Egypt's Image in the American Media: A Content Analysis of the New York Times' Coverage of Egypt

Mahmoud Abd Elraouf Kamel

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EGYPT'S IMAGE IN THE AMERICAN MEDIA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES' COVERAGE OF EGYPT

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Science
Major in Journalism and Mass Communication
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1984
EGYPT'S IMAGE IN THE AMERICAN MEDIA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES' COVERAGE OF EGYPT

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Science, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Richard W. Lee, Ph.D. Thesis and Major Adviser

Date

Richard W. Lee, Ph.D. Head, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication

Date
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Mahmoud Kamel
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It seems to the unfamiliar with the Arab world that all Arab countries are the same. Actually this is true to some extent. The Arab countries speak the same language, Arabic; have the same dominant religion, Islam; share the same geographical boundaries; have the same cultural and historical backgrounds; and share the same future as developing countries. The American media, and probably European media, are used, in many cases, to stereotype the Arab countries as one whole.¹

Nevertheless, the Arab countries vary one from another in many characteristics such as natural resources, kind of rule, literacy rate and population density and growth.

Egypt is one of these Arab countries. It was the leader of the Arab nations in the Arab-Israeli conflict, especially before the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979. No other Arab country has, or is even close to, the now 45 million population of Egypt. That population is growing at the rate of one million yearly. Also, no other Arab country, after the Palestinians, of course, has suffered from wars with Israel and from
crusades for Arab unity and against imperialism like Egypt.

John Waterbury wrote:

For most well-informed readers the image of Egypt is associated with Israel, then with crusades for Arab unity and clashes with the West over issues of imperialism and Great Power alignment. Many Egyptians at the highest levels share the sense that these are the priority issues. Yet these are, in fact, the surface manifestations of far more profound crises in the country's approach to development.

Statement of the Problem and Purpose of the Study

This study is an attempt to answer the following questions:

How do the American media present the image of Egypt as a country and a nation?

Does this image vary with changes in the American-Egyptian relations? For example, if these relations are bad, Egypt's image presented by the American media would be a bad one and if these relations are good, Egypt's image would be a good one. The New York Times is chosen as a representative of the American media. However, conclusions of this study do not necessarily apply to the other American media.

This study is an attempt to answer these questions using the content analysis technique. A selected sample of The New York Times during two different periods of the
American-Egyptian relations will be content-analyzed. The first period is the years 1967, 1968 and 1969 when there was no diplomatic representation between America and Egypt. The years 1977, 1978 and 1979 constitute the second period which is characterized by good relations between the two countries.

Content analysis is not just studying the message per se, rather it is content analyzing the message in connection with the environments that produced it. For example, in this study the researcher's preoccupation is with larger questions and effects of the communication process. He is examining relations between two major variables—communications messages about Egypt and political relations between America and Egypt. The first is the dependent variable and the second is the independent one. In other words, the author is studying The New York Times' coverage of Egypt with respect to the political environments of the United States and Egypt.

Importance of the Study

Egypt, Arabs and Israel are the focal point of studies about the contemporary Middle East. Themes such as "The Middle East Crisis," "The Arab-Israeli Conflict," "The Palestinian Rights" and "The Islamic Religion" are included in these studies. Studies about American-Egyptian relations are very often conducted within the
context of these themes, specifically, the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The United States supports Israel as its national interest base against the Russian presence in the Middle East and because of the American Jewish voters' influence on the American foreign policy towards the Arabs. The Egyptians and the Arabs believe that the Palestinians' right in their home-land Palestine, which is now occupied by Israel, should be resolved in order to restore peace in the Middle East. However, neither the United States nor Israel is willing to see that.

During the last three decades, four wars have been fought between the Arabs and Israel. Egypt was directly involved in these wars. Also, many major events took place in Egypt such as the rise and fall of the Russian presence, death of the Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1970, President Anwar El-Sadat's peace initiative and visit to Israel in 1977, the Camp David peace agreement between Egypt and Israel in 1979 (with major contribution of the United States) and Sadat's assassination in 1981.

