

عنوان البحث باللغة الإنجليزية

Ideological Diversity of the Egyptian Press Coverage of the War on Gaza Issue and Reflections on the Trends and Affection Guiding the Adoption of Political Views

أسماء الباحثين باللغة الإنجليزية

Dr. Mohamed Ahmed Fadel Elhadidi

Department of Mass Communication, Faculty of Arts, Damietta University, Egypt

Mohamed_elhadidi@yahoo.com

Abstract

The study aimed at tracing the different approaches adopted by the Egyptian Press in handling the War on Gaza issue . In addition, the study aimed to identify and test the different effects of this coverage on the attitude, affect and value structures as well as the identity of the Egyptian public opinion with relation to the War .

Both Qualitative and Quantitative methods were applied by the study: the Qualitative for content analyzing the three different types of Egyptian Press (national, partisan, private) with relation to their treatment of the War on Gaza issue and the Quantitative as related to the results of questionnaire being applied to a sample of the Egyptian public opinion.

As a result of qualitative content analyzing the study sample of the Egyptian Press (The Newspapers of Al-Ahram as national, Al-Wafd as opposed partisan and Al-Destour as private) four Media Packages were perfectly identified as basically related to the War: Security, Legitimacy, Morality and Opportunity .

Concerning the ***Security Package***, the main argument tackled in the treatment of Al-Ahram newspaper as representative of national press (and as also reflecting the official viewpoint of the Egyptian government represented by the Democratic National Party) was enacted obviously in figuring the War as one between Israel and Hamas. On the other hand, the same argument was depicted in " Al-Wafd " (as an opposition partisan newspaper) and " Al-Destour " (as a private independent newspaper) as a War directed by Israel against both Arabic and Islamic Nations.

But the study found that in approaching the *legitimacy package*, the main argument of " Al-Wafd " opponent newspaper was replaced entirely by an idea figuring this war as one between Israel and Hamas who was negatively mentioned as an illegal representative of the Palestinians. In doing so, " Al-Wafd " came to terms with " Al-Ahram " in its main argument in tackling this media package . Contrary to this point was the stand of " Al-Destour " who preferred to figure out the matter as a war declared by Israel against the Palestinian resistance represented (legally) by the movement of Hamas.

Mattering the *Morality Package* of the issue, an agreement was obviously noticed between " Al-Ahram " and Al-Wafd " who proceeded generally along the perspective of showing possible hazards expected from any steps towards opening the Egypt – Gaza paths in no compliance with regulations of the Egyptian authorities. " Al-Destour ", on the other hand, was more likely to condemn and attack the Egyptian government as major partner in the siege of Gaza. Here the argument was centrally about Egypt reluctance against the point of opening the Gaza paths on the Egyptian boundaries .

When it came to the *package of opportunity*, the striking and overriding argument was revolving around how the crisis was managed by all sides engaged in the War against Israel. While doings of the Egyptian government were generally glorified by " Al-Ahram " and so was the matter with " Al-Wafd ", some other Arab countries were really criticized and also denounced by " Al-Wafd ". But the matter was totally unapproved by " Al-Destour " newspaper who insisted on the condemnation of the stands of both Arab and Egyptian administrations with regard to the treatment of the crisis.

As a result of dividing each package of the four ones mentioned above up into eight ways of possible interpretation, the study showed common terms between the newspapers of " Al-Ahram " and " Al-Wafd " with regard to the capacity and the prospects being attributed to the Egyptian administration as an agent in solving the crisis. This matter was paralleled by launching more attack on the movement of Hamas as being sustained and supported by the triad of the allied Hezbollah, Syria and Iran and as being accountable for the great part of acts responsible for the eruption of this War.

More noticeably was the stand of " Al-Wafd " newspaper in particular who went throwing more attack and denouncing of some Arab administrations other than the Egyptian, attributing this to either feeble governments or defaults in the treatment of the crisis " Al-Wafd " also threw light upon the influence of some certain forces noticeably and newly growing in the Middle East such as Turkey .

Inconsistent widely with that was the position of " Al-Destour " who focused on the praise of Hamas and gave more credit to the views of its allies; specifically, those of Mr.

Hassan Nasr Allah – Chief of Hezbollah- in a way to justify the positions of both sides: Hezbollah and Hamas.

