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Graduate Section: Cartoons and the Egyptian Transition: A Qualitative Analysis of Egyptian Newspapers

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Abstract: Since the Egyptian revolution of 25 January, cartoonists have depicted the transition taking place in this country in several ways. This study aims to analyze the cartoons drawn about this transition period in Egypt in seven different Egyptian newspapers. This is done through a qualitative analysis of 80 cartoons published between 28 June and 4 July 2013, as this period saw the ousting of elected president Mohamed Morsi by the military general Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi. The study observes the different depiction of various topics, actors and visual frames used by the seven newspapers during the analyzed period, in accordance with their particular viewpoint of the transition in Egypt.

Keywords: Cartoons, Egypt, Visual Framing, Qualitative Analysis, Egyptian press, Mohamed Morsi

Introduction

After the revolution of the 25th of January 2011, Egypt has witnessed several political, economic and social crises – whether during the rule of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), or during the rule of the Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi, who is a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. During the period from 28 June until 4 July 2013, Egyptians lived through one of their most severe crises, because the society was completely polarized between supporters and opponents of the Egyptian president.

Throughout this period the so-called *Tamarod* or rebel movement intensified its call to demonstrate on 30 June, in order to withdraw confidence in the Egyptian president. On the other hand, the Muslim Brotherhood insisted on the legitimacy of the president and called its supporters to join sit-ins to defend the results of the presidential elections of 2012 that brought Mohamed Morsi to power.

After the huge demonstrations of 30 June, the Minister of Defense Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi gave the president and all the political parties 48 hours to solve the crisis.

He threatened that the Armed Forces would impose a so called road map and carry out several other procedures in co-operation with different political groups. The events escalated on several street and squares, with the sit-in of the president's supporters and opponents. On 3 July, the Minister of Defense declared the ousting of the Egyptian president, imposed a road map and suspended the constitution.

During this period, the Egyptian media played a significant role in polarizing Egyptians into either pro or anti-Morsi factions. Newspapers owned by Islamic groups supported Morsi, while private newspapers largely opposed Morsi. Governmental newspapers took an unclear stance. Newspapers made use of news stories, reports, interviews and articles to cover the events, but cartoons, in particular, were significantly used to express the newspapers' point of view towards this crisis. Cartoons also visually depict different players throughout the crisis in order to affect the readers' opinions.

Although cartoons give insight into public sentiment during historical moments, and play a vital role in constructing images (Cihasky 2013), studying cartoons published in newspapers has not received much attention from researchers. While the very first volume of *Public Opinion Quarterly* published in 1937 contained an article called "Cartoons", in the subsequent 45 years of its publication the journal only had two additional contributions on political cartoons. Scientific research on the character and influence of cartoons is marginal, at best. It can therefore be argued that it is time for a revival of the study of political cartoons in political science (Van Holsteyn 2007). In approaching these political cartoons, the visual framing analysis has been applied to include an analysis of the relationship between media and conflict. Researchers nowadays use framing research to analyze visuals such as images and cartoons, since cartoons especially transfer cultural and political stereotypes (Parry 2008).

Due to the shortage of studies examining political cartoons (especially in the Arab World), and based on the threefold importance of cartoons as a reflection of public opinion; a contribution to opinion formation; and even an influence on opinion itself, this paper examines the different ways Egyptian cartoonists covered one of the most significant and severe crises that Egypt has witnessed from the 28 June until 4 July 2013. The study applies qualitative content analysis as a tool of analysis and uses visual framing as a theoretical framework in order to analyze cartoons published in the daily Egyptian newspapers *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Akhbar*, *Al-Gomhuria*, *Almasry Alyoum*, *Al-Shorouk*, *Al-Dostor* and *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala*.

Goals of the study

This study aims to answer the following questions:

- 1- In relation to the crisis, what topics do cartoonists touch on in their drawings?
- 2- Who are the actors represented in the analyzed cartoons?
- 3- What are the visual frames used in the analyzed cartoons?

Literature review

Through an analysis of literature on the study of cartoons, I discovered that some studies were interested in finding a link between cartoons, visual framing and political crisis.

A number of studies were interested in the relationship between visual framing and political issues. In their study, Edwards & McDonald (2010) analyzed the image of American Public Opinion during the presidential election campaigns as presented in political cartoons. They discovered that the image of Americans in public polls was not realistic and not accurate. Cihasky (2013) analyzed the different ways that editorial cartoonists covered Democratic and Republican candidates in the 2008 presidential primaries, through examining editorial cartoons appearing in 20 newspapers. Grabe and Bucy (2008) conducted a content analysis of network news coverage of the 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 presidential elections focusing on the visual representation of candidates. Specifically, the visual manifestation of three major character frames—ideal candidate, populist campaigner, and sure loser—were tracked across candidates and election years. The study's findings suggested that the populist frame is a favorite among image handlers, but does not apply to all presidential candidates equally. In the Netherlands, Van Holsteyn (2007) presented an analysis of 250 political cartoons published during the election campaign of 2006.

In his study, Greenberg (2002) analyzed two cartoons illustrating the crisis of migrant waves in Canada and discussed the importance of cartoons in organizing, classifying and interpreting what people see or experience in a certain moment. Another study was conducted on cartoons as they relate to a time of crisis. A study about metaphors in editorial cartoons depicting the global financial crisis, analyzed twenty-five metaphors in thirty cartoons about the financial crisis of 2008 (Bounegru & Forceville 2011).

Other studies were concerned with Visual Framing Analysis as a theoretical perspective that tries to emphasize the importance of visual representation and introducing models, paradigms and tools to be applied in such studies. Coleman (2013), for example, argues that visual framing may actually matter more than verbal framing. In his study, he explored how visual images add to the framing of the news, and can also evolve into the realm of agenda-setting, in particular, the second level. The results showed that visuals can have an effect on agenda-setting. For example, the size of a photograph influences people's assessment of the significance of an issue, with larger photographs leading to perceptions of greater importance.