These major Egyptian and Middle Eastern events were covered by the American mass communications media. The Egyptians believe that the American media are, like the United States policy-makers, subject to the Jewish influence. The Egyptians claim that the United States
press is biased in its coverage of Egypt in favor of America and Israel's interests.

Former American President Jimmy Carter, describing his stand from the Arab-Israeli conflict before being in office, wrote:

Israel's relatively small size and the number of her adversaries [Arabs including Egypt] aroused in me a sense of responsibility to keep the Israelis able to defend themselves. ... These are thoughts I shared with many Americans. ... For the well being of my country, I wanted the Middle East region stable and at peace; I did not want to see Soviet influence expand in the area. In its ability to help accomplish these purposes, Israel was a strategic asset to the United States. I have no strong feelings about the Arab countries. I had never visited one and knew no Arab leader.

Some studies about the Arabs, including Egypt, in the American media concluded that the United States media present the Arabs as the "bad guys"--primitive, violent and backward nations--and the Israelis are depicted as the "peace-loving" who must be protected from Arabs.

In late 1973, President Sadat, in one of his public speeches, said that Israelis are more clever than Egyptians in using public relations. He meant the Jewish influence on the American media and implied that the United States media do not present Egypt's image and cause rightly.

Since this study is a content analysis of The New York Times during two different periods in the
American-Egyptian relations, a look at changes of these relations is useful.

**The American-Egyptian Relations**

Before World War II, American presence in Egypt was business and missionary, philanthropic and educational. In 1919, the American University was founded in Cairo. Following the proclamation of Egyptian conditional independence from Britain in 1922, the United States diplomatic representation was raised to legation level.7

World War II was a turning point in the American-Egyptian relations. It demonstrated the strategic importance of Egypt. Cairo became the center of the Allied Intelligence and Propaganda Headquarters. By 1942, the United States Armed Forces in the Middle East were established in Cairo.8

In 1946, American-Egyptian diplomatic representation was elevated to the embassy level. Economic relations were developed, too. Due to the growing importance of the Middle East oil to America and by transporting it through the Suez Canal, America appointed an American National Board of Directors of the maritime Suez Canal Company in June 1948.9

From the postwar period until the Egyptian Revolution in July 1952, the American-Egyptian relations were directed by four major factors: (1) Egypt's
commitment to the Western defense system, (2) the Anglo-
Egyptian dispute because of rising Egyptian aspirations
for independence, (3) the importance of Egypt as a key to
the rest of the Arab world, (4) British occupation of
Egypt and the United States' low-key policy toward
Egypt.10

Within this period too, Britain maintained its
occupation of Egypt by force in face of the increasing
Egyptian national movement. America worked as a mediator
to find a workable compromise between Britain and Egypt.11

On July 23, 1952, the Egyptian Revolution broke
out. King Farouk was deported. The free officers at the
top of the Egyptian army took over. Still the Anglo-
Egyptian disputes, over independence and the Suez Canal
base, were unresolved.

With the new regime, the fall of corruption and
feudal system, the United States undertook reassessment
of its policy in Egypt with optimism. While the American
administration in Washington adopted a "wait and see"
policy, the American embassy in Cairo maintained good
relations with the free officers.12

During the following two years of the Revolution,
the American-Egyptian relations went well. "Each of the
two countries believed the other would serve as an
instrument for the accomplishment of its immediate goals."\(^{13}\)

However, three unresolved problems retarded the optimism of good American-Egyptian relations with the beginning of the revolution. First, the Anglo-Egyptian dispute made the United States reluctant to satisfy Egypt's need of large-scale economic aid, lest it would strengthen Egypt against Britain. Second, Egypt refused to make a commitment to the Western defense system without the needed aid and without a true independence. Third, the state of war between Egypt and Israel made the United States avoid providing Egypt with military hardware.\(^{14}\)

In 1955, America, in order to force Egypt to be a member of the Central Treaty Organization (Baghdad Pact) and to remove itself from the confrontation with Israel, held all the prospects of arms supply and Egypt's aid programs. Coupled with Britain and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the United States suspended the Bank's promise of funding the Aswan High Dam, a project vital to the Egyptian development plan.\(^{15}\)

On July 27, 1956, the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company which was owned, directed and controlled by Britain and France. Britain and France reacted by coordinating their plans to restore the Canal.\(^{16}\)
On October 30, Israel, in a secret collaboration with Britain and France, attacked Egypt. A few days later, Britain and France joined Israel in what was known as the tripartite aggression. Due to worldwide opposition and pressure from the United Nations, United States and the Soviet Union, the British, French and Israeli troops withdrew from Egypt.

