of democratic cultures by means of its variety of publics. In 2003, poetry emerged as a new sphere that investigated "national democratic culture" (Marsh 1). Advocating democracy in the US is twofold: it is characterized by unequal mechanisms, on the one hand, and the ideological, "semiotic relations of representation" (4), on the other. In this regard, Jordan attempts to question the US democratic culture by investigating its discursive assumptions or representation in the American culture.

Theories of US democracy adopt two perspectives: A laissez-faire liberalism, which advocates that liberty mean noninterference or any compulsion by force, and the republican tradition that reinforces political participation and active civic identity. Theorists of both sides, the Left (Liberals) and the Right (Republicans), strive to rescue the concept of democracy from the control of "institutional individualism" and to enhance the concept of the "democratic public sphere" (March 4). The Leftist attempts are divided between the public "rational deliberative models" and the more "radical agonal models" (4). Such attempts, with reference to critic Seyla Benhabib (1950-   ), call for the active participation of collective identities. The Right side or conservative thinkers, with reference to the political theorist, Chantal Mouffe (1943-   ), assume that the tension between equality and liberty provides the indefiniteness or indeterminacy that is essential for democracy. They believe that democracy threatens the religious power relations and fosters the concept of

multiculturalism. Thus, it can be assumed that the Right (Republicans) adopts a more rational perspective of democracy.

All attempts to define modern democracy are as cultural as they are political. Ken Hirschkop argues that modern democracy, advocated by the Leftist perspective, is not only the outcome of the totality of power relations, but also of the intersubjective linguistic patterns that frame it (37). Thus, democracy is a discursive construct despite the existence of the freedom of speech. The intersubjective relations of US exceptionalism, aiming at constituting collective identities, can be traced in the poetry of various American poets, such as Walt Whitman, Robert Frost, George Oppen, William Carlos Williams and Robert Pinksy. Pinksy underlines the anti-poetic nature of US democracy as well as the intersubjectivity of poetry that represents democracy's fragile social contract – that is the presence or absence of an auditor. Therefore, such terms used in debates on democracy as "individual and collective, public and private, unity and difference, security and contingency" (Marsh 5) are essential in American poetry and specifically in the poetry of Jordan.

Gender is an integral part of the discussions about democracy since the dynamics of sexual politics obviously influence US democracy's nationalist discourses and women's relationship to the division between the public and the private that plays an exasperating role in the discourses of democracy. The Liberal and the Republican democratic traditions have opposite viewpoints; whereas the Liberals find freedom in the private, the Republicans find it in the public. The second-wave feminism deconstructs the political activities of liberalism in drawing a line between the public and the private. Feminist critics paid attention to the "masculinist content of the republican civic identity" (Marsh 5) or, in other words, the republican public masculine authority. Feminist theorist, Drucilla Cornell (1950-   ), indicates that whatever is referred to as feminine is banned from the public

sphere, which highlights how the feminine has thus become the guarding angel of discourses of US democracy (218). In this regard, theorists foreground the feminist discourse as significantly fundamental to renew the possibilities of the democratic contract as the issue of democracy can perfectly be examined through feminism. Feminist thinkers mainly focus on the relations between the private, the political, and the public and withdraw from the political and cultural processes of the masculine society to fall in the formalism of the feminist literary community.

Third-wave feminism has emerged as a social movement that has overhauled the late twentieth century with its emphasis on democratic cultures. It explores the problematic shift from feminism to democracy, taking into consideration both the rejection of the politics of resentment and the debates about "power" and "victim" feminism (Marsh 6). Most female poets, including Jordan, are concerned with the conflict between a feminist and a democratic identity in an endeavour to form a new poetic language for being public. This underlines how the gender theory examines the socio-political implications behind democracy, which foregrounds feminist identity as a societal construct.

Debates in democratic theory and third-wave feminism help investigate the way contemporary women poets negotiate the complexities of being public and how they are engaged with the heterogeneous social forms of poetry in addition to their suggested new possibilities for public culture. Although women poets examine the complex relationship between the private and the public as normative conventions of US democracy, "their writing and its cultural structures" attempt to find out alternatives for them (Marsh 10). Jordan, for example, recasts some of the established narratives for feminist poetics in her search for freedom.

Unlike second-wave feminism, third-wave feminist movement is a radical anti-foundationalism that aims at deconstructing all the terms and aims of the second-wave feminism and constructing new meanings essential for the desires and strategies of third-wave feminists. Literature can mold new political possibilities for gender relations by making women of different backgrounds share a sense of communality/community and have the same identity at a time when difference dominates in contemporary feminism. In light of this, the following sections discuss Jordan as a third-wave, anti-foundationalist feminist.

Women poets have significantly contributed to modernist and late modernist experimental traditions, which resulted in particularly different and "increasingly expansive" literary-political vocabulary insofar as the visual, the aural, the cross-media and performed poem have become clearer ever since (Marsh 15). Debates also rose on the private, the political and the public and their new meaning as the "literalism of identiterian critiques" has been abandoned and the "constitutive rather than the descriptive role of discourse" has become partially accepted (15). Feminist critics have given more energy to the democratic public subject in the post-feminist future overcoming existing divisions within feminism.

It has become evident that one of the basic tasks of third-wave feminism is to create a strong public discourse capable of finding a remedy and reforming the inequality deeply implanted in the contaminated formative discourses.

1.3 Jordan's Gendered-Democratic Poetic Space

This part sheds light on Jordan's complementary critiques of the narrative of US democratic culture as well as examines her complex modeling of a literary counter-public. It also highlights Jordan's attempts to create new forms of a democratic public to demolish the political theorist Wendy Brown's (1955-   ) concept

of the "plastic cage" of institutionalized discourse and the impossible goal of freedom, and reflects Jordan's anti-foundationalism in suggesting new models of a gendered democratic space. Jordan's poetry investigates the "discontinuities between the varied spaces of the public available to the African-American woman poet and gestures towards the possibility of alternatives" (Kinloch and Grebowicz 16). Thus, her poems offer a reinterpretation of the radical anti-foundationalist critiques and multiculturalism liberal notions leading to the emergence of third-wave feminism.

Contemporary poet Kathleen Fraser (1935-   ) mentions that poets of the second-wave feminist movement were attached to various post Second World War poetic movements, which highlights how their discourse served the status quo. She argues that the second-wave feminist movement did not trigger women's full self-expressions against oppression and marginalization neither in the poetic language they used nor in their artistic style. However, women's poetry that emerged in the late 1970s and continued throughout the 1980s shows that women poets were able to overcome the "double-bind" of aesthetic and social exclusion (31). This approach gives privilege to the female writing, like Jordan's, striving to overcome the inequalities legitimized by the separation between the public and the private. There were no longer any distinctions between the public and the private and the vocabulary has become neither static nor identitarian. However, the literary vocabulary used to represent the self was limited to forge an elusive unity of the public and private. Poets also tried to fight against the divided voice and to consolidate the tension between the "personal 'real' self" and the "strong poetic 'fantasy' self" that the androcentric literary culture insisted upon for the woman writer (Ostriker 80).

Jordan's poetry has no determinate meaning towards the public though she tries to reformulate its boundaries in her attempt

to create her own alternative model for a gendered-democratic poetics. Jordan's model questions the limits of its discursive grounding and does not accept identity or the personal private as a basis for politics and remains completely focused on the social realities. When Jordan refers to the failed promises of US democracy, she turns to the largely disenfranchised global community characterized by inequality and exclusion. She realizes that identity cannot be a sufficient basis for politics. Jordan attempts to achieve an alternative by choosing the words that can show the difference between the common identities through which social and political realities are examined. Such individual identity, which would offer alternative realities in terms of language and thought, is deemed an endeavour to create an ethical language for individuality. It becomes evident in Jordan's poetry that social reality shapes the poet's identity and it is through this identity that reality is deconstructed and offered alternatives.

Jordan struggles for freedom though she knows that its institutionalized assumptions are inevitable for its realization, taking into consideration identity and power. Such knowledge on Jordan's part questions the "relations between democracy, gender, and poetics that strives for a literary counter-public whose efficacy derives from its incorporation, rather than its exclusion, of difference, of the economic, of the irrational" (Marsh 35). It is ultimately important to note that this attention to the public sphere's broad implications matches the theory of feminist democracy, illustrated by Fraser, which suggests one kind of possibility of a democratic model of feminist poetics (35-36). Thus, it becomes clear that with Jordan a gendered democratic poetic space is taking place.

1.4 Fake Democratic Existence and Racial and Sexual Discrimination

1.4.1 Building black identity and cultural nationalism

Jordan urges the blacks to establish a common culture by studying Black English and calls on the whites to give up on the idea that the Negro is the construct of racist white America. She encourages silent minorities to get together and "transform a 'tree' that has never really been planted or a movement that has not been fully actualized, into a discourse on a rhetoric of rights for disenfranchised people" (Kinloch 73). In her 1964 essay, "Letter to Michael," Jordan described the 1964 Harlem Riots to her husband and spoke of the police violence that shocked the black community, forcing it to realize that it is a minority. She criticized the police absurdities and violence that made the African-American community acknowledge that their suffering is real and provoked them to end their silence and protest against the immorality of their victimizers. Jordan employs a personal letter to serve a public purpose. She advocates the idea of an individual voice speaking from an African-American perspective rather than speaking on behalf of all African Americans.

In her essay, "Nobody Mean More to Me" (1988), Jordan declares that having the black people living in the American society resembles living in a house where every mirror reflects the face of someone who does not belong there and the way he/she walks or talks seems wrong. A reason for this is that the house, or America, shelters people who are hostile to black people. She writes that one becomes mature in a social body that does not tolerate his/her attempt to be different and forces him/her to become "clones of those who are neither our mothers nor our fathers" (160). She adds that the term Black English is not a linguistic threat, but rather it refers to a community of blacks that is marginalized from the social and political spheres

of the American society, thus, its culture, language and everything else that signals its difference and intelligence are becoming extinct.

In addition, Jordan embodies the ideals and principles of the Black Arts Movement. The black artists who supported the black cultural traditions and artistic innovations in the black community include Poet-critics Amiri Baraka, Ed Bullins, Harold Cruse, Nikki Giovanni, Ron Karenga, Askia Muhammad, Larry Neal, and Sonia Sanchez. The aim of these writers is to create the black aesthetic, namely the existence of a powerful artistic and culture-based political collective that strives to reform current understandings of beauty and privilege, culture and power, and the philosophical principles of a black genius, or imagination, as related to black life, politics, and work through art (Kinloch 76). To affirm such aesthetic, black musicians, dancers, writers, filmmakers, poets, educators, dramatists, and even working-class labourers antagonized all the oppressive conditions they witnessed in America as represented in US imperialism, police violence, and other practices of racism against the blacks, in an attempt to achieve social reform.

Jordan attempts to bridge the gap between the old generation and the new generation of black poets by focusing on issues such as racism, classism, and sexism in both the literary and critical mainstream and the civil rights efforts in America. Though the work and principles of the Black Arts Movement have a great impact on Jordan's art and politics, she does not take any of this movement's poets as her mentor, but rather develops a voice of her own. Her writings mainly discuss black social and political concerns and she affects "a transition in the way that the black intellectual functions in American culture" (MacPhail 58). She is committed to civil rights, political opportunities, quality education, and better housing conditions for black people. She criticizes the works, philosophical teachings, and the political

disposition of Martin Luther King (1929-1968), the Civil Rights Movement, and Malcolm X (1925-1965) and Black Power Movement. During the Civil Rights Era, Jordan rejected King's ideals or belief in nonviolence, benevolent love, integration, and the "Beloved Community" insofar as the blacks are obliged to stand up to segregation and all acts of violence. Jordan, thus, strongly believes that violence cannot be met with love and the white contempt must not be tolerated.

Jordan questions the validity of the political movements and their leaders. She seeks a politically committed international human rights movement that can represent the various experiences of women, men, and children with the aim of internationalizing "the black protest movement in its inclusivity" (Kinloch 85). In Civil Wars: Observations from the Front Lines of America (1981), Jordan expounds the lack of black leadership, King's assassination, and the black peoples' uprising in Miami. She suggests that black leadership, even during the 1980s, was "dangerous and tired" because of the increasing violent acts against people of colour. She thus claims, "Where is justice? Where is love? Where is leadership? Who is to be turned to for guidance? Who will stand up and lead the demonstrations, protests, and movements of resistance that once shaped black life in America? Is leadership really "dangerous and tired?" (37).

The mid- and late 1960s witnessed a drastic transformation in the African-American Civil Rights Movement. The African-American social movements of the 1960s focused on black identity rather than the white victimization of blacks and hence there was a move towards cultural nationalism. Such movements developed from the "peaceful protests" that King called for to the "cultural nationalism" that was supported by the true revolutionary Malcolm X (MacPhail 59). This transformation is reflected in the rhetorical strategies of writers who influenced Jordan, such as Baraka.

Jordan embraces the forceful strategies of Malcolm X and admires his magnificent oratorical skills and heated speeches, calling for social action and black cultural awareness. Though at the beginning she was only concerned with opposing the denial of black people's civil rights, she was later seeking justice for all people treated unjustly whether in America or elsewhere. Hence, her activist and political efforts developed from focusing merely on the civil rights of black people to an international context. Similarly, Malcolm X aspires to expand the civil rights movement into a human rights movement; hence internationalizing "the black freedom struggle" (Kinloch 80).

It is thus evident that Jordan's political experiences of the 1960s and 1970s were remarkably influenced, on the one hand, by the legacies of King, whom she perceives as a hero despite contradicting his nonviolent attitude at the beginning, and Malcolm X, who helped her foresee a new, different America, where equal rights prevail and there is no violence or hate. Their influence can still be traced in her poetry during the 1980s. After both leaders' assassinations, Jordan began to perceive the struggle for black people's liberation in light of other international civil rights struggles. Her enthusiastic involvement in political movements makes her believe that the lives of the blacks will be improved if people keep on marching, demonstrating and protesting to call for change. Therefore, Jordan's poems and political essays became more intense and full of rage, as they discuss power and empowerment, pride, survival as well as social and political advancement for the black community.

1.4.2 Jordan's political activism and calling for democracy

As a political activist, Jordan advocates that no single issue could be separated from the rest. She helps minorities, who may speak different languages, practice different religions and have

different histories, to see themselves as connected to all the struggles for freedom in all places around the world. Jordan took part in a core Freedom ride, witnessed and reported on the Harlem Riots of 1964 and strongly insisted that one must resist any kind of injustice. She was involved in the 1960s Black Power Movement and her work as a political activist is indebted to this movement. She is "one of the fiercest and most compassionate voices of the twentieth century" (Pe´rez 326). In Civil Wars, Jordan illustrates the intersection of private and public reality, which she explores through blending personal reflection with the political analysis of such topics as freedom and civil rights to rally people into action.

The American poet Walt Whitman (1819-1892), who enabled Jordan to recognize the relation between America's failed promise of democracy and the alternative possibilities that poetry offers (Marsh 25), has a major influence upon her. She strongly believes that Whitman is the aesthetic voice of all people, the same role she assumes in her poetry. Whitman's "aesthetic democracy" dedicates the autopoetic dimensions of political life. He believes that "popular attachment to democracy requires an aesthetic component" and attempts to depict the needed "reconfiguration of popular sensibility through a poetic depiction of the people as themselves a sublimely poetic, world-making power" (Frank 402). Whitman seeks political regeneration in everyday citizenship poetics and ordinary life democratic potentials.

In her attempt to have a US that accepts diversity; multiculturalism; multilingualism; justice; and social, political and sexual freedom, Jordan is considered an apprentice of Whitman. In his poem, "Song of Myself" (1855), Whitman addresses themes that Jordan tackles in her collection of poetry Moving Towards Home (1989). In this poem, Whitman advocates comprehending the self as a spiritual entity that signifies both the individual and

the universe. He, therefore, searches for ways to nurture man's mind and to build a strong relationship between the self and others or the surrounding community.

Jordan's poetry depicts the relationship between politics and representation and seeks to understand how the public sphere she is struggling for is formed. She fully understands that the democratic project requires rethinking of the tensions between identity and difference:

> [r]ather than simply assuming the coincidence of "poem" and "political action" Jordan interrogates the potentially uneven match between her writing's insistent re-signification of the frames of representation and the more literal economic and pragmatic influences that controlled the thresholds for public participation. (Marsh 26)

Jordan advocates a pluralistic approach to poetry in her essay "For the Sake of a People's Poetry: Walt Whitman and the Rest of Us" (1980), where she antagonizes censorship and silencing minority voices in American literature. Whitman's influence and literary techniques are also evident in Jordan's "Poem About My Rights." Her writings show a "Whitmanesque wisdom" and as Kinloch argues they are like the melody that rearranges the connection between man and the universe as well as the obligations man has to the world. Jordan thus employs the lessons learned from Whitman to "serve a positive and collective function" (Kinloch 53).

Jordan's political activism and poetic visions are of utmost significance in a time of war resistance and the dream to achieve social justice, particularly after September 11 events and the continuous "War on / of Terror," where poets were required to take part in enlightening the people and confront all forms of violence prevalent in every aspect of human life. In Some of Us Did Not Die (2002), Jordan illustrates that fighting for equality and against violence never stops. She fought energetically for universal peace as she says,

ONCE THROUGH the fires of September 11, it's not easy to remember or O recognize any power we continue to possess.

Understandably we shrivel and retreat into stricken consequences of that catastrophe.

But we have choices, and capitulation is only one of them.

I am always hoping to do better than to collaborate with whatever or whomever it is that means me no good.

For me, it's a mind game with everything at stake….

Luckily, there are limitless, new ways to engage our tender, and possible responsibilities, obligations that our actual continuing coexistence here, in these United States and here, in our world, require. (8)

These lines epitomize Jordan's activist efforts and political stance in the last thirty-five years of her life. She is totally devoted to creating "new ways to engage people in a discourse of difference that would rebuild a world that embraces all perspectives, including women's and children's" (Kinloch 59). She thus introduces readers to the fact that the American life is threatened by social negligence, economic despair, and civil unrest.

2. Jordan's Gendered-Democratic Poetics and Minority Rights

From the mid-1970s, Jordan began to bring international issues to her poetry and to domestic audience. She identifies with the causes of the misrepresented, silenced and marginalized people, since she believes that they share her needs and experiences as an African-American woman living in the US (MacPhail 67). She started to address the issues of discrimination in terms of race and gender in addition to other political issues. Her writings speak for groups or individuals who were intimidated or marginalized to speak their own voice. She antagonized racism in the US, war in Vietnam and colonialism in Africa, which urged people to speak truth to power. Further, in the 1980s and 1990s,

themes of discrimination, equality as well as social and economic inequality were still the focal point of her writings. Jordan addresses issues such as religious intolerance, global poverty, minority rights and America's foreign policy in countries such as Nicaragua and the Persian Gulf. She also discusses the Arab-American response to the situation in Palestine.

Furthermore, Jordan's collection of essays Technical Difficulties (1993) discusses the causes of the silenced and the marginalized. In these essays, Jordan uses her voice as an individual voice among many other voices that are fighting to gain power in the public forum. In this regard, Jordan's political writings are deemed "honest attempts to grab and redirect power" and her political essays in Technical Difficulties are "iconoclastic" as she links domestic to international political issues (MacPhail 67).

2.1 Building Black Identity and Cultural Nationalism

Jordan perceives that the past is essential to both the present and the future because having a better future depends upon healing the wounds and correcting the wrong doings of the past and the present. In her poem "Calling on All Silent Minorities," Jordan adopts some of Baraka's rhetorical strategies and responds to his poem "SOS" to awake and build the black community:

> **HEY**
> **C'MON**
> **COME OUT**
> **WHEREVER YOU ARE**
> **WE NEED TO HAVE THIS MEETING**
> **AT THIS TREE**
> **AIN' EVEN BEEN**
> **PLANTED**
> **YET (Directed by Desire 1-9)**

Here Jordan attempts to imitate Baraka in creating a community that only exists as a future projection and to give voice to a silent audience by the act of naming it. The audience Jordan addresses is highlighted by the pronoun "We" that involves the speaker who is black and thus one may think that she addresses a black audience. However, the title clearly illustrates that Jordan is neither interested in colour or in race nor in the exclusion of any minority and that she urges all minorities to speak out and indulge in the serious game of making their voices heard to build the community. This is foregrounded in her choice of the preposition "OUT," not "in" to grab the attention of her listeners to themselves as one coherent entity. Thus, like Baraka, she is committed to the idea of building a community by instilling its virtues in its audience.

Many incidents have contributed to Jordan's realization of her minority status. "Who Look at Me" (1969) gives a series of visual images of African Americans in one long poem where Jordan says:

> **Who would paint a people**
> **black or white?**
> *****
> **For my own I have held**
> **where nothing showed me how**
> **where finally I left alone**
> **to trace another destination**
> *****
> **A white stare splits the air**
> **by blindness on the subway**
> **in department stores**
> **The Elevator**
>   **(that unswerving ride**
> **where man ignores the brother**

by his side) …

*

Is that how we look to you

a partial nothing clearly real? (Directed by Desire 1-20)

The poem depicts the Harlem riots that were provoked by a white policeman's shooting of a fifteen-year-old black male. This was an area where gunfire could be heard everywhere even among the masses of black people who gathered to eulogize the dead boy. Young people were ready to confront police officers and were determined not to keep silent of the violence committed against them by their own protectors. Events culminated in several rounds of gunfire, throwing grenade, verbal and physical abuse, and various causalities among innocent people. These riots urged Jordan to march in demonstrations and write poems seeking the rights of innocent civilians.

The poem seeks to reflect the interdependencies between social integration and visual and literary representation. This is manifested in the opening question: "Who would paint a people black or white?" The poem also tackles the modernist crisis in representation by depicting the "white stare" violence that "splits the air" with its blindness. In the poem, Jordan foregrounds the difference between the creation of image and ordinary representations. For instance, in the excerpt quoted above, Jordan refers to Charles Alston's painting Manchild, which draws the image of a black figure, adopting the cubist style in painting. Such style of paintings highlights ambiguity in its representation/mimeticism of reality, which is clearly reflected in Jordan's rhetorical question "is that how we look to you / a partial nothing clearly real." Another painting, which Jordan refers to in the same poem, is The Slave Market (1866), which she depicts twice. She refers to the painting as a whole before she starts to foreground the intricate patterns of a poor child, who is pulled by the hair from his own mother by a man who looks like

a slave trader. The lexical she employs as in "(slavery:) the insolence" (148) suggests rage and contempt.

In an essay in The Progressive, Jordan combines the issues of race, gender, and class to discuss the case of Mike Tyson, the American professional boxer. On Tyson's experience, Jordan writes "Requiem for the Champ" (1992) where she links Tyson to her Brooklyn neighborhood that is barren and devoid of trees and claims that the violent lifestyle and the economic and spiritual poverty of the society surrounding him led him to the violent act of raping a woman. She explains that the issue of Tyson emanates from a larger social "atrocity" (Finn 124). Jordan believes that the Brooklyn community, the US economic system and herself are responsible for what Tyson committed. She elaborates that her culture must recognize the black man for other things than committed violence. She thus highlights, "I am Black. And Mike Tyson is Black. And neither one of us was ever supposed to win at anything more than a fight between the two of us" (Some of Us 86):

> **Do I believe he is guilty of rape?**
>
> **Yes I do.**
>
> **And what would I propose as appropriate punishment?**
>
> **Whatever will force him to fear the justice of exact retribution, …**
>
> **And do I therefore rejoice in the jury's**
>
> **finding?**
>
> **I do not**
>
> **Well, would I like to see Mike Tyson a**
>
> **free man again?**
>
> **He never was free! (85-86)**

Thus, it is clear that Jordan blames the community as well as the economic structure for Tyson's violent attitude as a black man. She seeks the advancement, pride and empowerment of the black community.