Dan & Ihlen (2011) asserted in their study, the need to develop an empirical model for analyzing both verbal and visual frames available in news reports. The study was applied to the issue of unemployment, in particular the way individuals living off benefits are portrayed verbally and visually in the online versions of leading tabloid newspapers in Germany, Romania and the UK. The results emphasized that analyzing a channel of communication in isolation – that is only visual or only

verbal communication – leads to a fairly simplified understanding of the media discourse. The study emphasized the importance of investing more in an integrative analysis of texts and visuals.

In their study, Luhtakallio & Lyytikäinen (2011) introduced a methodological application of Goffman's framing analysis to the study of visual representations. The application was demonstrated through an empirical comparative analysis of images collected between 2005 and 2007 from activist websites in Helsinki, Finland and Lyon, France. These images represented the activities of local social movements. The results showed that this methodological application enables a rigorous analysis of a large set of images, and a sensitive reading of visual frames, as well as the keying and frame switches in them. The study also concluded that visual frame analysis is a prominent tool for sociological interpretations of visual culture.

A large number of studies were interested in the visual framing of crises as presented in cartoons. Jackson and Giovanelli (2004) analyzed political cartoons published in the *Washington Post* newspaper that represented the ethnic and racial issues during three periods of crises: the civil war in America, the Second World War, and the civil rights movement. The results showed that the cartoons evaluated every crisis differently and presented each of these events in different ways.

Although most studies deal with Western media, there were a number of studies that analyzed Arabic newspapers, especially those from Egypt. Al Astl (2009) examined how the Palestinian issue is portrayed in Palestinian political cartoons, in order to analyze and determine what tools and strategies are applied by Palestinian cartoonists to engage on the topic. Fathy (2002a) examined the issue of corruption as put forward in the cartoons of the Egyptian newspapers *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Akhbar*, *Al-Ahrar*, *Al-Araby*, *Al-Esboa*, *Al-Ahaly*. This analysis aimed to explore the implications of these cartoons in alluding to the figures linked to corruption in Egyptian society. In another study, Fathy (2002b) examined the image of Egyptian government officials as depicted in cartoons published in *Al-Akhbar* and *Akhbar Al-Youm* newspapers. In his study, Abd El Samei (1983) traced the history of cartoons in the newspapers of the Arab world, particularly those of Egypt. After reviewing this literature, one notes the significant role played by political cartoons in representing political events and crises. The literature review was extremely useful in describing the importance of studying Arabic (and especially Egyptian) media, newspapers and cartoons, as there is clearly a lack of studies done on the Arabic press. The literature was also useful in formulating the methodology and the theoretical framework of this study, as well as the categories I will apply in the analysis.

Theoretical framework

The study uses the 'Visual Framing Approach' as a theoretical approach. Applying Entman's popular framing definition to visuals, Visual Framing can be conceptualized as the process of selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and highlighting them above other aspects. This involves the use of visual stimuli, in order to visually promote certain attributions, interpretations, or evaluations for the issue/item described (Geise et al. 2012, p. 6). Frames derive power when they carry specific, accepted, and shared meanings that stimulate related ideas or thoughts commonly held within a culture. Images tend to approximate reality and thus have the power to create stronger emotional and immediate cues. Moreover, visual frames apply various rhetorical devices or condensing symbols such as metaphors, catch phrases, and depictions that graphically evoke the core frame (De Guzman & Chen 2008, p. 6). Past studies suggest a key element in examining visual framing is the frequency of visual depictions. By repeating and reinforcing visual images that reference certain ideas while excluding others, frames convey thematically constant meanings, rendering those ideas more salient and memorable than others (Fahmy 2004, p. 2f.).

Methodology

The study uses qualitative content analysis as a tool to analyze a sample of 80 cartoons published in seven daily newspapers during the crisis of 30 June 2013. Weeklies and magazines were excluded from the analysis. The study starts on 28 June and ends on the 5 July 2013, after the speech given by the Minister of Defense, Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, in which he declared the ousting of the Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi and the suspension of the constitution. During this period, the Islamists' demonstrated to defend the legitimacy of Morsi on 28 June, while the *Tamarod* movement announced a call to demonstrate to withdraw confidence in the Egyptian president on 30 June. Several demonstrations, marches and sit-ins (whether by the Islamists or *Tamarod* movement) occurred in different places, while at the same time the Minister of Defense gave a 48-hour ultimatum to resolve the situation, or the Armed Forces will impose their own road map.

During the stipulated time frame, I conducted a pilot study on the Egyptian newspapers in which I collected *all* cartoons published in *all* Egyptian newspapers, whether related to Egypt or not. Then I filtered the ones relevant to my study under the theme "Egypt in transition" and divided these into subcategories according to their subject matter. For the second stage of the qualitative analysis, I determined the three most suitable categories for my research, based on a review of literature on cartoon analysis. These categories are: Visual depictions; actors presented; and, sarcasm and wordplay.

The sample of the study

I analyzed 80 cartoons published in seven of Egypt's daily newspapers. These newspapers are divided into governmental, Islamist partisan and private newspapers:

From the governmental newspapers: *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Akhbar*, *Al-Gomhuria*

From the Islamist partisan newspapers: *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala*,

From the private newspapers: *Al-Shorouk*, *Al-Masry Alyoum*, *Al-Dostor*

These newspapers were chosen because they represent various ownership patterns, whether governmental, partisan or private. They also represent different ideologies, as they include newspapers representing liberal and Islamist trends. Another reason for selecting these newspapers is because, of all the daily Egyptian newspapers, they are the ones that publish cartoons regularly by the most prominent and influential cartoonists in Egypt. They include Helmy El Toony and Bahrougy in *Al-Ahram*, Mostafa Hussein in *Al-Akhbar*, and Amro Selim in *Al-Shorouk*.

