

A Dramatistic Look at Motive and Egypt's 2011 Revolution

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### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to determine the primary motivating factors in the protestors whose demonstrations resulted in the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt's 2011 revolution. The methodology is rooted in Kenneth Burke's Dramatic Pentad. The elements of the pentad were observed in 29 articles from *Daily News Egypt* which were published between January 18 and February 18, 2011. Then the most prominent ratios were examined. Finally, the Guilt-Redemption Cycle was observed in the actions of the protestors.

This methodology yielded the motivation of the protestors in Egypt's 2011 revolution. It was discovered that the protestors had determined that Hosni Mubarak and his government was guilty for a number of national crimes. In order to purify their nation from the guilt, these people took to the streets in protest. After Mubarak and his government had resigned the people began the process of redemption by fixing the problematic portions of their constitution. In this way, Burke's pentad revealed the motivations of the protestors who overthrew Mubarak.

Keywords: Burke, Egyptian Revolution, Social Movement Theory, Motivation.

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## Chapter 1

### *Introduction and Justification*

On January 25, 2011, 80,000 people took to the streets. They saw themselves as victims of poverty, misrepresentation and a corrupt government. They had lost their voice in the press and people whom they identified with were being arrested and killed. Inequality was evident in Egyptian society and the government was both oppressive and corrupt. This contributed to an overall feeling of humiliation. This was not the Egypt that they had dreamed about, nor was it the one they desired to pass on to future generations. They mobilized for change (Lim, 231-243).

Such a movement of society's forces provides an opportunity for the field of communication. Timothy Borchers states in *Persuasion in the Media Age* that persuasive movements, also known as social movements, are "struggles on behalf of a cause by groups whose core organizations, modes of action, and/or guiding ideas are not fully legitimated by the larger society (Borchers, 322)." In 2011, nearly one million people gathered in Tahrir square in Cairo Egypt to demand that the man who had been in charge of their government for 30 years step down. The protesters remained in the square, in the face of violent opposition until February 11, 2011, when their demands were met and Mubarak relinquished his position (Timeline: Egypt's Revolution). This movement was actively propelled by a large percentage of Egypt's population and their actions yielded the results they desired. As a successful social movement, the 2011 revolution in Egypt begs the attention of communication researchers.

Any overthrow of a ruler is important, but Egypt's situation was unique. Hosni Mubarak had been in power in Egypt for 30 years, representing the durability of Arab authoritarian leadership. In fact, it had been 60 years since an Arab authoritarian leader had been overthrown (Brumberg). Even on the day the revolution began Hillary Clinton, who was at this time the

secretary of state of the United States of America, said this in light of the January 25 protests.

“Our assessment is that the Egyptian government is stable and is looking for ways to respond to the legitimate needs and interests of the Egyptian people” (El-Ghobashy 258). According to El-Ghobashy, “With these words, Clinton gave voice to a common understanding of Egypt under Mubarak” (258). Therefore, what took place in Egypt was not simply unusual, but an unpredicted and unlikely overthrow of what seemed to be a stable government.

Additional justification for study can be found in the fact that Egypt has often been a beacon of influence over this unstable area of the world. In the past, Egypt was a source of diplomatic solution to conflicts that seemed irresolvable. This primarily took the form of resolving Israeli and Palestinian tensions ("The Middle East: The Foreign Policy of Egypt in the Post-Sadat Era."). But Egypt's influence does not seem to have been purely peaceful. The importance of Egypt's social climate can be quickly demonstrated by listing the North African and Middle Eastern countries that had subsequent protests and unrest within a year of the January 25 protests in Cairo. Algeria, Bahrian, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, and Yemen were plagued with unrest (Blight, Gary, Sheila Pulham, and Paul Torpey,). Following this year of unrest, Yemen's President Saleh was forced to resign on February 27, 2012. Sudan protesters called for a regime change later that year. On July 15, 2012 Syria was officially in a state of civil war. On February 19, 2013 the prime minister of Tunisia was forced to resign following the assassination of the opposition leader earlier that year. Morsi, the new leader of Egypt was forced to abandon his post on July 16, 2013. These governments had all been stable in the past. It is clear that Egypt's revolution in 2011 was just the beginning of a massive wave that sprung across North Africa and the

Middle East. The events in Egypt are not isolated and insignificant to the rest of the world, and as significant events, they are justifiable areas for further study.

The study of the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak provides an opportunity for communication scholars to provide a clearer understanding to the Western world about what has taken place in these overthrow situations in the Arab world. It is one thing for a communication theory to be useful in the social environment in which it was designed, but it achieves far greater value if it proves to be applicable across cultural and social boundaries. Emmanuel Karagiannis describes the problems with the Western orientation of social movement theory, which he adjusts to make the theory useable in a more Islamic context (Karagiannis, 137). Asef Bayat also found the theory to be valuable, but that it needed adjustment due to its Western roots (Bayat, 904). Therefore, the application of communication theories across cultural contexts is profitable for discovering the extent of the theory's utility.

The overthrow of Hosni Mubarak by the populous in Egypt is worthy of study for multiple reasons. First, social movements are significant to the field of communications, and this social movement is vast in scale and influence. Secondly, the overthrow of a dictator is of global significance. That being said, this was an extremely unlikely overthrow making it exceptionally interesting. Additionally, Egypt's influence in this volatile region of the world is significant, both in providing peace and inspiring instability. Finally, such a phenomenon provides an opportunity for communication theories to be applied in a cultural environment other than that which many of them were designed. Based on this reasoning, the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak is worthy of study.

With these facts considered, the motivation of the protestors will be the focus of the study. The print newspapers of *Daily News Egypt* will be the artifact by which the motivation of

these protesters is studied. Kenneth Burke developed a theory of Dramatism which included his Guilt-Redemption Cycle. This was designed to illuminate the motivation of people involved in situations. Therefore, this theory will be used to illuminate the motivation of the protesters who overthrew Hosni Mubarak in 2011.

This direction aims to focus specifically on the social and ideological factors that enabled such an unlikely revolution. Burke believed that the Dramatic Pentad (both the separate elements and their relationships to one another) and his Guilt-Redemption Cycle would highlight the motivation of those involved in the act.

The *Daily News Egypt* was chosen as the data source for the study. This newspaper is known for its exceptional and reliable coverage of significant events in Egypt. It stands out as one of the premier sources among English news coverage of this phenomenon (About). This research endeavors to be a step in the process of arriving at a more complete understanding of this significant political uprising.

The research presented in this thesis begins with a literature review of Middle Eastern social movements, including Egyptian social movements. In addition, the literature review will discuss Kenneth Burke as a communication theorist and describe his dramatic pentad. Finally, studies will be reviewed which have used Burke to investigate phenomena similar to the revolution in Egypt.

Using the literature review as a foundation, a methodology will be presented in three steps. In the first portion of the methodology data on the uprising from *Daily News Egypt* will be identified as the artifacts used to answer parts of the pentad. Next, the application of the pentadic elements as a tool for understanding the news stories will be described. Finally, there will be a word regarding the use of ratios and the Guilt-Redemption Cycle. This will

demonstrate the current work which has been done in relation to the proposed study, while also explaining the methodology for this research.

## **Chapter 2**

### *Literature Review*

#### **Middle Eastern Social Movements**

The organization of this literature review is designed to begin with a wide scope of social movements in the Arab world from the past century. As the literature review progresses, the scope will narrow to a more central focus on the studies which have been conducted regarding the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak in 2011. The first section will provide a background on social movements in the Arab world. This is designed to highlight unique elements of Arab culture that social movements in this part of the world have emphasized. Included in this section will be studies regarding social movements in Egypt. This section is not intended to provide a historical background for the scene of this study. That, as will be discussed in greater detail later, is an aspect of the scene and therefore an important piece of Burke's pentadic analysis. It is important to realize that many different theoretical approaches were used in the studies which will be reviewed. These studies are discussed due to their focus on the Arab world, not because their specific theories will be used in this study.

The studies mentioned in this section are all centered on social movements in the Arab world, yet they approach this group of phenomena differently. Much of this research looks at the role of media, new media and social media. Other studies look at resource mobilization theory in an attempt to explain how a social movement was begun and sustained. Finally, other studies will consider the challenges of applying social movement theories to a cultural context other than the one that they were developed in.

One element that is crucial to any study of social movements in the Arab world is the importance of the religious factor. Karagiannis' study, in particular, investigates the Islamic

resurgence by looking specifically at the Hizb ut-Tahrir political party in Kyrgyzstan.

Karagiannis specifically applies two social movement theories to assist in understanding why people join Hizb ut-Tahrir. This being said, Karagiannis suggests the shortsightedness of much Western research in approaching the Islamic world with a purely Western interpretation of social movement theory. Karagiannis endeavors to notice influential factors that might not be as key in a Western context. First, resource mobilization theory is applied. This theory suggests that people with grievances unite to make themselves more effective. With a strong financial foundation, social networks and mosques have been used in well-structured recruitment and information disbursement. Additionally, political opportunities theory was applied demonstrating that an attractive factor for some of those who joined the party was the appeal of an Islamic government. A similar factor which drew recruits was a reaction against the political elite of Kyrgyzstan (Karagiannis, 137-47). Thus, social movement theory was helpful in uncovering some of the motives of those joining the political party Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Asef Bayat explores some of the challenges and potential solutions in applying social movement theory to the Muslim world. This article suggests that social movement theory, as it is typically thought of, is not prepared to handle a cultural context so foreign to the one it designed to understand. Politically, the Arab world is typically closed and lacking freedom. Additionally, the Arab world is technologically behind the Western world. Bayat demonstrates how these factors were present in the Iranian Revolution, then proceeds to illustrate his concept of “imagined solidarities.” What he means by this phrase is that typically in social movements significant portions of the populous unite around a common ideal. This ideal may not be complicated, but it is understood by most of those involved in the movement and it is this common passion that drives them. Movements in the Arab world are not always so well

understood by those who are united. Many of those involved in these movements are not well educated. Some are even illiterate. As a result, the general populous in these movements tends to unite around symbols and persuasive speeches. Bayat states:

There is a contested imagining. Imagined solidarities are usually the characteristic of societies with an authoritarian polity, where the effective exchange of ideas and communicative action in the public sphere are lacking. This characterizes the revolutionary movement, such as the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979. Although the Iranian Revolution was led by radical clergy and liberal Islamic leaders, it was carried out by very diverse social groups, including the secular middle class, workers, students, urban lower classes, ethnic minorities and women (Bayat, 904)

Following uprisings many of those who fought for the uprising are disillusioned and upset. What they sacrificed for is not what was achieved. For example, a factory worker after the Iranian revolution said this after his economic condition had not improved. “They say we have not made revolution for economic betterment! What have we made it for, then? They say, for Islam! What does Islam mean then (Bayat, 904)?” This is the problem of imagined solidarities. In light of this, Bayat proposes that studies of social movements should not necessarily look for a single united discourse, but attempt to see all the discourses present in the movement (Bayat, 891-906).

Syria’s revolution began shortly after the revolution in Egypt. Reinoud Leenders analyzes the early rural mobilization of the revolutionaries. His approach was to use the opportunity, threat, social network, repertoires of contention, framing and diffusion components of social movement theory as tools to dissect the early stage of the movement in Syria. Leenders examines a number of different means of communication used in the rural area where the



revolution was born. There was a clan based system of authority in the area which allowed for ideas to be discussed behind closed doors. Therefore opinions were formed which were far from supportive of the authoritarian Syrian government. Additionally, a criminal network which had been active smuggling across the Jordan border, soon found a new use smuggling supplies, weapons and information in and out of Syria. These factors among others allowed the revolution in Syria to get off the ground (Leenders, 273-85). Leenders successfully employed aspects of social movement theory as tools to understand the beginnings of the revolution in Syria.

A study by Anderson discussed the differences and important similarities between Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. According to this study, globalization and the norms of civic engagement are not the important factors to study. Additionally, study should not focus on the use of technology. Instead the focus should be on why the messages and techniques which were used were effective for those who were involved in the protests. Each of these revolutions began in a different part of the country, one was rural, one was urban and another was regional. The method of overthrow was not the same in each country either, yet they all, in the same year overthrew their governments. The main focus of this article was the different challenges each of these nations face, due to their different national situations (Anderson, 1-6). The Arab Spring, though a single movement in many ways, is significantly different in application in each country.

One of the most astonishing aspects of recent social movements in the Arab world has been their widespread success. “The vast majority of academic specialists on the Arab world were as surprised as everyone else by the upheavals that toppled two Arab leaders last winter and that now threaten several others” (Gause, 81). This success, according to Gause, was in spite of the lack of popularity and economic crises. The questions, therefore, are: what allowed for the previous stability of these regimes in difficult circumstances, and what changed to destabilize

them? Finally, Gause suggests that study of this radical change must be approached with humility and caution. When studying the Arab Spring, it is important to consider the Arab perspective (81).

Social media is an aspect which has often been the focus of studies regarding the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt. Zeynep Tufekci and Christopher Wilson published a study in the *Journal of Communication* in which they attempted to discern the significance of social media in the involvement of protesters in Cairo. They conducted surveys of the media which was used by those active in the protest. The results of this study emphasized that social media played a crucial role in the involvement of those who chose to be protesters. One example of this is that 25% of the protesters surveyed first heard of the protests on Facebook. This is remarkable considering that Facebook was first made available in Arabic in 2009. Additionally, it was discovered that large numbers of the protesters were actively using Twitter and blogs to report on the day to day events in Tahrir Square. Finally, this study shows that 25% of the protesters were females. The researchers suggested that this points to women desiring a political voice in Egypt (Tufekci and Wilson, 363-77). Above all, this study makes a case for the importance of social media in the Egyptian revolution.

Resource mobilization theory was applied to the use of social media in the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak. A qualitative case study method useful for gaining a deep understanding concerning “a particular case, its features, and its impact” was employed (Eltantawy and Wiest, 1211). This study indicates that the development of anti-government sentiments was enabled by new media, beginning in 2009. This anti-government attitude matured into a united revolution. The online discussion which took place points to a “new resource for collective action.” This resource was both swift in its information delivery and it increased interaction among the

unhappy populous. Thus, new media was a crucial resource in the social movement that changed governments in Egypt (Eltantawy and Wiest 1207-1219).

Merlyna Lim expands on the idea of social networks by examining a broader survey of networks that were influential in the overthrow of Mubarak. She traces the use of social networks to the dawn of the Egyptian blogosphere in 2004. From this point she illustrates how different forms of networking were used to mobilize unrest from 2004-2011. In addition to the study of Facebook, Twitter and blogs, Lim points out how everyday interpersonal networks were used to get information about the protest out. Cab drivers were strategically informed of the protests in ways similar to this man's description: "Every time I was in a cab, I would call Ahmed on my cell phone and talk loudly about planning a big protest in Tahrir Square for January 25th, because I knew that they couldn't stop themselves talking about what they'd overheard. Eventually, on January 23rd, a cabbie asked if I'd heard about this big demonstration that was happening in two days" (Lim, 243). Coffeehouses were also used to let everyone know that there would be protests on January 25; Egypt's national police holiday (Lim, 231-44). Therefore, though social media played a crucial role in the protests, other networks were also key.

Twitter was used in order to study the "rhythms of news storytelling" in a study conducted by Papacharissi and Fatima Oliveira (266). Computational discourse analysis was used to analyze the content of #egypt. One unique aspect of this study is that it does not end on the day of Mubarak's resignation. Instead it ends on the 25 of February, a full two weeks after he had stepped down. The results of the study show a mix of new and old news values. There was an "emphasis on the drama of instantaneity, the crowdsourcing of elites, solidarity, and ambience (266)." This study ends with a proposed theory to explain the unique quality of the

news produced by the public in political turmoil. One of the goals of this study was to advance the idea of “affective news streams.” This was done by explaining how news, in situations like the one in Egypt, is constructed out of emotion, opinion and subjective experience (266-80).

Liao Baizhi, illustrates the impact of perceived opportunity, while predicting that additional nations would also experience unrest due to the perceived opportunity created by the fall of Mubarak. He cites the most significant cause of Egyptian unrest as the social problems and external influence. High birth rates and inflation combined with a growing class divide and political corruption to create a powder keg set ablaze by the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia. Baizhi concludes by suggesting the impact that this revolution would have on the United States foreign policy (119-127).

A significant amount of research has been conducted regarding the 2011 revolution in Egypt. The focus of much of this research has been in the realm of media, new media and social media. Social movement theory has also been applied across different Islamic contexts, including Egypt’s revolution. Resource mobilization theory has been a favorite among researchers, especially when looking at the use of social media in mobilizing dissenting populations. This being said, there are a wealth of other theories that have yet to be extensively applied to the events in Egypt.

### **Kenneth Burke and the Dramatic Pentad**

One of the most influential rhetorical theories which has yet to be applied extensively to the January 25 revolution is Kenneth Burke’s dramatic pentad. Burke contributed foundationally to the discipline of communication in a way that cannot be overstated. In fact, it has been said that “anyone writing today on communication, however ‘original’ he may be, is echoing something said by Burke” (Littlejohn and Foss, 111). This hero of communication studies wrote

on the topics of symbols, concept of action and language among other things. His symbol theories are held in exceptionally high regard. Not only was Burke viewed as an expert in this field, but he was successful in writing for 50 years in the discipline. There can be no doubt of the significance of Burke to the field of communications.

