

A MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT IN *AL AHRAM* EGYPTIAN NEWSPAPER IN 2012

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Abstract

Previous Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies on Egyptian newspapers have revealed ideological bias. However, these studies focused only on the text. Since newspapers integrate texts and images to make meaning, an analysis of the textual and the visual components is necessary to better understand the meaning. This study focuses on the analysis of the textual and visual representation of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) President Muhammad Morsi during the first week of his office in 2012 on the front page of *Al Ahram* newspaper. The analysis is based on the linguistic tools suggested by Fowler (1991), and the visual tools suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). The textual analysis revealed that *Al Ahram* positively represents the MB president as a powerful leader performing material action verbs with modality of absolute certainty. The visual analysis also showed the bias of *Al Ahram* towards the MB president by representing him in a higher position than the masses and as the new information. The multimodal analysis agrees with previous CDA research on newspapers in showing the newspapers' bias, and contradicts Pasha's (2011) results by showing the positive representation of the MB president during his office.

Keywords: Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, ideology, newspapers, headlines, images

Introduction

This study falls under the two categories of CDA and Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA). According to Machin and Mayr (2012), CDA has got its origins in "critical linguistics". Critical linguistics appeared at the University of East Anglia in the late 1970s in the work of Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew (1979) and was influenced by Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) view of language as performing three

metafunctions, namely ideational, interpersonal, and textual. That is, Fowler et al. (1979) viewed language as a social tool through which an agent can be described as a martyr, or a terrorist.

This view of language as performing a social role has extended to include images. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) applied the concept of SFG to analyze images and concluded that like texts, images carry ideological representations. This view of integrating texts and images in a multimodal analysis has been shared among many researchers. According to O'Halloran and Smith (2011), "multimodal analysis includes the analysis of communication in all its forms, but is particularly concerned with texts which contain the interaction and integration of two or more semiotic resources – or 'modes' of communication – in order to achieve the communicative functions of the text" (p.2). The same argument was reinforced by Serafini (2009) who stated that images and texts are being combined in unique ways, and that researchers need new strategies for making meaning in relation to these multimodal texts as they are encountered. Since newspapers depend on the interaction and integration of texts and images to deliver meaning in an attractive and interesting way to the readers, the data for this study includes front-page headlines, subheadings, and their associated images in the most important state newspaper in Egypt, namely *Al Ahram*.

Literature Review

Recent CDA studies on Egyptian newspapers have focused on the text only. Mahfouz (2013) analyzed the linguistic structure of some news stories related to the police published in two Egyptian newspapers before the 25th of January Revolution. Mahfouz collected the data from one newspaper which is a totally state-controlled and served as the official information outlet, namely *Al Gomhuria*, while the other is the independent *Al-Dostour*. Mahfouz adopted the CDA approach to analyze the headlines, leads, and the framing of the news stories related to the police so as to find out if the newspapers are "for or against the former regime and how the reporters' intervention is used in framing the news stories to make readers understand them in the way intended by the producer of the text" (p. 309). The results revealed that the ideological practices of *Al Gomhuria* tend to justify and mitigate the police abuse of power, while *Al-Dostour* stories tend to focus on the negative events related to the police. However, this study ignored the visual component of the newspapers which is an integral part of the process of making meaning. Thus, multimodal studies on Egyptian newspapers are necessary to investigate the kind of ideological work being accomplished in the newspapers through texts and images.

Pasha (2011) who argued that his research was the first to focus on Islamists in the Egyptian newspapers from a CDA perspective, focused on the linguistic representation of the MB in *Al Ahrām* newspaper in 2002 and 2005. His results revealed that the MB were presented in *Al Ahrām* as violent and “others”. However, this research ignored the visual component in *Al Ahrām* newspaper, and hence could not reveal how the paper integrates the different communicative means to deliver meaning. Also, this research only focused on the MB while being powerless, and thus missed a chance to investigate how the papers would represent the MB in power. This study employs a multimodal approach to analyze *Al Ahrām* newspaper’s front-page headlines, and images of Morsi in the first week of his office so as to reveal the paper’s ideological stance and possible bias.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

Data Collection

The choice of MB for the theme of the study was because the MB members were represented in *Al Ahrām* as violent and “others” (Pasha, 2011). However, in 2012, they came to office and the MB President Muhammad Morsi became the first elected President of Egypt. This study examines the shift of power and how it was reflected in *Al Ahrām* newspaper which showed bias to the MB president once in power. Such contradictory representations would show how the newspapers are institutionally controlled media that are biased to the elite and the more powerful. The data included 36 titles and subtitles and 9 images.