Equally important, the newspaper was overwhelmed by a trend to attack the Egyptian government and charge it with much more responsibility for the situation of War. Arab governments, including the Egyptian, were equally answerable or – at least – disgraced because of their passive attitudes towards attempts of resolution of the crisis.

The above results reflects the preeminence of the Egyptian National Security sense of the newspapers of " Al-Ahram " and " Al-Wafd " than it is with the private one " Al-Destour " .

Concerning the results of the questionnaire being applied to a sample of the Egyptian public opinion, a relation was proved between the increased exposure to the political content of both (official) national newspapers and (official) T.V. in Egypt and positive attitude extremity towards the Egyptian government, whereas increased exposure to the political content of Egyptian private newspapers led to positive attitude extremity towards the movement of Hamas.

Evidence was typically proved that much more exposure to the political content of both national and partisan newspapers, as well as the Egyptian T.V. led to the formation of positive sentiment towards the Egyptian government and a negative one towards both Hamas and triad alliance of Hezbollah, Syria and Iran.

Such negative sentiment towards Hamas was the same indicated as a result of Arab newspapers exposure. Apparently both national newspapers and The Egyptian T.V. have succeeded in imposing some sort of transformation of perceptions of issue priorities for the study sample units. The belief importance with regard to the feebleness of Arab countries as one priority of the War issue causes was inversely resulting out of an increase in exposure to these two media.

The variable of media dependency demonstrated a lot of quality effects obtained in accordance with media exposure ratios; specifically, with matters to the effect of media dependency on each of the national and private newspapers, Egyptian T.V. and Arab Satellite channels added to dependency on the Internet and discussions with others about the issue. Meanwhile, an evidence was proved that discussions with others about the War issue brought about negativeness of both attitude extremity and sentiment of the participants towards both Egyptian and Arab governments.

Political and partisan loyalty did not indicate any influences upon the variables of attitude involvement, belief importance, attitude structures and sentiment of Egyptian

public opinion towards sides of the issue with the exclusion of one case in which loyalty for the governing Democratic National Party led to the formation of a positive sentiment for favor of the Egyptian government.

Results also showed that participants' attitude involvement with relation to the Gaza War gave rise to their use of selective processing that led to a kind of univalent attitudes with positive evaluations of each of Hamas and the Triad of Alliances inspite of the increase of the two values of Egyptian National security and peaceful struggle against Israel .

The results, over and above highlighted the point that participants' arrangement of considerations or beliefs with matters to issue causes and effects had a role in the adoption of certain values and the exclusion of other values or even decrease in the adoption of those other values. The same role was also played as regarding participants' feelings towards sides engaged in the issue. Negative actions of Hamas as an idea led obviously to negative feelings towards both of Hamas and the Triad of Alliances, whereas the adoption of the idea of Arab feebleness led equally to negative feelings towards both Egyptian and Arab governments .

Keywords: Framing analysis, Media Packages, Attitude Importance, Self and Social Identity, Values, Attitude Extremity, Attitude Ambivalence, Tolerance, Motivated Reasoning

Published In: *Paper Presented at the 15th Annual Meeting of International Conference of the Faculty of Mass Communication – Cairo University, 2009*

References

- Charles S. Taber (1999). Experiments With an Artificial Mediator: A Progress Report. **Paper Presented at The Annual Meeting of The International Studies Association**, Washington, DC. February 16-20.
- Daniel Kahneman & Amos Tversky (1996). On The Reality of Cognitive Illusions. **Psychological Review**. Vol.103, No.3, Pp. 582-591.
- David P. Redlawsk (2001). You Must Remember This : A test of The On-line Model of Voting . *Journal of Politics*. Vol.63, No.1, Pp.29-58 .
- David S. Boninger, Jon A. Krosnick & Matthew K. Berent (1995). Origins of Attitude Importance: Self Interest, Social Identification, and Value Relevance. **Journal of Personality and social Psychology**. Vol.68, No.1, Pp.61-80.