Findings of the Cartoon Analysis

Table 1: Number of cartoons published in newspapers

	Name of the newspaper	No. of Cartoons	%
Governmental newspapers	Al-Ahram	15	18
	Al-Akhbar	10	13
	Al-Gomhuria	3	4
Partisan newspapers	Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala	6	8
Private newspapers	Almasry Alyoum	15	18
	Al-Shorouk	24	30
	Al-Dostor	7	9
Total		80	100

In Table (1) the numbers of cartoons published in governmental, partisan and private newspapers are shown. The analysis is of 80 cartoons drawn by different cartoonists published in these newspapers. From the 80 cartoons only 60 cartoons were analyzed as the other 20 cartoons were not directly related to the crisis. The results show that *Al-Shorouk* published the largest number of cartoons (30%) during the week of analysis, followed by *Al-Ahram* and *Almasry Alyoum* both with 18% of the total published cartoons. *Al-Gomhuria* only published 3 cartoons during the week of study, and therefore is placed last.

Table 2: Most important topics referred to in cartoons

		Governmental newspapers			Partisan newspaper	Private newspapers		
		Al-Ahram	Al-Akhbar	Al-Gom-huria	Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala	Almas-ry Al-youm	Al-Sho-rouk	Al-Dos-tor
A)	Morsi's inability to rule		2			9	6	3
B)	Military intervention in the crisis	4	2				1	2
C)	Will of Egyptians on 30 June	8	5	1	4	4	1	1
	Others	2		2	2		1	

A) Morsi's inability to rule**Cartoon (1)**¹**Cartoon (2)**²

I have analyzed each of the main points of interest depicted in the cartoons according to the three categories 1) visual depictions, 2) actors presented, and 3) wordplay and sarcasm.

A1) Visual Depictions: A large number of cartoons depicted the transition in Egypt by focusing on the crisis of the presidency and the problems Morsi has in ruling Egypt. The private newspapers, in particular, criticized Morsi's performance as president, and his inability to help Egypt overcome its state of crisis. *Al-Dostor*, for example, portrayed him as a man with too wide a suit, who cannot take the responsibility to rule Egypt effectively (Cartoon 2).³ Another cartoon looks at Morsi's failure in instigate a national dialogue with other politicians. Instead, he sits alone in the dialogue talking to himself.⁴

The cartoons suggested Morsi's ineffective leadership by depicting Egyptians sitting in front of the television just waiting for him to resign.⁵ This is shown by

¹ Almasry Alyoum, 3 July 2013, p.6.

² Al-Dostor, 1 July 2013, p.10.

³ Al-Dostor, 1 July 2013, p.10.

⁴ Almasry Alyoum, 29 June 2013, p.6.

⁵ Almasry Alyoum, 29 June 2013, p.9.

comparing him to a bad tooth that needs to be pulled and thereby eliminated from the mouth of Egypt⁶; or to a can of bad meat that a woman wants to return to the supermarket even though it is still valid for four years⁷. In another cartoon, *Al-Shorouk* calls Morsi a “loser” who Muslims and Christians have asked to step-down,⁸ while in another cartoon he was portrayed as a king who was slapped and now had the finger imprints still marked on his face⁹.

Cartoons also focused on him either fooling the Egyptians, or making a fool of himself and the cabinet. In one cartoon he is shown to organize a meeting on air without informing the participants¹⁰, and in another he is shown to mention the names of all of his enemies in a speech to the nation¹¹.

Some cartoons also focused on his failure to ensure a stable economy and how his ousting has caused the stock market to rise. In *Al-Shorouk* it is suggested that Morsi and the stock market are not a good match because when he left the stock market rose¹².

Some other cartoons also suggested that Morsi is imitating Mubarak by depicting him as wearing the mask of Mubarak while giving his last speech.¹³ In Cartoon (1) his image is the inverse of Mubarak’s image. The text reads that he is “Elmakhlou” Number 2*¹⁴. In a third cartoon, Mubarak advises Morsi not to repeat his mistakes¹⁵.

Not only was Morsi’s failure as leader brought up in the cartoons, but also the failure of both his supporters and the Islamists. *Almasry Alyoum*, for example, criticized Morsi’s supporters because of their claim that they are a strong and powerful faction that has spread all over Egypt, while in reality they had only minor influences as a small group¹⁶. In another cartoon, Morsi supporters are shown as not being able to leave their homes because they are afraid of 30 June demonstrations¹⁷. In *Al-Akhbar*, the Muslim Brotherhood was pictured as trying to divide a unified Egypt¹⁸. Another cartoon portrayed all of Morsi’s supporters to have abandoned him after seeing the large crowd on 30 June. These supporters who eventually became his enemies are shown in this cartoon as the U.S.A, Europe, as well as his followers and ministers¹⁹. The previous prime minister, Hisham Kandil, assured people that Morsi would remain president after 30 June, which showed that he did not believe that Morsi would be overthrown following

6 Almasry Alyoum, 3 July 2013, p.6.

7 Al-Shorouk, 2 July 2013, p. 11.

8 Al-Shorouk, 4 July 2013, p.16.

9 Almasry Alyoum, 2 July 2013, p.6.

10 Al-Dostor, 2 July 2013, p.10.

11 Almasry Alyoum, 28 June 2013, p.6.

12 Al-Shorouk, 1 July 2013, p.12.

13 Al-Dostor, 28 June 2013, p.10.

*An Egyptian term meaning ‘the ousted president’ that was used for the first time after the 25 January Revolution to refer to Egyptian president Mohamed Hosni Mubarak. It was again used after the removal of Mohamed Morsi.