2.2 Patriarchal Behaviour and Disempowerment of Black Women

In 1978, Jordan wrote, "As a black woman, as a black feminist I exist, simultaneously as a part of the powerless and as a part of the majority peoples of the world" (Ransby, "June Jordan…"). As a feminist, she is considered a courageous, rebellious and compassionate poet, who cares for all humanity. On Aug. 9, 1987, Jordan read the poem "Poem for South-African Women" at the United Nations to commemorate the 40,000 women and children, who gathered, 22 years earlier, in the heart of South Africa apartheid capital to defy the "brutal and dehumanizing institution that divided their country" (Walrond 30). The poem praises their courage and sacrifice and indicates the African-American struggle for justice, equality and liberation at a time of political unrest. Jordan does not want to wait for a messiah-like figure to pave the way towards salvation, but rather perceives the change to be within the people's potential to impose social and political transformation. She says:

> **And who will join this standing up**
> **and the ones who stood without sweet company**
> **will sing and sing**
> **back into the mountains and**
> **if necessary**
> **even under the sea**
> **we are the one we have been waiting for**
>
> **(Directed by Desire 29-35).**

Jordan here refers to the South African women living under the apartheid, oppressive regime and fully believing that they are the ones who can free themselves rather than wait for their own demise. Those women and children, enduring painful experiences and living under restrictions of all kinds, understand that only the oppressed can free themselves and that they must take part in forging a new road towards their freedom and not to wait for outsiders to help in their liberation.

Throughout her life, Jordan was keen on making the black community appreciate the black experience and the black culture, particularly that of black women, which is manifested in her collection, Passion: New Poems, 1977-1980 (1980). "Poem About My Rights" delineates her rage and disappointment at both racial and sexual discrimination. It opens with feelings of anger arising from her perceived "status as a woman alone in the evening":

> **Even tonight and I need to take a walk and clear**
> **my head about this poem about why I can't**
> **go out without changing my clothes my shoes**
> **my body posture my gender identity my age**
> **my status as a woman alone in the evening/**
> **alone on the streets/alone not being the point**
>
> **(Directed by Desire 1-6)**

In this poem, Jordan does not care about being single. Rather she cares about the fact that many women and particular groups of people or countries have become known as the "Other" in the narratives of national identity. This is deemed a setback for the narrative of survival for people of colour, sense of belonging, and the myth of the American dream. She adds:

> **I am the history of rape**
> **I am the history of the rejection of who I am**
> **I am the history of the terrorized incarceration of**
> **myself**
> **I am the history of battery assault and limitless**
> **armies against whatever I want to do with my mind (77-82)**

Jordan's frustration becomes apparent as she establishes connections between personal aspects of human life and political struggles that humans should defy. She then acknowledges her ability to defend herself if necessary:

> **I am not wrong: Wrong is not my name**
> **My name is my own my own my own**
> **and I can't tell you who the hell set things up like this**
> **but I can tell you that from now on my resistance**
> **my simple and daily and nightly self-determination**
> **may very well cost you your life (109-114)**

Jordan finally resists labels of "wrong" and substitutes political action with her own naming and freedom of choice.

Similar to her politically charged poems, in "Poem About My Rights" Jordan entices readers to ponder on the intensity of her argument and to fight against the restrictions patriarchy imposes on the female body. She wants action to be taken otherwise all theorizing about the injustices practiced against disenfranchised people is of no avail. The poem reflects the inability of women "to think in solitude, to be mesmerized by the silence of the night, and to embrace her skin, her identifying qualities, the way she desires to" (Kinloch 69) since she cannot do what she pleases to do with her body without facing the threat of physical rape and systemic violence.

In this context, "Poem About My Rights" discusses the violence that hinders peoples' and countries' democratic existence and impedes strengthening mutual choices and relationships between them. The poem derives its power from the sociopolitical connections Jordan establishes among womanhood, sexism, rape, politics, history, geography, economics, and identity to criticize abuses of power. On a larger scale, Jordan criticizes the inability of the black male leadership to stand up to its rhetoric and its disempowering of women. She believes that black women are disempowered by race.

Jordan believes that war is not merely a conflict between nations. The way she comprehends warfare reflects women's concept of war as represented by the feminist critic Jean Bethke Elshtain (1941-2013) who claims that women are enthusiastically patriotic and possess a kind of necessary maturity, which is vital to successful combat (xi-xii). Jordan explains in "Rape Is Not a Poem" and "Case in Point" that involvement of US troops in the Gulf War is not because of the newspaper stories of Iraqi soldiers' rape of Kuwaiti women since she believes that foreign

policy can never depend on moral principles and that the American life has become warfare against women who have become fearful of physical abuse and rape. In these two poems, Jordan shows the connection between war and rape.

In her essay, "Notes Toward a Model of Resistance," Jordan emphasizes the notion of resistance and fighting against any form of domination such as sexual assault and acts of violence that stalk women on a daily basis. She writes about herself being raped twice (Some of Us 50-51). She reveals this fact in a 1994 interview with journalist Jill Nelson when she says:

> **I have been raped myself, twice. I happen to think rape as one of the most heinous things that can happen to anyone. But there's a victimization of people that is systematic….the media do not want to deal with that, they want to ignore the causative context that determines our lives, sometimes for great unhappiness and tragedy. (50)**

This reflects her commitment towards universal justice as one of the issues she believes Media evade, such as racism, patriarchy, diversity, and sexism: "I had been unable to find within myself the righteous certainty that resistance requires, the righteous certainty that would explode my paralysis and bring me to an 'over my dead body' determination to stop his violence stop his violation of everything that I am" (Some of Us 51). Jordan's "righteous certainty" or "righteous rage" is different from the "masculinist and exclusivist edges of black-nationalist poetics" (172) that deny the female and non-black contributions to the struggle for justice and attribute them to the black male power. She advocates a "nationalist will-to-power" and sympathizes with the voiceless and the powerless in a style that is deemed an "exhortation to the voiceless and a cry of outrage against those who silence voices with their force" (172), particularly women's voice.

In "Rape Is Not a Poem," Jordan talks about being raped for a first time in 1986 by a white man who, she says, "overpowered the supposed protection of my privacy, he had violated the boundaries of my single self. He had acted as though nothing mattered so much as his certainly brute impulse" (Technical Difficulties 14). Jordan opens the poem with reference to a beautiful garden that had been full of life, colours and sweet sensations before it was destroyed:

> **One day she saw them coming into the garden**
> **where the flowers live …**
> **they stamped upon and tore apart**
> **the garden**
> **just because (they said)**
> **those flowers?**
> **They were asking for it (Directed by Desire 1-12)**

She refers to "they" to indicate those who destroyed the garden and its flowers as if they have deprived it of its virginal charm. Jordan calls this violation "rape" and she obviously refers to being raped herself:

> **I let him into the house to say hello …**
> **"Well, I guess I'll be heading out, again,"**
> **he said.**
> **"Okay," I answered and, "Take care," I said.**
> **"I'm gonna do just that," he said.**
> **"No!" I said: "No! Please don't. Please" (13-25)**

The rapist left his victim defenseless and full of hatred towards men. It is this time when Jordan realized that there is no human autonomy and that one's safety can be jeopardized at any time. However, Jordan uses language to regain her right and power and instead of using the passive voice "I was raped," she uses the active voice "He raped me" (Some of Us 50) in an attempt to emphasize that language is the right tool to tell the truth about people who are abused and silenced by political regimes.

The poem goes on to describe the gender-based persecution and the society that gives men the upper hand and degrades women:

> **And considering your contempt**
> **And considering my hatred consequent to that**
> **And considering the history**
> **that leads us to this dismal place where (your arm**
> **raised**
> **and my eyes**
> **lowered)**
> **there is nothing left but the drippings**
> **of power (33-41)**

In the last two lines of the poem, it becomes clear that Jordan antagonizes the society that looks upon rape as something natural or justifiably normal: "Is this what you call / Only natural" (44-45) and that she hates that the female body is chosen for violent domination.

In "Case in Point," Jordan gives a powerful critique of masculine uses of power in the black community. The poem begins with "a friend of mine" who tells the speaker that "there is no silence peculiar / to the female" (Directed by Desire 1, 5-6). The speaker turns to narrate her second rape in 1996 by a "blackman actually / head of the local NAACP" (13-14). The NAACP is the "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." It is ironical that this local national leader, who is supposed to protect the rights of coloured people, is the one who violates them. Jordan's anger is intensified by this act of human degradation, complete violence and violation of a female privacy.

> **Today is 2 weeks after the fact**
> **of that man straddling**
> **his knees either side of my chest**
> **his hairy arm and powerful left hand**
> **forcing my arms and my hands over my head**
> **flat to the pillow while he rammed**
> **what he described as his quote big dick**
> **unquote into my mouth**

and shouted out: "D'ya want to swallow
my big dick; well do ya?"
He was being rhetorical
My silence was peculiar
to the female. (15-27)

In this poem, the man's question is "rhetorical" as he assumes that he already knows the answer since he is powerful enough to form an answer without getting his addressee's consent. This is similar to "From the Talking Back of Miss Valentine Jones: Poem # One" (1976) where powerful male speakers assume that they know what black women would say and hence there becomes no need for any kind of dialogue, be it political, social, or even personal. Jordan, instead of remaining a victim after the two raping incidents, finds a resort in writing and turning a personal issue into a public one. She compares between rape and state violence, and consequently, "posits a relationship of violence between the powerful – the state – and the powerless – women, children, and people of colour" (Kinloch 138).

In the long dramatic monologue "Miss Valentine Jones," Jordan protests against the assumption that black women have no voice and are completely ignored by black men, even the Black Arts Movement poets. Jordan highlights the liberations needed for the blacks in this poem. The title plays a major role in dedicating the rhetorical context of this poem, which is a part of a longer poem and is the first in a series of similar monologues. The title indicates the speaker, Valentine, informing the reader that it is an individual voice that speaks out for many other voices. Jordan makes Valentine criticize the naming strategies of "bodacious Blackm[e]n":

and the very next bodacious Blackman
call me queen
because my life ain' shit
because (in any case) he ain' been here to share it
with me
(dish for dish and do for do and

dream for dream)
I'm gone scream him out my house
be-
cause what I wanted was
to braid my hair/bathe and bedeck my
self so fully because
what I wanted was
your love
not pity (Directed by Desire 71-85)

According to critic Scott MacPhail, "The male 'you' of the poem presumes that no 'real Miss Black America' has stood up, and that his words are the ones that will help her stand up" (65). Valentine names all the domestic routines that the bodacious black man neither sees nor valorizes in response to the male emptying up then filling in the notion of black womanhood. He knows nothing about the real duties carried out by other black women and consequently, they are not real. In addition to this lack of love from the "bodacious Blackman" for the working black woman, Jordan's poem points to the larger, more systemic failure by leaders of the Black movements to deconstruct images of blackness portrayed in popular white culture. For Jordan, a true black aesthetic could never really be actualized since some of the 1960s and 1970s political leaders did not fully take into consideration the voices and rights of black women and children.

In another poem, "Getting Down to Get Over: Dedicated to my mother" (1972), Jordan pinpoints the difficulties of feminizing the speaking voice. She seeks to voice and foster the various meanings attributed to black femininity: "momma Black / Momma / / Black Woman / Black / Female Head of Household / Black Matriarchal Matriarchy / Black Statistical / Lowlife Lowlevel Lowdown" (Directed by Desire 36-43). The poem focuses on the unstable signifying ground of black femininity and makes it clear in its linguistic assumptions. Having a list of single words makes the structures of linguistic meaning and their imagined voicing clear: "buck / jive / cold / strut / bop / split / tight / loose / close / hot / / hot / hot (139-150).

The listing of verbs in this part clearly reflects a sexualized, racialized, and gendered movement. The contrast between synonyms such as ("jive," "strut," and "bop") and contrasts ("tight" and "loose," "hot and "cold") adds to the poem's intensity. In addition to showing the tensions between speech and writing as well as gender and race, the poem shows those tensions between selection/metaphor and combination/metonymy. Similar to Who Look at Me, the poem shows that the existing models of oral, literary, and visual representation are limited and seeks to expand its scope via other alternatives. Hence, Jordan attempts to have more expansive alternatives as opposed to politicized mimeticism.

Thus, it becomes obvious that through her poems about black female rights, Jordan offers a model of resistance and survival from all the incidents that bring fear and powerlessness into a female life. She does not want "brute domination" (Kinloch and Grebowicz 59) to become the norm according to which females live and understand American citizenship. She wants females to fight back.

2.3 Repercussions of Imperial Racism

Jordan sympathizes with all the marginalized in the world and this is exemplified in supporting the Iraqis and the Palestinians in the early 1980s and condemning the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. In addition, towards the end of the Persian Gulf War, she wrote her long poem, "The Bombing of Baghdad," where she strikes a comparison between bombing in that war and the US persecution of American Indians or Native Americans' genocide. Jordan writes her war resistance poetry as a community-building action, which foregrounds differences. Her poems are thus motivated by specific events, and are performed for and directed towards a particular audience.

In "The Bombing of Baghdad," Jordan antagonizes war makers and imperial racism that give justifications for the Gulf War. It is based on the chant form that has become significant in the late twentieth century poetry as well as African-American cultural forms. This chant form helps Jordan clearly depict the relentless bombing campaign that lasted for 42 days and the human crisis resulting from the destruction. The poem alternates as "elegy, protest, and alternative wire service" (Metres 174) and moves the reader directly from the title of the poem to the heart of battle:

> **began and did not terminate for 42 days**
> **and 42 nights relentless minute after minute**
> **more than 110,000 times**
> **we bombed Iraq we bombed Baghdad**
> **we bombed Basra/we bombed military**
> **installations we bombed the National Museum**
> **we bombed schools we bombed air raid**
> **shelters we bombed water we bombed**
> **electricity we bombed hospitals we**
> **bombed streets we bombed highways**
> **we bombed everything that moved/we**
> **bombed Baghdad**
> **a city of 5.5 million human beings (Directed by Desire 1-14)**

Jordan's delineation of the bombed targets and the suffering civilians who endured the repercussions of war becomes like a news story that is obviously ugly, truthful and uncensored. Her word selection serves a dual purpose by referring to her national community as well as the war devastated communities, which share the same destruction and the same destiny either by having the same passports, enduring the same taxes, or even watching the CNN. Jordan's usage of the pronoun "we" denies that there is any difference between the protesters and the patriots and provokes both of them to rebel. In terms of its community-building function, "the poem acts as an admonishment to the community – whether imagined nationally or ideologically" (Metres 175).

The poem represents two other narratives along with the bombing narrative: a personal lyric relating physical love and a historical narrative narrating the death of Crazy Horse, the 19th c. Native American war leader, and Custer's benefits. The personal lyric describes the priority and persistence of physical love: "The bombing of Baghdad / did not obliterate the distance or the time / between my body and the breath / of my beloved" (36-39) and the fact that the American citizens were not exposed to physical war. On the other hand, the historical narrative, pervading sections III to VI, illustrates the connection between the "guts and gore of manifest white destiny" (61) of Custer and US expansion and Iraq's bombing and expounds obvious, even treacherous, opposition. Jordan compares Crazy Horse's singing to "the moaning of the Arab World" (43) and declares defiantly that "I am cheering for the arrows / and the braves" (68-69) whose weapons are obsolete and who are doomed. The poem explains the genocidal inequality between the US and its enemies, whether they are Native Americans or Iraqis, that manifests itself after ruin and destruction have become a status quo.

In her poetry collection Living Room: New Poems 1980-1984 (1985), Jordan conceives her inevitable role as a poet in a time where media dominates. It includes politically motivated poems that indicate her memorializing impulses. Jordan's Living Room poems give a vivid image of the victimization of the Palestinians and the Lebanese during the Israeli invasion of Beirut in 1982. This is because, Jordan, as an Afro-American woman who witnessed the subordination of American blacks and as a geographically and culturally distant observer of the extermination of innocent civilians by American-made weapons, could shape readers' right perception of the genocide. Through the poems on Sabra and Shatila, Jordan aspires to destabilize the oppressive regimes and through her verbal images, she wishes to "inform the totality of living" (Ali 592). The images of the two

camps of Sabra and Shatila represent Lebanon before and after their invasion in 1982. Before 1982, they were "the zone of hardihood, a sort of liminal space of hopeful waiting and readiness to return to the homeland," but after their devastation, they became "the zone of the trace of last movements, a sort of eschatological and conclusive space" (611).

Anxiety pervades in the tone of "The Cedar Trees of Lebanon" ("CTL"), "Apologies to All the People in Lebanon" ("AAPL"), and "Moving towards Home" ("MTH") as a result of sympathizing with the catastrophic event of Sabra and Shatila genocide that daily newspapers headlines shock readers with. Jordan does not want the subjects of her poems to be long forgotten, which is exactly the case with the media that begin by describing the genocide in Sabra and Shatila as "abominable," before undermining its horrific outcome (Ali 591). Her poems, in their representation of the genocide of Sabra and Shatila, would rather eternalize the massacre's horrible consequences on the victimized Palestinians.

Jordan's Sabra and Shatila poems are concerned spatially with the spaces that have become congested with corpses, debris, and shattered objects. They structurally represent the heinous details of torture and destruction or what she calls the "phosphorus events" ("CTL"17-18). In "AAPL," Jordan refers to the victims of US policy. Her language is the language of peace, as manifested in the offering of the hand, and the language of "negotiation."

Poet-activists Sara Miles and Kathy Engel organized an event in 1982 named after Jordan's poem "MTH" benefiting UNICEF's humanitarian efforts in Lebanon and supporting the worldwide efforts of mobilization. The event brought together several Arab, American and Israeli poets who talked about the harsh conditions and the suffering of the people in Lebanon as

well as the massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila. In this event, Jordan read "MTH" where she announced:

> **I was born a Black woman**
> **and now**
> **I am become a Palestinian**
> **against the relentless laughter of evil**
> **there is less and less living room**
> **and where are my loved ones?**
> **It is time to make our way home. (Directed by Desire 72-78)**

Jordan insists on the safe return "home" of displaced people without grief or wailing and talks about the value of human lives. She believes that the only way they can return home or symbolically return to the promise of freedom, liberty and love is by talking about home in public. By talking about home, Jordan emphasizes the sense of belonging to a world of justice and imagines a "Beloved Community" where people can enjoy safety, comfort and free will and where violence no longer exists.

"MTH" illustrates three psychic states: in the first 52 lines, the persona offers an all-encompassing visual net including various acts of atrocities. In this state, the overwhelmed poetic mind strives to assimilate the shock and indignation to bear such barbarities. Jordan says:

> **…the nightlong screams**
> **that reached**
> **the observation posts where soldiers lounged about**
> **…the nurse again and**
> **again raped**
> **before they murdered her on the hospital floor (Directed by Desire 4-6, 21-22).**

In the second state (53-71), Jordan emphasizes the "need to speak about living room" (54). In the last state (72-78), Jordan represents the reconceived self that sensed the suffering endured by the Sabra and Shatila victims.

Jordan's deep sadness towards the massacre of Sabra and Shatila is powerfully reflected in the syntactic parallelism she

employs in "MTH." This is clearly seen in the phrase "nor do I wish to speak," which comes before every example of a brutal act to indicate genocidal barbarism. In the second state, she uses the phrase "I need to speak," merely to portray simple aspects of a moral world as in "the land is not bullied and beaten into / a tombstone" and "children will grow without horror" (55-56, 60). Consequently, the persona's feelings reach the climax as the reader approaches the finale of the poem: the wish of an ardent moral soul to "make our [all of suffering humanity] way home" (78). By this, Jordan attempts to represent the actual truth through the speaker's righteous anger towards the Israeli practices and brutalities that are unopposed by its allies.

In "MTH," the poetic voice speaks in the plural to illuminate the scope of "proliferation of absences" (Ali 614) unlike the paradigmatic female victim who speaks in the singular: "who will bring me my loved one?" When the poetic persona thoughtfully looks at the spacious, peaceful living room, she assumes, "where I can sit without grief without wailing aloud / for my loved ones," and "where the men / of my family between ages of six and sixty-five / are not / marched into a roundup that leads to the grave"; and at the poem's closure, she asks "and where are my loved ones?" (66-67, 61-64, 77). However, human absences are just one aspect of the oppressive series of absences the paradigmatic victim encounters such as her home or her living room, her homeland, and her political entity.

In "MTH," the name "Abu Fadi" assumes semantic significance since "Abu" means "father," indicating a unique Arabic naming system known as "Kunyah," then the name of his firstborn boy is added so that it can be used instead of his actual name. Jordan may have used the etymology of the name to relate it to moral desire. Fadi is a name that can be both a Muslim and a Christian name, meaning a "redeemer," one of Christ's attributes. Hence, the name Fadi also signifies a revered symbol to all

humanity, namely Christ. This can be understood by the lines: "those [the people who refuse to be purified] are the ones from whom we must redeem / the words of our beginning" (51-52). These lines are a biblical allusion to the opening of the Gospel of John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (1:1). The "Word," referring to Christ, indicates that the moral world and its truths have been communicated to mankind.

Jordan's combination of "photography, sound/radio, journalistic text, and dissonant discourse in a dynamic interplay" confers upon her poems a "filmlike audiovisual capacity" that serves as a perfect representation of the complex socio-political reality of her time (Ali 615). For instance, in "MTH," Jordan's images are successively ordered in a "chain of [steadfast] kinetic sequential climatic scenes" that resembles the making of a film of violence (615). This is clearly reflected in the following lines:

> **the father whose sons**
> **were shot**
> **through the head while they slit his own throat before**
> **the eyes**
> **of his wife (10-14)**

The same sequence of images is also reflected in the lines: "the pounding on the / doors and / the breaking of windows and the hauling of families into / the world of the dead" (27-30) and "the bulldozer and the / red dirt / not quite covering all the arms and legs" (31-33). Thus, it becomes clear that Jordan takes the kinetics of images technique from films so as to give the reader a spectatorial experience.

Thus, it becomes clearer that through her war-resistance poetry, Jordan seeks to build the "Beloved Community" where there are no differences between the people of the world. She antagonizes war makers and imperial racism that justify the brutal acts and atrocities endured by innocent civilians everywhere. Jordan unifies all humanity in one public identity

that suffers the repercussions of war, genocide, etc. and provokes the oppressed to rebel.

2.4 Political Rights and Fake Democratic Existence

Jordan strongly believes that poetry plays a significant role in building the self, the community and a democratic state where there is mutual trust between citizens of the same country. The US politics has shaped Jordan's idea of leadership as she is totally convinced that the failed attempts of mobilization in underserved communities are directly linked to the American Republicans' and Conservatives' political agenda, particularly under the leadership of President Ronald Reagan. Jordan is shocked at Reagan's controversial stance with regard to the people victimized by either greed, oppression, or imperialism in light of the legacy he creates for himself – that is called, the "Reagan Revolution." Jordan wants the leader to stop imposing new taxes for the sake of people's prosperity and she is amazed at leaders, pretending to call for a world where there is no war, violence, or brutality, while they are stockpiling nuclear weapons.