Burke was revolutionary to the field of rhetoric. It is believed that to fully understand Burke's approach to rhetoric one must understand his definition of the human being as stated in this poem.

being bodies that learn language  
 thereby becoming wordlings  
 humans are  
 the symbol-making, symbol-using,  
 symbol-misusing animal  
 inventor of the negative  
 separated from our natural condition  
 by instruments of our own making  
 goaded by the spirit of hierarchy  
 and rotten with perfection (Borchers 145-6).

As is seen in this definition, the key distinguishing factor between humans and other animals is the ability humans have to use symbols. This symbol use allows for more than just motion, but action. When Burke distinguishes between these 2 concepts, the primary point of difference is that action involves choice. According to Burke, humans are the only animals capable of conscious, willful action (Littlejohn and Foss, 111). One of the most important symbols to Burke's approach to dramatism is the negative. Humans are the inventors of the negative. This

concept is not merely the expression of what is not, but it has an impact on the formation of morality. “The negative allows us to say ‘Thou shalt not’” (Borchers, 147). In addition to creating the negative, it has also had an impact on humans. It has helped to invent them. “When we are invented *by* the negative, we become moral agents, capable of making choices about what we should do and not do. Inevitably, Burke contends, we violate moral laws, creating guilt” (Borchers, 147). Guilt, is a sense that something is not as it should be or that it is out of order. The process of removing guilt is an important aspect of Burke’s dramatism.

This notion of guilt leads to the process of tragic redemption. One form of tragic redemption is that of a scapegoat. A scapegoat is the representative of the evils, or the disorder which has been experienced by the community. “The scapegoat can be legally responsible for the guilt and subject to the laws of the society. For example, court trials are rituals designed to legally endow a scapegoat with the guilt of a crime” (Borchers, 156). In this way, the society deals with the evil or disorder which was in place and the guilt which ensued from that evil or lack of order. This process is sometimes called the Guilt-Redemption Cycle (Shepler).

As we can see, Burke is attempting to trace the relationship between thoughts and words and actions. Burke’s dramatic pentad is meant to be equipment which allows the researcher to evaluate “how our worlds are constructed through rhetoric. In so doing, we also understand the various motives, or situations, that determine how individual rhetors size up the situations they face (Borchers, 152).” The goal of this theory is to discover “the motives of the individuals and/or groups involved” (Shepler, 37). Therefore, the dramatic pentad is the practical arm of much of Burke’s philosophical foundation.

As the name suggests, the pentad has five different components. Burke justifies the five components he chose by saying:

In a rounded statement about motives, you must have some word that names the *act* (names what took place, in thought or deed), and another that names the *scene* (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred); also, you must indicate what person or kind of person (*agent*) performed the act, what means or instruments he used (*agency*), and the *purpose*. (Foss, Foss and Trapp, 168)

In Burke's *A Grammar of Motives*, he provides a hypothetical example of what this might look like in a study of motivation. "The hero (agent) with the help of a friend (co-agent) outwits the villain (counter-agent) by using a file (agency) that enables him to break his bonds (act) in order to escape (purpose) from the room where he has been confined (scene)" (168). It was Burke's original intent that the dramatic pentad function within a rhetorical transaction. An example of this would be a presidential speech. In such an example the five elements are pulled out of the content of the speech. However, since the creation of the pentad, it has been expanded in its application. Now the rhetoric which is studied can be viewed as the act portion of the pentad. The other four elements then correspond to the act. An example of this would be that the speech would be the act. The scene would be the location of the speech, while the person delivering the speech would be the agent. The agency would be a range of different means from the microphone to the language style which the speaker uses. Finally, the purpose would be the private reason the speaker was giving the talk (Foss, Foss and Trapp, 170-1). In this way the elements of the pentad can be applied to rhetorical situations.

The pentad is far more dynamic than simply a group of labels by which a rhetorical situation could be categorized. In order to understand this, the elements must be discussed in greater detail. "Rhetors will undoubtedly discuss some kind of *act* when they communicate. In fact, Burke believed the act to be the central term of the pentad" (Borchers, 152). The act is then

reinterpreted by the way the other four features are described by the rhetor. The scene is described as the context of the act. How the scene is described by the rhetor is one of the most crucial elements of a study which employs the pentad. How the scene is defined sets the direction for the rest of the study. Burke elaborated on this by saying “For a man is not only in the situation peculiar to his era or to his particular place in that era (even if we could agree on the traits that characterize his era)” (Foss, Foss, Trapp, 169). Burke goes on to say, “he is also in a situation extending through centuries; he is in a ‘generically human’ situation; and he is in a ‘universal’ situation” (169). Thus, one’s education could take place in room “110,” in “Wesley Hall,” “with my best friends,” “in my twenties,” “from a Western background” or “the planet earth.” The context which is chosen has a significant impact on the rest of the pentadic elements. It also creates the circumference of the rest of the study. The agent is the individual or group who performs the act. Not only does this include words like “student” or “professor,” but it also includes the “motivational properties of agents.” This would include the instincts or state of mind of the agent. Agency is the “how” or the means by which the agent conducts the act. Finally, the purpose is the agent’s private reason for conducting the act. It is crucial to realize that purpose is not the same thing as motive. The idea behind motive in the pentad is broader. In fact, “an examination of all five elements of the pentad is needed to discover the motive for a particular rhetorical act” (170). Therefore, all five elements of the pentad are distinct, yet interrelated to form a coherent understanding of the phenomenon.

The use of these elements in pentadic analysis transcends the simple locating of the elements themselves. Jack Lule, in his article “The Myth of My Widow: A Dramatic Analysis of news Portrayals of a Terrorist Victim”, reminds his readers that the words for each element are significant. For example, there is a difference between the words citizen, protester, dissenter and



woman though, hypothetically, all of those words could be used to describe the same person conducting the same action. Therefore, thoughtful pentadic analysis will observe not only what the element is, but how that element is described.

Not only did Burke describe the different elements of the pentad and their relationship with one another, but he also theorized that certain types of people would emphasize certain elements. The act is central, and will therefore always be emphasized to a certain extent. The rhetor who emphasizes the scene is thought to view the world in a deterministic way. The person who focuses primarily on agent is likely to view people as autonomous and rational. The one who emphasizes agency may have more of a tendency to focus on the pragmatic aspects and how particular acts are accomplished. The one who focuses on purpose is obviously concerned with the “why” of the situation. Thus, the study doesn’t simply indicate features of the phenomena, but also features of the rhetor (Borchers, 152-3).

Finally, the subject of ratios must be addressed. A ratio is a pair of elements of the pentad. There are 10 possible, unique pairs of elements (Larson 151). “All of the terms are consubstantial in that they share in the substance of the act. An act inevitably implies, for example, the idea of an agent and the idea of an agent acting implies the idea of a scene in which the act takes place” (Foss, Foss, Trapp, 170). The goal of the ten ratios is to “allow for a more detailed examination of the various relationships among the terms: scene-act, scene-agent, scene-agency, scene-purpose, act-purpose, act-agent, act-agency, agent-purpose, agent-agency, and agency-purpose (170).” Therefore, simply understanding the five elements is not enough, but a study must understand the relationships between the elements. “An examination of all the ratios aids the critic in discovering which term in the pentad receives the greatest attention by the rhetor and thus suggests in what term to look for the motivation of the act” (Foss, Foss, Trap, 171).

The discussion over the Equal Rights Amendment provides an excellent example. One can see that those in favor of this legislation focused on scene. The scene was a setting in which women were not treated equally and often excluded. This necessitated the agents be females and that the act be one of pushing for equality. The agencies would be those consistent with a campaign for political change and the purpose would be equal rights for women. This example demonstrates briefly that the scene's relationship to the other elements is one in which it is the defining characteristic. The motivation of the women who desired the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment was to alter the scene. They desired to see the scene become one of equal opportunity, not one of exclusion (172).

Therefore, Burke's dramatic pentad is not only a list of five points by which to characterize a phenomenon. Instead, by understanding the ratios and relationships between the elements of the pentad one is able to come to an understanding of the underlying motivation. Piecing together how each element relates to the others reveals which component has a strong influence on the others, or which one is dictated largely by another element. As the study progresses a complete picture should come into view.

### **Uses of the Pentad**

The dramatic pentad has been used to study a wide range of phenomena from speeches to cultural upheaval. Its versatility and wide ranging scope allow it to be applied across a vast amount of rhetorical situations. First, a number of studies that are most similar to the proposed study will be discussed. Following this, research with specific aspects that are similar to the proposed study will be discussed with a focus on those similar aspects.

Sherry Rae Shepler, in her study "Perspectives on Inter-Ethnic Community Conflict: The 1991 Crown Heights Experience," attempts to understand what caused this vehicular accident to

give birth to days of ethnic rioting. Shepler employed Burke's dramatism theory to identify the key factors that lead to this violent unrest in one of New York's neighborhoods. Burke's emphasis on the scene was one of the primary reasons that the pentad was used. Burke believed that each of the elements related to the other, thus Shepler could discover the impact of scene on the other four factors, and gain a greater understanding of "the motives of the individuals and/or groups involved" (Shepler, 37). Therefore, in order to understand what the "accepted" story was, four newspapers were analyzed using a methodology developed specifically from Burke's theory of dramatism. Each of the four newspapers represented an ethnic perspective. The drama, as told by each newspaper was organized in the Burkean order: pollution, guilt, purification and redemption. Once this was done, the different perspectives on the act could be better understood in light of the greater scene. After the perspective was understood, the motive for each of the ethnic groups involved was concluded from the perspective. In this way, Burke's dramatism was used to understand the motivation of the different ethnic groups in the Crown Heights riots of 1991 (Shepler, 37).

In the article "The Myth of my Widow" by Jack Lule, Burke is used to gain a better understanding of the killing of Leon Klinghoffer. Terrorists killed Klinghoffer who was a 69 year old tourist. Lule proposes that a study of *The New York Times'* accounts of this event through the lens of dramatic analysis will yield a mythic dimension of reporting. Burke is used to better understand the ideas of "drama and myth (4)." Then each of the news stories which were studied have their elements analyzed and organized according to the five elements of the dramatic pentad. The specific qualifications for each element of the pentad are mentioned in the methodology portion of this paper. Once the components of the articles were organized according to the pentad, patterns were highlighted. Lule states: "The paper attempts to explore,

in a preliminary fashion, possible mythic aspects of terrorist news coverage by examining news portrayals of the terrorist victim Leon Klinghoffer, concentrating particularly on stories about his family and widow” (7). In this case, Burke is applied to a news story to better understand the way the story is being portrayed.

Burke is also used to delve into the United State’s abolition movement of the 1800’s. Elena Maytee Cruz’s scope is broad, covering the rhetoric of the time from sources like fictional works to public speeches. The main investigation of the research was to see if a critical approach based on Burke’s dramatism would be useful in application to the rhetorical literature of social movements. Similar to the study done by Shepler, this research follows the Guilt-Redemption Cycle using the elements of the pentad to guide the discussion. This study found Burke’s pentad to be a useful tool in the analysis of the themes which were present in the rhetorical literature of the abolition movement (vi).

In 1982 Argentina and Great Britain were engaged in a territorial dispute over the ownership of the Falkland Islands. Despite the efforts of the United States, Peru and the United Nations the conflict continued. In order to better understand this international controversy, Nelson Da Costa Jr. conducted a rhetorical study based on Burke’s dramatic pentad. The methodology of this study was constructed around Burke’s five elements of the pentad (act, scene, agent, agency and purpose). The goal was to understand the symbol systems used by both sides that made negotiations so difficult. Da Costa stated: “Burke’s pentad was especially applicable to this study because the Argentine and British governments invariably cast the South Atlantic conflict within the context of a play (33).” Da Costa goes on to say that “In each government’s ‘play’ –which is centered around the ‘act,’ the Argentine invasion of the Islands—we find the heroic protagonists and the vile antagonists performing various, and often

conflicting, roles in order to achieve irreconcilably different purposes (33).” It was determined that Argentina’s characterization of the U.K.’s actions as British Aggression and that the term “Argentina” to the British populous were interpreted by the respective sides in such a way that both were demonized. The study concludes with insights regarding international conflict and symbol systems.

Rachel Nash follows the development of the idea of multiculturalism in Canadian society. Forty years ago the idea of multiculturalism was not a central issue in Canadian culture. In order to understand the social shift which has taken place Nash studied three areas in which the multiculturalism manifested itself. These were the government’s publication on the subject, the literature and popular press on multiculturalism. Burke’s pentad was used specifically to understand the press’s treatment of the subject. It was demonstrated that though the press conveyed a negative attitude towards this issue, the way the issue was staged seemed to support the foundational principles of multiculturalism. This was demonstrated by organizing elements of the press’s message into the pentadic elements and then demonstrating through different ratios the motives of the press.

Another study which applied Burke to a period of social change was David Stiles Shipley’s study “The Rhetorical Drama of Lyndon B. Johnson: A Burkean Analysis.” This study focuses on what is known as the escalation period of the Vietnam war (1964-5). The goal of this research was to understand the impact of Johnson of presidential rhetoric in the twentieth century. Burke, therefore is employed to understand Johnson’s rhetoric and how it served his purposes. A cluster analysis is used to understand the symbols that Johnson used and why he used those symbols specifically. Five clusters were formed based upon the five elements of Burke’s pentad. Both speeches and excerpts from press conferences were used as data.

Interestingly, scene was the least emphasized of the elements in Johnson's speeches. Equations then were constructed using the conclusions from the cluster analysis and the five elements of the pentad. Finally, Burke's grammar of rebirth is used to understand the symbolic meaning in three of Johnson's main speeches.

Henry Lewis Smith investigated the network news in America during the months leading up to the 1984 election. He views the news stations as creators of social reality, and examined their reporting of religious and political messages. Burke was used to help understand the reality which was being created by the media. The Burkean methodology, more specifically, was derived from a study that Nimmo and Combs used entitled Nightly Horrors. It was determined that the media created a drama in which the religious aspect of the campaign was viewed as a Holy War. Different events on the campaign trail were viewed as battles and key people in the campaigns were described with words or analogies fitting the war drama which was being portrayed. An example of this is Ronald Reagan who was portrayed as in an evil sense "the Keeper of the Faith." He was put in the fundamentalist camp with these statements, while Walter Mondale was portrayed as the "defender of the Constitution" which allowed all faiths to be protected (162). Thus, Burke (as used by Nimmo and Combs) was employed to understand the message which the national media was sending its viewers during the 1984 election.

In John Joseph Miller's study of President of Clinton's impeachment process, Burke was used to gain a greater understanding to how the Clinton supporters successfully created a positive drama. "The study's method combines Burke's 'terms for order,' pentadic analysis, and identification" (49). The data source for this study was *The New York Times*. First, Miller describes the public argument, then he analyzes the description and provides an evaluation of the rhetorical strategies used by those supporting Clinton during the impeachment process (49).

According Miller, “this description should reveal dramatic argument forms and corresponding evaluative standards” (49). The study discovered that a leadership drama was formed by Clinton’s supporters. Those opposing Clinton attempted to have the president seen as immoral and illegal. It was determined that President Clinton’s supporters were using a scene-act argument. On the other hand, Republicans used both purpose-act and agent-act arguments. Therefore, Burke was useful in evaluating and understanding both sides of this controversy, as it was reported in *The New York Times*.

The 2000 post-election campaign’s arguments are analyzed in Christopher David Salinas study “Legitimacy in the 2000 post-election campaign: Argumentative and rhetorical perspectives.” Burke is used to study the way *The New York Times* framed the events as they unfolded in the days after the election. More specifically the metaphors that were used by the newspaper were analyzed according to the “Dictionary of Pivotal Terms” which Burke developed. An example of one of the metaphors used is that of war. “...the candidates had to make their appeals in respect to the war metaphor” (108). He goes on to write “...it is important to remember that Bush and Gore are identified as ‘defender’ and ‘challenger’ through metaphors describing each of the candidates. As indicated above, this would make Bush the presumptive winner and Gore the necessary advocate of change” (108). In this way and others Burke was used to unveil *The New York Times* depiction of the events which took place after the 2000 election.

Catherine Fox used Burke and his dramatic pentad to study work place interaction. This study is of particular interest because Fox studies ratios specifically. One of the ratios that she devotes significant attention to is the scene-agent ratio. She demonstrates how the particular parameters of the scene dictated how one agent interacted with another agent. She also drew a

deeper understanding of the agent's motivation from the information which was gleaned from the study of the scene-agent ratio. Three other ratios were studied to better understand the workplace interaction between engineers and the technical writers with whom they work.

These studies demonstrate the usefulness of Kenneth Burke's dramatic pentad. This theory has been applied in many ways to many different situations and is considered to be useful in determining the underlying motivation behind an act. Though other theories attempt to arrive at this understanding, few cover the breadth and have the depth of the dramatic pentad. As all five elements are analyzed and their relationships to one another are fleshed out, the fog begins to clear and motivation can be understood.

In light of this past research the following research questions have been developed. The first is the primary research question. The second and third are sub questions, which are designed to bring greater clarity to the first.