In the writer's view, the Suez war was the end of the old colonialism represented in Britain and France and the emerging of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Without their serious pressure over Britain, France and Israel they would not have withdrawn from Egypt.

After the Suez crisis, with the nationalization of British and French assets, Egypt became socialist. It became dependent on the Soviet Block to achieve its development plans. All American hopes to use economic aid to coax Egypt into its satellite collapsed.17

In 1967, the American-Egyptian relations reached its worst level by severance of the diplomatic representation between the two countries. Egypt became more dependent on the Soviet Union than ever, especially in replacing its arms loss in the June 1967 war with Israel.

President Nasser died in 1970. His successor, President Anwar El-Sadat, inherited severe problems of
an exhausted economy, military preparation and Israel on the east bank of the Suez Canal.

President Sadat's policy was to normalize relations with the United States and the conservative, oil rich Arab states; attract Western investments, and move toward a peace settlement with Israel. In the meantime, he planned to reduce Egypt's reliance on the Soviet Union and to improve the Egyptian economy without dismantling the welfare state which had emerged in the 1960s by nationalization and by establishment of the public sector. In general, Sadat wanted to bring the United States, the great benefactor behind Israel, to share direct responsibility in solving the Arab-Israeli dispute and to lure American and Western capital to Egypt.

In the researcher's view, Sadat has succeeded. Diplomatic representation between America and Egypt has been resumed in 1974. Egypt now is the major recipient of the American aid after Israel. The Egyptian economy is in transition from depending completely on the public sector to one which combines both the public and private sectors, because of the American, European and Arab investments in Egypt. Yet, results of such economic policies are still underway. Also, America was the architect of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel which was signed in 1979.


8 Ibid., pp. 36-37.

9 Ibid., p. 37.

10 Ibid., pp. 37-40.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., p. 44.

14 Ibid., p. 45.

15 Waterbury, John, p. 302.
17 Waterbury, John, p. 302.
18 Ibid., p. 304.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In Chapter I, the problem of this study has been outlined. Facts about Egypt and the American-Egyptian relations have been discussed. This chapter is a review of the literature pertinent to this study.

In discussing American media coverage of foreign countries and the United States policy and public opinion towards these countries, Professor Samuel L. Becker wrote:

As public opinion and our government became more favorable toward any particular country, the news coverage of that country becomes more or less favorable. The treatment of China is a fitting example. Media treatment was positive during World War II; it became unfavorable after the war when China turned communist and our country broke off formal relations; and it is now becoming more favorable again as we are reestablishing relationships, assuming that the People's Republic of China would side with the United States against the Soviet Union.

Professor Anne M. Cooper, in her review of Television Coverage of the Middle East by William C. Adams, ed., wrote:

Perhaps this book's main contribution is its critical insights into reporting on this heavily covered region (which counted for 20 percent of total network news time in 1979). The opening overview points out that, in the Middle East, "the prime story (is) of Israel's survival," with coverage virtually ignoring those Arab states which do not border Israel.
Both the overview and the hostage case study by David Altheide conclude that TV coverage follows U.S. foreign policy closely and uncritically. "Network correspondents," Altheide states, "tended to be spokespersons for State Department and other government officials." Similarly, Montague Kern found that the Afghanistan invasion story "was viewed through the White House lens."