In her poem, "Easter Comes to the East Coast: 1981," Jordan addresses President Reagan and speaks about a world where diversity and egalitarianism are present:

> **Don' you worry about a thing**
> **Mr. President and you too**
> **Mr. Secretary of the State: Relax!**
> **We not studying you guys:**
> **NO NO NO NO NO!**
> **This ain' real**
> **Ain' nobody standing around**
> **We not side by side**
> **This ain' no major league rally**
> **We not holding hands again**
> **We not some thousand varieties of one fist!**
> **This ain' no coalition**
> **This ain' no spirit no muscle no body to stop the bullets**
> **We not serious (Directed by Desire 1-14)**

The message Jordan delivers to the President and his cabinet members reflects her stance towards the civil movements during the 1980s as well as the labour movements that give advantage to certain groups over others. Jordan negates aspects of history, as she believes that nobody is watching, paying attention, or joining hands, when, actually, people are watching and organizing, since there is need to worry about the long-term implications of US politics. The poem goes on:

> **NO NO NO NO NO!**
> **And I ain' never heard about El Salvador;**
> **I ain' never seen the children sliced**
> **and slaughtered at the Sumpul Riverside**
> **And I ain' never heard about Atlanta;**
> **I ain' never seen the children strangled in the woods …**
> **NO NO NO NO NO!**
> **This is just a fantasy.**
> **We just kidding around**
> **You watch! (15-31)**

Jordan wishes for a new world of diversity and egalitarianism. She believes that the Americans are behind the increased violence, not only on the national level, but also on the world level, thanks to Reagan's regime that insists on using nuclear power and producing more fatal bombs.

Reagan assumed power in 1980 and remained in office till 1988. He was opposing the Soviet Union over issues of communism. The Soviet Union was supporting Cuba in the 1980s, while the US government refused to support the Cuban liberation. Further, the threat of nuclear war was still in the air and Jordan was well aware of it. Jordan writes in her poem "A Reagan Era Poem in Memory of Scarlet O'Hara, who said, in Gone With the Wind, something like this:"

> **"As God is my witness, so help me God:**
> **I'm going to live through this**
> **And when it's over**
> **If I have to lie, steal, cheat, or kill,**
> **I'll never go hungry again."**

The poem says:
"Amen!" (Directed by Desire 1-7)

In another poem, "Where Are We and Whose Country Is This, Anyway?" (1986), Jordan exclaims that America needs a new president and opposition. She wants the new president to care for Nicaragua's Sandinistas (members of National Liberation Front), all African peoples, and the American citizens. Therefore, she wishes for a new political agenda for the democratic country that does not accept ethnic cleansing or genocide. The same notion is further highlighted in "INTIFADA INCANTATION: POEM #8 FOR b.b.L" (1997), where she writes:

> **I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED**
> **GENOCIDE TO STOP**
> **I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED AFFIRMATIVE**
> **ACTION AND REACTION**
> **I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED MUSIC**
> **OUT THE WINDOWS**
> **I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED**
> **NOBODY THIRST AND NOBODY**
> **NOBODY COLD (Directed by Desire 1-9)**

In this chant-like poem, Jordan engages in an uprising or "Intifada," a word that was coined after the Palestinian uprising against the Israeli military rule in 1987. What Jordan antagonizes is not only military oppression, but also all inhumane conditions including "genocide," "thirst," and "cold" that jeopardize people's life worldwide. She calls for "action," "reaction," "music," and "love" instead. She wants to demolish all the boundaries that foster human inequality, suffering, fear, and oppression. This strengthens the idea of a "Beloved Community" where there are no borders and where human rights prevail. She adds:

> **I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED I WANTED**
> **JUSTICE UNDER MY NOSE**
> **I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED**
> **BOUNDARIES TO DISAPPEAR**
> **...**
> **I WANTED**

NOBODY FREEZE ALL THE PEOPLE ON THEIR KNEES! (10-20)

The poem reflects a "politics of rejection," where all attempts against the practices of oppression by the state are overlooked (Kinloch 90). Throughout her life, Jordan aspires for freedom and liberation. She does not wish to remain "inside the big and messy and combustible haystack of these United States, and the forecast is not good" (Technical Difficulties 93).

In another poem, "To Free Nelson Mandela," from Naming Our Destiny (1989), Jordan declares:

> **Have they killed the twelve-year-old-girl?**
> **Have they hung the poet?**
> **Have they shot down the students?**
> **Have they splashed the clinic the house**
> **and the faces of the children**
> **with blood? (Directed by Desire 7-12)**

This poem builds on the theme of being "wrong," since the poet employs repetition to attack dominant beliefs about the undesirability and unworthiness of "the twelve year-old," "the poet," "the students," and "the children." This notion goes in line with the apartheid, Mandela's imprisonment and the long-awaited freedom, his strong wife and the community that refused to succumb to the brutalities and atrocities of the ruling government: "Every night Winnie Mandela / Every night the waters of the world / turn to the softly burning / light of the moon" (13-16). The poem continues to show that injustices can lead to communities that reject silence and dehumanization. Jordan concludes by having "the carpenters," "the midwives," "the miners," "street sweepers, "the diggers of the ditch," (36-40) and other community members memorialize the murder of South African activists in the township of Lingelihle. Kinloch believes that documenting this act of remembrance "speaks volumes to Jordan's attack on institutional silence through a politics of inclusion that values and validates the multiple experiences of people" (71).

Jordan becomes totally immersed in the experience of disenfranchised people. The murders carried out by the police in South Africa and the resultant violence around the world. For instance, the murder of Victoria Mxenge in "To Free Nelson Mandela" and the violence in "Namibia," "Angola," or "Zimbabwe" in "Poem About My Rights" were events that Jordan was desperately keen on writing about and share with others to provoke political activism and encourage people to take action. Both "To Free Nelson Mandela" and "Poem About My Rights" reveal that people's lives depend on the actions taken by responsible, dedicated leaders. Both poems "combine lyricism with narrative and free verse in a journalistic story form" (Kinloch 71) and they capture the intensity of lives destroyed by racism, violence, and classism. They reflect Jordan's racial solidarity and keenness on protecting human life.

Consequently, it becomes evident that Jordan calls for freedom and liberation and that her poetry plays a major role in building the self, the community and the democratic state where human rights prevail. She severely antagonizes political leaders who victimize people by greed, oppression or imperialism and only care about compiling lethal weapons. Jordan dreams of demolishing all the boundaries that foster human inequality, suffering, oppression and fear.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, Jordan approaches the African-American causes in a way that best serves the African-American community that is diverse, yet can be united in opposing the inequalities of power resulting from race politics. She does not limit herself to the model of a spokesperson and makes the Black Arts utopian vision more attainable and pragmatic. Jordan obviously opposes racism, sexism and oppression, as she fosters the notion that individual creativity and honest discourse can lead to political change and

social renewal. Her poems remarkably manifest the African-American experience and advocate self-determination and political activism for the betterment of the community and the oppressed all over the world. She is sincerely dedicated to human rights on a global scale and political manifesto.

Jordan, in this respect, "employ[s] democratic and uncensored language in order to convey,…, truths about race, gender, sexuality, violence, war, and human rights" (Kinloch 1). She describes the difficulty of living in America as a raced and gendered person facing injustices and depicts the atrocities inflicted upon people in different countries. Thus, she dedicates her life to fight for freedom and justice for all humanity. Her writings are "politically savvy and unconventional in its brutal honesty" (2) since she deems it inevitable to fight for both equality and freedom.

Jordan's political and activist efforts show the brilliance of such an American writer, not only as a black woman, but also as a poet who cares for the humanitarian rights of peoples throughout the world and who clearly has a defined purpose. She utilizes both the written and spoken word to encourage return to the basic elements of human rights including, "civil liberties, fair treatment, education and literacy, and access to the political process" and she endeavours to demolish political systems that "challenge democratic order and perpetuate global injustice" (Kinloch 92). In this context, Jordan proves to be a serious artist and a revolutionary activist whose embracing of human rights are truly reflected in her poetry and dedication to political and activist work. Her poetry projects her total awareness of identity politics where her personal involvement with the world experiences found a real platform through the poems she writes on the misery of the disenfranchised worldwide.

Jordan's figurative images, powerful words, and democratic language, which speak for many marginalized voices, convey hope of liberation. Her language enables her to know her self-identity as a revolutionary artist. She made political statements in all the countries she travelled to; in all the rallies and demonstrations she took part in; and in all the efforts to put an end to the underrepresentation of black women, the unjust treatment of black people, and the atrocities inflicted upon the Lebanese and the Palestinians; and politicians' imperialistic agendas. Indeed, as a revolutionary writer, Jordan does not tolerate violence and inequality and protests against the systems she opposes on both the political and the personal levels.

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A Critical Discourse Analysis of Internal Intertextuality in American and Egyptian News Reporting on Egypt's January 25 and June 30 Protests

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Abstract

This study aims at investigating the similarities and/or differences in the representation of both Egyptian January the 25th and June the 30thprotests and their key social actors (Mubarak's and Morsi's regimes and the anti- and pro-regimes protesters) in the discourse of the mainstream American newspaper, The New York Times, and the mainstream Egyptian newspaper, Al-Masry Al-Youm. The study explores the international and national press ideological perspectives on both protests and examines the extent to which such differential perspectives by the two news outlets have been consistently reflective of the official mainstream ideological views, and hence contributing to the notion of media as an ideological state apparatus (ISA). The study has adopted Fairclough's (1995a) three-layer model of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and complemented it with van Dijk's (2000) ideological square in order to investigate internal intertextuality considered by Richardson (2007) as one of the essential discursive practices of journalism. The analysis of internal intertextuality in the present study encompasses Fairclough's (2003) framing of voices, Chen's (2005, 2007) analytic tool of communicative verbal processes, and Richardson's (2007) four types of quotation that he believed are most relevant to news reporting discourse.The study analyzes 32 news reports covering both Egyptian protests from the eruption of each to the downfall of both regimes (more specifically, from Jan. 25 to Feb. 11, 2011; and from Nov. 22, 2012 to July 3, 2013), focusing on five key events during each protest. The results have revealed that each newspaper's stance towards both protests has been ideologically-slanted and tremendously fed by its political affiliation, hence giving support to the notion of the media as an ISA.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis; Ideological Square; Ideological State Apparatus; Internal Intertexuality

التحليل النقدي للتناص الداخلي في خطاب التغطية الاخبارية لمظاهرات مصر ٢٥ يناير و ٣٠ يونيو في الصحافة الأميريكية والمصرية

الملخص العربي

تهدف هذه الدراسة لفحص أوجه التشابه والاختلاف بين الصحيفتين السائدتيننيويورك تايمز (الأمريكية) والمصري اليوم (المصرية) في تمثيل مظاهرات مصر ٢٥ يناير و ٣٠ يونيووأطرافها الأساسية (نظامي مبارك ومرسي والمتظاهرين المؤيدين والمعارضين لأنظمتهما)في خطابهما الأخباري. فهذه الدراسة تستكشف المناظير الأيديولوجية الصحفية العالمية والقومية للثورتين و تفحص المدى الذي به قد عكست هذه المناظير الإيديولوجية المختلفة للجريدتين باتساق ما وجهات النظر الإيديولوجية الأساسية الرسمية، ومن ثم المساهمة في مفهوم الإعلام كجهاز دولة أيديولوجي. وقد اتبعت الدراسة في إطارها التحليلي نموذج فيركلوف (١٩٩٥) ثلاثي المراحل الخاص بالتحليل النقدي للخطاب بالاضافة الى المربع الإيديولوجي لفان ديك (٢٠٠٠) وذلك لاستخدامهما في تحليل التناص الداخلي الذي يعتبره ريشاردسون (٢٠٠٧) واحد من الممارسات الخطابية الأساسية للصحافة. ويتضمن تحليل التناص الداخلي في هذه الدراسة تأطير الأصوات (المصادر) لفيركلوف (٢٠٠٣)، والأداة التحليلية للعمليات اللفظية التواصلية (أفعال نقل الكلام) لتشين (٢٠٠٥، ٢٠٠٧)، وأربعة أنواع من الاقتباس (الكلام المنقول) التي يعتقد ريتشاردسون (٢٠٠٧) أنها الأكثر صلة بخطاب التقارير الأخبارية. وتحلل الدراسة ٣٢ تقريرا إخباريا على الحدثين منذ اندلاع كل منهما وحتى سقوط النظامين (وعلى وجه التحديد من ٢٥ يناير وحتى ١١ فبراير ٢٠١١ ؛ ومن ٢٢ نوفمبر ٢٠١٢ وحتى ٣ يوليو ٢٠١٣)، مع التركيز على ٥ أحداث رئيسة أثناء كل منها. وقد كشفت النتائج على أن موقف كل صحيفة تجاه كل من مظاهرات ٢٥ يناير ومظاهرات ٣٠ يونيو له دافع أيديولوجي وتساهم فيه بشكل كبير انتماءها السياسي، مما يقدم الدعم لمفهوم الإعلام باعتباره جهاز دولة أيديولوجي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التحليل النقدي للخطاب، المربع الإيديولوجي، جهاز دولة أيديولوجي، التناص الداخلي

1. Introduction

The present study investigates the representation of the Egyptian January 25 and June 30 protests in the online versions of two mainstream newspapers; namely, TheNew York Times (American) and Al-Masry Al-Youm (Egyptian). The first newspaper reflects the international perspective on both Egyptian protests, particularly the US', whereas the second newspaper represents the national perspective on both protests. The current study examines the news reports covering the extended protest periods from the eruption of each to the ouster of the ruling president. The study uses the critical discourse analytical approach (CDA), particularly Fairclough's (1995a) three-layer model of CDA and van Dijk's (2000) ideological square to qualitatively analyze the news stories so as to uncover the above newspapers' ideological perspectives on the two protests, expose the frequently hidden power relationships, and highlight the influence of powerful groups and institutions in society on mainstream media, as held by a number of scholars (Althusser, 1971; Fairclough, 1994, 2003, 2006; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Richardson, 2007; van Dijk, 1991, 1993a, 1996, 1998, 2000).

Ashley and Olson (1998) as well as McQuail (1993) argued that media are given some responsibility whenever the stability of a society is at stake by war, crime, economic disaster, social protests, etc. Consequently, the media are more likely to support the legitimacy of the state and delegitimize the challenges of social orders. In correspondence to the assumptions of the aforementioned scholars, I argue that the two examined newspapers' representation of the anti-Mubarak and anti-Morsi protests could be influenced by the official mainstream perspectives on both protests. However, the extent of such influence may vary based on the political affiliation of each newspaper. In fact, news reporting discourse, in particular, is chosen for analysis as it includes ideas and attitudes, not merely

facts, as held by van Dijk (1991), despite being widely known as the most informative press discourse and hence supposedly impartial. Accordingly, the present study is expected to enhance the reader's knowledge and awareness of the manipulative nature of the news reporting discourse, thus promoting their critical abilities in reading newspapers. The present study aims to unveil the ideologies of both newspapers towards both protests and their key social actors (i.e. both presidents, their governments, their pro- and anti-regime protesters, and the army)through examining their use of internal intertexuality (quotation and reported speech), being one of the most commondiscursive practices of Press discourse (Richardson, 2007). It also investigates the extent to which such newspapers' ideologies have been steadily indicative of the official mainstream ideological perspectives and fed by their political affiliations, and hence giving support to the notion of media as an ideological state apparatus (ISA) in the sense of Althusser (1971).

To my best knowledge, comparing and contrasting the representation of the January 25 and June 30 protests in the Americanand Egyptian press received little attention. I have found only one study (El-Nashar, 2014) handling such a topic in one American newspaper, using a CDA framework and a quantitative approach.El-Nashar examined only the army's role in both protests, which is not the focus of the present study. Hence, the current study extends the scope of research by attempting to reveal how similar and/or different the ideologies of the Western and Egyptian mainstream newspapers at issue are towards both protests and the main social actors involved, apart from the military institute. Such institute cannot be considered as belonging to the regime or its opponents during both protests since it had its own decisive role during both protests.Moreover, the current study also adds to the body of qualitative research on the Arab Middle East, particularly the issue of the Arab Spring,

which contributes to bridging the gap between the linguistic, on the one hand, and the media, social, and political, on the other hand. Finally, the fact that both protests are recent historic events in Egypt lends an important element of timeliness and per se significance to the present study.

2. Research Objectives

The current study has the following objectives:

1. Revealing the similarities and/or differences in the representation of both Egyptian protests in the discourse of the mainstream American The New York Times (i.e. the international press perspective) and the mainstream Egyptian Al-MasryAl-Youm (i.e. the national press perspective).

2. Unveiling the extent to which both newspapers' differential perspectives on both protests have been consistently reflective of the official mainstream ideological views, thus contributing to the notion of media as an ISA.

The study purports to answer the following questions:

1. How far does The New York Times'and Al-Masry Al-Youm's use of internal intertextualityreflect similarities and/or differences in theirrepresentation of the Egyptian January 25 and June 30 protestswith regard to the key social actors, namely, Mubarak's and Morsi's regimes and the anti- and pro-regimes protesters as well as five key events during each?

2. To what extent have both mainstream newspapers' international and national ideological perspectives on both protestsbeen constantly indicative of the official ideological views, and hence endorsing the notion of media as an ISA in the sense of Althusser (1971)?

3. Review of Literature

In the words of van Dijk (2001), CDA "studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 353). CDA is concerned with highlighting the interrelationships between language, power, and ideology which may be hidden from people, as explained in the works of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995a), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), Hodge and Kress (1993), van Dijk (1980, 1983, 1991, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997, 2001), and Wodak (1996). According to them, CDA aims at the following:

- Addressing social and political issues.
- Highlighting how power and dominance relations operate through language.
- Establishing the relationship between society and text which is mediated by order of discourse, i.e. structured sets of discursive practices associated with particular social domains.
- Revealing the ideologies underlying discursive and social structures.

In so doing, CDA explores which ideologies the controlling groups use to dominate the controlled groups through language within a society and this is in particular what makes CDA a critical approach to discourse analysis (Rogers, 2004).

Ideology, as explained by van Dijk (1996), is "basic systems of shared social representations that may control more specific group beliefs (knowledge, attitudes), and influence models via the instantiation of such beliefs in concrete models of situations and experiences" (p. 7). Ideology, as regarded by Fairclough (2003), is a modality of power more than just being a coherent set of beliefs or values; it produces, reproduces, and challenges social relations of power, and hence representing the world. One

important aspect of ideologies, according to van Dijk (2000), is manifested in the role they play in maintaining social group relations such as justifying and legitimizing domination, power abuse, and social inequality, on the one hand, and organizing opposition, resistance, and change, on the other. In this regard, ideologies, as van Dijk argued, represent social struggles; this necessitates representing the groups involved in such struggles in terms of group polarization, i.e. a representation of "Us", how we see ourselves, versus "Them", how we see others. In this concern, we represent ourselves positively as superior and represent others negatively as inferior. In other words, van Dijk's ideological square can help show how each examined newspaper identified the ingroup and the outgroup in the struggle between the regime and its opponents during both Egyptian protests through deemphasizing the negative actions of the ingroup and positive actions of the outgroup, on the one hand, while emphasizing the positive actions of the ingroup and negative actions of the outgroup, on the other.

It is important, accordingly, to shed light on Althusser's (1971) notion of the ISA in association with media discourse, particularly news reporting discourse due to its vital role in investigating such discourse as a form of social practice that may construct, foster, or challenge particular ideologies and power relations fed by the society's powerful elite people and institutions. One of the first to affirm that the media are not the voice of the average of normal person but rather are the voice of the powerful is Althusser in his Marxist account of ideology. He indicated that in order to produce and sustain dominance over society, a state must reproduce the conditions of production; otherwise, the state would lose dominance because state power is the exercise that guarantees the reproduction of relations of power within society. Althusser further emphasized that there are two types of apparatus that aim at reproducing the relations of

power, namely, Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). He explained that the RSA is concerned with coercive power, i.e. hard power and includes the government, army, police, prisons, etc. The ISA, in which Althusser was particularly interested, is concerned with persuasive power, i.e. soft power and includes institutions that fall partly outside of state control but still serve to transmit the values of the state, such as the school, the Church, the legal system, the family, and the media. That is, as Althusser put it, the ISA aims at persuading the dominated groups to take the unequal power relations for granted and to regard them as being commonsensical and natural.

Mass media are a tool for representing ideological tendencies; they give access to hidden power relations (van Dijk, 1996). In the same vein, Herman and Chomsky (2002) underpinned that the mass media have a significant role as system-supportive propaganda. They argued that commercial media institutions form and define people's norms and beliefs according to the social, political, and economic interests dominating the state. In this sense, the media mobilize the public to support the social interests of the elite, and the dominant ideology of a society serves as its criterion for common sense and rational understanding (Herman & Chomsky, 2002).

News is a representation of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of facts but rather reported from a particular perspective, being controlled by economic, political, and social institutions which express and implement their social meanings and values through language, as held by Fowler (1991). In line with Fowler, van Dijk (2000) elucidated that news discourse arises from the current social or political conflicts and struggles between individuals or social groups. Accordingly, each social group has its own version of social reality which is defended and expressed in such discourse, but the version that becomes

dominant and naturalized is that of the powerful elites (van Dijk, 2000). In agreement with Fowler (1991) and van Dijk (2000), Richardson (2007) pointed out that newspaper discourse is a medium of power and acts in ideological ways. Journalists, in the discourse process suggested by CDA, act upon the world through maintaining or transforming social beliefs as well as producing and reproducing social realities (Richardson, 2007). Here emerges Richardson's description of news reports as being prejudiced, explicating that the media institutions policies direct them; otherwise, all the media outlets would relatively report all news in the same way. Therefore, it can be concluded that news reporting is not valueless, i.e. not neutral and, on occasion, is fundamentally biased owing to the fact that value judgments are integrated into the news making process at all stages, notably, newsgathering, news writing, story selection, editing, and presentation, as explained by Richardson.

Fairclough's (1995a) three-layer model of CDA is adopted, for it is one of the most comprehensive frameworks of CDA which was developed throughout his works (e.g. Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995a, 1995b), and others. At the core of Fairclough's approach to CDA is a view of discourse at three levels, namely, textual analysis referred to as "a language text" ("description"), text production and consumption referred to as "discourse practice" ("interpretation"), and the wider social context around its production and consumption referred to as "sociocultural practice" ("explanation") (p. 97). Hence, as Fairclough maintained, his framework of CDA can be employed in investigating social issues like those tackled in press discourse, which is the focus of the present study.

As far as the description level of analysis is concerned, Fairclough (1995a) stated textual analysis involves the analysis of the way propositions are structured, combined and sequenced.

He pointed out that language use is simultaneously constitutive of social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and beliefs. That is, the language used is selected and controlled to achieve specific social purposes, and the analyst may pay attention to any or all of the grammar, lexis, intonation, and cohesive devices used, as well as global meanings.

As for the interpretation level of analysis, it refers to the way that actual discourse is institutionally determined (Fairclough, 1995a). Indeed, text production and interpretation are embedded in institutional discourse practices and therefore mediate between the sociocultural practice (the area of context) and text. Fairclough argued that it is at the interpretation level that the implicit meanings underlying any given discourse are unveiled through revealing what people have in their mind such as their beliefs, ideologies, and knowledge of language.