14 Almasry Alyoum, 3 July 2013, p.6.

15 Al-Shorouk, 1 July 2013, p.16.

16 Almasry Alyoum, 2 July 2013, p.6.

17 Almasry Alyoum, 1 July 2013, p.6.

18 Al-Akhbar, 1 July 2013, p.20.

19 Al-Shorouk, 2 July 2013, p.16.

the demonstrations.²⁰

A2) Actors Presented: The cartoons I studied focused on prominent persons, most notably political actors. Several symbols, metaphors and descriptions were used in relation to these actors. I will explore who the actors in the cartoons were and how they relate to Morsi in particular and how they were presented. I will also draw on the symbols used to depict these actors, as well as the point of view of the cartoonists with regard to the actors.

Former President Mohamed Morsi: Mohamed Morsi was depicted in the cartoons in several ways: As a fat man (see Cartoon 2); a copy of Mubarak (see Cartoon 1); a man who is drowning; a king with a crown; and a foolish person. In other cartoons he is portrayed as a tooth; a picture hanging on the wall; and a can of beef. The analysis has shown that the private newspapers in general mocked the president and used lots of symbols to criticize him. Governmental newspapers like *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Gomhuria*, on the other hand, did not publish any cartoons about the president as person, but rather depicted Egypt or the Egyptian people on the whole (except for one cartoon in *Al-Akhbar* in which the president was indirectly criticized through the portrayal of criticism by the Muslim Brotherhood). The most interesting to note, was that *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala* – the newspaper owned by the Muslim Brotherhood's political party – did not draw any cartoons portraying the president.

The most common way cartoonists depicted Morsi, was as a fat man who wears glasses and has a beard. In a cartoon published in *Al-Dostor*, Morsi also wears a hat and an oversized suit, to symbolize that ruling Egypt is a much bigger task than Morsi is capable of (see Cartoon 1)²¹. Another cartoon, in which Morsi is similarly illustrated as fat with glasses and a beard, shows how scared he is of an impending disaster on 30 June²². Morsi is drawn as a fat guy in yet another cartoon, but this time he is carried by a fat lady who symbolizes the military's role in helping to overthrow him, saving Egypt from aggression²³.

Morsi, in some other cartoons, is compared to former president Hosni Mubarak (see Cartoon1). In one example, he holds a mask of Mubarak in front of his face and hides behind it while giving a speech²⁴. In another Morsi and Mubarak are reflections of each other²⁵, while in a third one, Mubarak watches Morsi on TV and recalls how he said exactly the same things as Morsi in his own speeches²⁶.

Cartoonists have also depicted Morsi as a king. In one, he wears a crown and sits at an empty table with empty chairs which implies that all other political actors have refused to join the dialogue he called for ²⁷. In another, he sits on a throne that is

²⁰ Al-Akhbar, 3 July 2013, p.20.

²¹ Al-Dostor, 1 July 2013, p.10.

²² Al-Dostor, 3 July 2013, p.10.

²³ Al-Dostor, 4 July 2013, p.10.

²⁴ Al-Dostor, 28 June 2013, p.10.

²⁵ Almasry Alyoum 3 July 2013, p.6.

²⁶ Al-Shorouk, 1 July 2013, p.16.

²⁷ Almasry Alyoum, 28 June 2013, p.9.

way too high while he is too small for the chair.²⁸ In another one, Morsi is slapped in the face while wearing his crown and sweating profusely²⁹. In the last cartoon, he is called “King Richard The Lionheart of the Sheep” because all his supporters have abandoned him³⁰.

Several other symbols were used in the analyzed cartoons to talk about Morsi. For example, he was depicted as a laughing clown who fools Egyptians, while making a fool of himself too³¹, and as a bad tooth that needs to be extracted from the mouth of Egypt³².

Islamists: The Islamists were criticized by the private newspapers and were depicted in several ways. Once, as a fat man with a beard who wears the Islamic ‘Galabeya’, and holding sugar and oil that says: *Tagarod*³³. In another instance, they are depicted as a food can on which the slogan of the Muslim Brotherhood is written. In another cartoon, ³⁴as a tiny man who shouts: “Power, Will and Faith. Morsi Supporters are Everywhere”³⁵. In a cartoon published in *Almasry Alyoum*, Islamists were compared to naked men with no brains. They are thrown in a basket and brainwashed in order to support Morsi and agree on *Tagarod*³⁶.

A3) Word Play and Sarcasm: The cartoonists did not only use images and visual devices to symbolize Morsi’s incapability to rule, but also words and phrases to create sarcasm and irony. Here are some examples of these word plays:

- Morsi says: “The suit is too big on me” (see cartoon 2)³⁷ which suggests that he is unable to handle the responsibility of ruling the country.
- Morsi holds a “classified, or secret meeting”, yet he announces/conducts it live on TV³⁸, which shows that he is betraying the participants of the meeting.
- A very poor man asks: “The president didn’t mention me in his speech. Why not?”³⁹. He refers to Morsi’s mentioning of lots of names of Egyptians in his speech in order to mock/make fun of them.
- “We spread the bad luck around the world, not only around Egypt”⁴⁰ refers to the rise of all stock markets around the world once Morsi was ousted, which fell while he was in charge. This line was delivered in response to the Muslim Brotherhood slogan: “We carry the good for Egypt”.
- “King Mina united Egypt because he was loyal to Egypt, guess who wants to

28 Almasry Alyoum, 30 June 2013, p.6.

29 Almasry Alyoum, 2 July 2013, p.6.

30 Al-Shorouk, 2 July 2013, p.16.

31 Al-Dostor, 2 July 2013, p.10.

32 Almasry Alyoum, 3 July 2013, p.6

* A campaign launched in May 2013 by the supporters of the president in order to face *Tamarod* by collecting signatures from Egyptians in support of the legitimacy of the elected president.