Theoretical Framework

Van Dijk (1998) argued that CDA is problem-oriented and eclectic in nature. I employed the tools introduced by Fowler’s (1991) study on language in the news to analyze the headlines. For the visual analysis of the images, I employed the tools developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). Figure 1 summarizes the tools of analysis.

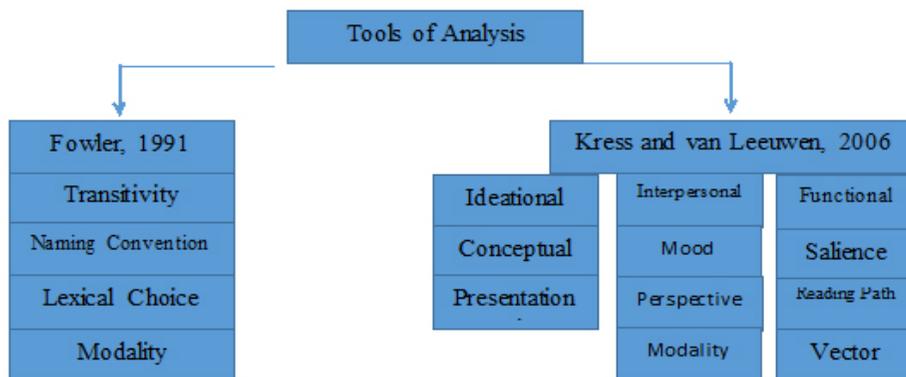


Figure 1. Theoretical framework for a multimodal analysis.

Data Analysis and Findings

Transitivity. According to Fowler (1991), transitivity as part of the ideational function plays an important part in the analysis of representation in the press. The application of the tools of transitivity on the headlines during the first week of the MB office reveals that *Al Ahrām* tries to positively represent the MB president as a powerful figure who seems to have high authority after being elected by the people, and honored by the judges and the army.

In the first week in Morsi's office, *Al Ahrām* almost mentions Morsi as the sole agent in every headline from the 30th of June to the 6th of July, 2012. For example,

مرسى يتسلم السلطة من المجلس الأعلى فى احتفال عسكرى

Morsi receives the authority from the Supreme Council at a military ceremony

(*Al Ahrām*, July 1, 2012)

Moreover, the placing of Morsi as the agent is supported by mainly performing action verbs to suggest power and authority. Morsi performs material action verbs (e.g. shake hands, receive, meet, witness, and inaugurate), mental action verbs (e.g. stress his respect, and decide), and verbal action verbs (e.g. take or swear oath, announce, and cast a speech). All these verbs are action verbs which according to Fowler (1991) are deliberate and controlled, and therefore show the power and authority of their doer, namely Morsi in this case. Only one exception is found in the data when Morsi is delayed to an object position. For example,

خريجو الكلية البحرية يؤدون التحية العسكرية للرئيس

Graduates of the Navy perform military salute to the President

(*Al Ahrām*, July 6, 2012)

Though the object syntactic position may refer to the less powerful, it is not the case in this example. In the aforementioned example, Morsi's power is stressed because the military students salute him which shows great respect and honour rather than submission or less power from his part.

In addition, *Al Ahrām* tries to keep Morsi's high authority by employing agent deletion and the use of an inanimate object rather than the animate "the judges" in covering Morsi's statements about the Constitutional Court in July 1 in "Stressed his respect to its provisions" (not to its judges). Also, *Al Ahrām* employs nominalization rather than making Morsi the object in the headline below in which the choice of using a verb was available, but the paper chooses to use a noun (in bold).

احتفال تسليم السلطة من المجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة الى الرئيس محمد مرسى

*The celebration of the **handover** of power from the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to President Mohamed Morsi*

(*Al Ahram*, July 1, 2012)

Thus, it could be argued that *Al Ahram* during the first week of the MB office tries to reassure the power of the MB president, his authority, and validity through the use of action verbs. Furthermore, it places Morsi as the agent syntactically and semantically, and as the doer of the actions deliberately, powerfully, and authoritatively.