In the explanation level of analysis, Fairclough (1995a) underscored that discourse as social practice means that language is a social process. He explained that the social context of our lives, which includes all the elements both linguistic and non-linguistic, shapes the ways in which we use language; this provides the context for how we interpret and understand the world. In other words, discourse at the level of context involves the social conditions of the production and interpretation of meaning. Thus, the actual power of the text cannot be described unless reference is made to the wider social models of the world, as held by Fairclough. He highlighted that the analysis of such socio-cultural context of which a particular event is part may involve its immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices within which the event is embedded, or the yet wider frame of the society and culture.

In the present study, internal intertextualityis explored since news includes certain happenings, excludes others, and sets these

events in a particular relation to each other, and part of making the story is the representation of voices and speech (Fairclough, 2003). According to Richardson (2007), internal intertextuality refers to quotations and reported speech; news reporting necessarily reproduces the actions and views of others. Investigating internal intertextuality is of great importance to the current study, for news reports weave a range of voices together in order to interpret events, and the voice of the social actors whether officials or men on the street and whether directly quoted or paraphrased reveals to what extent news reporting may be considered prejudicial (Iggers, 1999; Richardson, 2007). Consequently, this uncovers the ideologies and power relations underlying the examined newspapers' citing of voices. Since a news report may include a quote from a source either involved in the reported event or commenting on it, the journalist is in control of the process of selecting and framing the voices (Fairclough, 2003).In addition, news outlets, on the one hand, often legitimize the voices of the ingroup, while, on the other hand, represent the outgroup as unreliable sources, and thus they are not reported as frequently as the ingroup, as held by van Dijk (2000).

Richardson (2007) underscored four types of reported speech that he believed are most relevant to the analysis of news reporting discourse; these types are incorporated in the collected data and represent the following:

- Direct quotation: comprising the exact words of the speaker in quotation marks with a reporting clause.
- Strategic quotation or scare quotes: placing a particular word or phrase of the reported speech, writing, or thoughts of others in quotation marks in order to indicate contentious truth claims or that the truth claims are not the reporter's, i.e. reporting is not prejudicial.
- Indirect quotation: presenting a summary of the content of what was said or written with a reporting clause and with no quotation marks.

- Transformed indirect quotation: dispensing with quotation marks and replacing reporting verbs like "said" with transitive actions like "discover" or mental state verbs like "believe" to fit with the newspaper's agenda.

(Summarized from Richardson, 2007, pp. 102-105)

As Teo (2000) put it, quotation patterns can act as a powerful ideological tool to manipulate readers' perception and interpretation of people and events in news reports. This is because citing in certain ways influences the factualness of the cited speech content (van Ginneken, 2002).To expound, strategic quotation reflects the journalist's disapproval of the quoted speech, or his doubt about its factualness (Bell, 1991; Juan, 2009; van Ginneken, 2002). In contrast, direct quotation indicates that the speech content is indisputable, which renders it persuasive and newsworthy and helps the reporter distance himself from the quoted speech (Bell, 1991; Cotter, 2010; Fairclough, 1994, 1995b, 2003; Richardson, 2007;Sornig, 1989; van Dijk, 1993a; van Ginneken, 2002). Indirect quotation, unlike both types above, distorts the original words said to the extent that they may change to be the reporter's; hence, it is difficult to distinguish the voice of the reported from that of the reporter, which gives power to the latter to transform the speech content in a way that makes it biased against or towards a specific party or group (de Graaf, 2008; Fairclough, 1994, 1995b, 2003; van Dijk, 1988). Both direct and indirect quotations are the most common in the data under analysis (see Tables 1-4, pp. 30-37).

Fairclough (2003) stated, "When the voice of another is incorporated into a text, there are always choices about how to frame it, how to contextualize it, in terms of other parts of the text – about relations between report and authorial account" (p. 53). Thus, intertextuality is a matter of recontextualization entailing certain transformations based upon how the represented discourse

figures in the new context, i.e. the representing discourse, as held by Fairclough. Accordingly, the critical analysis of internal intertextualityin the present study is based on the following paraphrased criteria provided byFairclough in this respect:

- The voices included and the voices significantly excluded.
- Intertextuality specifically attributed to particular people or vaguely attributed (i.e. the anonymity of the voiced sources makes it hard to challenge what they said).
- The presence or absence of voices that criticize others and if present, the manner they are utilized and the significance of such criticism.
- The way the incorporated voices are textured in relation to the authorial voice and in relation to each other.
- The implemented voices in the wrap-up.
- The difference in the use of the various types of quotation like, e.g. the direct and the indirect quotations.

(Summarised from Fairclough, 2003, pp. 47-54)

What is also important to the analysis of quotes and reports are the reporting verbs employed by the authorial voice to cite voices. In fact, the analysis of such verbal processes in media texts can unveil much about both the journalist's attitude towards the quoted speaker and the way by which the journalist can lead the reader to adopt a certain view of that speaker (Bell, 1991; Chen, 2005, 2007; Eissa, 2015; Fairclough, 2003). Chen (2005, 2007) identified three sub-categories of verbal process: positive, negative, and neutral, which can indicate, respectively, the journalist's positive bias, negative bias, and impartiality towards the speaker.Chen defined each of the above categories and gave examples on each that, as she argued, are far from being comprehensive or ultimate. To illustrate, first, the neutral verbal processes reflect the writer's choice neither to endorse nor

to disagree with what the quoted speaker is saying, such as "said", "agreed", "estimated", "asked", "told", "described", etc (Chen, 2005, pp. 48-51). Second, the negative verbal processes convey an element of doubt or skepticism as to the veracity of the reported speaker's words and demonstrate a certain negativity of feeling (bias) on the part of the writer towards the speaker, such as "insisted", "claimed", "admitted", "complained", "denied", "shouted", etc (Chen, 2005, pp. pp. 41-46). Third, the positive verbal processes, as Chen (2007) explained, somehow promote in the reader a feeling that the cited voice is wise, decisive, strong, authoritative, confident, or in some other sense positive. Chen divided such positive reporting verbs into six sub-categories according to the role they assign to the quoted speaker and to the relationship of this speaker with other participants featuring in the news reports alongside him/her. These categories comprise declarative verbs (e.g. declared), authoritative (e.g. ordered), exhortative (e.g. urged), accusative (e.g. accused), informative (e.g. reported), and predicative (e.g. will demand) (Chen, 2007, pp 37-51).

A number of studies investigating the representation of Egyptian January 25 protests in the press discourse using CDA tenets and tools were carried out. However, to the researcher's knowledge, no study used CDA to investigate the quoted sources whether in the international and/or national independent press except Youssef's (2012) study. Furthermore,all the studies on the representation of Morsi's presidential era in the press discourse using CDA tackled only the portrayal of either Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), and/or the political forces whether liberals, seculars, and Islamists during his rule up to but not including the June 30 anti-regime protests and Morsi's downfall. Only one of these studies, namely, Eissa (2015) is selected to be reviewed due to its investigation of the quoted voices on the part of the main social actors involved in the anti-Morsi protests

during two key events discussed in the present study, namely, Morsi's constitutional declaration and the approval of the draft constitution as well as their repercussions.Comparing and contrasting the portrayal of both anti-regime protests in the national and international press discourse have not been examined.Even El-Nashar's (2014) study on the representation of the army's role in both protests in the American pressdid not investigate internal intertextuality. Thus, the present study attempts to fill in these gaps.

Youssef's (2012) study used Fairclough's CDA model and van Dijk's ideological square in its investigation of the ideological differences of Egyptian (independent) and Western press discourses in their representation of the Egyptian January 25 protests. It also examined reported speech among other textual features. Youssef's (2012) study aimed at exploring the news media frames employed in the news reports and editorials of American (The Washington Post), British (The Telegraph), and Egyptian (Al-Masry Al-Youm and Al-Ahram) newspapers to represent the protestsin light of the protest paradigm which trivializes and demonizes the social movements and their beliefs. It also aimed at exploring how these newspapers identified the characteristics of war and peace journalism and depicted the protesters. The study demonstrated that the national newspapers were more inclined to stress the protesters' acts of violence and depict the protests as economic threat and chaos. The national newspapers were also prone more towards war-reporting, i.e. resorting to victimizing language and using a language of good and bad dichotomous. In contrast, the study pinpointed that the international newspaper shifted away from the protest paradigm and employed peace-reporting, taking the side of the protesters via depicting them positively. Besides, the international newspapers were constant in their coverage during the event and after Mubarak's downfall, whereas the national newspapers

started to be explicitly positive of the protests and critical of the regime only after the latter's downfall. In fact, Al-Masry Al-Youm showed signs of mixed reporting during the event which either disregarded the protests or focused on positively depicting Mubarak's counter protests.

Eissa's (2015) study examined how Egyptian official vs. independent news outlets' different ideologies and political stances, whether pro- or anti-the MB, influenced their representation of the MB and/or its opposition with regard to some crucial events during Morsi'srule, like the writing of the draft constitution with the accompanying heated discussion about the MB's intentions. Eissa's (2015) study aimed at quantitatively and qualitatively investigating the ideological structures of polarized discourse and hence the establishment of van Dijk's ideological square in the depiction of news actors and events in the news reports of two online news websites representing two different ideologies: Ikhwanweb (the official English mouthpiece of the MB) and Egyptindependent (the liberal opposing viewpoint to the ruling power). The study investigated the two news websites' coverage of three interrelated events: Morsi's issuing of a constitutional declaration on Nov. 22, 2012, the resultant clashes outside the presidential palace on Dec. 5, 2012, and the issuing of the Egyptian controversial draft constitution on Dec. 15, 2012. The study traced thesourcing of the involved social actors. It found that both news outlets established the Us versus Them dichotomy. The study found a diverse representation of the MB that reflected the examined news outlets' opposing ideologies. It highlighted that each news outlet highly quoted its camp while silencing the other or quoting it to be criticized.

Comparing and contrasting the main findings of the above studies to those of the present study is presented in Section 6.

4. Methodology

The New York Times (American) and *Al-Masry Al-Youm* (Egyptian) represent prominent mainstream widely circulated news outlets. That is, they are powerful in setting the tone for reporting in their countries, which may indicate their impact on the readers who consider them sources to derive news from. In fact, premier newspapers, according to Lawrence (2000), provide indications to other news organizations about what is newsworthy; thus, their importance is not only related to their own wide readership but also to their influence on the content of other news media.

An equally important reason for the selection of both newspapers is their political affiliation which allows analyzing news reporting materials on both investigated protests from different ideological perspectives. To explicate, *The New York Times*' public editor Daniel Okrent (2004), a Democrat, stated that the newspaper has a general liberal bias in political coverage and news coverage of social issues. Such bias emanates from a belief in liberalism which supports the expansion of civil and political rights and liberties (Adams, 2001). The newspaper, moreover, heavily favors Democrats (Ansolabehere, Lessem, & Snyder, 2004); accordingly, it endorsed Democrat President Obama in his presidential campaign in 2012 (Brennan, 2012). The newspaper is also an example of the elite media outlets, i.e. agenda setting media; these elite media style the content of the mainstream media in ways that meet the interests of the few elite in control of major profitable corporations (Chomsky, 1997).

As for the examined national newspaper, media discourse production in Egypt is bound to social and political restrictions, like the domination of the government or groups close to the government over the media institutions (Alhumaidi, 2013). Besides, the state Supreme Council of Journalism imposes censorship on the state-owned and privately-owned newspapers since it has the authority to suspend or impound any newspaper at any time (Pasha, 2011; Rubin, 2015; Rugh, 2004).*Al-Masry*

Al-Youm, first published during Mubarak's era, tried to provide reliable and objective news coverage as well as balanced information and a wide range of opinions; it did not reflect the view(s) of any political party (Arab West Report, 2008). In other words, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*'s coverage was sometimes reliant on criticizing the government, being an independent (privately-owned) newspaper (Arab West Report, 2008; Cooper, 2008; Elmasry, 2012; Pasha, 2011). *Al-Masry Al-Youm* also provided a coverage that was very critical of the MB and Morsi during his one-year rule, being then a representative of the liberal media as opposed to the regime's Islamist media (Elmasry& el-Nawawy, 2014). The Islamist media established by the MB and their Islamist political allies during Morsi's one year in office were playing a similar role to that of the state media during Mubarak's era which lay in defending the ruler and presenting his vision as the ultimate truth (El Issawi, 2014).

The data collected in the present study comprises 32 news reports collected from the online archives of the examined newspapers and divided equally into 16 reports from each newspaper. Eight news reports from each newspaper on each protest are thoroughly examined by including the headlines, lead paragraphs, satellite paragraphs, and wrap-ups in the analysis, i.e. all the sections of a news report (see Appendices A & B for a detailed description of the examined news reports).Such reports cover both protests from the eruption of each until the downfall of both regimes (more specifically, from Jan. 25 to Feb. 11, 2011; and from Nov. 22, 2012, when Morsi's constitutional declaration was issued and led to the eruption of the first mass protests against his regime, to July 3, 2013). Such duration is enough to make it clear in each newspaper's representation of each protest whether their stances were constant or changed during each and/or immediately after the end of the targeted regime in association with the then dominant power relations.

The 16 selected news reports on each anti-regime protest cover five events representing the frequently reported key events

during each protest and the main phases in the escalation of each protest. The selection of these key events have been conducted based on scrutinizing the surface of the news reports published on both anti-regime protests in each newspaper via going through the headlines, subhead lines if available, and lead paragraphs in order to find out the most frequent reported topics, which had come up with the bulleted key events below. Furthermore, the selected events that occupied more space in each newspaper than the selected corresponding others, i.e. covered in more than three news reports have been devoted two news reports for analysis. Each two news reports issued with the same date on a given key event are ordered alphabetically as (a) and (b) based on the alphabetical order of their headlines to avoid confusion.

The five crucial selected events during the January 25 protests consist of (see Appendix A):

- The eruption of the protests on Jan. 25.
- The *Friday of Anger* on Jan. 28 which witnessed violent clashes between the state police and the protesters, resulting in police vacuum and chaos and hence Mubarak's sacking of the cabinet and ordering of a nationwide curfew to save Egypt's stability in his first speech to the nation since the eruption of the protests.
- The *Battle of the Camel* on Feb. 2 that occurred in Tahrir Square between the pro- and anti-Mubarak protesters after his emotional speech on Feb. 1 when he promised political reforms and appointed Suleiman as vice president but refused to relinquish power.
- The largest million-man protest insisting on Mubarak's departure on Feb. 8 (*Day of Egypt's Love*) tremendously influenced by a TV emotional interview with released youth activist WaelGhonim.
- Mubarak's resignation and ceding of power to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) on Feb. 11.

The five central events selected during the June 30 protests lie in (see Appendix B):

- Morsi's constitutional declaration on Nov. 22, 2012, in which he was criticized for usurping all state powers and thus leading to the eruption of the first mass protests against his regime on Nov. 23.

- The beginning of the rush approval of Egypt's post-January 25 protests controversial draft constitution on Nov. 29, 2012 and Morsi's deciding on Dec. 15 as the date for public referendum on such a constitution. This occurred despite the liberal and secular members' boycotting of the constituent assembly and the continuous anti-declaration and anti-draft constitution mega protests on the part of Morsi's opponents, resulting in many casualties in the first most violent clashes between the anti- and pro-Morsi protesters on Dec. 5.

- The eruption of Tamarrod's planned June 30 million-man protests based on gathering public petitions calling mainly for Morsi's downfall and early presidential elections.

- The military intervention in response to the public's demands via issuing a statement on July 1 giving a 48-hour time limit for all parties to reach a consensus in an attempt to resolve the internal conflict and meet the people's legitimate demands.

- The military's announcement of a roadmap via a televised speech to the nation on July 3 by which Morsi was ousted, the constitution suspended, and a non-military interim leader appointed.

However, it has to be noted, in the Egyptian newspaper, that the articles reporting on each investigated key event were published the day after the occurrence of such event(s) in contrast to the examined American newspaper whose reports on the same event(s) were published online on the day of

occurrence. I have translated all the examples taken from the Egyptian newspaper into English, but I have analyzed the Arabic version of the selected examples since the present study focuses on the news produced to the original targeted audience by each examined news outlet. In Section 5, each example or group of examples chosen for analysis on a particular point is immediately preceded by the name of the newspaper from which it is selected. Besides, every example is immediately followed by the full date of the related article between brackets. Moreover, the tokens analyzed are both typed in boldface in each example and written in italics in the in-text analysis.

5. Analysis and Discussion

In the investigated news reports on the January 25 and June 30 protests, both examined newspapers structure voices in a way that provides a positive portrayal of the in group and a negative portrayal of the out group according to each newspaper's ideological stance towards the protests. This could be detected in the examples of the antagonist-protagonist structuring of voices in both newspapers that are conducive to one group and/or counter another, as explained in the below three-stage analysis representing Fairclough's (1995a) CDA framework:

5.1 Description Stage

5.1.1   Significant Inclusion and Exclusion of Voices: Primary and Counter Definers

Reporters include certain voices and they exclude others; they are taught by their media institutions to be selective regarding which elements of an utterance to use as a quote (Cotter, 2010). Such selection contextualizes the quote in a way that can have a serious effect on the meaning of the said (Fairclough, 2003) and hence positions the quoted voice in a manner that throws a positive light on it and the conflicting party it represents and a

negative light on the opposing party. This helps create the primary and secondary definers of the situation according to each newspaper's definition of the in group and out group.

5.1.1.1 Egyptian January 25 Protests

The New York Times adopts and seeks the definitions of the regime's opponents as opposed to the authority figures and their backers**.** To illustrate, it quotes the details of the protesting situation and violence committed by the regime to disperse the protests from the anti-regime protesters, and their utterances are not challenged by the newspaper; thus, they are the primary definers. In contrast, the newspaper provides shallow unevidenced statements on the part of the regime's backers praising Mubarak and casts doubt on and downplays the regime's negative depiction of its opponents; that is, they are the counter definers. Consider the examples below:

(1) "We don't know who is with us and who is against us now — we are lost," **said Abdel Raouf Mohamed, 37**, before he was interrupted by **a burly young man who shouted**: "I love Mubarak! I need Mubarak!"

Seven minutes later, **RedaSadak, 45, said**, "In 10 minutes, there will be a big fight here — it is an old game, the oldest game in the regime."

In fact, before he finished speaking, rocks and sticks began to fly from the pro-Mubarak forces into the crowd of the anti-Mubarak demonstrators (2 – 2 – 2011a).

(2) […] **Mr. Mubarak, 82**, breaking days of silence, appeared on national television, **promising** to replace the ministers in his government, but **calling** popular protests "part of bigger plot to shake the stability" of Egypt. […]

"I will not shy away from taking any decision that maintains the security of every Egyptian," **he vowed**, as gunfire rang out around Cairo (28 – 1 – 2011b).

In (1) the voiced protesters are individualized as Abdel Raouf Mohamed, 37 and RedaSadak, 45, respectively, whereas the voice of the pro-regime protester is depersonalized and referred to by physical appearance as a burly young man. This factualizes the former and dehumanizes the latter, as maintained by Juan (2009), though both are directly quoted. In reference to themselves, the former used the pronoun we, which emphasizes his individualism is meant to symbolize the other members of the group in question, i.e. the anti-regime protesters, as said by Tuchman (1978). Conversely, the pro-Mubarak protester was only expressing himself by using the first person singular pronoun, which, together with the fact that his short statement did not criticize the protesters in any sense, further reduces the importance of his words regarding his love and need for Mubarak. His statement is surrounded by the two quoted protesters' words that negatively depicted the regime's connived violence against them. Such negative image is immediately confirmed by the reporter's description of the aggression initiated by the pro-Mubarak protesters against the anti-Mubarak protesters, which serves to both gain the readers' sympathy for the latter and legitimize their demands.

In (2), Mubarak's depiction of the protests in his address to the people as "part of bigger plot to shake the stability" of the nation is placed in a strategic quotation, which makes the factualness of the said attached to the speaker only and implies the reporter's covert questioning and/or rejection of the president's negative depiction of his opponents' protesting act and the scheme behind it. This, in turn, undermines the positive impression created by the positive declarative reporting verb promising which, in terms of Chen's (2007) positive category of verbal processes, shows the speaker as being powerful and responsible with respect to changing his cabinet as requested by the protesters. The direct quote in the second section of the example increases the readers'

negative feelings towards the president though it is accompanied by the positive declarative reporting verb vowed which shows him as bound by an oath to protect the Egyptians. Such adverse feelings arise from the dependent clause that immediately follows his speech, describing the sound of gunshot that was spreading in Cairo then. Such clause makes his directly quoted words communicate his intention to take any decision necessary to save the nation in a negative tone since it shows such decision as intended violence to quell the protests being a plot against the nation's interests, and the direct quote expresses such violence as an indisputable fact. This is further emphasized in the same examined report (b) dated Jan. 28 where the scene of his police apparatus' violence against the unarmed protesters was explicitly highlighted and detailed, which refutes Mubarak's promise to protect each Egyptian and displays him as a liar. Accordingly, contextualizing the positive reporting verb and the direct quote in such manner, i.e. the context surrounding the cited statement, frames the readers' understanding of how violent Mubarak could be in confronting the anti-regime protests. This is particularly due to the fact that the first section of the same example, i.e. part of the surrounding context, contains the reporter's overt reference to the anti-regime protests as popular protests, which, in turn, implies that Mubarak's intended violence against them must have been intense enough to enable him to put an end to such public protests.

Unlike the American newspaper's positive representation of the protesters as the primary definers of the protesting situation, Al-Masry Al-Youm undergoes two stages in its representation of the conflicting sides' voices: the pre-Friday of Departure stage on Feb. 4, considered the largest mega protest persistently calling for Mubarak's downfall in response to the Battle of the Camel, and the post-Friday of Departure stage. To explain, in stage one, the newspaper adopts Mubarak's and his supporters' definition of as well as negative evaluation of the anti-regime protests and

presents them in longer and more vivid quotations dissimilar to the protesters' cited brief and generic anti-regime statements and chants. This makes the former the primary definers and reflects the newspaper's support for them, as apparent in:

(3) **وقالت إحدى المشاركات فى مظاهرات التأييد** إن الرئيس حقق جميع مطالب المعارضين، وإنها كانت تعيش فى أمان قبل الأحداث التى شهدتها البلاد، **وأضافت** أن الرئيس قال إن التاريخ سوف يشهد عليه، على الشباب المعارضين أن يتركوا له الفرصة، بدلا من إهانته بهذه الطريقة، فهذا الرجل يستحق التكريم لا أن يقوم الشباب بإذلاله، **وقالت متظاهرة أخرى**: «الظروف التى تمر بها البلاد لا تتحمل ما يفعله هؤلاء الشباب الذين لا يريدون العودة إلى منازلهم حتى يتم إصلاح ما تم تخريبه فى البلد» (٣ – ٢ – ٢٠١١a).

(**One of the participants in the supportive protests said** that the president had met all the demands of the opposition and that she had been safe before the events witnessed in the country. **She added** that the president said history will testify to him. Young oppositionists should leave him the opportunity, rather than insult him in this way. This man deserves the honor, not to be humiliated by young people. **Another protester said**: "The conditions that the country is going through do not bear what is being done by these young people who do not want to return to their homes until the damage caused in the country has been repaired") (3 – 2 – 2011a).