33 Al-Dostor, 30 June 2013, p.10.

34 Almasry Alyoum, 30 June 2013, p.6.

35 Almasry Alyoum, 2 July 2013, p.6.

36 Almasry Alyoum, 28 June 2013, p.15.

37 Al-Dostor, 1 July 2013, p.10.

38 Al-Dostor, 2 July 2013, p.10.

39 Almasry Alyoum, 28 June 2013, p.6.

40 Al-Shorouk, 4 July 2013, p.11.

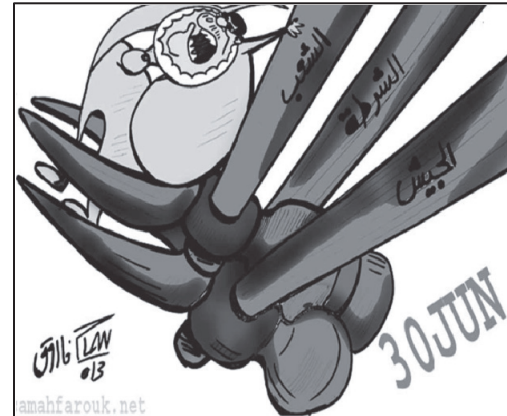
divide it”⁴¹ refers to the Muslim Brotherhood’s attempts to divide Egypt.

- Morsi watches his own speech on TV and asks himself: “What did I say?”⁴² This suggests that Morsi needs to rethink his speech to the Egyptian people, because of its shallowness and stupidity.

B) Military intervention in the crisis



Cartoon (3)⁴³



Cartoon (4)⁴⁴

B1) Visual Depictions: Some cartoons published in the newspapers implied that either the Minister of Defense, Abdel Fatah Al-Sisi, or the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) saved the Egyptian people from Morsi⁴⁵. *Al-Ahram*, for example, insinuated that the military decision to interfere in the crisis has saved the “ship” of Egypt from sinking.⁴⁶ Another cartoon in the same newspaper showed the Egyptians saluting the military for the role it played after 30 June⁴⁷. *Al-Shorouk* (cartoon 3) even published the words 30 June as ‘wearing’ the cap of the military on the last letter, as a symbol of the success of the demonstrations due to the military intervention⁴⁸. In another cartoon, the military is shown as a genie in a bottle who responded to Egyptians when they needed him⁴⁹.

Lots of cartoons mentioned the words “Military and the People are One Hand” to indicate that there is an agreement between the public's will and the speech made by Al-Sisi in which he threatened to overthrow Morsi. Another cartoon implied that Egypt was liberated from Morsi’s rule thanks to the police, the military and the people (see cartoon 4)⁵⁰. The military is also pictured as a bird that flies alongside other birds of peace over Egypt. The protesters salute them⁵¹.

41 Al-Akhbar, 4 July 2013, p.20

42 Al-Akhbar, 3 July 2013, p.20.

43 Al-Shorouk, 3 July 2013, p.16.

44 Al-Dostor, 5 July 2013, p.10.

45 Al-Dostor, 5 July 2013, p.10.

46 Al-Ahram, 3 July 2013, p.9.

47 Al-Ahram, 4 July 2013, p.9.

48 Al-Shorouk, 3 July 2013, p.16.

49 Al-Akhbar, 2 July 2013, p.20.

50 Al-Dostor, 5 July 2013, p.10.

51 Al-Ahram, 3 July 2013, p.15.

B2) Actors Presented:

Military: In these cartoons, lots of symbols were used to represent the military, especially in governmental and private newspapers. The military is – according to the cartoons – the Egyptian savior who displayed courage in saving Egypt from an unknown destiny under Morsi. The Muslim Brotherhood-owned *Al-Horeya wa-l-Alada* newspaper did not mention the military in any of its cartoons. The main images used to depict the military are a fat woman, an eagle or bird, a soldier, a life jacket, a pincer (see cartoon 4), a strong man, and a soldier's cap (as in cartoon 3). In the following lines, I explain every symbol in detail. In one of the cartoons, for example, the military is drawn as a fat mother-in-law who saves her daughter from the daughter's husband (the military as a strong liberator of the country)⁵². In another, the military is a pincer that cuts Morsi off.⁵³ The most common symbol used in the cartoons to symbolize the military, was a bird or an eagle. In different examples it either flies with other birds while protesters salute them⁵⁴, or closely resembles a airplane flying in the sky as it saves a ship (symbolic of Egypt as country) from sinking⁵⁵. At other times, the military is drawn as a life jacket that is floating in the sea and saves the 'ship' that is Egypt⁵⁶, or as a strong athlete who lifts Egyptians up on his shoulders to form the words "Long Live Egypt"⁵⁷. It is also depicted as a green cap that is worn by the word "30 June"⁵⁸.

Police: It is only *Al-Dostor* that published a cartoon of the police force. In this cartoon, the police is depicted as one pincer which, in cooperation with the military and the people, brought an end to Morsi's rule (see Cartoon 4)⁵⁹.

B3) Word Play and Sarcasm: The military intervention was obvious in some cartoons, not only through visuals but also through words:

- A woman says to her mother: "I cannot deal with my husband. A Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam separates us". This alludes to the growing tension between Morsi and the Egyptian citizens, and also to Morsi's failure to solve the predicament with Ethiopia over the building of a dam on the river Nile. However, what is most important is that the woman (symbol for Egypt) asks her mother (the military) to save her from her husband (Morsi).⁶⁰
- Egyptians say: "When I rub the lamp, I get a genie". This refers to military's immediate response to the people's will to have Morsi removed. On 30 June they issued a statement saying that Morsi will be ousted.⁶¹

⁵² Al-Dostor, 4 July 2013, p.10.