Naming Conventions. Fowler (1991) does not mention naming conventions directly as being part of the lexical structure, but he uses the label frequently in his analysis of news headlines in his study, and stresses its importance in revealing the different representations of the groups and their ideological significance. So, I choose to treat it as a tool of its own and to assign a separate section to it. The application of naming conventions to the data reveals that, like transitivity, naming conventions are employed to show the president's power and authority when using the title of his position and to bring him closer to the people when using his second name.

In the time period under analysis, *Al Ahram* uses Morsi's second name "Morsi", his title "The President", his title + his first and second name "President Muhammad Morsi", his title + his second name "President Morsi", his academic degree+ his second name "Dr. Morsi", and the term "president-elect". All these titles signify Morsi's high status and power, especially "president-elect" which may reflect an attempt to legitimize Morsi's position by saying that he is the people's choice so as to show his power. Furthermore, these different naming conventions may have ideological significance, especially with the choice of using the president's second name only "Morsi" to refer to Morsi's decision on the second of July, 2012 to give bonus money to the people.

مرسى يقرر فى اول اجتماع مع مجلس الوزراء امس
15 % علاوة للموظفين والمعاشات و 100 جنيه زيادة للضمان الاجتماعى

Morsi decides in the first meeting with the Cabinet yesterday 15% bonus for employees and pensioners and 100 pounds increase for social security

(*Al Ahram*, July 2, 2012)

Such use of the second name has a more personal and intimate effect. Thus, in an attempt to increase Morsi's popularity and make people identify with him, *Al Ahram* uses the second name with the bonus money decision to make it personal. Hence, it is Morsi's decision, and not the Cabinet's or others'. In contrast, the title of the position only is used to show power and authority. For example,

الرئيس يؤدى اليمين امام الجمعية العمومية للمحكمة الدستورية

The President takes an oath before the general assembly of the Constitutional Court

(*Al Ahram*, July 1, 2012)

Thus, different naming conventions are used to deliver different meanings towards one purpose, namely showing the powerful and kind Brotherhood president. The use of the second name only can be more personal. Hence, it is used when a decision is favored by the people so as to bring them closer to the new president. Moreover, the use of the title is more formal and can be used to show authority and power. If I apply these suggestions on the naming conventions on other two particular incidents covered in *Al Ahram*, I might say that the paper purposefully employs naming conventions to implicitly deliver underlying meaning. The two incidents are related to Morsi's presidential oath. Morsi took oath twice, once informally in Al Tahrir Square which is not constitutional, and a second, formal, before the Constitutional Court which is an integral part of the process of assuming power and becoming president. Hence, taking oath in Al Tahrir does not make Morsi a president officially. However, while *Al Ahram* uses the second name when Morsi is taking the first oath in the Square, it uses his official title in the second oath in the Court. This may be for two reasons. The first is to say that taking oath in Al Tahrir is his personal choice and hence the use of the second name only with Al Tahrir Square oath, but, if so, it should not have been represented in the paper as the "constitutional oath" and should have been supported using his second name again in the Supreme Court oath so as to say that, so far, he is not an official president until he takes this oath before the Court. Subsequently, this leads me to the second and more probable suggestion that the paper uses his title with the Court's oath to say that Morsi is already a president after he personally chooses to take his oath to the people in Al Tahrir so as to show the power of the people after the revolution and to reflect the new President's challenge over power with the judges, especially the Constitutional Court's (Morsi later denies many of the Court's provisions, tries to rule over them and starts a real clash with the judges). Table 1 below shows the naming conventions associated with Al Tahrir's oath and the Court's oath.

Table 1

A Comparison between Al Tahrir's oath and the Court's oath

التحرير يحتفل بفوز مرسي و يطالب بتسليم السلطة	الرئيس يؤدي اليمين امام الجمعية العمومية للمحكمة الدستورية
<i>Al Tahrir (Liberation Square) celebrates the victory of Morsi and demands to hand over power (Al Ahram, June 30, 2012)</i>	<i>The President takes an oath before the general assembly of the Constitutional Court (Al Ahram, July 1, 2012)</i>

Thus, various naming conventions are used to suggest different meanings and deliver certain messages. This meaning can be either of intimacy by using Morsi's second name only, or of authority by using the

title of the president to deliver an underlying ideology which supports the president and his authority.