**RQ1: What are the primary motivational factors that contributed to the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak as demonstrated in the print newspapers of *Daily News Egypt*?**

**RQ2: Does Burke's Guilt-Redemption Cycle in Egypt's overthrow of Hosni Mubarak reveal the motives of the protesters?**

**RQ3: How does the coverage of the 2011 revolution by *Daily News Egypt* illuminate the Guilt-Redemption Cycle of Burke's theory of Dramatism?**



### Chapter 3

#### *Methodology*

As the literature review demonstrated, there is no one precise way that Burke must be used to illuminate a given phenomenon. This being said, there are common elements that must be a part of any study which desires to use Burke's dramatic pentad appropriately. The study must use the five elements to gain a more in depth understanding of the details of the phenomenon. Each element is an investigation into a specific aspect of the rhetoric and when all the elements have been fully explored a more complete picture begins to form. Next, the key ratios between the elements must be analyzed to determine how one element relates to the others. Throughout this entire process, Burke's Guilt-Redemption Cycle must be kept in mind, for if his theory is accurate, humanity, by nature moves through a cycle of guilt and redemption. Actions and then motives can be understood by finding their place within this dramatic cycle. A study which employs these elements should yield the underlying motivation for the action which is being studied.

The methodology is presented in a sequence of steps which, being consistent with Burke and other research, is designed to yield answers to the research questions. First the choosing of *Daily News Egypt* as the data will be discussed. Secondly, an explanation will be provided for how the data was analyzed according to the Burke's pentadic criteria. This process was derived from Jack Lule's article "The Myth of My Widow: A Dramatistic Analysis of News Portrayals of a Terrorist Victim". This article also used newspapers as its data. Next, the process by which the ratios were studied will be explained. These conclusions are then to be applied to the Guilt-Redemption Cycle which is in turn used to answer the research questions. Following all this, advancements, limitations and areas of future research will be discussed.

## Data

The *Daily News Egypt* covered the Egyptian revolution in depth. This newspaper is based out of Cairo, Egypt. Cairo was the location of the biggest protests in the revolution. Cairo is also the home of the national government buildings which housed the government which was overthrown. This newspaper, being based out of the city in which the revolution was held provides a more Egyptian perspective on the revolution. Additionally, *Daily News Egypt* uses interviews and first-hand accounts in their reporting. *Daily News Egypt* is the only “completely independent news provider for Egypt” (About). This English speaking newspaper publishes both online and print articles every day of the week. The self-proclaimed goal of the newspaper is to: “build our reputation for honest and reliable reporting, to make us a point of reference on Egyptian current affairs for readers all over the world” (About). The *Daily News Egypt* is described as independent, while providing an Egyptian Perspective on news, political and cultural events (About). For these reasons, the *Daily News Egypt* was chosen as the source for this study.

Certain qualifications have to be met in order for the article to be used for this study. Every article has to be written out of Egypt, in order for the study to maintain the Egyptian perspective. This means that no affiliate newspapers or reports were used in this study. Additionally, each of the articles must be written in English. No article was used with less than three sentences relevant to the revolutionary protests. No editorial articles were included in this study. An editorial article is defined as: “an article that presents the newspaper’s opinion on an issue” (Wientraut). These qualifications were used to narrow the articles to only include those with sufficient relevant information written from an Egyptian perspective.

The articles were further narrowed by a specific date range and confined to print articles. LexisNexis Academic was used to locate the newspaper articles which were used for this study. Articles published from January 18, 2011- February 18, 2011 were used. This covers up to one week before the protests began (January 25) through one week after Mubarak was overthrown (February 11). There is a substantial amount of news articles which covered the mobilization of the well publicized January 25 protests from the 18 through the 24 of January. For this reason those articles are included. Additionally, in the days directly following the resignation of Mubarak, protesters continued to demand certain constitutional changes. Therefore, the week following the fall of Mubarak is also included in this study. Forty newspaper articles were available through LexisNexis Academic during this date duration. Twenty-nine of the articles meet the requirements listed in the above paragraph and were therefore selected for this study. Each article's name and date is recorded in the Appendix.

### **The Elements of the Pentad**

In order for this data from *Daily News Egypt* to be understood in accordance to Burke's theory of dramatism, the pentad must be applied to the situation in Egypt as portrayed by the newspaper. These elements will be recognized using a criteria which is similar to that Lule used in his article: "The Myth of My Widow: A Dramatistic Analysis of News Portrayals of a Terrorist Victim". Lule's study was similar in that he followed the development of a drama through a newspaper local to those involved. He analyzed each story by using the dramatic pentad to delve deeper into the meaning of the story. Using his criteria he determined what agents were present, what actions were conducted, what agencies were used, what the scene(s) was/were and what the purpose of those involved was. This paper will use his criteria to recognize the pentadic elements in the reports on the Egyptian revolution.

The act, being the central element of the pentad, is crucial to the understanding of any dramatic event. Though the act is the central element of the pentad, it is reinterpreted by the other four elements of the pentad. Much of the way the act is communicated is dependent on how the surrounding elements are portrayed in relation to the action. Specifically, the kinds of words which are selected to define an action are important and therefore studied. “For example, the distinction is noted between ‘said’ and ‘claimed,’ or ‘killed’ and ‘slaughtered.’ The pattern of action within each news story- the plot – is examined for its logic and assumptions, origins and conclusions” (Lule, 6).

Certain questions are pivotal to locating the scene or setting as described in the article. “How is the scene described by the story- friendly or forbidding, foreign or familiar” (6)? Not only is a location important, but the way in which that location is described is also a part of the scene. “Does the scene play a role in the action? If so, in what way? Is the individual scene placed in a larger, global context” (6)? If an element of the article helps to answer these questions then it is relevant to the scene. Though these elements are crucial to the definition of scene in a pentadic study, some scholars add to this idea. Foss, Foss and Trapp remind their readers that scene is also the context of the act. Burke is quoted as saying “For a man is not only in the situation peculiar to his era or to his particular place in that era, he is also in a situation extending through the centuries; he is in a ‘generically human’ situation; and he is in a ‘universal’ situation” (169). Thus, the way the scene is described has the ability to create a circumference for the rest of the study (170).

The characters of the story are noticed in a similar way. Questions are used to illuminate the agents of the narrative. “How is the individual actor described by the story? Does the actor appear to represent a larger entity such as a nation, religious group, government agency, or the

public” (Lule, 6)? Another question that is mentioned is: “What role does the actor play” (6)? The attitude and instincts of the characters are important notice as well, for they contribute to a complete understanding of who the character is or how that character is being portrayed (Foss, Foss, Trapp, 170-1). It is also stated that actors are noticed by “predicate and function” (Lule, 6). This does not mean that there can only be one agent. In fact, there may be an agent, a co-agent and a counter-agent (Foss, Foss, Trapp, 168). Each of these characters has a specific role in the narrative that is being formed.

The agency or agencies are spotted by noticing how the action was accomplished. This is a question of means or tool. This being said, the question transcends the mere how of the action, but it often includes a perspective regarding the effectiveness of the means. This analysis may also note the attitude of the article towards the means. It may be noticed that positive terms or negative terms were used, or the terms may have been neutral (6).

Finally, the purpose is a look into the intentions of the actors. This analysis will include if the agents have voiced their purpose or if the report suggests a certain intention to the actions. Again, this is not just a statement regarding the purpose of the actors, but how they are portrayed in the report (6).

This approach endeavors to be a tool which draws out the true nature of the story. For this reason each of the elements are looked at separately. “Dramatistic analysis provides a means for the detailed consideration and categorization of the integral elements of a news story. It is an attempt to organize and make plain the structure and content of a text” (6). Lule goes on to mention that this method is especially suited for analysis of news articles (6).

## **Ratios**

After each of the elements are traced through the articles, the ratios which are most present in the articles will be selected for further examination. Burke emphasized not only the elements of the pentad, but their relationships to one another, because he believed that these relationships would play a significant role in revealing the motivation of the object being studied. Therefore, each article will be examined, and the prominent ratios will be studied. Following this, the ratios which are most consistently present throughout the entirety of the articles will be examined with a Burkean eye for the Guilt-Redemption Cycle, which is the final factor in determining the motivation of the protesters during the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak.

## **The Guilt-Redemption Cycle**

If Burke's understanding of human action is correct, then a Guilt-Redemption Cycle should be evident at this point in the study. Since humans have invented the negative, guilt is now present as a motivation for action. Pollution results from the invention of the negative, in turn this pollution, brings about human guilt. The guilt must be dealt with, therefore there is a step of purification. This results in the redemption and the removal of guilt. As the fog clears and a more full understanding of the Egyptian revolution should become apparent, the Guilt-Redemption Cycle should begin to take shape as an outline for the revolutionary actions. In light of this, two sub questions have been developed to help answer the original research question.

**Does Burke's Guilt-Redemption Cycle in Egypt's overthrow of Hosni Mubarak reveal the motives of the protesters?**

**How does the coverage of the 2011 revolution by *Daily News Egypt* illuminate the Guilt-Redemption Cycle of Burke's theory of Dramatism?**

The study of the pentadic elements and the selected ratios should provide the necessary information to answer these questions. After that information is gleaned, it will then need to be illustrated in the context of Burke's Guilt-Redemption Cycle. As these smaller elements of the study are re-united with the grand drama of Burke's theory, the motivation should begin to come into focus and the final question should be answered.

**What are the primary motivational factors that contributed to the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak as demonstrated in the print newspapers of *Daily News Egypt*?**

After the three research questions are addressed using Burke's Dramatic Pentad, the advancements, limitations and areas of future research will be covered. The advancements section covers the areas of study for both the field of communication and Arab studies. The limitations discuss the limiting factors of the study. Finally, the areas of future research propose a range of different areas of research that could advance the ideas of this study.

**Conclusion**

In order to discover the primary motivational factors behind the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak, Kenneth Burke's dramatic pentad will be applied to the Egyptian revolution. The source of data for this revolution will be print newspaper articles published by *Daily News Egypt* between the dates of January 25 and February 11, 2011. First, the data will be sifted through to locate and analyze the five elements of the pentad (act, scene, agent, agency and purpose). With the elements of the pentad understood as well as the selected ratios, the Guilt-Redemption Cycle should begin to emerge. If Burke is correct, this should yield the underlying motivational factors of the protesters.

## Chapter 4

### *The Pentad*

The goal of this section is to describe the analysis that was completed using the methodology that was described in the previous chapter. This description of the analysis takes place in two parts. The first portion of chapter four looks at how the different elements of the pentad were used in the portrayal of the revolution in Egypt by *Daily News Egypt*. This discussion will begin with act. Not only are the specific actions be noted, but how those actions are described is also noted. Like Lule notes: “The pattern of action within each news story – the plot –is examined for its logic and assumptions, origins and conclusions” (Lule, 6). Agents are discussed after act. In the study of agents it is important to note how that agent is portrayed, if they represent a larger group or if there is a specific role that they are playing. The scene has two specific aspects that are noted. The first is the immediate setting of the action. The second is the context for the act. Like Lule states: “The study examines the means, tools, and channels that the actors use to pursue their intentions. Are the agencies effective and successful?” (Lule, 6).” Another aspect of the agency study is noting how the agency is portrayed. Last, the purpose is addressed. The study of purpose focuses mainly on the expressed intentions of the agents. Following the study of each element a conclusion will be provided which summarized the findings.

It is also important to note that this is not a study of all the elements which were involved in the Egyptian revolution. Instead, this is a study of the elements as they were reported by *Daily News Egypt*. As a result, certain factors that other studies may focus on may go unmentioned in this section of the paper due to the fact that those factors were not mentioned or emphasized by *Daily News Egypt*.



The table that follows this introduction is designed to provide a broad overview of the themes that were discussed in the articles. The major themes or most emphasized topics for each of the five elements of the pentad are listed next to the article in which they were reported. Therefore, repeated elements can be observed by looking through the table and seeing where they were reported. Additionally, this table allows one to notice the articles which had an absence of an element or multiple elements.

**Table 1**

Dramatistic Catagorization of <i>Daily News Egypt Stories</i> about the January 25 <sup>th</sup> revolution					
Date	Agent	Act	Scene	Agency	Purpose
<b>Group 1:</b>	<b>20/1/11-25/1/11</b>				
20/1/11	<i>Muslim Brotherhood</i>	reconsiders refusal	Opposition movement invitation	-	fear of security forces vs fear of missed opportunity; receive rights, dispose leaders
	<i>opposition movements</i>	call to demonstration	Tunisian revolution	Facebook	
20/1/11	Hussein	rally protestors	Hussein's revolutionary past; political and party circumstances	-	-
	Kefaya	elect Hussen		-	Patriotic stance and influence, unity
21/1/11	political parties	different participation stances; protest organization	-	press reports	various and conflicting interests; receive rights, dispose leaders
	opposition movement		Tunisia	Facebook, posters and flyers	
23/1/11	Hodhod	Counter January 25 protests	January 25 protests, Mubarak's History	campaign, posters, t-shirts	to counter opposition movements
24/1/11	Citizens	Gathering	Downtown Cairo, day before nation-wide protests	-	pro-police
<b>Date</b>	<b>Agent</b>	<b>Act</b>	<b>Scene</b>	<b>Agency</b>	<b>Purpose</b>
24/1/11	Coptic Church	call to avoid protests	January 25 protests	-	avoid destructive actions

25/1/11	Coptic Church	call to non-participation	Churches around Egypt	Sermons	to encourage non-participation
<b>Group 2</b>					
<b>27/1/11- 10/2/11</b>					
27/1/11	protestors	protests	across Egypt, Tunisian revolution	-	-
28/1/11	protestors	protests, clashes, fire	after curfew, the streets of Cairo, other cities;	-	-
	-	deployed tanks, shots fired, attacks, fires	after curfew, the streets of Cairo, other cities		
28/1/11	protestors	march, set fire, throwing rocks;	across Egypt	-	the ouster of Mubarak
	police	contained and dispersed protestors	across Egypt	tear gas, water cannon, acidic liquid and rubber bullets;	to disperse protestors
	-	blocking the internet and mobile services	across Egypt	Egyptian servers	to stop anti-Mubarak communication
30/1/11	neighborhood residents	protect their neighborhood	Heliopolis, Nasr City, the streets	gunshots, anything	to defend and protect family and neighborhood;
	thugs	looting	Heliopolis, Nasr City, the streets	-	to loot
30/1/11	national embassies	offering evacuation, assistance	Egypt	various	to avoid political and social unrest
30/1/11	-	curfew established and soldiers authorized to open fire on violators;	Cairo, Suez, Alexandria, curfew	-	to protect vital institutions
	protestors	broke curfew, protested	Cairo, Suez, Alexandria, curfew	-	to see Mubarak resign
30/1/11	?police?	dead and tortured body dropped off;	downtown Cairo early Sunday morning;	?police car?/ silver Toyota	-
	neighborhood watch groups Agent	witnessed the bodies dropped Act	downtown Cairo early Sunday Scene	-	-
		off	morning	Agency	Purpose

31/1/11	opposition groups supporting El Baradei and the national committee;	supporting El Baradei and the national committee	-	-	to manage crisis, push Mubarak out, unity
	opposition groups not supporting El Baradei and the national committee	not supporting El Baradei and the national committee	-	-	-
31/1/11	-	injured and dead protestors	Cairo, Alexandria, Suez	live bullets, tear gas, beatings, snipers	-
4/2/11	protestors	protest, mobilization	Suez, Sinai	-	to see Mubarak resign
4/2/11	-	detained, missing activists	Fasail	plain clothed police?	-
4/2/11	NDP party members	resignation from party/parliament	-	-	solidarity with youth who are protesting;
	clashes between pro-democracy and pro-Mubarak groups	left dead and injured	Tahrir Square	camels, horses, thugs, Molotov cocktails	-
6/2/11	Muslim Brotherhood	dialogue with government	-	-	uphold protestor's demands, not power
7/2/11	Copts	dialogue	Saturday through Monday	-	various and dynamic
10/2/11	Lawyers	protest march	to Abdeen, then to Tahrir	-	to symbolically cordon the President;
	army and police	protect Abdeen	Abdeen	barbed wire	-
10/2/11	Tahrir Square protestors	various: staying in Tahrir, sleeping, helping	Tahrir Square, violence, injustice, humiliation	-	to see Mubarak resign
Date	Agent	Act	Scene	Agency	Purpose
10/2/11	people	considering investment	national turmoil, economic uncertainty	-	help the Egyptian economy

<b>Group 3:</b>		<b>13/2/11-15/2/11</b>			
13/2/11	protestors	staying in Tahrir	Tahrir Square, Mubarak has resigned;	-	Have demands met
	civilians	cleaning and improving the city	Tahrir Square, Mubarak has resigned	-	-
13/2/11	police protestors	protesting	Cairo, Sunday, recent violence by police against opposition protestors	-	rights, better wages, honor dead police
13/2/11	citizens/protestors	demand, vow, protest	injuries and death of citizens/protestors, Suez	live ammunition	sack governor and police chief
13/2/11	Prosecutor Mahmoud	imposed travel bans, freezing accounts	Saturday, following the Revolution	-	-
15/2/11	law experts committee	was formed	abuse of power	-	amend constitution
Date	Agent	Act	Scene	Agency	Purpose

### **Act**

In order to effectively analyze the actions which take place in this month long time period, the acts (and later in the chapter the other four pentadic elements) have been divided into three sections base on chronology. The first section covers the week preceding the reports on the January 25<sup>th</sup> revolution (January 20-25). The second section contains the acts of the revolution, beginning with the initial opposition movement protests and ending after Hosni Mubarak has resigned as the leader of Egypt (January 27- February 10). The final section covers the week following the revolution (February 13-15). Within these sections the acts are grouped together with other like actions to trace themes and common threads in the actions of the revolution. Though the relationship of the act to other elements of the pentad may be briefly mentioned in

order for the act to be understood, these relationships will not be explored here. That portion of the study will be saved for a later section on ratios.