Example (3) keys on the dangers of the anti-regime protests to Egypt and its people from the pro-Mubarak protesters' perspective. Such dangers consisted in threatening the state's stability and safety, causing economic deterioration and general devastation, as well as insulting and humiliating the president at the hands of the few stubborn young opponents remaining in the Square and insisting on his departure even after his Feb. 1 promises of conducting political reforms. Such negative portrayal of the anti-government protests is contrasted with the positive image of both Mubarak as being the achiever of their demands and the rescuer of the nation's safety and the conscious young protesters who responded to his promises by going home. This, in turn, magnifies the image of the pro-regime protesters' rational attitude towards the nation's internal crisis since they are given

the fortune to express themselves in a way that discolors the behavior and value of the opposing camp, thus giving the impression that sources on its part are unreliable in newsgathering, as argued by van Dijk (1988). In fact, incorporating two unnamed female speakers as belonging to a group like احدى المشاركات في مظاهرات التأييد 'one of the participants in the supportive protests' and متظاهرة أخرى 'another protester' emphasizes the notion of unity and popularity, as stated by Lagonikos (2005). It also enables them, as argued by Tuchman (1978), to symbolize the other members of the group in question, i.e. the pro-Mubarak protesters, and speak up their demands. Quoting more or less the same idea twice: once indirectly and once directly from two different sources serves as a confirmation of their positive evaluation of the president and negative evaluation of the protesters. In the first indirect quotation, the authorial voice seems to be inserted within the supporter's voice as if both shared the same view. The second direct quotation displays that these were truly the indisputable words used by the supporter to express her camp's stance towards the protests and the president, maintaining the boundaries between the authorial voice and the quoted speaker. They all wanted the anti-regime protesters to give Mubarak the chance to achieve his pledges and repair the damages caused by the former across the nation. As observed, the pro-Mubarak camp's demands are not challenged by the opposing camp whose voice is marginalized in association with the *Battle of the Camel*, as noted in the examined reports on Feb. 2, except for very few projections that are brief and vague, being either chants or mere allegations against the regime of being involved in the violence exercised against them in the Square. This reflects the newspaper's predilection towards the regime's supporting camp.

Al-Masry Al-Youm, in the post-*Friday of Departure* stage, explicitly starts to adopt the anti-regime protesters' definition of the protesting situation. Accordingly, a different version of the story of the anti-regime protests is provided that foregrounds the

positive actions of the protesters and the negative actions of the regime but not as overtly symbolized by Mubarak until his last speech to the nation on Feb. 10. View the example below:

(4) وتوافدآلاف **المتظاهرين من محافظات البحيرة والقليوبية والإسماعيلية والغربية والشرقية**، **مؤكدين** أنهم يمثلون أبناء محافظاتهم فى رفض استمرار الرئيس فى السلطة ولو بشكل شرفى، **مؤكدين** استمرارهم فى التظاهر واحتلال الميادين حتى تتحقق مطالبهم بإسقاط الرئيس ونظامه وإلغاء قانون الطوارئ وتحقيق حد أدنى للأجور. [...](١٢ – ٢ – ٢٠١١a).

(**Thousands of protesters came from the provinces of El-Beheira, Qaliubiya, Ismailia, Gharbia and Sharqiya**, **asserting** that they represent the inhabitants of their provinces with respect to rejecting the continuation of the president in power, even as an honorary president. **They** also **asserted** their continued protesting and occupation of the squares until achieving their demands of the downfall of the President and his regime, the abolition of the emergency law, and the guarantee of minimum wages […]) (12 – 2 – 2011a).

Example (4) represents a full detailed statement by an unnamed collective source, namely, thousands of protesters from various governorates, which reflects their power as well as representativeness and hence yields their words valid and reliable. The speakers in (4)deliver a contextual background of the protests through their description of the social injustice that many Egyptians suffered from with respect to two particular issues: the distribution of wealth, specifically governmental salaries as well as the use of the emergency law. Such unfair and inhumane life conditions exhibit the distress and hardship the Egyptians were going through under Mubarak's regime, which stirs the readers' anger against the latter and compassion for the former. Such contextual details are totally absent from the reported speech of the sources on the regime's side, i.e. absent news, as is called by Eissa (2015), which leads to creating a contradictory image of the conflicting parties towards the fall of the regime that deviates from their image before the *Friday of Departure* on Feb. 4. The indirect quotation is reported using the adverb مؤكدين 'asserting' twice derived from the verbal process

يؤكد 'assert' which represents one of Chen's (2007) positive authoritative reporting verbs.It displays the protesters as being powerful and influential with respect to their being representatives of the insistence of their governorates' inhabitants on ousting Mubarak, lifting the emergency law, and deciding on a minimum wage rate to ensure a dignified life. The protesters' reported statement is preceded and followed in the investigated report (a) dated Feb. 11 by other protesters' statements that repeat their main demand of Mubarak's downfall in addition to other demands lying in achieving social equality and pursuing the corruptors, which denigrates Mubarak and his autocratic regime and venerates the protesters as seekers of democracy and justice. In fact, it is unlikely that the protesters named their remaining in the squares across Egypt as احتلال 'occupation'. By choosing indirect reporting, the reporter is able to modify the text in such a way that it becomes in favor of the protesters. Such word indicates both the huge number of the protesters who were seeking freedom and equality and their persistence in getting their demand carried out without ascribing violence to them, which evinces that they had a fair cause and thus magnifies their positive image.

5.1.1.2 Egyptian June 30 Protests

In *The New York Times*, when the anti-regime protesters are cited, they appear contrasted with the regime's voice, making the former's alternative view seem irrational and illegitimate, as argued by Hertog and Mcleod (1995). In other words, in contrast to the newspaper's representation of voices in its coverage of the January 25 protests, it presents the regime and its backers as the primary definers of the situation. To exemplify, the newspaper adopts the regime's positive perspective towards the presidential decrees as a path to democracy, whereas the newspaper depicts the regime's opposition as deliberate usurpers of power from a legitimate regime. Think over the following examples:

(5) Since Thursday, when Mr. Morsi issued the decree, **the president and his supporters have argued** that he acted

precisely to gain the power to address the complaints of his critics, including the families of protesters killed during the uprising and its aftermath (23 – 11 – 2012).

(6) **Many vowed** to stay in the streets until Mr. Morsi resigned. **Some joked** that it should be comparatively easy: just two years ago, Egyptian protesters toppled a more powerful president, even though he controlled a fearsome police state.But there is no legal mechanism to remove Mr. Morsi until the election of a new Parliament, expected later this year, […].

[…] and even **some critics acknowledge** that forcing the first democratically elected president from power would set a precedent for future instability (30 – 6 – 2013).

The newspaper, as displayed in the indirect quote in (5), eliminates the boundaries between the regime's reported voice, namely, the president and his supporters, and the authorial voice. The speakers attempt to pinpoint the reason behind issuing Morsi's constitutional declaration as being a tool that could enable Morsi to gain the power needed to satisfy his people's demands, such as the retrial of those responsible for killing protesters during and after the anti-Mubarak protests. The reporting verb *argued* is one of Chen's (2007) positive exhortative verbal processes creating the impression that the speakers were people of wisdom who do not have the power to force others to do what they want. This indicates that Morsi and his backers were well-intentioned with respect to the declaration but were not dominant enough to impose their view on their critics. In other words, they did not intend to use violence with their opponents to implement the presidential decree, and the use of the present perfect tense in the formation of the reporting verb shows the regime's repeated and continuous attempts to explain the president's declaration and convince their opponents of its urgency. Besides, depicting the president as lacking enough

power to meet his people's needs, as embodied in the verb phrase *acted to gain the power,* implies that Morsi's authority as the leader of the country was not enough to carry out the demands of his people. It also indicates that other forces, such as the judiciary from which he wanted to immunize his edicts, were powerful enough to challenge his presidential will in this respect. This, in sequence, arouses the readers' sympathy with Morsi and anger against such forces intriguing against the regime (see the examined reports dated Nov. 22, 23 29, & Dec. 5).

The anti-Morsi protesters, as noted in (6), are reported using Chen's (2007) positive declarative verbal process *vowed* which shows them as being powerful enough to carry out their action lying in their defiance to the regime until Morsi leaves office, especially that his regime was not as powerful and brutal as that of the toppled Mubarak. This, in turn, displays Morsi in a positive light since leading a fierce police state was only linked to Mubarak in the comparison drawn between both presidents in the speaker's words. To put it more pointedly, Morsi's regime was not practicing violence against its opponents. Accordingly, the powerful image of the protesters who drew such comparison is de-emphasized. Such devaluation is magnified by the reporter's extra information regarding the illegality of Morsi's removal since no elected parliament was then available, which delegitimizes the protesters' persistent demand of Morsi's departure. What further supports the reporter's perspective is the admission of some of the regime's critics, i.e. opponents, that the ouster of democratically elected Morsi as such would cause instability in the future of the Egyptian authority. Voicing some of Morsi's critics, i.e. sources from the enemy side speaking against their men's intended action to remove Morsi from power in addition to reporting them using Chen's (2005) negative verbal processes *acknowledged*totally distorts the aforementioned powerful image of the protesters. Such reporting verb indicates the speaker's realization and recognition of the negative impact of the protester's removal of Morsi. This representation turns them to appear as mere usurpers of power and hence lets Morsi's regime gain the readers' compassion and advocacy.

Contrary to the examined international newspaper, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* adopts the anti-regime protesters' ascription of the revolutionary legitimacy to their public will in the face of Morsi's regime. The newspaper foregrounds the anti-regime protesters' detailed comments on the adverse impact of Morsi's declaration on the nation in addition to their intentionally non-violent tangible reaction to it. This displays them as the main definers. In contrast, the newspaper provides a challenged representation of the regime's voice and its supporters' as well defending the declaration, which indicates the newspaper's predilection towards the stance of the opposing camp. See the examples below:

(7) **ووصف الدكتور طارق السهرى، عضو الهيئة العليا لحزب النور،** قرارات «مرسى» بأنها شجاعة وحكيمة وعودة الأمور إلى نصابها الحقيقى، خاصة بعد الأيادى التى حاولت أن «تشيع الفوضى فى البلاد».

وأيدت **جماعة الإخوان المسلمين**القرارات التى **وصفتها بـ**«الثورية» للرئيس، **مؤكدة** أنها تتجاوب مع الإرادة الشعبية (٢٣ – ١١ – ٢٠١٢).

(Dr. Tarek El-Sehry, **a member of the supreme committee of El-Nour party**, **described** "Morsi's" decisions as courageous and wise and the return of things to the right way, especially after the hands that tried to "create chaos in the country."

The MB supported the president's decisions **it described** as "revolutionary", **asserting** that they are responsive to the public will) (23 – 11 – 2012).

(8) **وقالت القوى الوطنية فى بيان أصدرته،** أمس، إن خروج المصريين يوم الثلاثاء الماضى بالملايين يسطر صفحة جديدة فى تاريخ مصر بإعلانهم أنهم مازالوا قابضين على جمر الثورة ومؤمنين باستكمالها، ضد كل من يحاول أن يختطفها أو يعيد إنتاج ديكتاتورية جديدة خلف ستار الدين.

[...]وأعضاء جماعة الإخوان المسلمين، الذين **قال البيان** عنهم إنهم فقدوا أبسط قواعد المسؤولية السياسية بدعوتهم لمؤيدى الرئيس للتظاهر بميدان التحرير غداً، **مؤكداً** أن القوى الثورية ستستمر فى اعتصامها بالميدان ولن يتركوه تحت أى ظرف وسيدافعون عن الميدان بأرواحهم مهما كلفهم ذلك من تضحيات (٣٠ – ١١ – ٢٠١٢).

(In a statement issued yesterday, **the national forces said** that the Egyptians' taking to the streets in millions last Tuesday

writes a new page in Egypt's history by announcing that they are still grasping the embers of the revolution and believing in completing it against anyone trying to steal it or reproduce a new dictatorship under the guise of religion.

And the members of the MB, about whom **the statement said** that they have lost the most basic rules of political responsibility by calling the supporters of the President to demonstrate in Tahrir Square tomorrow, **asserting** that the revolutionary forces will continue to their sit in in the Square and will not leave under any circumstances and will defend it with their lives, whatever sacrifices they make) (30 – 11 – 2012).

As observed in (7), the regime's Islamist supporter Dr. Tarek El-Sehry, a member of the supreme committee of El-Nour party, depicted Morsi positively as being sensible and powerful as to his declaration being a response to the unknown people's chaotic acts across the nation. Such unclear reason is quoted by the reporter using a strategic quotation, which reflects his attempt to distance himself from the truth claim of the speaker's expression. The same occurs with the MB's strategically quoted description of Morsi's declaration as being revolutionary. This casts doubt on the factualness of both expressions and draws the readers' attention more to the formulation of the quoted utterances than the content. In fact, stirring the readers' doubt about El-Sehry's explanation of the reason behind the declaration undermines his positive depiction of such declaration as being wise in the first place. In the same vein, the reporter's distancing himself from the presupposition of the MB's positive depiction of the declaration implicitly negates its correspondence to the public's will despite the use of the adverb مؤكدة 'asserting' derived from Chen's (2007) positive authoritative verbal process أكد 'asserted' in quoting the MB being a dominant political force then. Both utterances are backgrounded in the second half of the examined report dated Nov. 23, while the negative depiction of the declaration by the regime's opponents is foregrounded in both the lead paragraph and first half of the report, and they are more frequently reported there

both directly and indirectly than the regime and its proponents (17 to 8). This, in turn, unveils the newspaper's bias towards the regime's opponents from the very onset of its coverage of the protests via playing down the importance of the speech and perspective of the regime's backers.

As apparent in (8), the contrast between both conflicting sides is explicitly drawn through the anti-regime national forces' words in their statement issued on Nov. 29. They positively made reference to the popularity and massiveness of the anti-Morsi extra-legal declaration protests on Nov. 27 involving not only political and revolutionary forces but also the Egyptian public. In addition, they linked their protesting act to Egypt's history in a manner that reveals how patriotic, powerful, and influential such protests were, which credits them and their demands. Moreover, describing themselves as being the protectors of the January 25 revolution reflects their persistence in achieving democracy and yields a justification for their protests against Morsi and his Islamist allies since the latter were seeking to create a new totalitarian regime due to their attempt to solely control Egypt's political scene, as stated in the examined report dated Nov. 30. The quoted statement, furthermore, adversely portrayed the MB in particular as being politically irresponsible owing to their call for a pro-Morsi protest in Tharir Square where the anti-Morsi forces had their sit-in, which might cause clashes between both camps. This, in turn, worsens the negative image of Morsi's regime as opposed to the sit-in protesters whose persistent defense of the Square to the death demonstrates that they were expected to be exposed to great danger at the hands of Morsi's supporters. This displays the former as the potential victims and the latter as the potential victimizers. The reporter's use of the adverb مؤكدا 'asserting' derived from Chen's (2007) positive authoritative verbal process أكد 'asserted' renders the national forces and their statement powerful and influential. That is, they are presented in a positive light as being much more responsible than the MB and Morsi's backers, which stirs the readers' support

for the former, especially that no violence is indicated on their part despite their massive protests. In fact, because the words of the anti-Morsi national forces are indirectly reported, the newspaper's authorial voice and hence perspective cannot be distinguished from the original speaker's since indirect quotation is ambivalent about the actual words that were said. This exhibits the newspaper's endorsement of the anti-regime protesters.

5.1.2 Texturing of Voices in Relation to Each Other

Fairlcough (2003) has pointed out the importance of addressing how a quote figures in a text since the context in which a source is reported serves an interpretation that is favorable or unfavorable of a particular social actor. Such context could lie in the integration of a voice whether belonging to the conflicting parties or other neutral sources to form the basis for a statement made by any of the conflicting parties so as to vilify or endorse such statement according to the newspaper's stance towards this particular conflicting party.

5.1.2.1 Egyptian January 25 Protests

A closer investigation of the employed sources in *The New York Times* shows how they are positioned in the nearest context in a manner that displays the protesters positively and the regime adversely, as seen in:

(9) **The independent group Human Rights Watch said** that it had confirmed more than 300 fatalities during the protests by visiting hospitals in a few Egyptian cities. "The government wanted to say that life was returning to normal," **said Mahmoud Mustafa, a 25-year-old protester standing in front of Parliament**. "We're saying it's not" (8 – 2 – 2011).

It is obvious in (9) that the international credible independent group Human Rights Watch gives insight into the sorry state of the anti-regime protests through underscoring 300 deaths on their part by visiting hospitals in some governorates. This hints at the possibility that such a number could increase if

more governorates were included. Following the neutral voice is the voice of a 25-year old protester called Mohamed Mostafa who confirmed, in the name of all the protesters, that the government wrongly thought that the nation's internal situation could be eased after the fall of many victims on the former's part. In other words, the statement of the Human Rights Watch acts as a justification for the protesters' insistence on continuing their act against the regime and indicates that the casualties were only on their side, which legitimizes their defiance in the face of the brutal regime. Thus, it can be said that the relationship between both quoted voices is not arbitrary in the sense that the statement of the protester is strengthened by the information given by the neutral voice.

Despite the fact that *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, on the face of it, reports the anti-regime protesters along with the regime before the *Friday of Departure* on Feb. 4, their voice is contextualized in a way that derives an interpretation favorable of the regime and his proponents. In the newspaper's post-Feb. 4 coverage, the protesters' voice is maximally prevalent in the newspaper's coverage as opposed to the regime's and favorably positioned. Consider the examples below:

(10)**واتهم المحتجون على نظام مبارك** الحكومة ونواب ينتمون للحزب الوطنى، بترتيب المظاهرات المؤيدة، وإجبار الموظفين فى الشركات الحكومية على التظاهر لتأييد الرئيس، كما **اتهموا** قوات من الشرطة بالاندساس وسط المتظاهرين المؤيدين لقيادتهم والاعتداء على المحتجين، **وقالوا** إنهم ألقوا القبض على عدد من أفراد الشرطة فى المواجهات وتم تسليمهم للقوات المسلحة، فيما **نفت وزارة الداخلية** ذلك، **وقالت** إن «الكارنيهات التى تم ضبطها منسوبة للشرطة مزورة».

وقالت مصادر طبية مصرية لوكالة «فرانس برس» إن ٥٠٠ مصاب على الأقل نقلوا إلى مستوصف ميدانى فى مسجد بالقرب من ميدان التحرير، علماء بأن أعداداً أخرى من المصابين كانوا نقلوا إلى عدة مستشفيات.

وقالت الوكالة إن قنابل مسيلة للدموع أطلقت على المتظاهرين المعارضين للرئيس مبارك فى ميدان التحرير، ولم يعرف مصدر هذه القنابل المسيلة للدموع (٣ – ٢ – ٢٠١١b).

(**Opponents to Mubarak's regime accused** the government and MPs belonging to the NDP of coordinating the supportive protests and forcing the employees of governmental companies

to demonstrate in support of the president. **They** also **accused** police forces of infiltrating among the protesters supporting their leadership and assaulting the opponents. **They said** they arrested a number of police officers in the clashes and handed them over to the armed forces, while **the Ministry of the Interior denied** it and **said** that «the identification cards that were seized attributed to the police are forged».

Egyptian medical sources told France-Press Agency that at least 500 injuries were taken to a field clinic in a mosque near Tahrir Square and that other numbers of injuries were taken to several hospitals.

The agency said that tear gas canisters were fired at anti-President Mubarak protesters in Tahrir Square, and the source of such canisters was not known) (3 − 2 − 2011b).

(11)وظهرت فى المسيرة المليونية الثالثة، ولأول مرة، **الداعية الإسلامية الدكتورة ملكة زرار،** وخاطبت المتظاهرين **قائلة:** ‹‹على كل الشباب الذين أطلقوا ثورة ٢٥ العظيمة، أن يعلموا أننا أمام نظام عنيد ولئيم ومكار يحاول إجهاض الثورة، لكى يعود ليفترس لحومنا من جديد، فلابد أن نصمد ونصبر حتى ننتصر››.

فى السياق نفسه، **قال محمد البلتاجى، أمين عام الكتلة البرلمانية لجماعة الإخوان المسلمين فى مجلس الشعب السابق،** إن الثورة العظيمة التى قام بها شباب مصر لم تحقق أهدافها حتى الآن، وعلينا أن نستكمل المشوار حتى يرحل الرئيس مبارك.

وأكد أن كل المفاوضات التى أجريت مع اللواء عمر سليمان، نائب رئيس الجمهورية، لم تؤت بثمار حتى هذه اللحظة، ولكن كل التغييرات التى قام بها الرئيس مبارك مضطراً جاءت بفضل ربنا وجهود شباب الثورة المتواجدين فى ميدان التحرير (٩ – ٢ – ٢٠١١).

(For the first time, **Muslim preacher Dr. MalakaZarrar** appeared in the third million-man protest and addressed the protesters, **saying:**"All the young people who launched the great revolution of January 25 should know that we are in front of a stubborn, mean, and cunning regime that tries to abort the revolution, so that it can come back and eat our flesh again. We must resist and wait until we win."

In the same context, **Mohamed ElBeltagy, secretary-general of the parliamentary bloc of the MB in the former People's**

Assembly, **said** that the great revolution carried out by the youth of Egypt has not achieved its goals yet, and we must continue the journey until President Mubarak leaves.

He asserted that all the negotiations conducted with Major General Omar Suleiman, Vice President of the Republic, had not borne fruit until that moment. But all the changes made by President Mubarak were forced by the help of God and the efforts of the revolutionary youth present in Tahrir Square) (9 – 2 – 2011).

As displayed in example (10), the protesters accused the government and NDP, not Mubarak of coordinating the pro-regime protests and accused some police forces of infiltrating into such protests to lead Mubarak's proponents to assault the former. The reporter's repeated use of the reporting verb اتهم و اتهموا'accused' in citing the protesters indicates that he takes distance from their speech, as held by van Dijk (1993a). Such accusation was also negated by the Interior Ministry whose denial is placed in the same line with the protesters' accusation and directly quoted; that is, the reporter takes distance from its statement as well. This puts both voices on an equal footing since none of their statements is adopted by the authorial voice and hence reporting appears to be not prejudicial. This copes with the newspaper's coveragein stage one where it focuses on the violent clashes between the protesters and police, with the latter depicted as the instigators of violence and the former as causes of chaos in response. However, the reported utterances here are followed by two quotes by Egyptian medical sources and the international media source France Press, i.e. neutral voices that did not ascribe any violent act committed against the protesters to Mubarak's supporters. To expound, the cited medical sources spoke generally of more than 500 injuries but did not specify whether they belonged to the pro- or anti-Mubarak protesters and the news agency stated that the latter were hit by tear gas canisters but the agent remained unknown. This underpins that perhaps the

police did it since they had already done it before, as described in the examined report (b) dated Feb. 29 or maybe a third party instigated such vicious attacks on the protesters in an attempt to incite them against the state, as stated in the examined reports on Feb. 2. Such contextualization of the above quotes augments Mubarak's and his backers' positive image and evokes the readers' both support for Mubarak's decision to remain in office until he finishes his term and sympathy for the victims on the pro-and anti-Mubarak protesters' sides.