Lexical Structure. Fowler (1991) identified three main concepts under lexical structure, namely categorization, re-lexicalization, and over-lexicalization. All these concepts play a part in the process of power and ideological representation.

According to Fowler (1991), categorization makes clear distinctions between classes or concepts. In the time period under analysis, categorization is employed to identify the different groups in Egypt and to suggest Morsi's power over all of them. In this period, there is Morsi as the MB representative and the president of Egypt, the Constitutional Court and its judges, the army and its leaders, and the people. Categorization is employed to make these groups subordinate to the more powerful, the president.

Morsi's power and authority over the parties in Egypt is made clear in *Al Ahram* by assigning him a set of vocabulary and making him the center of all the news related to all the Egyptian parties (he is the agent and everyone else is the patient). Some of these vocabulary include "President-elect", "the President", "Dr. Morsi", "celebration", "oath", "decide", "praise", "order", "power", and "speech". Morsi's power is also made clear in relation to the people in associating positive vocabulary to the people towards Morsi e.g. "celebrate", "president elect", and "chant". Thus, like transitivity and naming conventions, lexical structures stressed Morsi's power.

Modality. The term modality overlaps with the traditional grammar term known as auxiliary or modal auxiliary. However, Fowler (1991) stated that the difference is in the fact that any straight forward truth claim does not need a modal verb, even though there is the presence of modality. Thus, modality is there, but does not have to be expressed. Applying modality to the headlines under analysis reveals that President Morsi uses absolute-confidence truth modality either explicitly through the use of "will" or implicitly through the truth claims he makes about different issues. Below are two examples of the use of modality in *Al Ahram*.

الرئيس المنتخب: الشعب مصدر السلطة..و أفق على مسافة واحدة من الجميع

President-elect: people are the source of power and I stand at the same distance from everyone

(*Al Ahram*, June 30)

أكد احترامه أحكامها..و فى جامعة القاهرة: مصر لن تقبل أى انتهاك للأمن القومى العربى

Stressed his respect to its provisions.. and at Cairo University: Egypt will not accept any violation of the Arab national security

(*Al Ahram*, July 1, 2012)

This use of truth modality with absolute certainty and confidence suggests Morsi's commitment to fulfill these promises. The President as an

MB member wants to reassure that he is a president for all the people. Thus, he uses modality to deliver this meaning. Moreover, modality is also used to show that Morsi as a president does not want his power to be challenged. This argument can be made when considering the naming convention and the truth claim in the first example above. Morsi is the “president-elect” and “people are the source of power” which might mean that Morsi has the power. The analysis of transitivity, lexical choices, and naming conventions, goes a long way with the analysis of modality and reveals Morsi’s powers or his attempts to claim these powers. This can also be emphasized when examining the modality in Tantawi’s statements in *Al Ahram* using the following example.

المشير طنطاوى: سنقف مع الرئيس الجديد

Tantawi: We will stand with (support) the new president

(Al-Akhabr, July 1, 2012)

In this headline, Tantwai is using truth modality with absolute confidence that Morsi now has the power and it will not be challenged. This power is directly reflected in the news coming after the first of July, where most of the statements of modality carries absolute confidence and hence suggest power, especially when accompanied by the royal “we”. For example,

مرسى: نرفض القمع الوحشى لأبناء الشعب السورى

Morsi: We reject the brutal repression of the Syrian people

(Al Ahram, July 3, 2012)

Thus, modality is employed to show the process of power transition, power claim from the part of Morsi, and finally possessing it through the use of the truth modal auxiliary “will” which implies absolute certainty and confidence.

In conclusion, the linguistic analysis of the headlines reveals that *Al Ahram* accepts the transition of power very well. Hence, this may be the reason why the reassurance of the power of the new president is represented in the headlines through the use of action verbs, placing Morsi in agent position, using positive authoritative vocabulary and naming conventions to talk about Morsi, and using modal auxiliary of truth and confidence. The following section includes the analysis of the images that appear in *Al Ahram* which is based on Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) modal of visual analysis in an attempt from my part to examine how the visual component is used to enhance the linguistic mode in the newspapers to construct and deliver meaning or ideology.