*Group 1: Acts before the revolution*

The first group of actions in the week preceding the January 25 revolution is the actions of the opposition movement. The focus of these actions is on the upcoming protests. On January 20, the opposition movements called for their supporters to participate in the upcoming anti-Mubarak demonstrations. This call was made via social media, specifically the “We are all Khaled Said” Facebook page. This call to participation was well received from its supporters as 61,000 people confirmed their participation in the upcoming protests via that social networking page. That number grew to 67,000 by the printing of the next day’s paper. The call included a reminder that Tunisia had recently overthrown their ruler, so revolution was possible. A similar act was reported on the following day. There was both a call to join the protests and details regarding how the protests would be conducted. Some of the previous meeting locations were changed. Additionally, a wider variety of means were employed in the call for participation. The call on the January 21 was focused not only on recruitment, but on successful mobilization and deployment of protesters. These two actions set into motion much of what would later be accomplished by the protesters (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”, “People Likely to Rally Around New Imprisoned Kefaya Leader, says Analyst”, “Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”).

The opposition movement, Kefaya in particular, made some public moves which attracted attention and set the direction for the following events. The opposition movement’s supporters took notice that one of their major groups elected Magdy Hussein as their general coordinator. Hussein had a revolutionary past which was likely to rally Kefaya’s members on

the upcoming days of protest. Hussein was imprisoned at the time of his election, stirring greater outcry against the Mubarak regime, as reported by the *Daily News Egypt* (“People Likely to Rally Around New Imprisoned Kefaya Leader, says Analyst”).

On both the 20 and 21 of January different political parties respond to the potential of widespread protests throughout Egypt. Some parties came out in support of the demonstrations, other opposed it and others were still unsure of how to proceed. January 20’s article “Muslim Brotherhood reconsiders refusal to participate in Jan 25 demo” captures the confusion created by the public support given to the calls for protest. Initially the Muslim Brotherhood had refused to be involved as a party, yet stated that their party members could participate on an individual basis. This act of reconsidering their previous stance is also recorded in the next day’s article. But responses were also mentioned. A number of parties (only some were mentioned specifically), chose to distance themselves from the demonstrations. Two political parties stated that they would be participating in the demonstrations, and seven other groups also announced that they would be participating. Though the January 21 article title reads “Parties distance themselves from the Jan 25 demos as preparations are announced” it seems that there was a fair amount of not only distancing, but also support and confusion (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”, “Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”).

In light of the upcoming protests, pro-Mubarak groups organized a counter effort. This including putting up posters, passing out t-shirts and making public statements in support of the current government. Additionally, there was a gathering in Cairo in support of President Hosni Mubarak the day before the January 25 protests. These actions were not only framed as pro-Mubarak, but pro-police in direct response to the opposition movement’s claims against Egypt’s

law enforcement (“Pro-Mubarak Campaign Counters Calls for Jan. 25 Protests”, “Dozens Commemorate Police Day Outside Cairo Court”).

The actions of the Coptic Church were reported on in two articles preceding the protests. Both of these actions could be classified as “calls,” but these calls were not in support of the opposition movement. This being said they were not in support of Mubarak either. The sermons and statements which were given were to urge their people against participation in the demonstrations. The demonstrations were said to be destructive and such actions could not be supported by the church (“Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”, “Church Sermons Urge Copts not to Join Protests”).

#### *Group 2: Acts during the revolution*

The first, and most notable act of the revolution is the protests and demonstrations conducted by the opposition groups. Nearly every article in group two makes this a primary focus. The first article in this section, written on the 27 of January, is a story about human rights groups asking the Prosecutor to temporarily prohibit overseas money transfers. The second half of the article discusses the protests stating: “Protests have swept the country since Tuesday in response to calls by activists ... resulted in the death of five protesters and one policeman as well as hundreds injured and arrested” (“Rights group asks Prosecutor to ban overseas money transfers temporarily,” 1). The article speaks vaguely of the specific actions of the demonstrators, yet future articles would be significantly more detailed. The next article, published on the 28, mentions protesters climbing on tanks and setting the National Democratic Party’s headquarters on fire. Another article from the same day mentions fires, public marches and throwing rocks. Chants in which the protesters articulated their demands were also common in these acts of defiance against their government. When a curfew was instated in late January

the protesters are reported as breaking that curfew. They did this to stay in Tahrir Square and continue their round-the-clock protest. Hospitals were set up and as protesters were injured or killed they were taken to these make-shift locations where other opposition members would care for the injured and look after the dead bodies. Recruitment would take place during the demonstrations, and a major act of protest was taking up residence in Tahrir Square against government orders (“Rights Group Asks Prosecutor to Ban Overseas Money Transfers Temporarily”, “Tanks Deployed in Suez, NDP HQ Set Ablaze in Cairo”, “Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger”, “Army Allowed to Open Fire on Those Violating Curfew, says Police Official”, “The People’s Republic of Tahrir”).

Other important acts of opposition during this time period include the resignation of three National Democratic Party members. This was done in solidarity with the opposition movement and their demonstrations. Certain political parties and religious groups eventually began dialogue with the government, pressing the demands that were being voiced by factions of the opposition movement. There were also attempts to set up a national committee to temporarily rule Egypt. This was emphatically supported by some groups of demonstrators and strongly opposed by other groups. Though some dissention and disunity was apparent throughout this time period, the demands which were voiced by the protesters, as reported by *Daily News Egypt*, were consistent and unified (“Opposition Groups Divided on ElBaradei”, “3 NDP Members Quit Parliament, Party”, “Muslim Brotherhood Starts Dialogue with Government”, “Coptic Dialogue to Include Citizenship Issue in Upcoming Constitutional Changes”).

As would be expected, there were actions which could be classified as counter actions. That is to say, because of the demonstrations and the specific actions associated with the opposition movement, there was a response to undermine the opposition’s efforts. The first



article in the group mentions that police were involved in clashes with protesters, which resulted in the death of five protesters and one policeman. The second article mentions that tanks were deployed in Suez. It also mentions that there were attacks and shots were fired. Protesters are also described as being contained and dispersed. The internet was also blocked and mobile services were cut off. Near the end of the month, curfew was instated and soldiers were given authorization to open fire on those who violated the new curfew. Additionally, two dead bodies were dropped off in neighborhoods in Cairo. One of the bodies appeared to have been burned and tortured, then shot to cover up the torture. After the first week, a significant amount of attention is given in the *Daily News Egypt* articles to the amount of dead and wounded demonstrators. Additionally, some key figures in the opposition movement were missing for an extended period of time. There was a YouTube video which was posted of one of them being abducted. The government admitted to detaining some and stated that anyone who was detained without charges would be released. The army and police are described protecting specific buildings, like Abdeen palace from the protesters. At other times, there are violent clashes with the demonstrators. There were reports of camels and horses being set loose among the demonstrators, as well as “thugs” being sent into the demonstrators; though those reports were stated as unconfirmed, not as fact. During the period of the revolution there were a wide variety of responses to the demonstrations (“Rights Group Asks Prosecutor to Ban Overseas Money Transfers Temporarily”, “Tanks Deployed in Suez, NDP HQ Set Ablaze in Cairo”, “Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger”, “Army Allowed to Open Fire on Those Violating Curfew, says Police Official”, “The People’s Republic of Tahrir”, “Dead Body Thrown Out of Alleged Police Car in Downtown Cairo”, “Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to ‘Symbolically Cordon President’”).

A brief note should be made here, though it will be discussed more later in the section on agents. It would not be accurate to assume that the actions which were conducted in response to the protests had specific agents attached to them. In fact, a significant amount of these actions were described in a way that left the agent entirely unmentioned.

Another set of actions that are mentioned occasionally throughout the reports in this time period is the defense of the neighborhood. With the police and army focused on responding to the protests, the neighborhoods were left unpatrolled in a number of areas. Neighborhood watch groups were then formed. These groups organized themselves into a defense of their communities. They fired warning shots to warn thugs and looters, as well as to alert the nearby neighborhood watch groups of danger. Road blocks were also set up to control who entered into the communities. Finally, it was these groups who witnessed and reported the bodies that were dropped off by what was thought to be police (“Neighborhood Watch Groups Keep the Peace, Protect from Thugs”, “Dead Body Thrown Out of Alleged Police Car in Downtown Cairo”).

On an international level, a number of countries responded to the instability and perceived danger in Egypt. Some nations called their citizens to evacuate the country. Assistance was offered and phone calls were made to ensure the safety of internationals. This being said, the EU was among the international groups that chose not to evacuate their citizens. Though this was mentioned, it was not given attention outside of the one article that discussed it specifically (“US Embassy to Offer Assistance for Citizens to Depart”).

Finally, as the revolution appeared to be successful, the day before Mubarak stepped down, there was discussion regarding the resurrection of the Egyptian economy. Some people suggested that Egyptians should rush to invest in the stock market. Many youth were considering this. Others, suggested investing in businesses, explaining the merits of that

approach. No conclusion to this discussion was reported (“Mulling the Market: To Invest or not Invest?”).

*Group 3: Acts following the revolution*

Following the conclusion of the revolution with Mubarak resigning, a number of protests took place. The first of these is reported two days after Mubarak’s resignation. Some people chose to remain in Tahrir Square, demanding other changes to the government (“Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform”). The same day, a group of police protested, making demands of the government as well (“Police Protest for Rights, Minister of Interior Answers Demands”). Finally, in Suez, a group of citizens took to the streets in opposition to the police chief and governor who they said was responsible for much of the violence that had taken place earlier in the month and in January (“Suez Citizens to Resume Protests if Governor, Police Chief not Sacked”). Though there were a number of different protests which were reported following the revolution, the demands they were voicing were not directly related.

There were a number of other actions that were reported following the January 25 revolution. Some citizens were reported as going throughout the city, cleaning up the trash and cleaning (“Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform”). The Prosecutor imposed a ban on travel for certain people and froze a number of accounts (“Prosecutor Imposes Travel Ban on 43 Officials, Freezes their Accounts”). Finally, in response to the demands of the revolution, a law experts committee was formed. This committee was put together with the intention of deleting a number of portions of the Egyptian Constitution and amending others (“Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”). The theme of the acts in this time period may be conclusion and restoration; concluding the process of voicing demands and beginning the process of restoration in light of the demands.

### *Summary*

The main act of the entire collection of articles is protest. The central theme of the first section preceding the revolution is the upcoming protests which are launched in significant part due to the help of social media. The secondary actions are reactions to the upcoming protest; mainly responses of different people and groups. The section of articles that reported on the revolution had the actions of the protest as the central element. Another important element was the actions of those who opposed the demonstrations. As was mentioned, these actions were often not accompanied by an agent. The final section contains a collection of protests conducted for different reasons. Additionally, a handful of political moves were made. The central act as portrayed by *Daily News Egypt* was the demonstrations. The majority of the other actions were in response to this, in preparation for this, or a result of this.

### **Agent**

The agent section is divided in the same way the act section was divided. The first time period covers the week preceding the demonstrations. The second section discusses the agents of the revolution, beginning with the initial opposition movement protests and ending after Hosni Mubarak has resigned as the leader of Egypt. The last portion discusses the agents involved in the events following the revolution. Within these sections the agents are organized with other like agents. Similar to the study of the act, though the relationship of these characters and groups to other elements of the pentad may be briefly highlighted in order for the agent to be understood, these relationships will not be detailed in this section of the paper. The focus on the relationship between elements will be saved for a later section on ratios.

*Group 1: Agents before the revolution*

One of the major agents in the events before the demonstrations is the opposition groups. Sometimes these groups are mentioned as a one movement, while other times they are mentioned according to their specific party or even as individuals. When individuals are named, they are usually described as a representative of a larger political party or opposition group. Rarely, in this group of articles is an individual mentioned for significance outside of the group that they represent. The April 6 Youth Movement, the National Association for Change and Kefaya are the opposition movements which are highlighted most prominently by *Daily News Egypt*. The April 6 Youth Movement is the group which is credited with picking January 25 as the day of revolution. Though this group was the first to announce the call, all of the major opposition forces appeared as a unified force, both in announcing the demonstrations and in a coordinated mobilization effort. Other, less reported on groups also joined the opposition, like We are all Khaled Said, which was vocal social media presence. Another important agent in the publicity and mobilization of the initial demonstrations was the Popular Parliament. This group was “an alternative body to the official People’s Assembly formed by opposition leaders” (“Parties distances themselves from Jan 25 demos as preparations announced”). Other groups which are mentioned briefly as supporting the revolution are: the Public Front for Peaceful Change, El-Baradei support Public Campaign and Al-Karam Party. Most of these groups are mentioned as playing a role in the preparation for the demonstrations which were designed to take place across the nation (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”, “People Likely to Rally Around New Imprisoned Kefaya Leader, says Analyst”, “Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”).

These groups were portrayed as unified. Often they were simply just called “protesters” or “opposition groups.” Their actions are described as in conjunction with one another and events are often described where the different groups have joined or met together to discuss specific aspects of the demonstrations. Additionally, statements about the demands of the opposition groups are nearly identical, with core ideas, lines of reasoning and purposes being repeated by each group and their representatives (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”, “People Likely to Rally Around New Imprisoned Kefaya Leader, says Analyst”, “Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”).

Political parties are also major players in this first section of articles. Some of the parties are described as distancing themselves from the opposition movement. These parties include Al-Wafd and Al-Tagammu. Other parties, on January 21, were unsure of the approach that they would take, not having taken any official stance. Two parties announced that they were going to participate in the demonstrations. Those parties were El-Ghad and the Democratic Front (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”, “People Likely to Rally Around New Imprisoned Kefaya Leader, says Analyst”, “Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”, “Pro-Mubarak Campaign Counters Calls for Jan. 25 Protests”).

The Muslim Brotherhood was among the group unsure of their participation. The *Daily New Egypt* quoted a political analyst twice who stated: “...the Brotherhood is dominated with confusion and prioritizes its small interests, lacking any strategic vision” “Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”, “(“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”). In the same articles he goes on to state that “The Brotherhood is afraid of aggravating security forces against them and are at the same time

afraid of missing the opportunity to participate in this widely anticipated protest against the regime.”

The pro-Mubarak groups were not inactive during this time either. Instead they organized a counter campaign to garner support for Hosni Mubarak. Marwa Hodhod, a Lawyer, was the person in charge of running the pro-Mubarak campaign. A gathering was organized which was attended by “dozens” of “citizens.” These people who gathered in support of Mubarak are described as feeling safe in Egypt and thankful to their police officers (“Pro-Mubarak Campaign Counters Calls for Jan. 25 Protests”, “Dozens Commemorate Police Day Outside Cairo Court”).

Finally, the Coptic Church is the subject and primary agent in the final two articles before the revolution. Bishops and Priests from specific churches are quoted, asking their congregations not to participate in the protests. The papal office is also cited as ordering their people not to join with the demonstrators. This group is portrayed as unified in their call for non-participation. In the article “Coptic Churches call on followers to avoid Jan. 25 protests,” ten different individuals are mentioned by name with the exact same message. The Coptic Church, as an entity, did not endorse the protests of January 25 (“Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”, “Church Sermons Urge Copts not to Join Protests”).

#### *Group 2: Agents during the revolution*

The protesters are one of the primary actors in the time period of the revolution. The protesters in opposition to Mubarak are mentioned as primary actors in 11 of the 17 articles in the second group. A shift takes place at this point in the articles. In the previous group of articles the opposition was often specified. For example, if the April 6<sup>th</sup> Youth movement made an announcement regarding the upcoming protests, it would probably be mentioned that it was

that specific group. The specific spokesperson was often mentioned, though it would be stated that this represented the opposition's plan as a whole. A different perspective is adopted in the second group of articles. As the agents are described they are referred to as one unit far more often than they are referred to by a particular political party or religious sect. *Daily News Egypt* describes the opposition as having truly joined together to become one movement at this point in the protests.

As the protests began to gain momentum, the numbers of those protesting were reported. On January 28, "Tens of thousands of Egyptians" were described as joining those who were already protesting in Cairo, "around 2,000" protesters marched across the Kasr El-Nil Bridge," "tens of thousands" protested in Mohandiseen, more than 2,000 protested in Maadi, and hundreds protested in Edfu and Imbaba ("Thousands protest across Egypt on Friday of Anger"). The January 28 article not only demonstrated that there were significant numbers of the Egyptian people protesting, but that they were protesting all across the nation. Ten cities were specifically mentioned as having protests. This gave the impression that Egypt as a nation was protesting; it was not an isolated collection of opposition groups.

An article published near the end of the revolution, on February 10, gives in depth insight into the protesters. This article is a character study on three of the people who had chosen to live in Cairo's Tahrir Square. The first person's name was Wael Said. Said was an "Egyptian accountant" who had been working in Saudi Arabia, and was visiting family in Egypt when the revolution began. He had been in Tahrir square for almost 20 days by February 10. He stated that the Egyptian people did not have any respect in other countries, and that they were protesting so that they could get their dignity back. He also stated that the protesters had formed a comradeship amongst one another. Another person who was portrayed in the article was a



neurosurgeon who was volunteering in a makeshift clinic that the opposition had set up in Tahrir Square. Again the humiliation that the people had experienced was brought up. This idea of the protesters and the Egyptian people (a somewhat synonymous concept at this point) being victims was further advanced by the violence that was described as being inflicted on the protesters (who were also described in other articles as being violent at times). When Amira Hidayat, the neurosurgeon was interviewed she stated: "I saw seven gun shot wounds that day and one of the injured was severely wounded in the head that his brain fell into my hands." Her determination is then reinforced by her assertion that she would not leave until things changed. The final person mentioned in this sketch of the agents of the revolution is Reda Al Malky. The idea of the protesters being victims is advanced by two statements. First, Al Malky states: "I know about injustice all too well." Following this statement, *Daily News Egypt* reports that Al Malky spends shifts of the night keeping watch to protect the community of demonstrators from "pro-Mubarak thugs" ("The people's republic of Tahrir"). These introductions to the agents of the revolution give insight into a key element of the pentad.