⁵³ Al-Dostor, 5 July 2013, p.10.

⁵⁴ Al-Ahram, 3 July 2013, p.15.

⁵⁵ Al-Ahram, 3 July 2013, p.9.

⁵⁶ Al-Ahram, 3 July 2013, p.9.

⁵⁷ Al-Gomhuria, 4 July 2013, p.14.

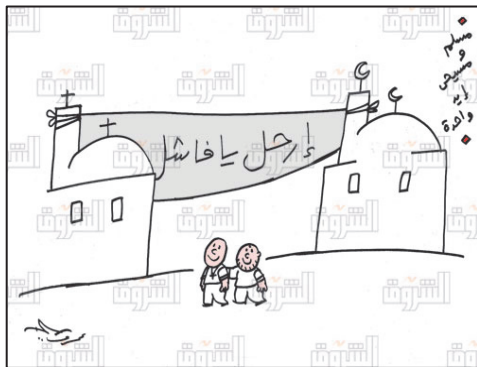
⁵⁸ Al-Shorouk, 3 July 2013, p.16.

⁵⁹ Al-Dostor, 5 July 2013, p.10.

⁶⁰ Al-Dostor, 4 July 2013, p.10.

⁶¹ Al-Akhbar, 2 July 2013, p.20.

C) The Will of the Egyptian People



Cartoon (5) ⁶²



Cartoon (6) ⁶³

C1) Visual Depictions: Cartoons that observed the will of the Egyptian people, focused mainly on the unity among Egyptians, and the public agreement to end Morsi's regime. A large number of cartoons depicted Egyptians as unified under one flag that says, "Go, Loser!" (see Cartoon 5). In this cartoon, the Egyptians are surrounded by pyramids, churches, mosques and palms.⁶⁴ In another cartoon published in *Al-Ahram*, people are shown to build a pyramid with their bodies and hoist the country's flag⁶⁵ because Egyptians cannot take the mistakes of the regime anymore and will explode⁶⁶.

Some other cartoons focused especially on the will of all Egyptians to participate in the demonstrations of 30 June. They sing, "If the People one day want Life, Faith must respond"⁶⁷ and hold a red card to Morsi's face so that he may quit ruling Egypt. ⁶⁸ *Al-Akhbar* published a cartoon in which it compared the will of the people to a huge wave that is about to swallow Morsi and the implied illegitimacy of the elections (or, the voting box)⁶⁹. In another cartoon, the expiry date of the canned Muslim Brotherhood is the 30 June, which indicates that their organization will come to an end that day⁷⁰. The will of Egyptians was also depicted in a cartoon in *Al-Gomhuria* as a giant man and an athlete who firmly hold(s) up the words "Long Live Egypt"⁷¹.

Contrary to what was previously mentioned, the Muslim Brotherhood-owned *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala* had special coverage on the will of the people. It suggested that Mubarak and the old regime are behind the demonstrations of 30 June, and that these demonstrations are not supported by the people⁷². According to the same newspaper, the old regime shoots 'Egypt' in the heart with an arrow, and she

⁶² Al-Shorouk, 4 July 2013, p.12

⁶³ Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 1 July 2013, p.13.

⁶⁴ Al-Ahram, 1 July 2013, p.9.

⁶⁵ Al-Ahram, 4 July 2013, p.15

⁶⁶ Al-Akhbar, 1 July 2013, p.20.

⁶⁷ Al-Ahram, 3 July 2013, p.3.

⁶⁸ Al-Shorouk, 30 June 2013, p.12.

⁶⁹ Al-Akhbar, 30 June 2013, p.20.

⁷⁰ Almasry Alyoum, 30 June 2013, p.6.

⁷¹ Al-Gomhuria, 4 July 2013, p.14

⁷² Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 1 July 2013, p.9.

begins to cries (see Cartoon 6)⁷³. It is this old regime that throws Mubarak a life jacket to save him from drowning⁷⁴. Another cartoon showed all Egyptians as unified against terror, killing and participating in underground violent organizations, such as the "Black Block"⁷⁵. In the same newspaper, a cartoon portrays an agreement that all Egyptians suffer at the hands of the media, because it spreads rumors, violence and hate speech.⁷⁶

C2) Actors Represented:

Egypt: When drawing about the will of the Egyptians and their ability to change the country, lots of symbolic images are used and Egypt is often drawn as an actor in these cartoons. Egypt is most often depicted as a woman by cartoonists (a portrayal of the so-called 'mother of the world', or the country that gave birth to the world's civilization – "Um el Dunya" in Arabic). Usually, this metaphor is depicted as a middle-aged Egyptian woman with a black veil, who wears a traditional *galabeya* dress. In one cartoon, she also wears the cross (sign of Christianity) and the moon (sign of Islam), and is praying for protection for Egypt.⁷⁷ In another cartoon, this woman walks proudly over a bridge that crosses the sea. The tumultuous waves below represent the revolution that she is triumphing over⁷⁸. This woman also talks happily on the phone because of the Egyptian participation in the demonstrations of 30 June,⁷⁹ or is shown looking down from her balcony at the demonstrators, filled with admiration and worry⁸⁰. Egypt is also dressed in a *galabeya* with a painting of the pyramids on it. She points to the demonstrators exclaiming "People are One Hand" (unified).⁸¹ In another cartoon, she is crying because she has been shot in the heart by a bow and arrow (see Cartoon 6)⁸². Some Pharaonic elements were also brought up when describing Egypt, such as a pharaonic queen of the pyramids, and the Sphinx. Egypt is also depicted as a ship that is about to sink in a deep sea⁸³.