Visual Analysis. In this visual analysis, I analyze the images with a special and detailed focus on the first day of MB’s office, and then draw some conclusions. The analysis reveals that along with the text, the visual images show Morsi’s power and authority over Egypt.

On the first day of the MB office, *Al Ahrām* chooses to show two images of Morsi, one in Al Tahrir Square and another with Sheikh Al-Azhar. The image of Al Tahrir Square (Image 1) is very significant.



Image 1. Morsi in Al Tahrir Square in Al Ahrām on June 30, 2012.

In image 1, Morsi opening wide his suit jacket is a vector that refers to his action. His actions state that he is very courageous because he is not wearing a bullet-proof vest. This is accompanied by the statement “I am not afraid of gun bullets” under the image. The goal is both the masses attending the event and the viewer who receives a direct gaze, and hence is involved and demanded to have a similar feeling to that of the masses in the Square. The image also has a symbolic attributive meaning. Morsi is surrounded by different persons looking at different directions. All of them wear suits, one wears sun glasses, and two with mustaches. These attributes are usually associated with police men or guards. This symbolic meaning adds to the importance of the public figure in the center, President Morsi, and also shows his power. Morsi looks at the viewers and this direct gaze of demand invites the viewer to enter some kind of relation with him. It invites the viewer to perceive Morsi in a similar way to the chanting crowds in Al Tahrir so as to admire his courage and witness his power. The size of the frame is a medium shot that both shows other people, so it is public, and is close enough to Morsi to have a feeling of intimacy with the viewer. Thus, it is a public event and not personal, and Morsi is one of the people. The angle is a horizontal oblique angle to show Morsi surrounded by the guards to show power. Modality is high and the image looks true and real with the clear colours, shade and sunlight, sharpness of focus, and clarity. The image is also contextualized by showing part of the banner in the back to deliver the meaning of reality. Morsi has the center position, his body language is a vector that attracts the reader to his action, and he is the most eye catching participant in the image, and hence the most salient. Thus, *Al Ahrām* captures a moment of courage and power, and positively represents the MB president.

The second image in *Al Ahram* on the first day of Morsi in office shows him shaking hands with Sheikh Al-Azhar (image 2).



Image 2. Morsi after Jumaa Prayer in Al Ahram on June 30, 2012.

Morsi's left hand in this image is a vector that directs the viewer to the shaking of hands with Sheikh Al-Azhar. However, this process requires Al-Taib to shake hands as well. So, this might be considered as a bidirectional transactional process in which both Morsi and Al-Taib play the roles of actors and goals. They are thus interactors, though the choice of the paper to make Morsi the actor in the text commenting on the image "President Mohamed Morsi shakes hands with Sheikh Al-Azhar after Friday's prayers". The two main participants do not look at the viewer, so it is an indirect gaze that offers the viewer the chance to see the two figures smiling to each other while shaking hands. This gaze hence gives the reader the chance to see the intimacy between Morsi and Sheikh Al-Azhar. This might be part of the sequence of the images which represent the attempt of newspapers to show Morsi among the different groups in Egypt. The shot is a close one with only the heads and shoulders of Morsi and Al-Taib which stresses the warm feelings between the two and intimacy. It is a horizontal frontal shot which shows maximum involvement of the photographer and the reader. The reader is invited to be part of this intimacy. The modality of the image is high with its bright saturated colours, sharp focus, and clarity. Thus, it gives the message of being real and true; what the viewer sees here is true and this image represents it as it happens. Al-taib on the left represents a given information, while Morsi on the right represents the new information which the image needs to deliver to the reader. Al-Taib is already Al-Azhar Sheikh, and Morsi is the new president and hence his placement on the right. Both figures are salient, but Morsi might be said to be more salient by placing him on the right, and placing his hand on Al-Taib's shoulder. Thus, this image might represent the paper's attempt to show Morsi as being respected and accepted by all the institutions in Egypt, including Al-Azhar. Thus, *Al Ahram* shows Morsi positively on the first day. The same message continues in *Al*

Ahram for the next days until July 6. Table 2 summarizes the analysis of the images appearing in *Al-Ahram* from July 1 to July 6.