The article which described the three protesters is not simply significant as an account of three individuals, but as Lule describes in his methodology, individuals can be described as representative of a group. Both men and women are mentioned in this article. The people are both educated and uneducated. They are described as diverse in background, but united in purpose. They are described as mistreated and determined to bring about change. The title of the article "The people's republic of Tahrir" gives the three agents mentioned a significant representative quality.

Other opposition agents are mentioned in this second group of articles. One article highlights the disagreement between opposition groups on who should represent them and how

they should be represented. Some of those groups supported a man named El Baradei, while others denied him and the national committee he was attempting to set up (“Opposition Groups divided on El Baradei”). Another article reported on members of the National Democratic Party, the party that was ruling Egypt at the time of the revolution, who chose to resign from the party in solidarity with the revolution (“3 NDP Members Quit Parliament, Party”). Copts were reported in terms of the constitutional changes that they would support (“Coptic Dialogue to Include Citizenship Issue in Upcoming Constitutional Changes”). There was a lack of unity among the Copts. Finally, an anti-Mubarak march of lawyers from across Egypt was reported (“Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to ‘Symbolically Cordon President’”).

Though a number of acts were mentioned in the previous section as being done in response to the opposition movement, very few agents are mentioned as being responsible for the acts done in response to the demonstrators. In the second article written on January 28 the police are mentioned as containing and dispersing protesters. These police used teargas and a water cannon in an attempt to deter the protesters. Security was also reported as spraying acidic liquid at men, women and children (“Thousands protest across Egypt on Friday of Anger”). In addition to the rare focus that the counter-agents to the protesters received, they were described on occasion as clashing with the demonstrators. There was also an article published on January 30 that included members of a neighborhood watch group who speculated that dead and tortured bodies may have been dropped off by an unmarked police vehicle. These reports were not confirmed definitively (“Dead Body Thrown Out of Alleged Police Car in Downtown Cairo”). Finally, the police and the army are described as protecting the President’s Abdeen palace. There were no aggressive actions in this article. In fact, the soldier who spoke to the

demonstrators is reported as making his demand in a friendly tone (“Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to ‘Symbolically Cordon President’”).

Another group which acted against the protesters was the pro-Mubarak groups. These groups are reported as clashing with the protesters, often in violent ways. Additionally, they were accused of setting camels and horses loose among the demonstrators in Tahrir Square. No background is given on the pro-Mubarak protesters, nor are they interviewed (“3 NDP Members Quit Parliament, Party”).

Besides the two main agents of this group of articles, there are a few other groups who received significant focus. Neighborhood watch groups were the primary focus of two articles in this section. The first article interviews a number of them and provides a little bit of background on the members of these groups. These articles also looked at why and how the neighborhoods were being protected. The counter-agent to the neighborhood residents were the thugs. These people, like the neighborhood watch groups, had no political affiliation. The thugs were actively looting the neighborhoods. In many ways the neighborhood residents became the local law enforcement as the police and the army were tied up in other engagements (“Neighborhood Watch Groups Keep the Peace, Protect from Thugs”, “Dead Body Thrown Out of Alleged Police Car in Downtown Cairo”).

Two other groups were also active during this time period. Some national embassies of other countries were active in providing means for their citizens to be evacuated (“US Embassy to Offer Assistance for Citizens to Depart”). Another article was focused on what the Egyptian people should do to assist their struggling economy. Different experts and citizens are interviewed. The people of Egypt are portrayed as being eager, yet undecided regarding the best

way to improve their national economic situation (“Mulling the Market: To Invest or not Invest?”).

*Group 3: Agents after the revolution*

Six different agents are reported in the week following the end of the revolution. The first group is the protesters who continued to protest in Tahrir Square. They remained in the square in order to be sure that their demands were met. Mubarak had stepped down at this point, but there was concern that other changes would not be made. Another group of people featured in the same article are called “citizens.” These people are described as having been a part of the revolution, but as being more trusting and optimistic that change will happen. As a result, these citizens go out to those in Tahrir Square and ask them to leave the square. They are also seen cleaning up and improving the city. These people also assisted the military police in organizing the protesters in a way that allowed there to be a flow of traffic through the area. There is not much hostility described between these two groups (“Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform”).

Another group of people that took to the streets to protests was a group of police officers and former police officers. Many of these people had shoot at the demonstrators during the revolution and were upset that they were forced to do so. More than a thousand of these people protested throughout Cairo. These people were “low-ranking policemen... with no prospects of promotion to officer status” (“Police Protest for Rights, Minister of Interior Answers Demands”). They were demonstrating to show solidarity with the revolution, to honor the officers who died during the revolution and to ask for better working conditions. Eventually, in compliance with their demands the Minister of Interior promised changes.

A third group of protesters was specific to the city Suez. Thousands demanded that the governor and the police chief be sacked. These two individuals were responsible for many of the civilian deaths in the revolution. The people who were protesting were described as outraged. The majority of their anger had to do with the high injury and death totals for Suez. One report suggested that over 500 people had been injured. They are described as a united group capable of high scale protests if their demands are not met (“Suez Citizens to Resume Protests if Governor, Police Chief not Sacked”).

Two other agents are mentioned. The first is Prosecutor Mahmoud. He is responsible for imposing travel bans on certain individuals who were restricted from leaving Egypt. He also froze a number of accounts (“Prosecutor Imposes Travel Ban on 43 Officials, Freezes their Accounts”). The second agent is a law experts committee which was formed to change the constitution of Egypt in light of the demands of the protesters. The committee was led by the vice president of the State Council, Tarek El-Beshry. In addition to this three law professors were asked to serve. Three counselors and one lawyer were also asked to join the committee. One of those members was a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, which seemed to demonstrate a greater tolerance in the country. The majority of the members of this team were well-regarded for their law expertise (“Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”).

### *Summary*

The agents of the revolution are various, but often can be boiled down to representing a few groups. In the first section the opposition groups are the focus. They are often mentioned by their specific group name, yet they are typically portrayed as being unified. Various political parties and religious groups are also mentioned during the first section as they deliberate or state their position. The demonstrators are the dominant group in the second section of articles. They

are the primary actors in 11 of the 17 articles. Different than the first collection of articles, this one portrays them as a single group, rarely specifying who was involved beyond the statement “demonstrators” or “protesters.” It is significant to note that they are described as being both men and women, diverse in background, but united in a call for political change. Those who acted in opposition to the demonstrators are only occasionally mentioned. The police, army and pro-Mubarak groups are mentioned as opposing the opposition groups. Neighborhood watch groups are also occasionally mentioned, but they are not the focus of the collection of articles. The final section discusses a number of different protest groups who protest for different reasons. Different political groups or individuals are also mentioned occasionally. The main agent of the revolution, as demonstrated by *Daily News Egypt*, was the revolutionary protesters.

### **Scene**

Scene, as was described in the literature review and methodology is broad and encompasses a wide variety of elements. Scene is physical with location, environment and surroundings being examined. Scene is also temporal. Dates and times are noticed and analyzed. Additionally, the circumstances surrounding the act are included in the scene. For this study the streets of the city are not the only element to be noticed, but the regional and national social context are also included. This element of the pentad is to provide the necessary backdrop for the other four elements.

#### *Group 1: Scenic elements before the revolution*

The primary scenic element before the revolution is the upcoming revolutionary protests. These had been well publicized and most of the articles which are studied are reports on how different groups were reacting or planning to react to the protests. For example, the first article which was studied focuses on the Muslim Brotherhood and their reaction to the upcoming

protests. They had previously said that they would not be a part of the oppositional demonstrations, yet as January 25 drew closer it became apparent that this was not simply another Kefaya youth rally. The uniqueness of this opportunity challenged previous thinking in regards to the protests (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”).

In a similar way, the Kefaya had an election within their party. In light of the unique political and social circumstances they chose to elect Magdy Hussein. Hussein was known as a revolutionary who was brave and not afraid of a fight. One of the party members stated: “we are approaching a critical phase where the Kefaya general coordinator should be a brave fighter” (“People Likely to Rally Around New Imprisoned Kefaya Leader, says Analyst”).

Pro-Mubarak actions were also organized in light of the upcoming protests. There was a campaign designed to support Hosni Mubarak which was lead by someone who campaigned for the ruling family in the past. A demonstration was held the day before the January 25 protests to support the police (“Pro-Mubarak Campaign Counters Calls for Jan. 25 Protests”, “Dozens Commemorate Police Day Outside Cairo Court”). Finally, Coptic churches organized sermons and services, not in support of Mubarak, but against the protests. It seems these groups were aware that significant national events were about to take place and they chose to act in light of that (“Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”, “Church Sermons Urge Copts not to Join Protests”).

Two elements seem to have inspired the timing of the planned protests. The first is the successful revolution in Tunisia, just two weeks earlier. The first article in this study states that the protests are “following in the footsteps of the Tunisian revolution which toppled the President Zein El-Abdine Ben Ali” (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in

Jan 25 Demo”). This created a perceived opportunity that successful revolution was possible in the region. The second important factor which seems to have inspired the timing of the demonstrations was that January 25 was a national holiday to celebrate the Egyptian police force. “The day is a national holiday commemorating the 1952 struggle of the Ismailia police force against the British Occupation.” This holiday, originally designed to honor the police was now being used by opposition groups to rally people against their police. A spokesman for the April 6 Youth Movement said: “The Egyptian police of today are completely different from the brave martyrs of Ismailia [in 1952]... They’ve turned this from a holiday honoring police to a reminder of police bullying and brutality against Egyptian citizens” (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”). There had been a number of reports of injustice and police bullying that had been circulating in the months leading up to the January 25 protest. There were even deaths of Egyptian that had been reportedly due to police torture and brutality. These two scenic elements created an unusual opportunity (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”).

Closely tied to the previous two previously discussed scenic elements, but far less mentioned by *Daily News Egypt*, was the history and reputation Mubarak had in Egypt. President Hosni Mubarak had been ruling Egypt since 1981. He was one of the Arab world’s longest-serving rulers, and as later articles discuss he had been accused of rigging elections to ensure that he and his party maintained their power. People were also advocating that his son assume the leadership of Egypt following Hosni Mubarak’s tenure. The scene of Egypt was not one of change, nor did change seem to be easily attained (“Pro-Mubarak Campaign Counters Calls for Jan. 25 Protests”, “Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to ‘Symbolically Cordon President’”, “Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”).



Two of the counter-opposition movement actions that take place are in the streets of downtown Cairo and in Coptic churches. On January 24, more than a dozen people gathered at a rally to support Mubarak and the police. This event took place in downtown Cairo. The sermons which were given to demand that Copts not participate in the protests were given on January 25 in churches throughout Cairo (“Dozens Commemorate Police Day Outside Cairo Court”, “Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”, “Church Sermons Urge Copts not to Join Protests”).

*Group 2: Scenic elements during the revolution*

There are two major scenic elements during the revolution. The first is the location (speaking in broad terms) of the revolution. More than a third of the *Daily News Egypt* articles written during the time of the revolution refer to the demonstrations, not only being held in Cairo but across Egypt. This is significant because it communicates that the revolution is not simply a movement one of local unrest, but it is a movement of national importance. One article actually mentions ten cities where protests are taking place. The cities which were mentioned in that specific article are: Cairo, Alexandria, Mansoura, Suez, Answan, Giza, Mohandisen, Maadi, Imbaba and Edfu. Nearly all of the cities which were mentioned had thousands or tens of thousands of protesters (“Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger”). When reports of those who were injured or dead from the clashes are provided, they are often provided from a number of cities. This demonstrated that the protests and the violence were not simply a local event, but a nation revolution.

The second major scenic element in this group of articles is the more localized environment in which the protests took place. They are usually described as taking place in one of two places. The first place is a street or major square, like Tahrir Square. Most of the

marches were through sections of the city in the streets. Many of the early marches had Tahrir Square as a point of final destination. Another common area of the city for the demonstrations was buildings of political or cultural importance. An article written on February 10, the day before President Mubarak abdicated his position, describes a scene of protest well. “Under heavy rain, thousands of lawyers from all over Egypt marched Thursday afternoon towards the presidential Abdeen palace in downtown Cairo... [they] decided to move towards Abdeen Palace and not to protest in Tahrir Square to symbolically cordon the president” (Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to ‘Symbolically Cordon President’”). This quote gives an example of a march that went through the streets. The Tahrir Square protests are mentioned, and their significance is known, but a statement is trying to be made by choosing a different scene of the protest.

The scene of Tahrir Square is later described in detail in another article written near the end of the revolution. A man is described as spending the night “in Tahrir Square on a modest blanket in a plastic tent set up by the square’s residents.” Another resident who had been in the square since January 25 said: “I sleep on anything I can find, a blanket, plastic sheets, or even newspapers sometimes” (“The People’s Republic of Tahrir”). The square had a makeshift hospital and people had become “permanent residents’ with jobs and ways in which they were contribution to this “people’s republic”.

Early on in the revolution a curfew was instated, and the army was authorized to shoot anyone who broke the newly announced curfew. As a result, many of the events which took place in opposition to the government were after curfew (“Army Allowed to Open Fire on Those Violating Curfew, says Police Official”). One of the most common events which took place after curfew was choosing to sleep in Tahrir Square nightly. Many of the protesters chose to do

this (“The People’s Republic of Tahrir”). This was the most important scenic element involving time.

Another important scenic element was the background for the protests. Two specific factors are mentioned. The first is Tunisia. This is mentioned in an article published on the 27 of January (“Rights Group Asks Prosecutor to Ban Overseas Money Transfers Temporarily”). The second factor refers to government’s rule in Egypt. A lawyer involved in the protests stated: “The government did not respect either (the law or the constitution). It ignored the orders and verdicts of the Supreme Administrative Court and the Supreme Constitutional Court regarding election [and hence] the People’s Assembly polls results were rigged” (Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to ‘Symbolically Cordon President”). When some of the protesters of Tahrir Square were interviewed they cited international humiliation, violence and injustice as factors in the social scene which contributed to the revolution (“The People’s Republic of Tahrir”). Finally, as the revolution developed, economic uncertainty became a key part of the national scene (“Mulling the Market: To Invest or not Invest?”). These were the social and regional factors described by *Daily News Egypt* in the second group of articles.

### *Group 3: Scenic elements after the revolution*

The physical scenic element in this group of articles is Tahrir Square, Suez and Cairo. Most of what is described in these articles is continuing protests or responses to the recent events. Some protesters chose to remain in Tahrir Square (“Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform”). Specific actions of protests were taking place in Suez, with demands specific to their local situation (“Suez Citizens to Resume Protests if Governor, Police Chief not Sacked”). Cairo is briefly mentioned as the location for a protest by low ranking

policemen after the revolution (“Police Protest for Rights, Minister of Interior Answers Demands”).

There are a number of important social and cultural scenic elements in the events which followed the revolution. One of the most crucial factors was that Mubarak left his governing position and was no longer in power (“Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”). The intention to try other governing officials is also mentioned (“Prosecutor Imposes Travel Ban on 43 Officials, Freezes their Accounts”).

In Suez, protesters were calling for the governor and police chief to be held accountable. There was anger over the fact that they were still holding their positions after the events of the revolution. “During the Jan. 25 protests, riot-control forces used live ammunition resulting in dozens of casualties” (“Suez Citizens to Resume Protests if Governor, Police Chief not Sacked”). The official number which was announced said that 17 people had been killed and 250 injured. A medical source, on the condition of anonymity said: “But I swear I saw dozens of dead bodies in the morgue and over 500 wounded.” The protesters had already stripped the police chief and his deputy of all their clothing and left them naked in the street earlier in the revolution. The anger was rising again among the protesters, due to the crimes which at that point had been unpunished.

### *Summary*

The background for the main action of the protests is similar throughout. This being said, different elements are emphasized at different points throughout the reporting. The setting is variant dependent on a number of factors. In the first group of articles there is no primary physical setting mentioned. That being said the main scene is the upcoming revolutionary protests. Two factors have inspired these protests. The first is the recently successful revolution

in Tunisia. The second is the date 25 of January, which is set aside in Egypt as a national holiday to honor the police. This is significant because there have been a number of reports of police brutality circulating in Egypt. The setting for the second section of articles is emphatically all of Egypt. Specifically, central gathering points like Tahrir Square are mentioned consistently. The background scene is the corruption, injustice and humiliation from the ruling government. Tunisia is also mentioned in this section. The final group of articles does not have a consistent physical scene, yet the primary scenic element is obvious: the success of the revolutionary protests. Therefore, the central scene physically is all of Egypt. It may not be possible to boil down the background elements to a single scenic element, for each of those mentioned above was portrayed as being crucial to the protests.

### **Agency**

Agency received a lack of focus from the *Daily News Egypt* articles which reported were published from January 18 through February 18. In about half of the articles, agency is mentioned in a significant way. The other half may have no agency mentioned for the actions or various agencies mentioned only briefly. Of the half that have significant agencies, a few of those agencies are the theme of the article, but usually the agency is just another pentadic element which complements the others.