Example (11), in contrast, overtly sheds a positive light on the anti-regime protesters through the quoted words of two participants in the protests: well-known Islamic preacher Dr. MalakaZarrar and former MB parliamentary member Mohamed ElBeltagy. Both depict the protesting act as a great revolution staged by the young Egyptians. The regime, on the contrary, is represented in a negative tone by pinpointing its obstinate and cunning attempt to abort the revolution and the protesters' insistence on Mubarak's departure, their unfruitful negotiations with Suleiman, as well as their ability to force Mubarak to conduct particular changes during their protesting act. Zarrar's words are directly quoted, which makes them seem factual and therefore influential, and ElBeltagy's words are reported using Chen's (2007) positive authoritative verb أكد 'asserted' which further reflects his power and influence, being one of the protesters. Actually, the adverse image of Mubarak and his regime's men in both speakers' utterances is far more spotlighted via the favorable depiction of his opponents as being mainly revolutionary young men, i.e. devoid of political agendas and powerfully enthusiastic but peaceful. They both succeeded to push Mubarak to meet some of their demands and were involved in negotiations with the regime in a bid to achieve the rest of their aims, but when such negotiations failed, they insisted on his downfall. In the examined report on Feb. 8 million-man protest, only the voices quoted are those of the protesters, and any quote is followed and preceded by other utterances, similar to the

analyzed voices of Zarrar and ElBeltagy, that also positively portray the protests as a great revolution and underscore Mubarak's departure as salvation for the Egyptians. That is, all their quotes frame each other by working as a sort of confirmation of such portrayal, which stimulates the readers' support for the anti-regime protests.

5.1.2.2 Egyptian June 30 Protests

The New York Times employs neutral sources that either frame or are framed by sources belonging to both the regime and its opponents in a manner that generates a positive impression about the former contrary to the newspaper's negative depiction of Mubarak's regime. In example (12) below, the newspaper gives little weight to the negative impact of the regime's decrees by refuting the opposition's criticism of such decrees:

(12)[…] **One representative said** the constitution represented only the Islamists who had drafted it. "Not the constitution of Egypt," the church negotiator, KamelSaleh, told the state newspaper Al Ahram.

But **several independent analysts said** the hasty way in which it was prepared led to more problems than any ideological agenda. Instead of starting from scratch and drawing on the lessons of other countries, the deadline-conscious drafters tinkered with Egypt's existing Constitution, without attempting to radically remake Egyptian law in any particular direction, **said Ziad al-Ali**, **who has tracked the assembly for the International Institute for Democratic and Electoral Assistance**, **an intergovernmental organization in Sweden** (29 – 11 – 2012).

In (12), the Islamists drafters of the constitution were denied any ideological agenda behind their work by a credible and expert neutral source, namely, several independent analysts, one of whom is Ziad al-Ali working for the International Institute for

Democratic and Electoral Assistance, an intergovernmental organization in Sweden. The words of the named source get support from the undefined number of unnamed sources who are assumed to be equal in rank, as put by Stenvall (2008). They explained that the assembly members' rapid preparation of the draft constitution was the real problem and there was no attempt on their part to Islamize it. Stenvall (2008) maintained that analysts are esteemed news actors in their own right and often used to bring forward a contrasting view. Because such evaluation of the drafters and the charter is quoted from an impartial source who also has a professional fair vision, the readers were more likely to accept it, as stated by van Dijk (2001), due to its being much more credible than the authority. That is, the official voice, as taken for granted by the readers, is in direct relation with its interests. Accordingly, the neutral voice's speech negatively frames the statement of the regime's opposition representative in the constituent assembly KamelSaleh, the church negotiator, by means of nullifying the validity of his assumption that the charter represented only the Islamists, not all Egyptians. In other words, the relationship between both voices is not random since the statement of the opposition source is weakened by the statement of the knowledgeable neutral source, which devalues the former's negative portrayal of the regime and Islamists in power and reflects the newspaper's predilection towards the latter.

Similar to the international newspaper at hand, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* positions sources whether belonging to the conflicting parties or neutral others as groundwork for the utterances of the former. However, different from the international newspaper, such voices are aimed to derive an interpretation favorable of the anti-regime protesters and unfavorable of Morsi and his government. In the following example, the national newspaper

attempts to pinpoint the protesters' intended peacefulness in conducting their anti-Morsi protests:

(13) وشهدت المنطقة مشادات خفيفة بين عدد من المعتصمين والباعة الجائلين، بعد أن **طالبهم المتظاهرون** بمغادرة المكان، **وبرر المعتصمون** تصرفهم بالخوف على صورة الاعتصام أو دخول أسلحة إلى منطقة الاعتصام السلمى، قد يحملها الباعة وتساهم فى تطور الاشتباكات، وبعدما رفض الباعة مغادرة الاعتصام تدخل بعض المتظاهرين لإنهاء المشادة بعد أن **وعد الباعة** بالالتزام بالسلمية وقواعد الاعتصام، والانتقال إلى أطراف المنطقة (١ – ٧ – ٢٠١٣).

(The area witnessed minor clashes between a number of protesters and street vendors after **the protesters demanded** them to leave the place. **The protesters justified** their behavior due to their fear for the image of the sit-in or the entry of weapons to the peaceful sit-in area which could be carried by the vendors and contribute to the development of clashes. After the vendors refused to leave the sit-in, some protesters intervened to end the quarrel when**the former promised** to abide by peacefulness and the rules of sit-in and to move to the outskirts of the area) (1 – 7 – 2013).

The reported exchanges of both the protesters and street vendors in (13) sheds light on the former's inherent non-violent attitude and their insistence on keeping their protests and sit-ins peaceful by asking the latter to abide by their rules so as to avoid the occurrence of any armed clashes. The voice of the street vendors, i.e. a neutral voice, rejecting to leave the sit-in area and eventually promising to comply with the instructions of the sit-in protesters enhances the positive image of the latter. It also underpins their powerfulness and influence in spite of not being coercers as well as their rationality, as manifested in the reporter's use of Chen's (2007) positive authoritative and informative reporting verbs طالبهم 'demanded' and برر 'justified', respectively. Actually, such an incident is absent from the international newspaper's coverage of the June 30 protests, perhaps for it portrays the protesters positively and hints at an anticipated danger at the hands of the regime's camp that might lead to the acceleration of clashes between both sides This, in turn, presents the regime negatively.

5.1.3 Implemented Voices in the Wrap-up

The wrap-up of the report is an eminent position (Fairclough, 2003); it can encompass the voice of any of the conflicting sides, not only the primary definer. However, these voices are specifically included in such position to underscore the authorial voice's stance to the advantage of or against a particular side. Quotations of any type there, in fact, represent the critical stance of the newspaper and the party it sides with or against (Fairclough, 2003; van Ginneken, 2002). Hence, it is more significant to shed light on the final voices implemented in the wrap-up and its relevance in this respect than the initial voices employed in the headline, the lead paragraph, and/or the first section of the report.

5.1.3.1 Egyptian January 25 Protests

It can be seen in *The New York Times*' eight analyzed reports that the government's voice is mentioned only once in the wrap-up and in combination with a voice on the protesters' side. The rest of the wrap-ups are dedicated to speaking positively of the protesters and/or negatively of the regime via sources on the former's side (5 times) and neutral sources (2 times). Examine the following example**:**

(14) **Several others said** they felt shame that their homeland — the cradle of civilization and a onetime leader of the Arab world — had slipped toward backwardness and irrelevance, eclipsed by the rise of the Persian Gulf states. **Some said** they felt outdone by tiny Tunisia. **Mohamed Fouad, sitting near the Ramses Hilton nursing a wound from a rubber-coated bullet in the middle of his forehead**, wondered how long it would take to dislodge Mr. Mubarak. "In Tunis, they protested for a month," **he said**. "But they have 11 million people. We have 85 million" (28 – 1 – 2011b).

Several protesters are quoted in (14) grieving the social and economic collapse of Egypt under Mubarak's rule compared to the now advanced Arab Gulf states. However, one cannot tell whether the hyphenated phrase describing Egypt as *the cradle of*

civilization and a onetime leader of the Arab world is the speaker's or the reporter's since the protesters are indirectly quoted. This deforms the image of the regime and hence draws the readers' sympathy for the protesters. Such a negative image of the Egyptian state is enlarged by the depiction of the wounded protester Mohamed Fouad who was hit by a rubber bullet in his forehead, i.e. a victim of violence. He is cited drawing a comparison between Tunisia whose authoritarian leader had been dislodged in a month time by its tiny population and Egypt whose leader was being sought to be ousted by its very much huge population exceeding the former almost eight times. Hence, his ouster should take less time. Such a comparison is repeated twice in the wrap-up, which indicates that both protesting acts were alike as to being popular moves against despotic leaders. The newspaper, from the very first moment of its coverage of the anti-regime protests in Egypt, portrays them as being inspired by the protests against the *authoritarian government in Tunisia*, as stated in the examined report dated Jan. 25. Ending the wrap-up with Fouad's statement also stresses the protesters insistence on Mubarak's downfall, and such insistence is actually justified through their grief over the nation's deterioration due to the totalitarianism they were surviving in Mubarak's Egypt similar to that toppled in Tunisia. In fact, though Mubarak is cited first in the headline and first satellite paragraph of the same analyzed report, it is pictured in a negative tone in both. The newspaper foregrounds both the adverse depiction of his order of a curfew as a *crackdown* to save his authoritarian regime of nearly 30 year in the headline and lead paragraph and his strategically quoted depiction of the huge angry mass protests as a conspiracy against the nation's stability in the first satellite paragraph. Such unfavorable portrayal of Mubarak's voice further adds to the readers' compassion for the protesters and legitimizes their demands, particularly their demand of toppling down the president.

Al-Masry Al-Youm, in its pre-Feb. 4 coverage, does not voice any of the conflicting sides in the wrap-ups of the reports at issue. Rather, the authorial voice focuses on negatively describing the violent clashes initiated by the state police against the protesters and the latter's anarchy and destruction of private and public properties in reaction to the former. In the newspaper's post-Feb. 4 coverage, the wrap-ups are devoted to speaking positively of the protesters and negatively of the regime via sources on the protesters' part (2 times) and neutral sources (1 time), as patent in:

(15) [...]**وأكد عدد من المحامين المشاركين فى المسيرة** ثقتهم فى القوات المسلحة لحماية مكتسبات الثورة، **مطالبين** القادة بضرورة إجبار الرئيس مبارك على التنحى عن الحكم والرحيل وتقديمه للمحاكمة والتحفظ على ثروته وممتلكات أسرته والتحقيق فى مصدرها (١٢ – ٢ – ٢٠١١a).

([...] **a number of lawyers participating in the march asserted** their confidence in the armed forces to protect the gains of the revolution, demanding the leaders to force President Mubarak to step down and leave, bring him to trial, and reserve his wealth and his family's property and investigate its source) (12 – 2 – 2011a).

In (15), a number of protesting lawyers are quoted concentering on the gains of the revolution and the patriotic role of the Egyptian army in defending such gains, and no violent acts are linked with their march. Using Chen's (2007) positive authoritative reporting verb أكد 'asserted' and the adverb مطالبين 'demanding' derived from the positive authoritative verbal process طالب 'demanded' reveals the strong bond between the public protesters and the army and the former's great influence on the latter, accordingly. Besides, both verbal processes reflect the protesters' power at that moment very close to their victory over Mubarak. Asking the army to oust Mubarak and put him on trial, sequestrate his assets and his family's as well, and inquire into their wealth further reinforces the negative representation of the corrupt Mubarak and ratifies the protests' demands, specifically Mubarak's departure. Such negative representation of the regime corresponds to that in the lead paragraph of the same analyzed

report (a) dated Feb. 12 where Mubarak is quoted first via his announcement of delegating power to Suleiman. His address is described as being rejected by millions of citizens who took to the streets in objection to it, which discloses the public's great enmity towards the ruler of the country, hence stimulating the readers' support for the public's demands and actions.

5.1.3.2 Egyptian June 30 Protests

In *The New York Times*' investigated reports on the June 30 protests, it can be noted that the authorial voice is available solely once justifying the Islamist-dominated assembly's rush approval of the draft charter due to the supreme constitutional court's expected issuing of a ruling to dissolve the assembly. Just overt justification in the reporter's voice in the wrap-up of the report dated Nov. 29 reveals his leaning towards the assembly's act. The rest of the wrap-ups are devoted to positively representing Morsi's regime and its proponents and/or negatively depicting its opponents via sources on the former's part (4 times) and neutral sources (3 times). That is, the voice of the opposition is totally absent from the wrap-ups. View the following example**:**

(16) **The attackers** used green pen lasers to search for figures at the windows of the Brotherhood offices, then hurled Molotov cocktails. **They vowed** to show no mercy on the members inside. "Their leaders have left them like sheep for the slaughter," **one said**. Two people were killed in the violence at the headquarters, **medics there said**.

Thousands of Mr. Morsi's supporters in the Muslim Brotherhood had gathered at a rally near the presidential palace to prepare to defend it if the protesters tried to attack. Many brought batons, pipes, bats, hard hats or motorcycle helmets, even woks or scraps of metal to use as shields. They stood at attention with clubs raised and marched together. "We will sacrifice our lives for our religion," **some chanted**. "Morsi's men are everywhere" (30 – 6 – 2013).

In the wrap-up in (16), the readers' compassion for the regime's supporters is stimulated through depicting the quoted sources on the anti-regime protesters' part as aggressors as seen in their cited utterance. To explicate, they are portrayed as being intentionally unmerciful towards Morsi's backers in their assault on the MB's headquarters in Cairo on June 30, as evincible in the reporting verb *vowed*. Such verb, despite being a positive declarative verbal process revealing the seriousness, confidence, power, and assertion of the speaker, it gains a negative sense instead because of being used to report the speaker's unjustified violent attitude towards the MB members inside the building. Hence, it reflects the protesters' forcefulness in conducting such negative behavior. The adverse impact of their brutality, which lay in two killings, is immediately stated by a neutral voice, namely, medics. This arouses the readers' wrath against the protesters', i.e. the victimizers, for most probably those killed belonged to the attacked MB members, i.e. the victimized since it was not specified by the speaker to which camp the deaths belonged. This is further asserted in the reporter's description of the peaceful reaction of the regime's proponents at a rally near the presidential palace, which highlights them as only defenders of it along with their religion against any attack by the regime's rivals, using domestic tools as shields, as explained by the reporter. In other words, they were only recipients of aggression and intended no harm to others. Such contrast in the attitude of both parties is manifested in the directly quoted words of each which unquestionably represent the protesters as slaughterers and the regime's supporters as scarificers of their own lives. This worsens the negative image of the former and hence devalues their extreme anger at the MB's political dominance which was not linked to violence of any kind. This is described by the authorial voice in both the lead paragraph of the examined report and the eighth satellite paragraph where the anti-regime protesters are quoted for the first time in the report. Though the regime is quoted next in the eighth satellite paragraph through a spokesman for Morsi, his words revolved around a peaceful call

for a dialogue with the opposition about their demands.It reflects the former's understanding and flexibility in dealing with the crisis and hence delegitimizes the latter's instigated violence against the regime's backers, as presented in the wrap-up and throughout the whole examined report dated June 30. This, in turn, demonstrates the newspaper's support for the regime.

The wrap-ups in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* key on casting a positive light on the protesters and/or a negative light on the regime via the authorial voice's narration of some incidents (3 times) and the words of the protesters (3 times). Although the MB's voice is presented twice in the wrap-ups praising Morsi and his decrees, it is accompanied by the voice of the regime's opponents condemning the president's decrees and his Islamist regime. This, in turn, challenges the MB's praise and hence downplays its potential favorable effect on the readers. Think over the example below:

(17)وقال الدكتور محمود غزلان، المتحدث الرسمى باسم الإخوان، فى تصريحات صحفية، مساء أمس: «إن القرارات حققت الكثير من مطالب الثورة عن طريق إعادة محاكمات قتلة الثوار» وقال وائل غنيم، الناشط السياسى، عبر حسابه على موقع التواصل الاجتماعى «فيس بوك»: «أرفض القرارات التى أصدرها (مرسى) مهما كان نُبل مقاصدها»،وأكد محمد برغش، مؤسس حزب مصر الخضراء، أحد قادة الفلاحين، أن هذه القرارات تعتبر إدارة منفردة للبلاد وتكريساً لحكم الفرد، رافضاً جمع كل السلطات فى يد شخص واحد، داعياً الرئيس إلى حوار وطنى للتوافق وليس لتكميم الأفواه (٢٣ – ١١ – ٢٠١٢).

(**Dr. Mahmoud Ghozlan**, **the official spokesman of the MB**, **said** in a press statement yesterday evening: "The decisions have achieved many of the demands of the revolution through the retrial of the killers of the revolutionists." **WaelGhonim**, **a political activist**, **said** through his account on the Facebook: "I reject the decisions issued by (Morsi) whatever the nobility of its purposes». And **Mohammed Bargash Founder of the Green Egypt Party and one of the peasants' leadersasserted** that these decrees are considered a single administration of the country and dedication to the rule of the individual, **rejecting** to collect all authorites in the hands of one person and **calling** the President **for** a national dialogue for reconciliation not gagging) (23 – 11 – 2012).

As evincible in the wrap-up in (17), one voice on the part of the regime is quoted in the face of two voices on the part of the regime's opponents, which makes the latter's perspective prevail over the former, especially that the wrap-up ends with the latter's. Therefore, their negative evaluation of Morsi's constitutional edicts remains longer in the readers' mind. Besides, the quoted voice on the regime's part is defined as a spokesman for the MB named Dr. Mahmoud Ghozlan as opposed to the more publically selected sources representing the opposition. In other words, WaelGhonim is represented as a political activist without specifying a certain political group or party or even an age group to which he belonged, and Mohammed Bargash is represented not only as the Founder of the Green Egypt party but also as one of the peasants' leaders. That is, he was speaking on behalf of such a popular and sizable category of the Egyptian society. This makes the speech of the opposition's cited voices much more influential than that of the MB's cited voice. Moreover, Ghozlan's words about the positive result of Morsi's declaration with regard to the retrial of those who caused the killing of Egypt's revolutionists is directly quoted using Chen's (2005) neutral reporting verb قال 'said' and the same occurs with Ghonim's words about his refusal of such declaration. In contrast, Bargash's words are indirectly quoted. Thus, the quoted voice cannot be distinguished from the authorial voice due to the latter's reproduction or transformation of the actual used words to fit more easily with it. This demonstrates that both voices share the same negative view of Morsi's declaration. His words represent an explicit negative judgment of the presidential declaration as being an expression of dictatorship, repeated twice in different phrasing and a third time in his rejection for a regime of the sort. His words also comprise a call for Morsi to conduct a dialogue to reach a national consensus. Bargash is reported using Chen's (2007) three positive authoritative, accusative, and exhortative reporting verbs: أكد 'asserted', رافضا 'rejecting', and داعيا 'calling for', respectively. These verbs show the speaker as being powerful, influential, wise, well-intentioned, and concerned to do

what was right. They also reflect the betrayal by the reported on social actor, namely, Morsi to his pledged democracy via his declaration, being the first democratically elected leader of the state. Such framing of Bargrah's utterance downplays the importance of the MB's speaker about the positive impact of the declaration and casts doubt on the idea that this declaration might have good intentions behind it, as stated in Ghonim's words also refusing it. In fact, the initiative of calling for a national dialogue is assigned to Morsi and the MB in the international newspaper at issue where the opposition is represented as rebuffing such a call until the declaration is rescinded and the constituent assembly is shelved in contrast to the case in the national newspaper. This sheds a positive light on the opposition's flexibility to discuss the matter and reach a compromise. The same negative impression generated in the wrap-up about Morsi's declaration is also created in the headline of the examined report where similarly the unfavorable and favorable views of both anti- and pro-Morsi protesters are, respectively, stated but with more emphasis on the former. This untoward image of the declaration is further stressed in the lead paragraph where the opposition forces are quoted first in the report adversely depicting Morsi because of his declaration as an Islamist dictator who aborted the revolution. In the second half of the report starting in the seventh satellite paragraph, the MB is quoted defending Morsi's decree as a step towards achieving the nation's stability. However, such a view is backgrounded by appearing late in the report and generically expressed, which reveals the newspaper's predilection towards the regime's opposition.

4.2 Interpretation Stage

The interpretation phase helps uncover how the reporters relied on internal intertextuality as a discursive tool to legitimize or delegitimize the January 25 and June 30 protests. Investigating the selection of voices, the contextualization of such voices in relation to each other, and the implementation of these voices in the wrap-ups helps reveal the examined newspapers' perspectives on both the

January 25 and June 30 protests as reflected in their use and framing of various internal intertextual patterns. Such incorporation and texturing of sources exhibit the dichotomy of positive representation of the ingroup and negative representation of the outgroup in the newspapers' coverage of both Egyptian protests. This Us/Them polarization is evident in both examined newspapers' creation of an antagonist-protagonist structure of voices via giving voice to the ingroup as well as strengthening their words and silencing or challengingthe words of the outgroup, as seen in Section 5.1. In the present section, an overall interpretation of the significant inclusion and exclusion of voices and of the framing of such voices in each newspaper's coverage of both protests is provided. Such interpretation is also supported by a simple counting of the various voiced sources on the part of the conflicting sides, the quotation patterns of their speech, and the reporting verbs used in citing these sources in Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4. This further adds to the revelation of the similarities and differences among the examined newspapers in their use of sourcing to express their stance towards both protests in Section 5.1.

Throughout *The New York Times*' coverage of the January 25 protests, it gives voice to different parties, but not all voices are given equal prominence. To expound, it uses sources on the anti-regime protesters' part as the primary definers of the situation who are much more often heard than the governmental voice whose words are presented against those of the protesters; that is, the regime's sources are the counter-definers of the situation. Accordingly, it is possible to say that the protesters are demonstrated as powerful and reliable sources of the news since the frequency of quoting from a source, as put by Teo (2000), has a direct relationship with the power and the rank that this source is situated in comparison with the other sources though this is not the usual case with the people who have no accessibility to power sources. To expound, the anti-regime protesters are quoted 98 times in the examined new reports, whereas the regime and its backers are voiced 37 times (see Table 1. p. 30). This shows that

the last party represents the "Other" for the American newspaper, as patent in Fowler's (1991) words about the "imbalance of access" regarding the limited quoting of the other which "results in partiality, not only in what assertions and attitudes are reported – a matter of content – but also how they are reported" (pp. 22 – 23). Moreover, the newspaper's coverage is not balanced with relation to the regime's reported opponents in the sense that the public protesters whether ordinary citizens at different ages or independent youth activists are highly more quoted than political opposition forces and leading figures (91 to 7). This helps legitimize the anti-regime protests due to being popular, spontaneous, and devoid of political agendas and interests. In contrast, the official voice represented by only two sources Mubarak and Suleiman through their televised statements and speeches prevails over the regime's public protesters (30 to 7) quoted mainly via their chants only on Feb. 2, namely, the *Battle of the Camel*, which reflects the unpopularity of the regime's counter protests. This conforms to the negative depiction of their rallies and attacks on the protesters in Tahrir Square as being orchestrated in collusion with the regime to suppress the protests in the analyzed news reportsdated Feb2. In the American newspaper's, both the protesters and regime via its Interior Ministry are voiced from the very onset of the protests on Jan. 25. However, the most repeated voices on the regime's part are Mubarak quoted six times starting on Jan. 28 and Suleiman seven times starting on Feb. 8, and both are negatively contextualized. The most common source on the protesters' part is ElBaradei cited five times starting on Jan. 28 adversely depicting the regime's violence against the protesters as acts of thugs, as seen in the examined report (b) dated Jan. 28.