Table 2
Analysis of Al Ahram images from July 1 to July 6

Image		A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7
Representational Structure	Actional	_____	Morsi taking oath	Morsi casting a speech	_____	_____	Army graduates saluting Morsi	Morsi Awarding graduate
	Reactional	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	Conceptual	Morsi and Army generals standing	_____	_____	Morsi sitting in the center	Morsi sitting with Tantawi and Anan	Morsi standing	_____
Interactive Meanings	Mood	Demand	Demand	Offer	Offer	Offer	Offer	Offer
	Social Distance	Long public shot	Long public shot	Long formal shot	Long Public shot	Long formal shot	Medium, public shot	Medium public shot
	Perspective	Horizontal, frontal	Horizontal, frontal	Horizontal, Oblique	Horizontal, frontal	Horizontal, Oblique	Horizontal, oblique	Vertical, Oblique
	Modality	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
Compositional Meaning	Information Value	Morsi-center	Morsi in the center	Audience, left, given Morsi, right, new	Morsi center Ministers margins	Tantawi and Anan-left, given Morsi-Right, new	Morsi, right, new Graduates, left given	Morsi, right, new Graduates, left given
	Saliency	Morsi in the center, in a formal suit with a red tie different from the Army suits	Morsi taking oath	Morsi on the podium casting a speech	Morsi sitting in the centre	Morsi on the gold-plated chair in the presidential palaces	Morsi receiving military salutations	Morsi Awarding graduate

Note. Images A1 to A2 correspond to *Al Ahram* images in Appendix A with the same numbers.

Al Ahram images in the period have presentational and conceptual meanings. As for the actional processes, Morsi is mostly the actor and hence in control, except for one, image A6, when he receives the salutation which

plays the same role of showing his power rather than placing him as just a goal. The conceptual meaning signifies Morsi's power to a great extent by showing him sitting either on the gold-painted chair in the Presidential palace, or in the center of the Cabinet members. *Al Ahrām* chooses the formal long or the medium shots in showing Morsi which might help show him as a public figure. In all the images, Morsi has the most important information value. This can be seen either by placing him in the center or on the right position as new information, or the information the image wants to tell to the viewers. Also, he is the most salient figure.

Al Ahrām shows Morsi as the most salient participant and the new and most important information the images want to relate to the readers. This goes along with the linguistic analysis of the headlines and subheadings in which Morsi's power is emphasized through the tools of transitivity, modality, and lexical choices. Morsi in the written text is the actor who dominates the actions. He performs transitive verbs and directives which affect significant entities, such as the army and the cabinet of ministers. To sum up, Morsi the MB president is shown as the legitimate president who is approved and chanted to by the people, and who is respected by all the institutes in the country. This positive representation is parallel to the MB members taking over power in Egypt. The next section shows the conclusion of this study.

Conclusion

Like any other business, media is a product that is controlled by economic and social variables, and that aims at profit. That is, when launching a TV channel or a newspaper, the aim is to sell this product or distribute it so as to get advertisements and profit. These facts make the media a highly mediated product that does not represent the truth whether intentionally to achieve some gains, or unintentionally when limited by time on TV or space in the newspapers (Fowler, 1991). However, many people think that what they get on TV or from newspapers is the truth. This gives rise to CDA. The aim of CDA is to reveal media bias by examining the choices the news producers make to represent the world and evaluating them with the aim of raising the people's awareness. This research is not different. It is a MCDA research that aims at revealing bias in the newspapers to the more powerful and to the state. The aim of this study is to examine the way the MB were represented linguistically and visually in the largest state newspaper in Egypt, *Al Ahrām*, during their first week in office in the time period between 30th of June to 6th of July 2012.

The results revealed that the MB as a ruling powerful group was positively represented in the news. Morsi and the MB had the power to perform action verbs of absolute control, such as "decide", "praise", and

“investigate”. Morsi was represented with positive naming conventions, such as “the President”, “President-elect”, and “Dr. Morsi”.

The bias of the newspapers to the more powerful agrees with previous research in the area. Previous CDA research showed that the media works ideologically and is in the service of the powerful, the elite, and the state, thus representing what they would like people to believe is the truth (Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Fowler et al., 1979; van Dijk, 1991, 1993). In addition, this study also agrees with Mahfouz (2013) who argued that *Al Gomhuria* newspaper worked ideologically to support Mubarak’s regime by framing police stories in the news. This is done by presenting only one version of incidents, justifying, and mitigating police abuse of power. Similarly, *Al Ahram* as another state newspaper during the analyzed time period supported the ruling group in Egypt by supporting the MB while they were in office.