#### *Group 1: Agencies before the revolution*

The first agency mentioned in this group is social media, specifically Facebook. This showed up repeatedly in the literature review, but only briefly in the articles that were studied. The first mention of Facebook is three sentences into the first article where it is mentioned that the Muslim Brotherhood was hesitant to become involved in the opposition's protests "because it was a public call launched through a Facebook group directed at the Egyptian people not

political groups” (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”). This group was later clarified as “We are All Khaled Saeid.” According to *Daily News Egypt*, more than 61,000 people had confirmed their participation in the protests by January 20 and 67,000 by January 21 (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”, “Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”). The statement posted on the page was: “We are not lesser people than the Tunisians; thousands of Tunisians took all their rights and even toppled their President and forced him to flee the country. We want our rights” (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”). It is also demonstrated that this same Facebook page was used to coordinate the details of the protests. Late in the week before the January 25 protest the location for the demonstration was changed via the “We are all Khaled Said” page. The web page was also used to post a promotional video to inspire people to join the protests (“Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”). Though this web page is never mentioned after January 21, it is clear, by the influence that is credited to it, that it was a key agency in the initial promotional and mobilization of the revolution.

The agency which was used to counter the efforts of oppositional powers like “We are all Khaled Said” was a campaign run by Marwa Hodhod. The campaign was titled “Mubarak is Egypt’s safety.” Flyers and posters were used which promoted President Hosni Mubarak. These posters and flyers were hung around cities like Cairo, Alexandria, Suez, Qena and Fayoum. T-shirts supporting Hosni Mubarak were also printed. Finally, the campaign announced that there would be a peaceful march after the January 25 protests (“Pro-Mubarak Campaign Counters Calls for Jan. 25 Protests”).

Different means were used to announce positions or encourage actions. Political parties used press reports to announce their stances on the upcoming protests. Additionally, the Coptic church used their sermons to encourage their people not to participate in the protests which could be violent and destructive (“Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”, “Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”, “Church Sermons Urge Copts not to Join Protests”).

*Group 2: Agencies during the revolution*

The primary agency that is mentioned in the section of articles which covers the revolution is tied to actions against the protesters. In an article published on the 28 of January teargas, a water cannon, a rock, acidic liquid and rubber bullets were used by police in an attempt to disperse the anti-Mubarak protesters (“Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger”). When these means of quelling the protests were not effective other agencies were employed. In an article on January 31 it is reported that a Demerrdash hospital in Cairo “had received over 100 protesters with injuries caused by live shots” (“Protesters’ Death Toll to Rise, say Human Rights Groups”). Later in the article it is stated that “the majority of deaths were caused by injuries from live bullets while others were attributed to cardiac arrest from teargas asphyxiation and teargas”. The article also mentions injuries being a result of beatings and bullet wounds which “penetrated the body”. Near the end of the article it is stated that snipers were used to disperse crowds which had circled the Ministry of Interior. Plain clothed policemen are cited as a possible agency for an alleged kidnapping of opposition leaders in Fasil (“6 Activists Detained Friday, Others Missing since Jan. 25”). The protesters also made accusations which suggested that thugs, camels and horses were let into their camp to create havoc and damage (“3 NDP Members Quit Parliament, Party”). Barbed wire was also used by the security forces and the

army to keep certain areas secure (“Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to ‘Symbolically Cordon President.’”). Finally, an agency which was used against the demonstrators, but which was not seen on the streets was the blocking of the servers which provided internet and mobile phone service (“Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger”). These were a wide variety of agencies employed against the protesters.

The other agencies used during this time period are described occasionally, but not in a large portion of the articles. The neighborhood watch groups which were committed to protecting their local communities from thugs used anything they could find. Some used guns to fire warning shots. Others used old canes or sharpened sticks. When a dead body was dropped off, a car is described as the agency. Later it is clarified that it was a silver Toyota. Allegedly, police were responsible for driving the car, but this is not confirmed by *Daily News Egypt* (“Neighborhood Watch Groups Keep the Peace, Protect from Thugs”, “Dead Body Thrown Out of Alleged Police Car in Downtown Cairo”). Rocks and Molotov cocktails were used on occasion by the protestors (“3 NDP Members Quit Parliament, Party”).

### *Group 3: Agencies used after the revolution*

There is only one agency that is closely connected to main point of the articles in the last section. At a few points it is mentioned that a speech or a statement was given in response to protester’s demands, but it is not the agency of the main act of the article (which would be the protestors demands- not the briefly recorded government response which is given through a speech). One article which describes protesters demanding the police chief and governor of Suez be sacked, describes the use of live ammunition during the revolution. This use of live ammunition resulted in up to 500 injuries and a number of deaths. It is because of the use of this agency specifically that the protesters were demanding the police chief and governor be sacked,



for the governor and police chief had ordered the use of the live ammunition. Besides this, there are no agencies mentioned which are tied to the main action of the articles.

### *Summary*

There are multiple different agencies throughout the revolution. The primary agency of the initial group of articles is social media. Facebook was specifically mentioned as being a significant agency. This was used both to recruit participants and to coordinate the details of the protests. Another agency in the first group of articles was the counter revolution campaign entitled “Mubarak is Egypt’s Safety.” In the second group of articles the main agencies mentioned are those which were used against the protesters. The dominating agent in this section was live bullets, though many other agencies were mentioned. Often those agencies were mentioned without an attached agent. Some of the servers in Egypt were also blocked, but this action was agentless as well. The agency of the final group of articles is the demands of the protesters. This being said, the primary agencies of the articles regarding the revolution in Egypt was the agencies used against the demonstrators (“Suez Citizens to Resume Protests if Governor, Police Chief not Sacked”).

### **Purpose**

The purpose of the protesters remains the same before, during and after the revolution. This is the purpose which is most reported on. Most of the other purposes which are discussed are reactionary to what the demonstrators are planning on doing, to what they are doing or to what they are threatening to do. Occasionally, there are purposes which are reactionary to the changing national scene in Egypt and not to the protesters specifically. Nearly every article has an expressed purpose. The articles which tend to be the exception to this are those which are reporting on violence or casualties.

*Group 1: Purpose before the revolution*

The purpose of the revolutionaries is multifaceted, yet consistent. The date, January 25, was chosen “to reflect the irony of celebrating Egypt’s police at a time when police brutality is making headlines” (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”). An article published three days later states that the protests are being held to condemn the “police brutality and corruption that have plagued Egypt” (Pro-Mubarak Campaign Counters Calls for Jan. 25 Protests”). Another report on January 24 states that the opposition groups were planning their demonstration “against poverty, corruption and police brutality” (“Dozens Commemorate Police Day Outside Cairo Court”). As was repeated throughout the early reports of the impending protests, police brutality and corruption were primary influences behind the choice to protest.

Two of the most commonly expressed purposes behind the protests are the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak and receiving rights. The Facebook statement by “We are all Khaled Said” focused on receiving rights like the Tunisians had. The *Daily News Egypt* reported the demands as “the annulment of emergency law, the resignation of Interior Minister, Habib Al-Adly, dissolving the parliament and a minimum wage to LE1200” (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”). Another article repeated the exact demands as the article written on the 20<sup>th</sup> (“Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”).

In reaction to this, pro-Mubarak groups held a campaign to support the President and the ruling National Democratic Party. The phrase “supporting Mubarak” is repeated three times in an article as well as a phrase “supporting our cause”. Another statement that gives insight is an announcement by the pro-Mubarak campaign which set aside “Jan. 25 as a day for expressing the

people's loyalty and support for President Mubarak to counter opposition groups call for protests against the regime on the same day labeling it The Egyptian Intifada" ("Pro-Mubarak Campaign Counters Calls for Jan. 25 Protests"). Therefore, the purpose of the campaign run by Hodhod was to support President Hosni Mubarak while countering the January 25 protests planned by opposition groups.

Another pro-regime reaction to the upcoming oppositional protests was the pro-police gathering on January 24. The purpose of this gathering was to commemorate Police Day, as the national police day was being transformed into something that opposed the police. One of the participants in this gathering stated: "I decided to take part in the gathering to hail the policemen for the effort they exert in protecting us" ("Dozens Commemorate Police Day Outside Cairo Court").

Political groups had various reactions and purposes to the January 25 demonstrations which were being announced. The Muslim Brotherhood's reaction was well documented in two articles. "The Brotherhood is afraid of aggravating security forces against them and are at the same time afraid of missing the opportunity to participate in this widely anticipated protest against the regime" ("Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced"). Another statement by a political analyst suggested that the Muslim Brotherhood lacked vision and a unified direction or purpose in response to the riots. Other parties chose to distance themselves from the protests. Some also joined, yet none of their purposes were mentioned ("Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced").

The purpose of the Coptic church's call is clear and well defined. The goal is to have all Copts avoid the protests. This is not because the Coptic church is outspoken in support for President Hosni Mubarak; rather it is "because the aim of these protests, [the] demands, and who

is behind them are all unknown” (“Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”). In order to make their stance clear a joint statement was published. This announcement read: “Out of our love for Egypt which is our homeland, living inside us and for [the country’s] safety and stability we ask all to listen to the voice of wisdom and to abide by the law in order to get fair demands that are granted by the constitution” (“Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”). Another comment was made regarding why Coptic young people should not participate. The statement reads: “changes will not happen through destructive chaos” (“Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”). Later on it states that “solving problems will not occur through demonstrations and shouting, but through objective discussions that are based on legitimacy and legal channels” (“Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”). For these purposes, the Coptic Church organized sermons on January 25 to deter people from participating in the protests.

### *Group 2: Purposes during the revolution*

The purpose of the protesters in this section is, again, well-known and consistent. Their goal is to see Hosni Mubarak step down from his position as President of Egypt. On January 28, when the protests were gaining momentum it was reported that “tens of thousands of Egyptians joined protests on what was dubbed the Friday of anger, calling for the ouster of President Hosni Mubarak in the Egyptian capital and other major cities” (“Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger”). One of the ways the demonstrators would make their demands clear was in their chants on their marches. They would say things like: “The people want the end of the regime” and “Leave, leave, Mubarak, Mubarak, the plane awaits you” (“Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger”). Muslim worshipers cried out “God is greatest... We don’t want him (Mubarak)” after they finished their prayers (“Thousands Protest Across Egypt on

Friday of Anger”). In an article published on February 10, three specific reporters make statements regarding their purpose for protesting in Tahrir Square. The first person, Wael Said, said: “We want our dignity back, and that can only happen if President Mubarak leaves” (“The People’s Republic of Tahrir”). Amira Hidaya, a neurosurgeon, stated: “We want change and want the humiliation inside and outside our country to stop” (“The People’s Republic of Tahrir”). Finally, Reda Al Malky stated: “I want this whole regime to leave starting from Mubarak to everyone else under him” (“The People’s Republic of Tahrir”). Therefore, not only do the official statements released by opposition groups call for Mubarak’s resignation, but the individual protesters, when interviewed respond by citing the same purpose for their demonstration.

Three groups affiliated with the revolution have similar purposes to the overall expressed purpose of the opposition movement, yet there are distinguishing factors, in part due to the specific components of their actions. For example, a number of groups were supporting a national committee and El Baradei as a representative. The expressed purpose of these people was “to form a temporary national unity government and call on President Hosni Mubarak to step down” (“Opposition Groups Divided on El Baradei”). They wanted the committee to manage the crises in Egypt and negotiate on behalf of the protesters. The second group which was affiliated with the protesters was a group of three National Democratic Party members who resigned from their party in support of the protesters. One of them stated: “This is the only thing I can do to express my solidarity with the revolution. I don’t agree with this regime and the way it reacted to the current revolution proving that it must leave, including its head” (3 NPD Members Quit Parliament, Party”). The Muslim Brotherhood also affiliated themselves with the protesters and became involved in negotiations. The group made a statement where they stated

the purpose for their actions. They claimed that they would “uphold the protesters demands, including the President stepping down, the prosecution of those responsible for the violence during peaceful demonstrations, dissolving the rigged parliament, ending emergency law and forming a national transitional caretaker government” (3 NPD Members Quit Parliament, Party”).

Regarding the anti-protester actions, the purpose is only occasionally mentioned. When the internet, via Egyptian servers was blocked, the purpose was described as “an effort to stop anti-Mubarak demonstrators from communicating and organizing” (“Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger”). In the same article, the purpose for spraying the teargas and firing the rubber bullets at the protesters was to break up the crowd. The purpose for the army, police and security forces is not mentioned beyond the immediate goal of deterring the protesters or protecting certain buildings.

The rest of the purposes which are mentioned in this section of articles are not themes that span the entire group of articles, but rather purposes which are expressed in a single report. The neighborhood resident who joined together to form neighborhood watch groups had the expressed purpose of protecting their families and communities. The thugs, whom the watch groups were fighting, were attempting to loot (“Neighborhood Watch Groups Keep the Peace, Protect from Thugs”). In another article, national embassies of foreign countries were attempting to protect their people from the unrest in Egypt (“US Embassy to Offer Assistance for Citizens to Depart”). When constitutional reform seemed like a probable upcoming event the Copts expressed their desires and goals for the changes, yet these were not unified (“Coptic Dialogue to Include Citizenship Issue in Upcoming Constitutional Changes”). Finally, the

purpose for investing in the Egyptian economy was to help it recover from the damage that the revolution had caused (“Mulling the Market: To Invest or not Invest?”).

*Group 3: Purposes following the revolution*

There are four purposes voiced in the final group of articles. Three of these are voiced by a group of demonstrators. A number of people chose to stay in Tahrir Square even after Mubarak had resigned as President of Egypt. They said: “Mubarak is not all the regime, we want the entire regime to leave” (“Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform”). Another protester expanded on this. “The government and ministers are still from the same corrupt regime, especially Minister of Education Hani Helal. We want them all to go” (“Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform”). For this reason, a group of demonstrators chose to remain in Tahrir Square, even after Mubarak had stepped down.

Two days following the revolution, a large group of police took to the streets with their own set of goals. Their purpose was “to demand pay raises, better health care, the return of the officers who were unjustly discharged, honoring the officers who died during the revolution and for their former boss sacked interior minister Habib El-Adly be dragged into a public place and summarily executed” (“Police Protest for Rights, Minister of Interior Answers Demands”). The Minister of Interior went on national television and agreed to all their demands.

In Suez, protesters were threatening to mobilize another massive demonstration if their demands were not met. A governor and a police chief were responsible for giving the orders to shoot demonstrators during the revolution. Therefore, the demands of the protesters were for the governor and police chief to be sacked (“Suez Citizens to Resume Protests if Governor, Police Chief not Sacked”).

Finally, a law experts committee had been formed. The purpose of this group was to amend the constitution. Mubarak and the other officials under him had been responsible for many different abuses of power. As a result, a number of articles in the Egyptian constitution were up for revision. “The committee has been assigned to amend the defective articles of the constitution which are 76, 77, 88, 93 and 189.” Article 179 would be eliminated completely. Two of the article revisions had to do with the unjust way elections had been previously held. One of the primary goals of the constitutional revision was to ensure fair elections in the future (“Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”).

### *Summary*

There is a single, unified purpose for those who were protesting. This protest remained consistent before, during and after the revolution. There were three significant facets of this purpose which manifested itself in the unified outcries recorded in the *Daily News Egypt* articles. The protests were inspired in large part, by the corruption and brutality of the police officers in Egypt. This represented the national problem of poverty, corruption and national humiliation which was experienced by the people who took to the streets. Finally, Mubarak was blamed as the primary problem. Though many other political figures were also targeted, the chants in the streets reflect animosity towards Hosni Mubarak in particular. Therefore, the primary expressed purpose behind the protests, as reported by *Daily News Egypt*, was the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak.

### *The Ratios*

Recognizing the five elements of the pentad was only the first step in understanding the motivation of the protesters in Egypt. The second step is analyzing the different prominent rations from the articles. This is accomplished by taking the pentadic analysis, which was



conducted using a format similar to Lule's, and calculating the amount of times an article emphasizes each ratio. From this point, the ratios which were most dominant in the articles were further studied. This demonstrates the relationships between the pentadic elements which were most influential throughout the revolutionary events in Egypt, as recorded by *Daily News Egypt*. Table 2 demonstrates which ratios were used in which articles.

There will be three parts to the ratio analysis in this portion of the chapter. First, there will be a review of how the two pentadic elements were manifest in the Egyptian Revolution of 2011. Next, there will be specific examples which describe the way in which these elements relate to one another throughout the course of the revolution. The final portion of the ratio analysis will be a summary and conclusion of the specific ratios presence within the body of articles from *Daily News Egypt*.

This chart is provided to illustrate the different ratios. This chart demonstrates the prevalence of each ratio. Additionally, it can be observed when each ratio is appears in the course of the revolution. Finally, the name of the article is included to provide a reference point for the reader. Often, the ratios are mentioned as being from a certain article. This chart allows that ratio to be located and understood in a broader context.