Opposition: When drawing about the will of Egyptians, the opposition and oppositional groups and parties were mentioned a lot. The opposition was usually depicted as a young man who sometimes wears a cap on his head (the cap refers to the young generation and the young opposition groups)⁸⁴. In other cartoons the opposition is shown wearing old clothes and holding a paper that says *Tamarod* (which means that, although people are poor, they still protest to see the fall of the regime)⁸⁵. The opposition is also shown to be talking about the expiry date of the

73 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 1 July 2013, p.13.

74 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 4 July 2013, p.9.

75 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 28 June 2013, p.14.

76 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 30 June 2013, p.14.

77 Al-Ahram, 30 June 2013, p.3.

78 Al-Ahram, 2 July 2013, p.9.

79 Al-Akhbar, 1 July 2013, p.20.

80 Al-Ahram, 1 July 2013, p.8.

81 Al-Ahram, 1 July 2013, p.10.

82 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 1 July 2013, p.13.

83 Al-Ahram, 3 July 2013, p.9.

84 Al-Dostor, 1 July 2013, p.10.

85 Al-Dostor, 30 June 2013, p.10.

Muslim Brotherhood on the 30 June⁸⁶. Sometimes the opposition was depicted as a happy man because of the military declaration to get involved in the Egyptian crisis, and stand for the want of the people⁸⁷. The opposition is also seen asking people to sign for the petition of *Tamarod*,⁸⁸ or holding a banner that says “Leave or Get Out”⁸⁹. In other cartoons no human figures are drawn: in one, a voice calls people to “participate in the demonstrations” against Morsi⁹⁰, while another shows the red finger marks that hit the face of the king⁹¹. In another cartoon published in *Al-Akhbar*, a couple in love began to struggle and argue as indication reference to the worsening relationship between the opposition and the president⁹².

Other actors: Some actors were only mentioned in *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala*. This includes the **Black Block** underground organization, who the newspaper criticized for their use of violence.⁹³ The **Egyptian Media** was described as the spreader of weapons and rockets, rumors and lies.⁹⁴ The newspaper also mentioned in a cartoon that **Mubarak and the old regime** were behind *Tamarod*⁹⁵, as well as the arrow in Egypt’s heart⁹⁶, and the life jacket that saves Mubarak from drowning⁹⁷.

C3) Word Play and Sarcasm: Wordplay and sarcasm were heavily used in the cartoons that depicted the will of the Egyptians. Some examples include:

- The Orabi revolution, the 1919 revolution, the 23 July revolution, and the 25 January revolution keep Egypt young⁹⁸ (suggests that a country whose people revolt is on the right track and moving forward)
- A singer, sitting next to the pyramids says, “If one day, a people desires to live, then fate will answer their call. And their night will then begin to fade, and their chains break and fall”⁹⁹ (this indicates that revolutions do away with restrictions and break down limitations).
- An Egyptian citizen says, “It is enough. I am about to explode”¹⁰⁰ (this indicates that Egyptians are about to explode because they cannot take any more of Morsi and his regime).

From the elements discussed above, seven visual frames can be identified that are dominant in newspaper coverage from this time period.

86 Almasry Alyoum , 30 June 2013, p.6.

87 Al-Akhbar, 4 July 2013, p.20.

88 Almasry Alyoum, 28 June 2013, p.15.

89 Al-Dostor, 3 July 2013, p.10.

90 Almasry Alyoum, 30 June 2013, p.6.

91 Almasry Alyoum, 2 July 2013, p.6.

92 Al-Akhbar, 2 July 2013 , p. 20.

93 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 28 June 2013, p.14.

94 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 30 June 2013, p.14.

95 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 1 July 2013, p.9.

96 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 1 July 2013, p.13.

97 Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 4 July 2013, p.9.

98 Al-Ahram, 2 July 2013, p.9.

99 Al-Ahram, 3 July 2013, p.3.

100 Al-Akhbar, 30 June 2013 , p.20.

Visual Frames Used in the Analyzed Cartoons

Table 3: Visual Frames in the Analyzed Cartoons

	Government newspapers			Partisan newspapers	Private newspapers			Total
Frame	Al-Ahram	Al-Akhbar	Al-Gomhuria	Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala	Almasry Alyoum	Al-Shorouk	Al-Dostor	
Conflict		2	3	1	5	6	4	21
General interest	2			1		3	1	7
Betrayal		1		3		4	3	11
Threat	3			1	6	2	1	13
Call for Help		3					2	5
Unity	6	2				3	1	12
Failure		1			2	1		4

Conflict:

Lots of cartoons (21 cartoons) framed the crisis in Egypt as a conflict between the president and the opposition; or generalized the people as a coherent unit by referring to them as 'Egyptians'. In a very obvious example of conflict, the opposition (as a huge man) mocks the Muslim Brotherhood (a very small man) as the little man shouts, "We are Strong, We are Everywhere"¹⁰¹. Morsi sits at an empty table after the opposition refused to participate in his national dialogue¹⁰². In a cartoon published in *Al-Dostor*, the conflict between the president, on the one side, and the military, police and people, on the other, was depicted as being very intense and divisive¹⁰³. Some other cartoons pointed to the conflict between Morsi supporters (rich Islamists and who led a campaign called *Tagarod*) and the opponents of *Tamarod*, who are liberal and poor¹⁰⁴. In contrary to these newspapers, *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala* focused on the conflict between the old regime and the 'new' Egypt; and terrorism against Egypt¹⁰⁵.

Unity:

The way in which the Egyptian people were unified and working together on 30 June, was clearly framed in a large number of cartoons (12 cartoons). The military, police and people are seen to be opposed to Morsi as all types of Egyptians stand unified under the Egyptian flag and all hold hands: old and young, women and men, Muslims and Christians. They all held a red card to Morsi's face to get him off of the playing field¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰¹ Almasry Alyoum, 2 July 2013, p.6.