However, the results of my research, or at least their interpretation, do not agree with Pasha (2011) research. Though Pasha and I agree that there is bias in *Al Ahram* to the more powerful group, my results were different. This is because Pasha only showed the MB while not in power. When the MB were in power, they were positively represented as performing powerful positive action verbs. Moreover, the MB president was referred to with honorific titles as “president”, “Dr”, and “president-elect”. This contradicts Pasha’s conclusion that the MB were and would always be under attack. It is revealed that once the MB became the more powerful, the newspaper positively represented them and adopted their ideology which shows how the newspapers would favor the more powerful no matter who he is. It would be very interesting for future research to compare these results to the analysis of the news on MB after they were ousted in July 2013. This is with the aim of examining the further shift in the representation of the MB.

This research also agreed with previous multimodal studies on the importance of focusing on the images and the text to understand meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Machin and Mayr, 2012; Shalaby, 2015). It was noted how *Al Ahram* integrated images with headlines so as to deliver meaning. In the period under analysis, Morsi was powerful. Hence, the images of Morsi as an actor higher than the masses, and raising his hand in triumph were used in the papers (Images 1 and 2). Thus, this research confirms and emphasizes the importance of multimodal analysis to reveal meaning, especially in mediums, such as newspapers that integrate visuals and texts as part of the process of meaning making.

This research is another contribution to the field of CDA and MCDA as it shows bias in an Arabic Egyptian state-controlled newspaper, namely *Al Ahram*. The aim of this research is to raise people’s awareness that what they read or see is not the truth, but rather a version of the truth that is controlled

by commercial and ideological considerations. The aim of this research and CDA in general, is not to stop getting the news from a particular news outlet, but to motivate the readers to read critically and depend on various resources so as to construct their own version of reality or truth.

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Appendix A

News Items and Images in the First Period from June 30 to July 6

الفترة: 2012-6-30 و حتى 2012-7-6	
الاهرام:	
6-30	
Al-Al Tahrir (Liberation Square) celebrates the victory of Morsi and demand to hand over power	التحرير يحتفل بفوز مرسى و يطالب بتسليم السلطة
President-elect: people are the source of power and I stand at the same distance from everyone	الرئيس المنتخب: الشعب مصدر السلطة.. و أقف على مسافة واحدة من الجميع
President Mohamed Morsi shakes hands with Sheikh Al-Azhar after Friday prayers.. and on Al-Al Tahrir platform announces: I am not afraid of bullets	الرئيس محمد مرسى يصافح شيخ الازهر بعد صلاة الجمعة.. و على منصة التحرير يعلن: لا اخشى الرصاص
Morsi takes the oath today before the Constitutional Court after taking it yesterday in the Square	مرسى يؤدى اليمين اليوم امام الدستورية بعد أدائها أمس بالميدان
7-1	
Morsi receives the authority from the Supreme Council at a military ceremony	مرسى يتسلم السلطة من المجلس الأعلى فى احتفال عسكرى
The president praises the role of the armed forces and orders it to continue protecting homeland security	الرئيس يشيد بدور القوات المسلحة و يكلفها بمواصلة حماية الامن الداخلى
Field Marshal Tantawi, the army vows to stand with (support) the president elected by the people	المشير طنطاوى يتعهد بوقوف الجيش بجانب الرئيس المنتخب من الشعب
The celebration of the handover of power from the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to President Mohamed Morsi	احتفال تسليم السلطة من المجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة الى الرئيس محمد مرسى
A souvenir photograph of President Morsy, Field Marshal Tantawi and members of the Supreme Council and the leaders of the Armed Forces [Broadcasted by the Egyptian TV]	صورة تذكارية للرئيس مرسى و المشير طنطاوى و اعضاء المجلس الأعلى و قادة القوات المسلحة بثتها التلفزيون المصرى
Stressed his respect to its provisions.. and at Cairo University: Egypt will not accept any violation of the Arab national security	أكد احترامه أحكامها .. و فى جامعة القاهرة: مصر لن تقبل أى انتهاك للأمن القومى العربى
The President takes the oath before the general assembly of the Constitutional Court and casts his first speech at a ceremony at Cairo University after the constitutional oath	الرئيس يؤدى اليمين امام الجمعية العمومية للمحكمة الدستورية و يلقي خطابه الاول فى احتفالية بجامعة القاهرة بعد اليمين الدستورية
7-2	