**Table 2**

<b>Article Date:</b>	<b>Article Name:</b>	<b>Ratio:</b>
20/1/11	"Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo"	Act-Scene
20/1/11	"People Likely to Rally Around New Imprisoned Kefaya Leader, says Analyst"	Agent- Scene
21/1/11	"Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced"	Act-Agent
23/1/11	"Pro-Mubarak Campaign Counters Calls for Jan. 25	Act-Agent

	Protests”	
24/1/11	“Dozens Commemorate Police Day Outside Cairo Court”	Act-Scene
24/1/11	“Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”	Act-Agent, Act-Purpose
25/1/11	“Church Sermons Urge Copts not to Join Protests”	Act-Agent
27/1/11	“Rights Group Asks Prosecutor to Ban Overseas Money Transfers Temporarily”	Act-Scene
28/1/11	“Tanks Deployed in Suez, NDP HQ Set Ablaze in Cairo”	Act-Scene
28/1/11	“Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger”	Act-Scene
30/1/11	“Neighborhood Watch Groups Keep the Peace, Protect from Thugs”	Act-Agent
30/1/11	“US Embassy to Offer Assistance for Citizens to Depart”	Act-Agent
30/1/11	“Army Allowed to Open Fire on Those Violating Curfew, says Police Official”	Act-Scene
30/1/11	“Dead Body thrown Out of Alleged Police Car in Downtown Cairo”	Act-Scene
31/1/11	“Opposition Groups Divided on ElBaradei”	Act-Agent, Act-Agent
31/1/11	“Protesters’ Death Toll to Rise, say Human Rights Groups”	Agency-Scene
4/2/11	“Pro-Democracy Protests Continue in Sinai, Suez”	Agent-Purpose
4/2/11	“6 Activists Detained Friday, Others missing since Jan. 25”	Act-Agent (the agent is unknown)
4/2/11	“3 NDP Members Quit Parliament, Party”	Act-Purpose
6/2/11	“Muslim Brotherhood Starts Dialogue with Government”	Agent-Purpose
7/2/11	“Coptic Dialogue to Include Citizenship Issue in Upcoming Constitutional Changes”	Agent-Purpose
10/2/11	“Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to	Scene-Purpose, Act-Purpose

	“Symbolically Cordon President”	
10/2/11	“The People’s Republic of Tahrir”	Agent-Act
10/2/11	“Mulling the Market: To Invest or not Invest”	Act-Scene
13/2/11	“Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform”	Act-Purpose
13/2/11	“Police Protest for Rights, Minister of Interior Answers Demands”	Act-Agent, Act-Purpose
13/2/11	“Suez Citizens to Resume Protests if Governor, Police Chief not Sacked”	Act-Scene, Scene-Purpose
13/2/11	“Prosecutor Imposes Travel Ban on 43 Officials, Freezes Their Accounts”	Act-Agent
15/2/11	“Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”	Act-Scene, Agent-Purpose

**Table 3**

<b>Ratio:</b>	<b>Frequency:</b>
Act-Agent	12
Act-Scene	10
Act-Purpose	5
Agent-Purpose	4
Scene-Purpose	2
Agency-Purpose	1
Agent-Scene	1

### **Act-Agent**

#### *Review of Act and Agent*

The act-agent ratio was the dominant ratio in 11 of the 29 articles. This ratio is distributed relatively evenly throughout the time periods before, during and after the revolution. It should be no surprise that a newspaper which is reporting on a revolution would focus on act as a dominant element of the pentad. In fact, Burke believed that this was the central element of the pentad. The main action, as concluded from the analysis earlier in the chapter was the

revolutionary demonstrations conducted by protesters. Before the protests began, the primary act was preparation for those protests. After the revolution had concluded, protests remained the primary act. Two other actions are pervasive. The first is the anti-opposition movement actions. The second group of actions common to this collection of articles is that of political statements or political moves. These include the formation of committees, meetings and resigning from one's party. Nearly every primary action is that of demonstration, or in preparation for demonstration or in response to demonstration.

There are two primary agents present throughout the articles. The first agent is the opposition movement. This movement is portrayed in changing ways throughout the development of the revolution. There are various agents that oppose the demonstrators and the opposition movement. These are usually described as separate entities (police, army, government). Often, in articles that describe action which is opposed to the demonstrators, the agent is not conclusively stated. There is no unity of political agents.

#### *Act-Agency throughout the Articles*

One of the primary act-agency relationships is the relationship between the demonstrators and their protest preparations and the protests themselves. This relationship is the primary ratio in "The People's Republic of Tahrir". The article takes an indepth look at the people who were staying in Tahrir Square day after day and the actions that they conducted while in Tahrir. The article describes Hidaya as a neurosurgeon who volunteers in a makeshift clinic. It describes when she began protesting and why she chose to protest. Most of all, this article describes Hidaya's actions while in Tahrir. "I saw seven gun shot wounds that day and one of the injured was severely wounded in the head that his brain fell into my hands" ("The People's Republic of Tahrir"). Another person mentioned in this article is Wael Said. The description of this agent is

as follows. “Wael Said, an Egyptian accountant working in Saudi Arabia was in Egypt visiting his family when the events happened on Jan. 25. Little did he know that he would later become a permanent resident in Tahrir Square” (The People’s Republic of Tahrir”). Another article which placed a strong emphasis on the relationship between the demonstrators and their act of protest was written describing a protest after the revolution. “Police Protest for Rights, Minister of Interior Answers Demands” looks at the police who felt victimized by the circumstances of the revolution. They protested for rights and to demonstrate that they had been forced to do many of the things that they did not want to do. An example of this is a statement explaining the condition of the agents. “Habib El-Adly is the one who gave us orders to fire live bullets on protesters, if we refused to do that, we would’ve been shot... You cannot disobey official orders.” This articles describe both the protesters and their actions during and after the revolution.

It is also important to note that though the focus of every article was not this ratio, the protesters and their actions are mentioned in almost every article from January 26 on. The agents in these protests and their actions are described as unified. Some articles even describe, in a chronological order, the actions of the protesters (“Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to ‘Symbolically Cordon President’”).

The relationship between the those who opposed the protesters and their actions was the primary ratio in only a few articles, but like the actions and agency of the protesters, this ratio was present in nearly every article after January 25. This ratio was the theme of the article: “6 Activists Detained Friday, Others missing since Jan. 25”. In this article a number of activists had been detained. There is video footage of one of these individuals been taken by police in plain clothes. Only one sentence, describing the circumstances with the video, incriminate a specific

agent. The rest of the article leaves the agent of the kidnapping a mystery. A similar approach is taken to the discussion of live bullets in other articles. Four sentences, in the article “Protesters’ Death Toll to Rise, says Human Rights Groups”, describe protesters being killed by live bullets. Three of those sentences place no responsibility on anyone for the shooting. The final sentence describes both live bullets and snipers as agency, without any agent being responsible for them. An example of this relationship from this article is: “The majority of deaths were caused by injuries from live bullets while others were attributed to cardiac arrest from teargas, asphyxiation and teargas”. The relationship between those opposed to the demonstrators and their actions is described in a manner similar to this throughout the *Daily News Egypt* articles covering the revolution.

Five of the eleven articles which have an act-agent ratio are religious or political groups reacting to the upcoming protests, or the demonstrations themselves. The various reactions of different political parties to the threat of demonstrations is recorded in “Parties Distance Themselves from Jan 25 Demos as Preparations Announced”. Two articles focus on the actions of the Coptic Church as they attempt to dissuade their parishioners from participating in the protests (“Coptic Churches Call on Followers to Avoid Jan. 25 Protests”, “Church Sermons Urge Copts not to Join Protests”). Another article details the actions of foreign embassies (“US Embassy to Offer Assistance for Citizens to Depart”). Finally, two act-agent ratios are present in “Opposition Groups Divided on ElBaradei”. This article discusses the different positions opposition groups have regarding ElBaradei representing them politically. Though there is no unity among political or religious groups and their actions, this relationship was pervasive throughout the collection of articles.

### *Conclusion*

The actions of two specific agents seem to have been central to the stories told in *Daily News Egypt's* account of the revolution. The first is the actions of the demonstrators. They are described in a way that communicates diversity of representation, but unity of action. Men and women, young and old, educated and uneducated, united to live in Tahrir Square, march on political buildings and demand that Hosni Mubarak and his government step down. The actions of those who opposed this movement are equally specific, yet the agents are far more vague. They used an assortment of means from teargas to live bullets in order to deter the demonstrators. These two relationships are pervasive throughout the articles which were reviewed in this study.

### **Act-Scene**

There were 10 articles that featured the relationship between the act and the scene. As was stated before, the act is the central pentadic element, so it is no surprise that it is once again a portion of one of the most emphasized ratios in the study. This ratio shows up most frequently in the first week of the protests, as the news coverage of the details of the development of the revolution was heavy. The majority of the actions in the study focus on the preparations or responses to the protests or the protests themselves. On the other hand, scene is a little bit more dynamic. In a number of the articles the scene is physical streets and squares or in reference to a time of day. Other articles portray the scene in terms of a political or regional background which contributed to the events which were taking place. Both scenic elements were closely tied to the actions of the revolution.

This analysis will look at the act-scene relationship before, during and after the revolution. The acts which were closely tied to the scene are different as the events unfold.

Naturally, as the revolution developed, certain scenic elements change and evolve. For this reason, the act-scene ratio will be reviewed chronologically.

*Act-Scene throughout the Articles*

In the first section of articles there is no physical setting; therefore the act-scene relationship is based upon the background events which were mentioned as significantly impacting the events which were being reported on in the articles. The upcoming protests were inspired by two primary factors. The first was the surprisingly successful revolution in Tunisia. The second key factor was the irony of recent police brutality and a national holiday set to celebrate the nation's police forces on January 25. In the article "Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo", the way the national scene was developing compelled the political party to reconsider its approach to the protests. Another response to this same scene came from those who supported Mubarak's government. They held a counter demonstration the day before the protests in support of President Hosni Mubarak ("Dozens Commemorate Police Day Outside Cairo Court"). Both of these actions were reported on as being strongly impacted by the scene of the upcoming revolution.

Both the physical setting and the background are key elements of the second section of articles. The setting for the acts of protests is emphatically all of Egypt. This is most clearly demonstrated in the article "Thousands Protest Across Egypt on Friday of Anger". The opening sentence of this article states: "Tens of thousands of Egyptians joined protests on what was dubbed the Friday of Anger calling for the ouster of President Hosni Mubarak in the Egyptian capital and other major cities like Alexandria, Mansoura, Suez and Aswan". Another important piece of the act-scene relationship was Tahrir Square and other places of political and cultural importance. Five of the articles mention a significant location such as a building or square in the



title. Often this location was chosen deliberately for the act of protest. The background factors which were most closely related to the actions of the demonstrations were nearly the same as those in the first section, only this time they were mentioned in connection with physical protests instead of statements and plans announced by opposition groups.

The final group of articles which take place after the revolution succeeded have a common national scenic background but various physical settings. This being said, nearly every one of the actions was a protest. In the article “Suez Citizens to Resume Protests if Governor, Police Chief not Sacked”, the scene of a successful revolution has emboldened the protesters to demand that leaders other than Hosni Mubarak be forced out of their position. Another scenic element that contributed to the intensity and demands of the demonstrators was the use of live ammunition by the Suez government and security forces. These scenic elements heavily contributed to the actions that took place in this article and throughout the final group of articles.

### *Conclusion*

The relationship between the scene and the act was dynamic, yet profound throughout the Egyptian revolution. Two primary background scenic factors contributed to the act of protesting. The first was Tunisia and the second was the history of police brutality, abuse of authority and corruption that made up the national scene of Egypt. These factors directly contributed to the acts of protest, yet the acts of protest were, in themselves, also scenic elements contributing to other action. The promise of protests was the scenic backdrop for many of the actions before the revolution. The actions after the revolution were in many ways inspired and enabled by the success of the demonstrations which took place from January 25- February 11. Finally, the setting of significant cultural and government buildings and locations played a central role in a

number of the opposition's acts of protest. The scenic elements reported on by *Daily News Egypt* strongly impacted the actions of revolution in Egypt.

### **Act-Purpose**

There are five articles with an emphasis on the act-purpose ratio. As has been the case throughout this study, the actions which are described in this relationship are either the protests themselves or response to those protests. The purpose becomes an emphasis in later articles, after the what is taking place in regard to the revolution has been established. That is to say, the articles written in January are action focused. The articles written in the first two weeks of February are more focused on the purpose behind the actions. The act-purpose ratio is dominant in only one article written in January. In the majority of these articles the purpose is simply reform and the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak so a new government can be put in place. Overwhelmingly, this is the purpose which inspired the central act of the revolutionary demonstrations.

#### *Act-Purpose throughout the Articles*

The overthrow of the reigning Egyptian government is a dominant motivation in this act-purpose relationship. A statement made by those who chose to remain in Tahrir Square the day after Mubarak resigned represents both the desire they had to see him step down and their desire to see other members of the government step down. "Mubarak is not all the regime, we want the entire regime to leave" ("Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform") This statement is emphasized by another statement made later in the article. "The government and ministers are still from the same corrupt regime ... We want them all to go" ("Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform"). When the lawyers marched to Abdeen, their expressed purpose was the same, for they shouted: "Down with Mubarak ... The people want to

overthrow the regime” (“Thousands of Lawyers March to Abdeen to ‘Symbolically Cordon President’”) Even the regime’s own party members began resigning for similar reasons. “This is the only thing I can do to express my solidarity with the revolution. I don’t agree with this regime and the way it reacted to the current revolution proving that it must leave, including its head” (“3 NDP Members Quit Parliament, Party”). Therefore, protests and other accompanying actions took place with a purpose of seeing the current Egyptian regime replaced.

In a more broad sense, the reclaiming of human rights is a motivation for action. “I have witnessed unacceptable practices during my membership in the party, the latest was in the legislative elections in which the party used money and thugs in an unprecedented way” (“3 NDP Members Quit Parliament, Party”). Some protesters stayed in Tahrir after the revolution to ensure that some of their fellow demonstrators be released from jail. In the same article, the army chose not to interfere with these protester much because: “the people have already been through enough under Mubarak’s regime” (“Hundreds of Protesters Stay in Tahrir Demanding Reform”). After the revolution, the police protested with the expressed purpose of reclaiming their rights. “If we don’t get all our rights, we will have a strike” (“Police Protest for Rights, Minister of Interior Answers Demands”). The article states that they marched “to demand pay raises, better health care, the return of the officers who were unjustly discharged, honoring the officers who died during the revolution and for their former boss sacked interior minister Habib El-Adly [to] be dragged into a public place and summarily executed” (“Police Protest for rights, Minister of Interior Answers Demands”).

### *Conclusion*

The acts which are mentioned in this section are acts of protest. Most of these actions are specifically public demonstrations, but there is also the case of the National Democrat Party

(NDP) members stepping down. These actions were done specifically to see Hosni Mubarak overthrown. A little more broadly, the actions were to see the entire government replaced and for corrections to be made to the established system. Even more broadly, many of these actions were in defense of human rights which the protesters felt strongly had been violated for a long period of time.

### **Agent-Purpose**

The agent-purpose ratio is the primary ratio in four of the articles. All of these articles were published in February, after much of the act centered reporting had ended. The agents among these four articles are similar in a broad sense, but they represent different entities. All four agents are groups advocating change. This being said, they are not directly tied to one another, except that the Brotherhood and the constitutional amendment committee were potentially a part of the broader group of demonstrators. The purpose is far more unified. In the first two articles the expressed purpose is the overthrow of the government. In the second two the purpose is to amend the constitution. In all four of the cases the purpose is the correction of a broken government.

### *Agent-Purpose throughout the Articles*

The purpose of the first two articles is the overthrow of the present government. In the first article the agent is the demonstrators. They are described in respectable and representative ways, with words like “citizens” and “the people.” An example of the relationship between the agents and purpose of this article is demonstrated in its last sentence. “The people... are determined not to leave before Mubarak steps down” (“Pro-Democracy Protests Continue in Sinai, Suez”). At another point in the article the statement is made that “all tribes here share the same wish, Mubarak must leave now” (“Pro-Democracy Protests Continue in Sinai, Suez”). In

the second article the agent is described in more detail. This detail often involves the purpose of the Muslim Brotherhood. “The group had stressed in a statement issued on Saturday that they will uphold the protesters demands, including the President stepping down, the prosecution of those responsible for the violence during peaceful demonstrations, dissolving the rigged parliament, ending emergency law and forming a national transitional caretaker government” (“Muslim Brotherhood Starts Dialogue with Government”). Though some analysts in the article described the Muslim Brotherhood as confused regarding their direction, their statements seemed to portray themselves and their purpose as unified. “The group added that the protesters safety has to be secured and their freedom to hold peaceful demonstrations protected until their demands are met” (“Muslim Brotherhood Starts Dialogue with Government”). Therefore, the relationship between the agents in their purpose was to see Hosni Mubarak and his government step down.

The final two articles with this relationship have the Coptic church and a law experts committee as the primary agents. Both of these agents have constitutional amendments as their expressed purpose. For the Coptic church: “The suggestions include canceling the second article of the constitution that states that Islam is the main source of legislation, enhancing citizenship and equality, a unified law for places of worship, amending new laws to prevent sectarian violence, and ending religious based discrimination” (Coptic Dialogue to Include Citizenship Issue in Upcoming Constitutional Changes”). But in this article, there is not a unity of purpose regarding the cancelling of the second article across the board in the Coptic church. Finally, there was a law committee formed of “three law professors, three counselors, and one lawyer; most of them are known for their constitutional law expertise” (“Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”). The purpose of this select group was made clear

throughout the article. “The committee has been assigned to amend the defective articles of the constitution which are 76, 77, 88, 93, 189, while article 179 will be eliminated” (“Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”). Therefore, the purpose of these two agents, the Coptic church and the law experts committee, was to see that the constitution was amended in the way that they thought was best.