It can also be observed in the American newspaper that the defined sources by name, age, occupation, titles, credentials, institution capacities and/or political belongings are much more than the anonymous sources quoted on the part of the conflicting sides (88 to 47) (see Table 1, p. 30). Such identification renders their

statements and arguments convincing and trustworthy, as held by Zaher (2009), since the exact figures even among ordinary people make the reports more factual (Stenvall, 2008). However, the importance of this identification emerges upon pointing out that those named on the protesters' side belong to the public much more than the opposition forces (45 to 16). This asserts the popularity of the anti-regime protests and the diversity of sources and hence shows the newspaper as representing a common vision of the Egyptian nation against the regime. Besides, it highlights the newspaper's intended plan to directly access the public protesters as opposed to the regime's public supporters, from whom only one named person is voiced, while the rest of the defined on the regime's part are Mubarak, Suleiman, and the Interior Ministry. This emphasizes the unpopularity and the non-diversity of the president's counter protests. Accordingly, it can be noted that more effort was exerted by the newspaper to reach the anti-regime public protesters, which puts them in a more powerful position than their counterparts whose dehumanization helps marginalize them much more, as stated by Eissa (2015) and Juan (2009).

As far as the quotation types are concerned, the most common pattern in *The New York Times* is the direct quotation (66/135) used mainly to cite the anti-regime protesters (55/98), i.e. the primary definers, which, in turn, renders their words factual, credible, and newsworthy, as stated by Cotter (2010), Richardson (2007) and van Ginneken (2002) (see Table 1, p. 30). In contrast, the indirect quotation is more utilized with the regime's sources (18/37), i.e. the secondary definers, which reflects less accuracy and more distortion of their original speech at the reporter's hands and hence greater interpretation that fits with his attitude towards them. In other words, the number and use of the direct and indirect quotations with a particular social actor(s) along with their positioning can help find out the power relations and highlight the bilateral relation of power and language in a text. The strategic quotation is used with all the conflicting sides very limitedly (11/135) but a bit more with the regime than the protesters (8 to 3). It is basically used with the

former to indicate the reporter's distancing himself from the truth claim of the speaker in order to underpin the bias implied by such quoted term or expression. In addition, it can be underpinned that the neutral reporting verbs are the most frequent in citing the regime and its opponents (95/123) though the American newspaper's stance towards both is not neutral, as described in Section 5.1.1.[1]

Table 1: *The New York Times*' **Representation of Sources in January 25 Protests**

Conflicting Sides		Overall No. of Sources		Defined	Anonymous	Quotation Types				Reporting Verbs		
						Direct	Indirect	Strategic	Transformed Indirect	Neutral	Positive	Negative
Protesters		98		61		55	40	3	-	74	11	7
Public	Opposition	91	7	45	16	37						
Regime		37		27		11	18	8	-	21	9	1
Officials	Supporters	30	7	26	1	10						
Total		135		88		66	58	11	-	95	20	8

    In contrast to the international newspaper's constant positive representation of the protesters as the primary definers of the situation, the Egyptian privately-owned*Al-Masry Al-Youm* tends to include and exclude voices representing different sides of the conflict depending on the power balance during the days of the protests. Although the anti-regime protesters are quoted slightly more than the regime and its supporters (54 to 43), they cannot be considered the primary definers throughout the 18-day protests, for, as Fairclough (1995b) maintained, equity and balance cannot be assessed by merely noting which voices are represented and how much space is given to each (see Table 2, p.33). The difference and

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(1) It is important to note that the number of the reporting verbs in the analyzed data is less than the number of the used quotations because of three reasons (see Tables 1-4, pp. 30-37). First, two different quotation types of some cited source are reported using one verbal process. Second, some strategic quotations are reported without using a verbal process. Third, transformed indirect quotations are reported using either mental state verbs or transitive verbs, not verbal processes, and such verbs do not belong to Chen's (2005, 2007) three types of reporting verbs. Hence, they are not included in the counting of the employed verbal processes in the examined news reports.

hence the significance appear in the number and framing of the quoted sources on each conflicting side in the two stages of the newspaper's representation of voices. To elucidate, the newspaper's coverage of the protests up to and including the *Battle of the Camel* on Feb. 2 is characterized by an emphasis on the voice of the regime's supporters, not even the governmental voice (33 to 6), which reveals the representativeness of the counter protests. In contrast, the anti-regime protesters are quoted 23 times; the public protesters angry at the state police and the NDP are quoted more than the opposition forces (18 to 5). In addition, the public protesters' quoted utterances mainly represent their chants, not the full detailed statements unlike the regime's backers who are quoted via both their chants and statements; hence, the latter can be considered the primary definers. To explain, the voice of Mubarak's counter protests venerating his role as the 30-year president of the stable country and believing in his promises of future political and economic reforms is dominant in the newspaper's coverage after Mubarak's second televised speech to the nation on Feb. 1. This augments Mubarak's positive image and worsens the image of the obstinate young protesters who were insisting on his departure. The most repeated voice in stage one of the newspaper's presentation of voices, namely, pre-*Friday of Departure* on Feb. 4 representing the largest million protest against the regime in response to the *Battle of the Camel* is Mubarak quoted three times starting on Jan. 28 and presented positively, as seen in the examined report (a) dated Jan. 29 via his first speech in which he ordered the nationwide curfew to save the country. However, both the regime and its opponents are quoted from the very first day of the protests on Jan. 25 through the Interior Ministry and groups of protesters, respectively, and presented negatively, as noted in the examined report dated Jan. 26.

Furthermore, it can be plainly observed that, unlike the international newspaper, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* employs much more anonymous voices than defined voices throughout its coverage of the protests (75 to 22) (see Table 2, p. 33). This, in turn, helps the newspaper's ideological stance be integrated in the speech of

such unknown voices and thus be more easily passed to the readers. To illustrate, in the pre-*Friday of Departure* stage, all the quoted sources on the protesters' side are anonymous, which displays them as less trustworthy and their words as less valuable, and even the political opposition groups who were supposed to be known by many Egyptians are not given names. Another explanation is that some of these sources in the Egyptian context might request to be kept anonymous so as not to be identified and tracked down by the authorities since the protests at this stage did not gain enough momentum and the regime was still in control of the state. This deprives the readers of the ability to identify with them and their demands and could explain why the opposition forces are very less cited than the public protesters. The pro-regime protesters are also mostly undefined groups except for six individualized voices defined by full name, job, and/or their dwelling district, which makes them seem factual, as argued by Stenvall (2008) and Juan (2009). However, the anonymity of the former makes it difficult to challenge their statements since the dehumanized anonymous speakers act as an "imaginary interlocutor" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 48). This, hence, could help the reporter convey his view via the words of the unknown speakers. As for the official voice, it is mostly defined (4 times) and represented positively by Mubarak via his televised speeches on Jan. 28 and Feb. 1 and negatively by the Interior Ministry as the initiator of violence against the protester, as noted in the analyzed reports dated Jan. 29 and Feb. 3.

Moreover, in stage one in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, the indirect quotation, different from the international newspaper, is the most frequent with the conflicting sides (28/62) but close to the direct quotation in the number of occurrences on the protesters' and regime's sides (24) (see Table 2, p. 33). However, it is important to highlight that direct quotation on the protesters' part represent mainly chanted slogans against the regime, not their views or descriptions of incidents, while such quotation pattern is used mainly in reporting the statements of the regime and its

advocates, which increases the value of their words and yields them more persuasive. As to strategic quotation, it is very restrictedly used on both conflicting sides (8 times) to only demonstrate that reporting is not prejudicial. In addition, though the newspaper's account of the quoted voices is not neutral, the neutral reporting verbs are the most utilized with both conflicting sides (39/58) followed by the positive verbal processes (18).

The protests started to gain momentum after the *Friday of Departure* on Feb. 4, i.e. stage two of the newspaper's representation of voices. Accordingly, the official voice wanes in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*'s coverage of stage two to the extent that it is quoted only four times and disappears totally in the examined report on Feb. 8 mega protest calling for Mubarak's departure though he is not presented negatively in the authorial voice until his last address on Feb. 10. In contrast, the protesters' voice becomes dominant to the degree that they are quoted 31 times, and their words comprise chants and detailed statements speaking negatively of the regime (see Table 2, p.33). Thus, they are considered to be more of main definers of the situation during the last 8 days of the protests unlike the official voice which is considered to be the secondary definers during this period of time. Nevertheless, the cited opposition figures are still much less than the public protesters (5 to 26), which, in turn, underscores the newspaper's need for stressing the increasing popularity of the protests and thus heightening the legitimacy of their demands, particularly Mubarak's departure.

Similar to stage one, the quoted anonymous voices are more than the named voices (23 to 12) in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*'s coverage of stage two; however, there are eight personalized voices on the protesters' part, three of which belong to the public and five of which belong to the political opposition(see Table 2, p. 33). This augments the validity of their speech, makes it easy for the readers to identify with them, and shows that their fear of being tracked down diminished, for the regime started to lose control and the protests gained more force. The rest of their

voices are anonymous groups of protesters (23) chanting the demand of Mubarak's removal and condemnation of the regime in addition to full utterances describing and stating their negative opinions of the regime and the then situation. As for the regime's sources, they are presented by Mubarak and Suleiman through their public statements. In this stage, Mubarak is quoted twice via his Feb. 10 final address, and no voice is particularly repeated on the protesters' part even among the opposition figures, as opposed to the international newspaper at issue where ElBaradei and the MB, for example, are repeatedly voiced, the first of whom is totally silenced in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. Perhaps, this is because it attempts to appear impartial towards all political opposition forces since it is a privately-owned newspaper known for its non-affiliation with a particular party (see Section 4).

Like stage one, the indirect quotation, in stage two, is much more used than the other patterns (21/35)(see Table 2, p. 33). Nonetheless, it is more utilized with the protesters (19/31), while both indirect and direct quotations are equally used with the regime (2 to 2). It can be concluded that *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, through using the indirect quotation, opts for minimizing the difference between the voice of the reporter and the voice of the reported sources for ideological purposes. Different from stage one, the most common reporting verbs belong to Chen's (2007) positive category of verbal processes (21/34) followed by the neutral verbal processes (13), and this applies to both the protesters and the regime. This could go back to the fact that the protesters are represented overtly in a favorable light in this stage as being peaceful, legitimate, and more powerful than the regime, while the regime is cited only through its official declarative statements, namely, Mubarak's last speech and Suleiman's announcement of the president's resignation.

Table 2: *Al-Masry Al-Youm*'s Representation of Sources in January 25 Protests

Stage 1: Pre-*Friday of Departure* on Feb. 4

Conflicting Sides		Overall No. of Sources		Defined		Anonymous	Direct	Indirect	Strategic	Transformed Indirect	Neutral	Positive	Negative
Protesters		23		-									
Public	Opposition	18	5			23	8	11	3	1	13	8	1
Regime		39		10									
Officials	Supporters	6	33	4	6	29	16	17	5	1	26	8	-
Total		62		10		52	24	28	8	2	39	16	1

Stage 2: Post-*Friday of Departure* on Feb. 4

Conflicting Sides		Overall No. of Sources		Defined		Anonymous	Direct	Indirect	Strategic	Transformed Indirect	Neutral	Positive	Negative
Protesters		31		8									
Public	Opposition	26	5	3	5	23	11	19	1	-	12	18	-
Regime		4		4									
Officials	Supporters	4	-	4	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	3	-
Total		35		12		23	13	21	1	-	13	21	-

In contrast to the international newspaper's negative depiction of Mubarak's regime and positive depiction of the January 25 protesters, it can be observed, in the analyzed data on the June 30 protests, that the newspaper creates the dichotomy of the Us and Them in their portrayal of Morsi and his allies versus the anti-Morsi protesters, respectively, through their representation of voices. To elucidate, different from *The New York Times'* depiction of sources in its coverage of the January 25 protests, it employs the regime's sources as the primary definers of the situation in its coverage of the June 30 protests, while the anti-Morsi protesters are employed as the secondary definers and their words are presented against those of the regime. The official voice and its backers prevail over its opponents (73 to 49) (see Table 3, p. 35). Moreover, the official voice of the regime surpasses that of its public supporters (60 to 13). However,

dissimilar to the case in the newspaper's coverage of the January 25 protests where only Mubarak and Suleiman represent the official voice, a variety of governmental voices including the president, the MB, and the dominant political FJP are incorporated defending Morsi's constitutional declaration, approval of the draft constitution, and call for national dialogue to resolve the internal political conflict. Furthermore, the number of the quoted voices of both the anti-regime public protesters and known opposition figures and forces is close (27 to 22) unlike the quoting of the former much more than the latter in the coverage of the January 25 protests. This is because the newspaper mainly portrays the political crisis as being a mere conflict of power between two political forces: the liberals and seculars, on the one hand, and the Islamists led by the MB, on the other. That is, it was the political interests that were governing the situation, not the public's demands or dissatisfaction with the regime. Both the voices of the opposition and the regime appear in the coverage of the first anti-regime protests on Nov. 22 until Morsi's ouster on July 3, but the voices that are tremendously maintained throughout are those of the regime and its proponents. The most repeated voices on the regime's part in the data analyzed are Morsi, cited 21 times starting on Nov. 22 and the MB 11 times starting on Nov. 23 and on the protesters' part is ElBaradei quoted six times only on Nov. 29 and Dec. 5.

Like *The New York Times*' identification of the cited sources in its coverage of the January 25 anti-regime protests, the defined sources are much more quoted than the anonymous sources (79 to 43) (see Table 3, p. 35), which, as put by Juan (2009) and Stenvall (2008), renders the former's utterances factual whether positive or negative of a particular side. However, the importance of such identification whether by name, age, occupation, titles, credentials, political belongings, and/or institutional capacities emerges upon highlighting that the voices of the regime and the MB are the defined, not the public supporters (54 to 1). This reflects that the former are the dominant voices and more sought to be heard by

the newspaper, and hence more trustworthy in contrast to the public voice whether on the supporters' side or the protesters' side. The latter's defined and anonymous voices are almost equal (24 to 25), and the named sources mostly belong to the political opposition (19). This shows the conflict between both camps as essentially political and lessens the effect and value of the unnamed public protesters' speech against the regime contrary to the mainly defined quoted January 25 public protesters.

Contrary to *The New York Times'* common direct quotation in its examined reports on the January 25 protests, the indirect quotation is the most frequent with the conflicting sides (61/122) followed by direct quotation (42) (see Table 3, p. 35). The importance of the frequency of such a pattern lies in the fact that it is more apparently used with the protesters, i.e. the counter definers (30/49) than the regime (31/73). This lends the reporter more powers to play with the quoted protesters' actual words so as to serve the regime's interests, i.e. the ingroup. Moreover, the strategic quotation is much more commonly used in reporting the regime than its opponents (17/18), as in the coverage of the January 25 protests. However, it is mainly employed to underpin either the contentious articles of both Morsi's declaration and draft charter or the regime's negative description of its rivals as connivers as well as its initiative to reach a consensus. This is an attempt on the newspaper's part to only demonstrate that reporting is not prejudicial since the newspaper's support for the regime's stand is manifested in the immediate context surrounding any strategic quotation. Furthermore, similar to the newspaper's coverage of the January 25 protests, Chen's (2005, 2007) neutral reporting verbs are the most prevalent in citing the conflicting sides (65/112) followed by the positive verbal processes (39), but this does not signify the newspaper's neutral stance towards the investigated protests, as patent in the analysis of the examples in Section 5.1.2.

Table 3: *The New York Times'* **Representation of Sources in June 30 Protests**

Conflicting Sides		Overall No. of Sources	Defined		Anonymous	Direct	Indirect	Strategic	Transformed Indirect	Neutral	Positive	Negative
						Quotation Types				**Reporting Verbs**		
Protesters		49	24		25	17	30	1	1	29	12	5
Public	Opposition	27	22	5	19							
Regime		73	55		18	25	31	17	-	36	27	3
Officials	Supporters	60	13	54	1							
Total		122	79		43	42	61	18	1	65	39	8

Contrary to the examined international newspaper, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* gives more space to the anti-regime protesters to express themselves than the regime and its advocates (69 to 24) (see Table 4, p. 37). Similar to theinternational newspaper, the Egyptian newspaper voices the public protesters slightly more than the opposition forces (39 to 30). However, the difference lies in the fact that both are favorably positioned and repeatedly referred to together as the civil, national, and revolutionary forces or the Egyptian revolution masses as opposed to the MB's regime and its Islamists supporters. This, in sequence, reveals the representativeness of the anti-regime protests in face of the Islamist regime. That is, the former represent the main definers and the latter represent the counter definers. Moreover, the newspaper focuses on the official voice represented by Morsi, the MB, and the FJP, i.e. basically MB members at the expense of its public supporters whose quoted words are merely chants (22 to 2). Because the official sources are either backgrounded or negatively contextualized, the incorporation of such sources and the near absence of the voice of the regime's public supporters draw an image of the nation's internal crisis as being the Islamist ruling camp defying the Egyptians in contrast to voicing much more regime's proponents in the newspaper's coverage of the January 25 protests. This image is ascertained through quoting the MB and its leaders being the dominant political force then from the very beginning of the internal conflict instead of Morsi and his government, as if the former were the true leaders of the country, which represents the view of the regime's opponents at that time. Both the regime, represented by the MB, and the

protesters are quoted from the very first protests against Morsi on Nov. 22. The most repeated voices on the regime's part are the MB cited 13 times starting on Nov. 22 as well as Morsi four times starting on July 1, and the regime's voice is totally absent from the newspaper's analyzed report on June 30, namely, the eruption of the largest million protests calling for Morsi's downfall. The most frequent voices belonging to the protesters are two of the NSF leaders: AmrMousa cited seven times and ElBaradei three times on Nov. 22 and July 3, and Tamarrod movement two times starting on July 1.

Besides, like the American newspaper, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* cites far more defined than anonymous sources on the part of the conflicting sides (66 to 27) different from its coverage of the anti-Mubarak protests (see Table 4, p. 37). This could go back to the fact that such named sources were not afraid of being pursued by the authorities unlike the case during Mubarak's rule since the anti-Morsi protests gained momentum from their very beginning and Morsi was not in full control of the state apparatuses. However, no public protesters are defined but only opposition figures and revolutionary forces supported by the Egyptian masses, which renders their demands reliable and important and helps the readers identify with them. Moreover, no Islamist force other than the MB and no defined public protester are given space to express themselves except for EL-Nour party cited only once on Nov. 22 in support of Morsi's declaration. This, in turn, devaluates the significance of the quoted statements on the part of the regime's anonymous voices and indicates that the MB, as a political force, was the one and only power that was governing Egypt then and controlling its political life.

Like the American newspaper, the indirect quotation is the most common in the Egyptian newspaper in citing the conflicting parties (52/93) as is the case in the newspaper's coverage of the January 25 protests (see Table 4, p. 37). Nevertheless, such quotation type tremendously prevails over the direct quotation that comes second in the number of occurrences (22) in

comparison to the American newspaper at hand, which makes the voice of the Egyptian newspaper more apparent. Moreover, the strategic quotation is scarcely used like the American newspaper but almost equally employed on the part of the protesters (9) and the regime (8). Such type of quotation is used when citing the former negatively describing Morsi, his declaration, and the draft constitution in an attempt by the newspaper to be only cautious regarding the bias in the quoted expressions, as noted in the examined report dated Nov. 23. In contrast, it is used to cite the regime when negatively describing the protesters and the army's role in the internal crisis and positively depicting Morsi's decrees in a bid by the newspaper to reflect its disapproval of the truth claim of the quoted expressions, as evident in the context of the quoted utterances. Unlike the American newspaper where the neutral reporting verbs prevail over the positive verbs, the former are used slightly more than the latter in citing the involved social actors in the Egyptian newspaper (44 to 37). This might go back to the fact that the negative representation of the regime through its voiced opponents who are almost equally assigned positive and neutral verbal processes (29 to 31) is enormously dominant in the Egyptian newspaper as manifested in the number of times the latter is quoted which exceeds the former's by 46 times. In contrast, in the American newspaper, the adverse representation of the anti-regime protesters via the regime's voiced sources is a bit more common than the protesters' negative portrayal of the regime where the former surpass the latter by 22 times. This reveals that the Egyptian newspaper's support for the ingroup appears clearly in its focus on quoting a bigger number of sources on their part than the outgroup.

Table 4: *Al-Masry Al-Youm's* **Representation of Sources in June 30 Protests**

Conflicting Sides		Overall No. of Sources		Defined		Anonymous	Direct	Indirect	Strategic	Transformed Indirect	Neutral	Positive	Negative
Protesters		69		44		25	18	40	9	2	31	29	-
Public	Opposition	39	30	-	44								
Regime		24		22		2	4	12	8	-	13	8	-
Officials	Supporters	22	2	22	-								
Total		93		66		27	22	52	17	2	44	37	-

Such interpretation of the incorporation and positioning of the various quoted voices revealed the dichotomous model of Us vs. Them in each newspaper's coverage of both protests, as elucidated in Tables 5 and 6:

Table 5: The Dichotomous Model of Us vs. Them in the January 25 Protests Coverage

The New York Times		Al-Masry Al-Youm	
Ingroup	**Outgroup**	**Ingroup**	**Outgroup**
		Pre-*Friday of Departure*Coverage Phase	
anti-Mubarak protesters	Mubarak's regime supporters	Mubarak supporters	anti-Mubarak protesters hidden hands police
		Post-*Friday of Departure*Coverage Phase	
		anti-regime protesters	Mubarak's regime in the quoted voices
			Mubarak after his final address in its authorial voice

Table 6: The Dichotomous Model of Us vs. Them in the June 30 Protests Coverage

The New York Times		Al-Masry Al-Youm	
Ingroup	**Outgroup**	**Ingroup**	**Outgroup**
Morsi MB public Islamist backers	anti-Morsi protesters	anti-Morsi protesters	Morsi MB all Islamists supporters

The interpretation phase can be understood in much depth through an explanation of the social practices of the newspapers,

i.e. the relation of news discourse to other social institutions and wider social factors, which shaped their ideological stances towards both protests.

4.3 Explanation Stage

This stage of Fairclough's (1995a) model of CDA helps examine the power relations which shaped the January 25 and June 30 protests discourse. Therefore, it is drawn upon the political affiliation of the two newspapers at issue and the notion of media as an ISA in the sense of Althusser (1971) which explain how the investigated news discourses representation of both protests was bound to the ideological stances of their news institutions in relation to the then official ideological mainstream views. Numerous scholars maintained that media mediates the ruling class' ideology through its content; that is, the media cannot be seen separately from state institutions or other elite powerful groups (Ashley & Olson, 1998; Blommaert, 2005; Cotter, 2010; Cottle, 2000; Dunlevy, 1998; Fairclough, 1994, 2003, 2006; Fowler, 1991; Gitlin, 1980; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Iggers, 1999; Manning, 2001;McLeod, 1995; McLeod &Hertog, 1992; McQuail, 1993; Molotch& Lester, 1974; Murdock, 2000; Richardson, 2006, 2007; Tuchman, 1978; van Dijk, 1991, 1993a, 1996, 1998, 2000; Wayne, 2003). Thus, the media discourse can be manipulated to sustain or resist hegemony at times of crisis, for example, based on the then power balance.