Morsi decides in the first meeting with the Cabinet yesterday.	مرسى يقرر في أول اجتماع مع مجلس الوزراء أمس:
The continuation of the Ganzouri government until the formation of a new government	استمرار حكومة الجنزوري حتى تشكيل حكومة جديدة
First cabinet meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of Dr. Morsi	أول اجتماع لمجلس الوزراء أمس برئاسة الدكتور مرسى
Netanyahu's message to the president is for congratulation	رسالة نتانياهو للرئيس للتهنئة
Morsi receives Governor of the Central Bank	مرسى يستقبل محافظ البنك المركزي
Al-Azhar regrets ignoring Al-Taib and leading scholars in the celebration of the inauguration of President	الازهر يأسف لتجاهل الطيب و كبار العلماء في احتفالية تنصيب الرئيس
	7-3
In the first meeting of Morsi with the Board of Governors.	في الاجتماع الاول لمرسى مع مجلس المحافظين:
Priority to the issues of ordinary people with security, bread and water in the forefront	أولوية لقضايا البسطاء و في مقدمتها الأمن و رغيف الخبز و المياه
The president meets Clinton in July 14	الرئيس يلتقي كلنتون 14 يوليو
In the Syrian opposition conference in Cairo	في مؤتمر المعارضة السورية بالقاهرة:
Morsi: We reject the brutal repression of the Syrian people	مرسى: نرفض القمع الوحشي لأبناء الشعب السوري
	7-4
The President follows the implementation of the "Hundred Days" project	الرئيس يتابع تنفيذ مشروع "المائة يوم"
Morsi: Al-Azhar and its Sheikh have a prominent place in the hearts of everyone	مرسى: للأزهر و شيخه مكانة كبيرة في نفوس الجميع
Presidency denies Morsi's intention to visit Iran	الرئاسة تنفي اعتزام مرسى زيارة ايران
Heads of the Cassation and the Constitutional courts and Administrative Prosecution take oath before the President	رؤساء الدستورية و النقض و النيابة الادارية يؤدون اليمين أمام الرئيس
	7-5
Morsi discusses with the Field Marshal, and the commander-in-chief the ways to support the armed forces	مرسى يناقش مع المشير و رئيس الأركان سبل دعم القوات المسلحة
The President witnesses today the graduation of senior students from the Faculties of air defense and navy	الرئيس يشهد اليوم تخرج دفعتين في كليتي الدفاع الجوي و البحرية
The President during a meeting with Field Marshal and Commander-in-Chief	الرئيس خلال لقائه المشير و رئيس الاركان

A Presidential decision to examine the cases of the detainees after the revolution	قرار جمهورى لبحث حالات المعتقلين بعد الثورة
A Message from the King of Bahrain to the President	رسالة من ملك البحرين للرئيس
	7-6
Morsi and Tantawi inaugurate the annual graduation ceremonies for new officers	مرسى و طنطاوى يبدشنان الاحتفالات السنوية لتخريج الضباط الجدد
President awards the top students medals of the military duty	الرئيس يقلد الاوائل انواط الواجب العسكرى
Graduates of the navy perform military salute to the President.. and the President awards the top students from the air defense medals of the military duty	خريجو الكلية البحرية يؤدون التحية العسكرية للرئيس..و الرئيس يقلد اوائل الدفاع الجوى انواط الواجب العسكرى
A Message from Morsi to Abdul Jalil emphasizes the interdependence between the two countries	رسالة من مرسى لعبد الجليل تؤكد الترابط بين البلدين
13 thousand troops to secure the Libyan elections tomorrow	13 الف جندى لتأمين الانتخابات الليبية غدا



Image A1. Al Ahram



Image A2. Al Ahram



Image A3. Al Ahram



Image A4. Al Ahram



Image A5. Al Ahram



Image A6. Al Ahram



Image A13. Al Ahram