¹⁰² Almasry Alyoum, 29 June 2013, p.6.

¹⁰³ Al-Dostor, 5 July 2013, p.10.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Dostor, 30 June 2013, p.10.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 28 June 2013, p.14.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Shorouk, 30 June 2013, p.12.

General interest:

Newspapers were also keen to focus on the people's general interest and advantages that resulted from the demonstrations of 30 June. *Al-Shorouk* for example published two cartoons in which it describes the fall of Morsi as having led to a rise in the stock market¹⁰⁷. While *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala* suggested that all Egyptians hold a red card in the face of terrorism, and the underground organization Black Block.¹⁰⁸

Betrayal:

Several cartoons (11 cartoons) in governmental and private newspapers focused on both Morsi's and the Islamists' (especially the Muslim Brotherhood) betrayal of Egypt and the Egyptian people. One example is the depiction of an off-the-record meeting with the opposition that is broadcast live on TV. This public broadcast of the meeting was seen as a betrayal on Morsi's behalf of the opposition¹⁰⁹. Another cartoon shows the Islamists paying money and offering oil and sugar (symbol for food) to the people, in order to gain more supporters for Morsi¹¹⁰. It is also implied that the Islamists plan to divide Egypt into two parts and betray the Egyptian history and culture¹¹¹. On the contrary, the *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala* newspaper depicted in its cartoons that it is the old Mubarak regime that is betraying Egyptians and pretending to work for the good of people. This newspaper also believes *Tamarod* will destroy legitimacy and shoot Egypt in the heart¹¹².

Threat:

Cartoonists added special focus to the threat Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood were to Egypt. Morsi was depicted as a bad 'tooth' in Egypt's 'mouth' that needs to be eliminated¹¹³, and that he is dumb like Mubarak¹¹⁴. Other cartoons framed the opposition's fear of Morsi through their call to demonstrate on 30 June¹¹⁵; and the fact that the opposition firmly slaps him in the face.¹¹⁶ A cartoon published in *Al-Ahram*, mentioned the Egyptians' worry that their country could one day lose its identity and be transformed into a more extremist and violent culture¹¹⁷. It was suggested that Egypt will fall off the 'bridge' into 'waves of the sea' if no revolution occurs.¹¹⁸ *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala* newspaper was the only newspaper that mentioned the threat Mubarak and the old regime were to the 25 January revolution, because of their support for *Tamarod* and their pretence that 30 June was a second wave of the revolution.¹¹⁹

¹⁰⁷ Al-Shorouk, 1 July 2013, p.12.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 28 June 2013, p.14.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Dostor, 3 July 2013, p.10.

¹¹⁰ Al-Dostor, 30 June 2013, p.10.

¹¹¹ Al-Akhbar, 30 June 2013, p.20.

¹¹² Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 1 July 2013, p.13.

¹¹³ Almasry Alyoum, 3 July 2013, 3 July 2013, p.6.

¹¹⁴ Almasry Alyoum, 5 July 2013, p.6.

¹¹⁵ Al-Dostor, 3 July 2013, p.10.

¹¹⁶ Almasry Alyoum, 2 July 2013, p.6.

¹¹⁷ Al-Ahram, 29 June 2013, p.12.

¹¹⁸ Al-Ahram, 2 July 2013, p.9.

¹¹⁹ Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala, 1 July 2013, p.9.

Call for Help:

Several cartoons focused on how Egyptians addressed the military by asking it to save Egypt from Morsi's rule, and metaphorically-speaking, save it from 'sinking'¹²⁰. The military responded by sending a 'life jacket' to save the Egyptians.¹²¹

Failure:

Another cartoon discussed how Morsi failed to address the people in his speech while making a fool of himself when mentioning the names of every individual he thought to be responsible for Egypt's downfall.^{*122} He also made the situation so complicated, that he forced the Egyptians to wait for him to resign.¹²³ Another cartoon that deliberately framed Morsi's failure, was one that showed him drowning in the sea while holding up a piece of paper saying, "The Legitimacy of the Elections". This implied that he was not convinced by "the Legitimacy of the People".¹²⁴

Conclusion

This study has shown the many differences in the images of Egypt depicted in various newspapers during the crisis of 30 June. *Al-Hurriya wa-l-Adala*, the voice of the Muslim Brotherhood and the ruling party at that time, had a totally different stance compared to the Egyptian governmental and private newspapers. One can thus conclude that the ownership of the newspaper affects its predisposition and bias in relation to the Egyptian crisis. Cartoonists hired by the newspapers always present the stand point and opinion of the newspaper, and use their cartoons to further this opinion. One cannot deny that government newspapers, such as *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Akhbar*, did not welcome the demonstrations of 30 June, and cartoonists in these newspapers carefully depicted the worries and fears surrounding these demonstration. However, following the success of the demonstrations they totally changed their approach, and became avid supporters of the demonstrations. Private oppositional newspapers, on the other hand, showed support from the very beginning. They were calling Egyptians to participate in the rebellion against the ruling regime, the ruling party and the president, and made it clear how pleased they were with the success of the demonstrations of 30 June. Further research should be conducted on the content of Egyptian newspapers during this time, such as news frames and cover pages, as well as news articles written to explain the different strategies in dealing with this crisis.

¹²⁰ Al-Dostor, 4 July 2013, p.10.

¹²¹ Al-Akhbar, 4 July 2013 p.20.

* On 26 June, Mohamed Morsi made a speech in which he talked about the problems that Egypt is facing. In this speech he mentioned the people by name who he thought were responsible for all these problems, and accused them of being part of Mubarak's regime.

¹²² Almasry Alyoum, 28 June 2013, p.6.

¹²³ Almasry Alyoum, 29 June 2013, p.6.

¹²⁴ Al- Akhbar, 4 July 2013, p.20.

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