To expatiate, the examined newspapers' coverage of the January 25 and June 30 protests is ideologically biased and slanted, as reflected in their use of internal intertexuality. It can be pointed out, based on the description and interpretation levels of analysis (see Sections 5.1 & 5.2), that The New York Times' coverage of the January 25 protests evinces that it was prone to take the side of the protesters by depicting them positively,

through the quoted voices, as people fighting for the democracy other Westerns cherished and picturing Mubarak as a dictator killing his people to stay in power. This could be reflective of the fact that the American newspaper is liberal-bound (Brennan, 2012; Okrent, 2004); that is, it is supposed to defend democracy and civil as well as political rights. Furthermore, President Obama entirely supported the pro-democracy protests and announced his disapproval of any violence committed against them, but his stand towards Mubarak was not definite at the outbreak of the protests, as maintained by Green (2011) and Ross, Moore, and Swinford, (2011). In fact, Ross et al. highlighted that the White House was backing Egyptian pro-democracy activists while dealing with Mubarak in public as their closest ally in the Middle East. Despite the fact that Obama, at first, urged Mubarak to work seriously on political reforms, he eventually called for an urgent transitional government headed by Vice President Omar Suleiman after the Battle of the Camel on Feb. 2 (Holmes, 2012; Sharp, 2013). Such battle resulted in a crack between the US administration and Mubarak's regime since the former overtly asked him to stop violence against the peaceful protesters (Holmes, 2012; Sharp, 2013). That is, when Egypt's stability was endangered by the public protests against Mubarak, the US supported the army's takeover. In fact, The New York Times is an example of the mainstream media influenced by powerful institutions like governments (Ashley & Olson, 1998; Blommaert, 2005), one of the elite media outlets affecting both decision makers and the public (Chomsky, 1997; Herman & Chomsky, 2002), and known for its support for Democrat Obama (Ansolabehere et al., 2004; Brennan, 2012). That is, it belongs to an ISA that somehow endorses the given government's evaluation, interpretation, and perspective of particular events (Althusser, 1971). These could be considered grounds for its favorable representation of the anti-Mubarak protests.

As far as the June 30 protests are concerned, the international newspaper was inclined to side against the anti-Morsi protesters in favor of the Islamist president to the extent that it called the Egyptian military's intervention to satisfy the people's will a coup, as stated in its examined reports dated July 1 and 3. This goes against the newspaper's liberal perspective concerning supporting people's civil rights. That is, the news outlet should have supported the anti-Morsi protesters considering Morsi a new autocrat, similar to Mubarak, who did not really work on promoting democracy and providing fundamental reforms of any kind. The stance of the American newspaper, being a mainstream media outlet as explained above, might be more or less indicative of the American official mainstream views. To illustrate, Ibrahim (2013) stated that the Obama administration, via the U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Anne Patterson, announced its support for the Egyptian government and refusal of turning Egypt into a military state. Moreover, Obama repeatedly asked the opposition in general and the Copts in particular not to protest against Morsi being a democratically elected president dissimilar to Mubarak but to have dialogue with Morsi, instead. In addition, the White House only urged Morsi, as stated by Hauslohner (2013), to respond to the protesters' demands regarding democracy but not departure which represented their main demand and asked both Morsi's opponents and allies to stop violence and engage in dialogue. This exhibits the US' endorsement of Morsi and the MB. Though Obama avoided using the word coup to explicitly describe the military intervention, he threatened, as Alexander (2013) and Martin (2013) pinpointed, that such intervention could influence the US' annual financial aid to Egypt and demanded the military to stop arbitrary detentions of Morsi and his backers. In fact, the US' official mainstream ideological view could interpret the investigated international newspaper's bias against the June 30 protests.

Unlike the American newspaper, there were signs of neutrality in Al-Masry Al-Youm in the very first days of the January 25 protests stemming from the coverage of the privately-owned newspaper. It is known for being an opposition newspaper despite its non-adoption of the views of particular parties, aiming at providing a balanced coverage and securing a space of criticism of the government unlike the state-owned newspapers (Arab West Report, 2008; Cooper, 2008; Elmasry, 2012; Pasha, 2011). Such signs were embodied in its sympathy for the killed protesters at the hands of the vicious police forces. At the same time, the newspaper's coverage contained undeniable signs of visualizing the destructive effects of the protests and their threats to the nation's national security that started to explicitly appear on Jan. 28 in addition to the conspirational political forces intriguing against the nation appearing after the president's Feb. 1 address to the nation. Al-Masry Al-Youm, after the Battle of the Camel and the resultant Friday of Departure mega protest persistently calling for Mubarak's departure, changed its tone to be positive towards the protesters and excessively quoted them but was still inclined towards Mubarak by avoiding depicting him negatively in its authorial voice. Such an indecisive attitude of the private newspaper and its decision to remain in the comfort zone might reflect the uncertainty of that period as there was still no indication of whether Mubarak's regime would continue or be overthrown, and hence the journalists could be tracked down if Mubarak succeeded to remain in power. It possibly reveals the newspaper's fear to be confiscated by the state Supreme Council of Journalism which, as stated by Pasha (2011), Rubin (2015), and Rugh (2004), forced censorship on all types of national newspapers. That is, as the protesters gained momentum and the government's position became relatively weaker, the national newspaper adopted different reporting strategies. This also appeared in Al-Masry Al-Youmwhen it started to adversely paint

the president in its authorial voice, not only the quoted voices, after his final defiant address on Feb. 10 which incited national and international severe criticism.

In contrast, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* totally sided with the anti-Morsi protests from the very beginning to the extent that it disregarded Morsi, his MB, and Islamist allies in many of its reports on the June 30-July 3 protests, which is also against the newspaper's claim for objective reporting. However, its attitude somewhat accords with the view that its coverage is sometimes reliant on criticizing the government and regime, being a privately-owned newspaper (Arab West Report, 2008; Cooper, 2008). In fact, Elmasry and el-Nawawy (2014) highlighted that *Al-Masry Al-Youm*'snews coverage was significantly more critical of Morsi in 2013 than of Mubarak during his rule. This could be explained, as maintained by El Issawi (2014) and Harper (2014), in association with the liberal vs. the Islamist media narratives, with the former being against the regime and the latter assuming the role of the state media during Mubarak's rule and thus defending the regime and its vision. Morsi, unlike Mubarak's thirty years in power during which he along with his NDP maintained control over local media (Rugh, 2004), did not rule for enough time to be able together with the MB to get the same full control over state-owned and independent media outlets representing the liberal opposition then (El Issawi, 2014; Elmasry& el-Nawawy, 2014; Harper, 2014). Instead, they published their own Islamist media, along with their supportive political Islamist forces. In other words, the media narratives then began to polarize around the two sides of the political conflict in Egypt: the Islamists and the liberal opposition (El Issawi, 2014). That is why, a severe attack was launched against the anti-Morsi and anti-MB journalists and media figures although Egypt's post-January 25 protests democratically elected president was supposed to secure freedom of expression, being a revolutionary demand (El Issawi, 2014; Harper, 2014).

6. Conclusion

The two research questions (see Section 2) were addressed by analyzing internal intertextualitythrough Fairclough's (1995a) description stage, by underpinning the relationship between text in this respect and interaction through his interpretation stage via highlighting van Dijk's (1995d, 2000) Us/Them dichotomy, and finally by underscoring the relationship between the ideological references revealed in the second stage and the social context through his explanation stage. Such a three-stage analysis provided the findings below.

The present study displayed that the examined newspapers manipulated internal intertextuality to represent their ideological perspectives on both Egyptian protests. This lends support to the idea that the language used to represent the world is not value-free or coincidental and there are power relations underlying it, as believed by the CDA scholars (e.g. Blommaert&Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995a; Fairclough&Wodak, 1997; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Huckin, 2002; van Dijk, 1980, 1983, 1991, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997, 2001; Wodak, 1996).The analysis of such intertextual feature in the present study demonstrated the international newspaper's constant support for the anti-Mubarak protests and bias against the anti-Morsi protests as opposed to the national newspaper's two-stage coverage of the anti-Mubarak protests based on its evaluation of the power balance then and its full support for the anti-Morsi protests from its very first moment. This indicates that the American press discourse, in line with Youssef (2012), was more ideologically consistent in reporting on the protesters and the regime during both protests than the Egyptian press discourse.

The analysis of internal intertextuality led to uncovering the examined newspapers' dichotomous Us/Them model in their coverage of both protests through the help of van Dijk's (2000)

ideological square, which underscores that their coverage was ideologically biased. This highlights the subjectivity of the news reporting discourse; such discourse contains values, attitudes, and ideas, not mere facts (Cotter, 2010; Fairclough, 1994, 2003; Fowler, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Richardson, 2007; van Dijk, 1988, 1991, 1993a, 1998). According to the present study, it can be concluded, in correspondence to Fairlcough (2003), that including and excluding voices, selecting what is to be reported, and framing such voices in relation to each other and to the authorial voice in favor of a particular party promote a news outlet's ideological stance towards a particular reported event. This, in turn, generates an antagonist-protagonist structure that results in an interpretation positive of one party, namely, the primary definers and/or negative of the opposing other, namely, the secondary definers, as defined by Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, and Robert (1978). It occurs even when the given news outlet attempts to downplay its own voice and appear objective by distancing itself from the speech content and quoting voices representing both sides of the conflict.

The New York Times, in its coverage of the January 25 protests, voiced the anti-regime protesters as the primary definers of the situation similar to Youssef's (2012) findings with regard to a different American news outlet, namely, *The Washington Post*. *The New York Times* adopted their definition of the anti-regime protests, their detailed description of the violence exercised against them by the state police and the regime's supporters, as well as their depiction of the autocratic regime. In contrast, the authority figures' negative portrayal of the protests, their intention to peacefully resolve the nation's conflict, and their ability to put an end to the protests were challenged by the American newspaper in the immediate context surrounding their cited utterances.

In opposition to the international newspaper's quoting of sources in its coverage of the anti-Mubarak protests, it utilized the

quoted sources on the part of Morsi's regime and its allies as the main definers of the situation as opposed to their opponents voiced as the secondary definers and much less quoted. To expound, the latter's generic statements were modified by the newspaper to appear contrasted with the former's in a way that made the latter's view seem, illogical, illegitimate, and unjustified. The international newspaper, on the contrary, sought the regime's favorable depiction of Morsi's decrees as a means to democracy. It reported the president's and his proponents' contextual details of Egypt's internal political crisis and divide in association with schemes by institutions left intact from Mubarak-era government without attempting to question their utterances.

In contrast, in the reporting of the conflicting sides in the Al-Masry Al-Youm's pre-Feb. 4 Friday of Departure coverage, it utilized the regime's officials and its supporters as the primary definers, as similarly spotlighted in Youssef (2012). However, the regime's supporters were much more quoted to show their representativeness. The national news outlet adopted their definition of the anti-regime protests as a threat to the nation's stability, of the few remaining forces in Tahrir Square after Mubarak's promised reforms on Feb. 1 as connivers against both the nation's interests and the gains of the youth revolution, and of Mubarak as the defender of the nation.The protesters, on the contrary, were the counter definers since their utterances were either marginalized by revolving only around brief anti-regime chants and by being quoted to be only discredited or totally silenced. In the national newspaper's post-Friday of Departurestage of voicing the conflicting sides, it much frequently quoted and adopted the anti-regime protesters' detailed version of the story of their protests and negative depiction of the autocratic collapsing regime, while the regime's voice was almost totally disregarded. That is, the latter became the counter definers.

Contrary to the Egyptian newspaper's sourcing of voices in its coverage of the January 25 protests, it highly quoted the anti-Morsi protesters as the main definers of the anti-regime protests as

representing the public will and the revolutionary legitimacy. This highlights Eissa's (2015) emphasis on the independent news outlet's frequent quoting and personalizing of the National Salvation Front leaders. Moreover, the newspaper spotlighted their definition of the nation's internal political crisis as caused by Morsi's decrees and the MB's domination of Egypt's political life along with their initiated violence against the former. It also adopted the protesters' definition of the military's intervention as necessary to overcome the crisis and meet the public's demands. In contrast, the regime's and the MB's very much less quoted voices defending the presidential legitimacy against what they called the military coup and the former regime remnants' conspiracy were marginalized by presenting their utterances against those of the opposition. Hence, their utterances were challenged and undermined and seemed irrational. That is, they represented the counter definers who were also fully silenced in some of the examined reports in the national newspaper similar to their hardly quoted public Islamist supporters, which lends support toEissa's (2015) study where the MB's sources were dehumanized and disregarded in the national independent news website

It is important to note that Bell (1991), Chen (2005, 2007), Eissa (2015), Fairclough (2003), and Richardson (2007) believed that reporting verbs can contribute to deepening polarization, hence detecting a news outlet's perspective towards the quoted voices since they function as an evaluative tool through which the reporter(s) integrate their judgment with the given voices. However, I see that these verbs cannot function as such in isolation from the rest of the representing and represented discourses elements. That is, the neutrality, positivity, and negativity of the employed reporting verbs are enormously influenced by the content of a given speaker's utterance, the context in which such utterance is inserted, the way it is positioned, the quotation type used, and/or the circumstantial element(s) if available in the reporting clause. All these elements can either make the reported speaker appear in a positive or

negative position and his statement more or less significant or downplay and devalue the positivity or negativity of his words. In the present study, it was found that the neutral reporting verbs were the most used in the examined newspapers' coverage of both Egyptian protests followed by the positive processes, and finally the negative processes used very restrictedly (see Tables 1-4, pp. 30-37). Nevertheless, the newspapers' representation of the conflicting parties was not impartial. Moreover, the positive ingroup image in each newspaper at hand was more prominent than the negative outgroup image though both groups were much more frequently reported using neutral and positive verbal processes than negative verbal processes. Accordingly, I believe, in disagreement with Chen (2005, 2007), that positive and negative reporting verbs do not necessarily indicate a relationship of conflict between the speaker and the involved social actor(s) and that the neutral reporting verbs do not by necessity imply unbiased attitude towards the quoted speaker and utterance unless they are interpreted in association with the aforesaid elements (see Section 5.1).

The present study, moreover, unveiled the power relations that shaped the January 25 and June 30 protests discourse in the examined newspapers. The study revealed that each newspaper's ideological stance towards both Egyptian protests was tremendously fed by its political affiliation, hence giving support to the notion of the media as an ISA in the sense of Althusser (1971). Consequently, it can be drawn from the present study that media discourse whether national or international is utilized at times of conflict to maintain or counter unequal relations of power in a society. The study displayed such unequal power relations might be resisted based on a given media outlet's evaluation of the power balance during times of conflict. This was clearly embodied in the examined national newspaper's overt bias against Morsi's, which highlighted its resistance to the official mainstream ideological perspective during his rule. The national newspaper, in fact, represented the liberal media which

endorsed the opposition and the Egyptian public then as opposed to Morsi's Islamist supportive media which played the same role adopted by the state-owned media during Mubarak's era (see Sections 4 & 5.3). However, perhaps other elite powerful institutions and political groups that Morsi did not have a power grab over were covertly dictating such media outlets in an attempt to protect their own economic and political interests, such as the remnants of Mubarak's regime, as claimed then by Morsi's allies (Sharp, 2013). This demonstrates the examined international newspaper's more consistent reflection of the official mainstream ideological views during both investigated protests than that of the national newspaper at hand during particularly the anti-Morsi protests.

It is my hope that this study will open horizons for further CDA research on press discourse, especially news coverage of mass protests and revolutions in Egypt, regionally, and beyond. This study captured the similarities and differences that existed across national and international news outlets in their coverage of both Egyptian protests. Thus, its results could be an indication on how such news outlets covered both protests. However, only two out of many daily newspapers were selected for analysis, hence eliminating a possible range of alternative or matching voices in the media. Accordingly, examining a wider sample of newspapers is highly recommended in further studies including state-owned and partisan newspapers whether nationally or internationally, other Middle East newspapers, and other European newspapers written in different languages.

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Appendix A: Collected Data on the Egyptian January 25 Protests

	The New York Time https://www.nytimes.com/	*Al-Masry Al-Youm* http://today.almasryalyoum.com/
Event: The Day of Anger on Jan. 25, 2011		
Headline	Violent Clashes Mark Protests Against Mubarak's Rule	الآلاف يخرجون إلى شوارع وميادين القاهرة في «يوم الغضب» ضد الحكومة والبطالة والفقر Thousands take to the streets and squares of Cairo in the «Day of Anger» against the government, unemployment and poverty
Report Length	words: 1363 lines: 107	words: 564 lines: 38
Publishing Date	Jan. 25, 2011	Jan. 26, 2011
Event: The Friday of Anger on Jan. 28, 2011		
Headline	Egyptian Hopes Converged in Fight for Cairo Bridge	النداء الأخير: انقذوا مصر Last Call: SaveEgypt
Report Length	words: 964 lines: 69 (a)	words: 447 lines: 30 (a)
Publishing Date	Jan. 28, 2011 (a)	Jan. 29, 2011 (a)
Headline	Mubarak Orders Crackdown, With Revolt Sweeping Egypt	الميام الكبريتية تصيب «البرادعي» بأزمة صحية, و الأهالي يمدو الشاظاهرين بـ«زجاجات الخل» Sulfur water causes «ElBaradei» health problem.., inhabitants supply the demonstrators with «vinegar bottles»
Report Length	words: 1629 lines: 125 (b)	words: 339 lines: 29 (b)
Publishing Date	Jan. 28, 2011 (b)	Jan. 29, 2011 (b)
Event: The Battle of the Camel on Feb. 2, 2011		
Headline	Mubarak's Allies and Foes Clash in Egypt	حرب شوارع في ميدان التحرير Street battles in Tahrir Square
Report Length	words: 1469 lines: 115 (a)	words: 1303 lines: 89 (a)
Publishing Date	Feb. 2, 2011 (a)	Feb. 3, 2011 (a)
Headline	Street Battle Over the Arab Future	«التحرير» يتحول إلى ساحة حرب.. و«الداخلية»تطالب بالتهدئة «Tahrir» turns into a battlefield..and «home» calls for calm
Report Length	words: 1175 lines: 87 (b)	words: 537 lines: 39 (b)
Publishing Date	Feb. 2, 2011 (b)	Feb. 3, 2011 (b)
Event: The Largest Million–Men Demonstration on Feb. 8, 2011 During the Resistance Week		
Headline	As Egypt Protest Swells, U.S. Sends Specific	مسيره مليونية لثالثة الثلاث في «التحرير» والمتظاهرون «الأسبوع الثاني» المقبل بـ«الهتاف والثبات»

Appendix B: Collected Data on the Egyptian June 30 Protests (continued)

		Demands
	Third million-men marchin«Tahrir» demanding departure of«Mubarak», demonstratorsdeclare: next week«Stubbornness» , next«Good Bye»	«الوداع»
Report Length	words: 1253 lines: 97	words: 695 lines: 46
Publishing Date	Feb. 8, 2011	Feb. 9, 2011

Event: Mubarak's Resignation on Feb. 11, 2011

Headline	Egypt Erupts in Jubilation as Mubarak Steps Down	Million-men marchesin Cairowith motto: «We reject the delegationof Suleiman» سيعرات مليونية في القاهرة شعار ها: «نرفض تفويضلسليمان»
Report Length	words: 1891 lines: 145 (a)	words: 806 lines: 54 (a)
Publishing Date	Feb. 11, 2011	Feb. 12, 2011
Headline	World Leaders Cheer but Remain Wary	Mubarak«steps down» and delegatesmanagement of country's affairs to the military... joysspreadthroughout Egypt مبارك «يتنحى» ويفوض الجيش بإدارة شؤون البلاد... والفرح يعم تعمأنحاء مصر
Report Length	words: 724 lines: 58 (b)	words: 413 lines: 36 (b)
Publishing Date	Feb. 11, 2011	Feb. 12, 2011
Total No. of Words & Lines	10468	803	5104	361
Overall No.	Words: 15572 (both newspapers)	Lines: 1164 (both newspapers)

Appendix B: Collected Data on the Egyptian June 30 Protests

	The New York Time https://www.nytimes.com/	*Al-Masry Al-Youm* http://today.almasryalyoum.com/
	Event: Morsi's Constitutional Declaration on Nov. 22 & The First Anti-Regime Protests on Nov. 23, 2012	
Headline	Citing Deadlock, Egypt's Leader Seizes New Power and Plans Mubarak Retrial	Secular forces: We will not allowdictatorship...Muslim Brotherhood: القوى المدنية: لن نسمحبالدكتاتورية ..الإخوان: الثورة قرارلشعبي

Field		
		Revolutionarydecisions
Report Length	words: 968 lines: 74	words: 470 lines: 33
Publishing Date	Nov. 22, 2012	Nov. 23, 2012
Headline	Clashes Break Out After Morsi Seizes New Power in Egypt	البرادعى وصباحى وموسى يقودون مسيرات اسقاط «اعلان» ElBaradei, Sabahi, Moses leading marches for dropping «Morsi's declaration»
Report Length	words: 1260 lines: 95	words: 491 lines: 37
Publishing Date	Nov. 23, 2012	Nov. 24, 2012
Event: Approving Egypt's Post-Revolution Draft Constitution on Nov. 29 & The Violent Clashes Between Anti-and Pro-Morsi Camps on Dec. 5, 2012		
Headline	Egyptian Islamists Approve Draft Constitution Despite Objections	انطلاق مليونية «التراجع او الرحيل».. اليوم غدا Stagingmillion demonstration «RetreatorDeparture».. todayand tomorrow
Report Length	words: 1057 lines: 84	words: 698 lines: 50
Publishing Date	Nov. 29, 2012	Nov. 30, 2012
Headline	Blood Is Shed as Egyptian President's Backers and Rivals Battle in Cairo	اشتباكات عنيفة امام «الاتحادية» في غياب الامن Violentclashesin front of«Ittihadiya» in absence ofsecurity
Report Length	words: 1303 lines: 100	words: 607 lines: 43
Publishing Date	Dec. 5, 2012	Dec. 6, 2012
Event: June 30 Anti-Morsi Mega Protests on June 30, 2013		
Headline	By the Millions, Egyptians Seek Morsi's Ouster	«الاتحادية» مغلق لرحيل الرئيس» «Ittihadiya» closedtill «departure of President»
Report Length	words: 1381 lines: 98	words: 641 lines: 48
Publishing Date	June 30, 2013	July 1, 2013
Event: The Military's 48-Hour Ultimatum on July 1, 2013		
Headline	Morsi Faces Ultimatum as Allies Speak of Military 'Coup'	الشعب أراد.. والجيش استجاب Peoplewanted.., armyresponded
Report Length	words: 1544 lines: 111	words: 487 lines: 38

Publishing Date	July 1, 2013	July 2, 2013
	Event: Morsi's Ouster on July 3, 2013	
Headline	Army Ousts Egypt's President; Morsi Is Taken Into Military Custody	عزل مرسي.. بأمر الشعب Morsi'souster .. by people's order
Report Length	words: 1451 lines: 106 (a)	words: 772 lines: 55 (a)
Publishing Date	July 3, 2013	July 4, 2013
Headline	Military Reasserts Its Allegiance to Its Privileges	«الشعب يوزع «شربات خلع الإخوان» Peopledistributed«sherbet of oustingBrotherhood»
Report Length	words: 1111 lines: 83 (b)	words: 484 lines: 35 (b)
Publishing Date	July 3, 2013	July 4, 2013
Total No. of Words & Lines	10075 751	4650 339
Overall No.	Words: 14725 (both newspapers)	Lines: 1090 (both newspapers)