This relationship between the agent and their purpose strongly reflects the humiliation that has been mentioned throughout this study. The article entitled “The People’s Republic of Tahrir” gives a strong emphasis to this. One demonstrator remarked that the protesters “want the humiliation inside and outside of our country to stop”. In the first article “Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”, the opposition groups have noticed that the Tunisians reclaimed their rights. This call to seize rights back from the government is another example of the purpose of the agents who ended up protesting in the streets.

### *Conclusion*

Therefore, the agent-purpose relationship throughout these articles is similar, despite the wide variety of agents. The expressed goal in each article was the change and improvement of their government. In the first two articles that took the form of seeing Hosni Mubarak and others step down from their positions. In the final two articles that looked like constitutional changes. Therefore, the agent-purpose ratio that dominates these articles is that of agents with a purpose for political change.

## Chapter 5

### *The Guilt- Redemption Cycle*

The study of the separate elements of the pentad and their relationships to one another have been conducted in order that the results of that work would be able to be applied to Burke's Guilt-Redemption Cycle; which, in turn, will be used to answer the second and third research questions. These smaller pieces of the study are reunited at this point with the grand drama of Burke's theory in order to discover the motivation of those involved. The study of the pentadic elements and their ratios have illuminated a number of major themes. For the motivation of the protesters to be determined, these themes must be understood in light of the Guilt-Redemption Cycle which Burke designed to illuminate human motive. According to Burke, humans, by their nature, progress through cycles of guilt and redemption. Actions and motives are then understood by how they relate to this overall human drama. At this point in the study the specific elements and their relationships to one another have been discussed. Now these results will be analyzed in light of the Guilt-Redemption Cycle.

The Guilt-Redemption Cycle has four steps that according to Burke, should have revealed themselves throughout this study. The first step is pollution. This is a result of the human invention of the negative. Man has, according to Burke, created a standard and often falls short of this standard. This falling short of the standard results in guilt. Due to the guilt that is felt and the need to pursue perfection, this guilt must be dealt with. This step in the process is called purification. Once the guilt has been removed, the people are then considered redeemed because of the removal from guilt that has taken place through the process of purification. This position of redemption has been the goal of the process.

## **Elements and Ratios Applied to the Guilt-Redemption Cycle**

This discussion leads to the third research question:

**How does the coverage of the 2011 revolution by *Daily News Egypt* illuminate the Guilt-Redemption Cycle of Burke's theory of Dramatism?**

### *Pollution*

Though a number of the scenic elements reflect the pollution in Egypt during this time, the agent-purpose ratio reflects this most strongly. As the purpose of the agents is mentioned, by *Daily News Egypt*, evidence is given of what the people viewed as the pollution present in their nation. The people of Egypt are often described as living in or experiencing personal degradation. One person stated "We want our dignity back." Another protester who was sleeping in Tahrir Square said: "We want change and we want the humiliation inside and outside of our country to stop" (The People's Republic of Tahrir"). The people of Egypt had felt as if they were not receiving the respect that they were entitled to. One man, who had previously spent time living in Saudi Arabia said that "any Egyptian living abroad knows that people aboard treat us like we have no dignity" (The People's Republic of Tahrir"). It is this feeling of dehumanization that had settled over the nation of Egypt. According to Burke, guilt would be placed on someone or something for this widespread pollution.

### *Guilt*

*Daily News Egypt*, placed a significant emphasis on this guilt that resulted from the pollution. First, the impact of the agent-purpose ratio on this placement of guilt will be discussed to highlight the direct relationship between the pollution and the guilt. When the man who had spent time in Saudi Arabia discussed the international humiliation Egyptians had experienced he immediately tied that pollution with a source. It was this source on which he blamed the



humiliation. He said: “And its all because of the regime” (The People’s Republic of Tahrir”). Another person, in the same article, who had discussed injustice blamed the regime as well. “I want this whole regime to leave starting from Mubarak to everyone else under him”. In this way the agent-purpose relationship highlighted both the pollution experienced by the Egyptian people and the link between the pollution and the guilt.

The act-scene relationship takes an in depth look at the placement of the guilt. This humiliation was blamed on two primary sources. The first group to be blamed was the police. “April 6 Youth Movement chose that day [the 25 of January] specifically to reflect the irony of celebrating Egypt’s police at a time when police brutality is making headlines” (“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo”). Words like “bullying” and “brutality” are used to describe the actions of the police. This language conveys both the humiliation that was internalized by the Egyptian populous and it demonstrates those they found as guilty of bringing that humiliation upon them.

The other party which received blame and guilt was President Hosni Mubarak and those in his regime. When Abu Taleb left Mubarak’s party he placed blame on Mubarak, citing a number of scenic elements as contributing to his desire to leave. “I don’t agree with this regime and the way it reacted to the current revolution proving that it must leave, including its head.” In the same article Abu stated: “I have witnessed unacceptable practices during my membership in the party, the latest was in the legislative elections in which the party used money and thugs in an unprecedented way” (3 NDP Members Quit Parliament, Party”). Finally, it was reported that the government had been abusing its power and rigging elections (“Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”). This widespread corruption in the government was noticed by the people, and as a result they placed guilt upon it, especially its leader.

### *Purification*

Humiliated agents who had confirmed guilt on the police and the government took action by protesting. This relationship between the agent and the act demonstrates the desire to do something about the groups that were pronounced guilty. The primary action of the protesters was demonstrating against the regime. Additionally, before the protests, these groups' primary action was preparing for these demonstrations. Like was mentioned earlier, nearly every article written in the second group makes the act of protesting, or an act revolving around the protests, the main focus. This is appropriate because this was the focus of the nation of Egypt during this time. One article writes that: "Tens of thousands of Egyptians joined protests on what was dubbed the Friday of Anger calling for the ouster of President Hosni Mubarak in the Egyptian capital and other major cities like Alexandria, Mansoura, Suez and Aswan" ("Thousands Protest across Egypt on Friday of Anger"). These protesters were chanting "The people want the end of the regime" and "Leave, leave, Mubarak, Mubarak, the plane awaits you" ("Thousands Protest across Egypt on Friday of Anger"). These protests continued in mass until Mubarak stepped down.

As was mentioned throughout this study, this act of purification(the protest) was not confined to isolated opposition groups. The protesters were young and old, rich and poor, men and women. These protesters were from all across Egypt. They were uniting in an act of purification, to eliminate those who were now declared guilty. Since the guilt could not remain, Egyptians protested.

This purification is further illuminated by the act-purpose ratio. This ratio both acknowledges the guilt that was attributed to the police and Mubarak as well as the aim of the act of purification, which is redemption. Once again, the dominant act is the demonstrations. The

dominant purpose of those who were demonstrating was the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak and his regime (“Thousands Protest across Egypt on Friday of Anger”). Additionally, demonstrations took place to dispose of the police whose brutality increased in some cities throughout the course of the revolution (“Suez Citizens to Resume Protests if Governor, Police Chief not Sacked”). This ratio is demonstrated again by protesters in Cairo who were violating curfew. “Thousands of protesters broke the curfew on Saturday calling for the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak...” (“Army Allowed to Open Fire on Those Violating Curfew, says Police Official”). The next day those opposing Mubarak’s government were quoted as saying: “We want a transitional government representing the people, we want to dissolve the parliament and amend the constitution” (“Opposition Groups Divided on ElBaradei”). It is apparent that the purpose behind the act was to provide purification for the guilt that was placed upon the regime and the police.

### *Redemption*

Though it is clear what redemption was being pursued by the people of Egypt, much of the materialization of this redemption is not reported on because the last article in this study was published on February 15, 2011. Still, a picture of the redemption that was being pursued is visible. The first steps of this redemption are especially evident in the final article. In this article, a committee of law experts has been organized and a number of amendments are going to be made to the constitution in order to prevent abuse of power which resulted in the humiliation which was experienced by the Egyptian people. A few purposes are mentioned in this article that reflect this attempt to redeem that which was damaged. “We need to restore life in the country” (“Law Experts Committee to Amend Constitution within 10 Days”). Four specific areas of the constitution are mentioned in the amendment process. After each is cited, a previous

abuse is mentioned which demands a fix. Therefore, that which inflicted pollution in Egypt was removed by the people and their protest. This study concludes as the process creating a new government and amending a broken constitution is beginning; as redemption is underway.

*Conclusion*

### **Research Question 3**

**How does the coverage of the 2011 revolution by *Daily News Egypt* illuminate the Guilt-Redemption Cycle of Burke's theory of Dramatism?**

The Guilt-Redemption Cycle is demonstrated by the elements of the pentad and their relationships to one another. The previous section in this chapter demonstrates how the four dominant ratios in this study, when inserted back into the greater drama of Burke's pentad, illuminate the cycle from pollution to guilt, from guilt to purification and finally from purification to redemption. The pollution, which was the Egyptian people's humiliation, was demonstrated primarily by the agent-purpose ratio. This ratio also helped to demonstrate how this pollution was then credited to Mubarak and the police in a way that declared them guilty. The guilt was described in more detail by the act-scene relationship. This especially highlighted different examples of guilt being attributed to the police or Mubarak. In light of the guilt that was attributed to the regime and the police, action was taken by tens of thousands of people across Egypt. The purification is demonstrated by the act-agent ratio which was the dominant ratio of the study. The link between the purification and redemption is found in the act-purpose ratio. The purpose for the act is clear: to remove Mubarak, his regime and the police responsible for injustice. Finally, the first steps of redemption are taken as the regime leaves and amendments are made to the faulty system of government which was in part credited with the

original pollution. Therefore, Burke's five pentadic elements and their ratios effectively demonstrated the path from pollution through guilt and purification to redemption.

### **Research Question 1 and 2**

**What are the primary motivational factors that contributed to the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak as demonstrated in the print newspapers of *Daily News Egypt*?**

**Does Burke's Guilt-Redemption Cycle in Egypt's overthrow of Hosni Mubarak reveal the motives of the protesters?**

As these questions are answered, it must be remembered that the motivation is not simply the expressed purpose. For Burke, the motivation considered the entire drama. Therefore, the individual elements, their relationships and the Guilt-Redemption Cycle were all key aspects of the overall motivation of the protesters. The Guilt-Redemption Cycle specifically was designed to combine the other two aspects of the study in a way that would illuminate the motivation of those involved.

According to the analysis of the Guilt-Redemption Cycle, the general motive for the act of protesting was the purification. From the perspective of the protesters, their society had become tainted. They were experiencing humiliation and injustice. Their dignity was fractured. This humiliation was experienced by those who lived both inside Egypt and beyond Egypt's borders. Guilt for this humiliation was placed on two different groups. The first was the police, who were responsible for a number of the acts of brutality that had been recently reported. The second group was the regime, and Hosni Mubarak specifically. Therefore, to rid their society of the pollution the guilty had to be removed. This act, according to Burke, would be an act of purification. This would rid Egypt of the source of the pollution. This step of purification would then result in a cultural environment fit for redemption, where things could be put back in a right

order. This is what Burke saw as humanity's pursuit of perfection. The heart of this journey to redemption is to see that things are made right.

As Burke would have predicted, a general and a specific motive have emerged. The general motive is the outline of this journey from pollution to redemption. This is one of the grand dramas of human existence. But this situation is also specific and unique from others that have followed the same path towards redemption. Each of the five elements are specific to these events, and their relationships to one another are equally unique. Though the motivation is simply the removal of guilt and the redemption of what was broken, like so many other human actions, there is a more specific motivation. Hosni Mubarak, and his associates were the guilty ones who needed to be removed, and the Egyptian government was what had to be refined in the goal of redemption. This was the motivation of the protesters.

Therefore, the answer to both the first and second research questions is "yes". The Guilt-Redemption Cycle effectively illuminated the motives of the protesters in the events surrounding the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak. The protesters were motivated by a desire to see guilt removed. They acted to purify their situation and a glimmer of their step into redemption is noticed in the final article when they are changing the government that had been attributed with guilt for the pollution of their nation.

#### *Limitations and Future Research*

##### **Limitations**

There are numerous limitations to this study. The first is that only one newspaper was used in the analysis. Though this newspaper was chosen intentionally, because it was published by nationals in the city which had the greatest amount of protesters, it is still only a single publication's perspective on a national issue. Additionally, only a month's worth of articles were

examined. How the weeks, months and even years of Egyptian history contributed to this revolution are not mentioned beyond the occasional reference. Another issue is that these articles were written within hours of the events taking place. Finally, it has been demonstrated that many newspapers in the Arab world reflect Islamic values. This may also be the case with *Daily News Egypt* (Elliot and Greer, 414). If that is the case, the values of the newspaper would likely be different than that of Burke, who authored the theory which was applied in this study. The perspective on guilt and redemption may be one of those differences. Therefore, the perspective of time and the consensus of other experts and eye witnesses were not consulted prior to the publication of these articles.

Regarding this study's application to other studies concerning the Arab Spring a few limitations must be mentioned. First, this is only one of Egypt's many recent events of political upheaval. Egypt is a nation in flux. As a result, what was true at the time of the publication of the articles used for this study may no longer be an accurate reflection of the people of Egypt. Finally, regarding this article's application to other events in the Arab Spring, this is only the account of one nation's revolution. Though that is important to an overall understanding of the events of the Arab Spring, what happened in Egypt in 2011 cannot be applied to all Arab nations and their revolutions.

### **Future Research**

There are a number of areas of future research or future application. Egypt's other events of unrest and political turmoil since this revolution could be analyzed by the pentad. Secondly, the additional global protests which have taken place since this revolution in 2011 would provide an excellent case for further application of this theory. The protests have taken place in numerous cultural, religious and political settings. It is possible that the motivation of those

involved would be different based on some of the different aspects of the revolutions. Finally, different social movements other than political unrest and revolution could be studied. These could include pro-life campaigns, the cultural acceptance of homosexuality in the West or a less political focus like mass immigration from one nation to another. These areas of application would continue to pioneer Burke's ideas into new areas of application.

Regarding Egypt, there are three additional areas of study. First, the historical events leading up to the month that was analyzed in this study could be researched; noting the impact of certain events on the revolution. Secondly, specific pieces of rhetoric from the revolution could be analyzed. This could include Facebook posts from opposition groups. It could also analyze how Egypt's government attempted to deal with the unrest. An independent newspaper was used for this study. The similarities and differences between independent newspapers and government run newspapers may also make an interesting study. Finally, other communication theories could be applied to the same set of data that was studied here. A theory which could yield a wealth of results if it studies the same data is Fantasy Theme Analysis. Theories like this, if applied well, could lead to valuable insights into the events that transformed the nation of Egypt.

### **Conclusion**

This study has two major areas of contribution. The first area has to do with this study resulting in a better understanding of cultural and political aspects of Egypt and the surrounding geographical area. The first of these contributions is that more insight has been added to the Arab Spring. This is not to say that this study and its results can be applied to the Arab Spring as a whole, but that the events which this study has covered played and continue to play an important role in the change that has swept across this region. A better understanding of one of



the first events in this broader social movement contributes to accurate understanding of the Arab Spring as a whole.

Secondly, political overthrows are extremely significant. A political overthrow in a nation as influential as Egypt is extremely significant. This study has served to clear up some of the reasons this overthrow took place. It has acknowledged the motivational factors which were present in those who overthrew their leader.

This study has also shed some light on the nation of Egypt. Examples are provided of the factors that contributed to the revolution. It also provides data regarding what the people of Egypt valued during this time and how they went about protesting against their government. Egypt has been a nation of significant regional influence; therefore information which contributes to what is known of Egypt and its people is valuable.

The second group of contributions has to do with advancing the application of Burke's theory. The Dramatic Pentad has often been used to understand speeches or other more scripted forms of communication. It has been acknowledged that his pentad can be applied to events and situations as well, but this has not been the focus of the majority of the application of his theory. This research hopes to be another example of Burke's theory being applied to a situation. To specify this a little more, Burke is being applied to understand a social movement. Though this has been done before, it is a rare way to apply Burke's theory. Perhaps those who study social movements will find Burke's ideas to be a useful tool in their research.

Additionally, it was discussed early in this study that Burke's theory was developed in a Western context. The majority of Burke's work has been applied to the Western world. One of the goals of this study was to apply Burke's ideas in an environment which was foreign to that

which the theory was developed in. It was confirmed that Burke's dramatic pentad was applicable in a Middle Eastern setting as well.

Finally, since this study began numerous protests and revolutions have taken place. Ukraine, Venezuela, Argentina, Russia, Hong Kong and Brazil have all seen major demonstrations, some resulting in the overthrow of the reigning governments. Political unrest is a prevalent issue in today's world. This study provides an example of how Burke may be applied to gain a greater understanding of those events.

This study began with a brief introduction and justification of the study. Following this, a review of the literature was conducted. This briefly covered the Middle East, social movements and the Arab Spring. Then the revolution in Egypt and Burke's dramatic pentad were covered in greater detail. Following this the methodology for this study was described. Then the research was laid out in two sections. First, the elements of the pentad were described. Following this, the dominant ratios were discussed. When this was completed the three research questions were answered by using the research to understand the motive of the protesters in light of Burke's Guilt-Redemption Cycle. This concluded that a humiliation had settled over the Egyptian people. They blamed Hosni Mubarak, his government and the police for this. To rid themselves of the pollution and guilt, Egyptians protested for the resignation of their leaders and a chance to form a new government.

## Appendix

List of articles by *Daily News Egypt* from January 20-February 15, 2011

*Group 1 (January 20-25)*

“Muslim Brotherhood Reconsiders Refusal to Participate in Jan 25 Demo.” 20 Jan. 2011. *Daily News Egypt. LexisNexis*. Web. 16 Dec. 2014.

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