- Dennis Chong (1993). How People Think, Reason and Feel About Rights and Liberties. **American Journal of Political Science**. Vol.37, No.3, Pp.867-899.
- Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (1993). **The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion, Our Social Skin** . 2nd ed. Chicago : University of Chicago Press.
- Howard Lavine, Eugene Borgida & John L. Sullivan (2000). On The Relationship Between Attitude Involvement and Attitude Accessibility: Toward A Cognitive-Motivational Model of Political Information Processing. **Forthcoming in: Political Psychology**.
- Ian Taylor (2008). Surveying the Battlefield: Mapping the Different Arguments and Positions of The Iraq War Debate Through Frame Analysis . **Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture** . Vol.5, No.3, pp.69-90 .
- Icek Ajzen (2001). Nature and Operation of Attitudes. Annual Review of Psychology. (Online) Available at: www.findarticles.com/cf_dis/m0961/2001/Annual/73232701/print.jhtml., Pp10-11.
- James N. Druckman (2001). On The Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame. **The Journal of Politics**. Vol.63, No.4, P.1041-1066.
- Joanne M. Miller & Jon A. Krosnick (2000). News Media Impact on The Ingredients of Presidential Evaluation: Politically Knowledgeable Citizens Are Guided by a Trusted Source. **American Journal of Political Science** . Vol.44 , No.2, P.301-315.
- John Kennamer (1992). Public Opinion, The Press and Public Policy: An Introduction. In J.D. Kennamar (ED). **Public Opinion, The Press, and Public Policy**. Westport, Ct: Prager. Pp.1-17.
- John Zaller & Stanley Feldman (1992). A Simple Theory of The Survey Response: Answering Questions Versus Revealing Preferences. **American Journal of Political Science**. Vol.36, No.3, Pp. 579-616.
- Joshua Guetzkow (2002). Caveat Voter! Political Awareness and Susceptibility to Framing Effects. **Paper Presented at The Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association, August 28 to September 1, Boston, MA..**
- Marilyn Domas White and Emily E. Marsh (2006). Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology. **LIBRARY TRENDS**, Vol. 55, No.1. ("Research Methods," edited by Lynda M. Baker), pp. 22-45.
- Michael D. Kanner (2002). Framing The Free Rider. **Paper Presented at The Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association, August 28 to September 1, Boston, MA.**
- Milton Lodge & Charles S. Taber (1999). Three Steps Toward A Theory of Motivated Political Reasoning. **Paper Presented at Southern Political Science Association.**
- Milton Lodge, Marco Steenberg & Shawn Brau (1995). The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and The Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation. **American Political Science Review**. Vol.89, Pp.309-326.

- Paul D. Leedy (1993). **Practical Research: Planning and design**. 5th ed., (New York: McMillan Publishing Company).
- Robert M. Entman (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of A Fractured Paradigm. **Journal of Communication**. Vol.43 , No.4 , p.51-58 .
- Russell Fazio (2001). On The Automatic Activation of Associated Evaluation: An Overview. **Cognition and Emotion**. Vol.15, No.2, P.115-141.
- Satu Elo & Helvi Kyngas (2007). The Qualitative Content Analysis Process . **Journal of Advanced Nursing** . Vol. 62, No.1 pp. 107-115 .
- Shanto Iyengar (1991). **Is Any One Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues**. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press .
- Thomas E. Nelson & Donald R. Kinder (1996). Issue Frames and Group-Centrism in American Public Opinion. **The Journal of Politics**. Vol.58, No.4, Pp.1055-1078.
- Thomas E. Nelson, Rosalee A. Clawson & Zoe M. Oxely (1997). Media Framing of A Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance. **American Political Science Review**. Vol.91, No.3, Pp.567-583.
- Thomas E. Nelson, Stephanie Maruska & Eileen Braman (2002). What Is The Issue? Legal and Media Constructions and Political Attitudes. **Paper Presented at The Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association, August 28 to September 1, Boston, MA.**
- Thomas E. Nelson, Zoe M. Oxely (1999). Issue Framing Effects on Belief Importance and Opinion. **The Journal of Politics**. Vol.61, No.4, Pp.1040-1067.
- Thomas E. Nelson, Zoe M. Oxely & Rosalee A. Clawson (1997). Toward A Psychology of Framing Effects. **Political Behavior**. Vol.19, P.221-246.
- William A. Boettcher III (2002). Political Context, Semantic Manipulation or Hedonic Tone: Does Type of Frame Matter?. **Paper Presented at The Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association, August 28 to September 1, Boston, MA.**
- William A. Gamson, & Andre Modigliani (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. **Journal of Sociology**. Vol.95, No.1, p.1-37 .
- Zhongdang Pan & Gerald Kosicki (1993). Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse. **Political Communication**. Vol.10, No.1, Pp.59-70.
- Ziva Kunda (1990). The Case for Motivated Reasoning. **Psychological Bulletin**. Vol.108, No.3, P480-498.