A review of Journalism Abstracts from 1963 until 1982 shows that little has been written about the image of one country in another country's media. The only study that researched the image of one country in another's media was "Communist China's Image of the U.S.A. as seen in the People's Daily, 1959" (Liu, 1963). 3

Liu's thesis did not use content analysis. It was a descriptive study of how the Chinese newspaper, the People's Daily, covered the United States news in 1959. Up to 1959, China's foreign policy was leaning toward the Soviet Union and regarded the United States as its major opponent. 4

Liu based his study on long quotations and interpretations from the People's Daily. These quotations and interpretations showed the United States image in China at that time. The People's Daily attacked the United States and depicted it as a capitalist imperialist country. The Chinese regime justified its inability to provide more consumer goods by the need to resist "U.S. imperialism." 5
It seems that President Sadat's peace initiative to Israel in 1977 and Camp David peace agreement between Egypt and Israel two years later have directed some journalism scholars to conduct research about Egypt and Arabs in the American media. Also, some public opinion polls about the Arab-Israeli conflict have been conducted for the American and European media.

Azza Kamal Salama researched "Time's Coverage of Egypt" at the University of Maryland in 1981.  

Salama's intention was "to question the accuracy of different criticism Time received about its coverage of foreign countries." She has chosen Egypt as a case study or a test case.

Salama content-analyzed all Time's issues from 1952 until 1979 and used the whole article as a coding unit. Her hypotheses were:

1. When Time's coverage was related to the United States' foreign policy towards Egypt and/or Egypt's position toward communism in general and the Soviet Union in particular, it was biased, whether favorably or unfavorably.
2. When Time's coverage was related to domestic non-political news and other features, it was neutral.

Salama classified news about Egypt in four categories--internal political news, foreign political news, domestic non-political news and feature stories. To content-analyze news about Egyptian presidents, Salama employed another four categories--adjective bias,
contextual bias, outright opinion and headline bias. To measure direction, Salama codified the first four categories about Egyptian news as favorable, neutral or unfavorable. Salama divided the period of her study into seven stages according to developments of the American-Egyptian relations and certain important political events in Egypt.

In this thesis, classification of coverage into favorable, neutral or unfavorable is employed. Also, two different periods of the American-Egyptian relations are examined.

Salama's thesis shows that this study's hypotheses may be supported, i.e., the American media coverage of Egypt follows the American foreign policy toward it.

Salama concluded that:

Time, the most popular news magazine, gives the American reader what he is interested in. It gives him foreign news which he can relate to and which, in one way or another, affect the American public and the United States as a country. But this means that the reader only gets to read foreign news from an American point of view. This researcher would suggest that if the reader wants complete information about Egypt, as a foreign country, he/she must find other sources of information besides Time, which is not only selective in its news coverage, but also in the manner by which the news is presented.

Anie Sam Nkana conducted "A Content Analysis of the Coverage of the Camp David Peace Initiative by The New York
Times and The Washington Post" at West Virginia University in 1981. 15

Nkana's thesis was to content-analyze commentaries of the participants of the Camp David peace agreement and their countries—the United States, Egypt and Israel. The researcher studied The New York Times and The Washington Post from August 1978 to March 1979 (period of the agreement).

Nkana's thesis was to answer questions regarding the peace initiative's participants, and not to find about specific hypotheses. An example of her questions was:


Nkana used the sentence as a coding unit and employed nine categories—report sentences/attributed, report sentences/unattributed, opinion sentences/attributed, opinion sentences/unattributed, inference sentences/attributed, inference sentences/unattributed, judgment sentences/attributed, judgment sentences/unattributed and all other categories. 17 She recorded these categories as favorable, neutral or unfavorable.

In the present project, The New York Times is researched. Classification of categories as favorable,
neutral or unfavorable, to measure attitude, is employed in this study.

Nkana concluded that:

Generally, the research does not show any high percentage of favorable or unfavorable sentences for or against either President Carter, President Sadat, Prime Minister Begin or their countries. Wherever favorable or unfavorable statements were made there were almost always justifiable reasons.


Mousa found that:

Coverage was primarily event oriented, conflict oriented, unfavorable, possibly biased in its limited contexts, and provided first by European sources which were later superceded by American-Jewish sources in the forties. Over this period, news focus shifted from romanticized portrayal to one centered on conflict.

Mousa concluded that:

Limited information coupled with imbalanced coverage ... could have contributed to misconceptions about the Arabs prior to 1948 which might have aided in creating stereotypes and distortions.

Samir Badih Zaitoon researched "The 1967 Middle East Crisis in Four American Newspapers: A content Analysis Study" at the University of Missouri-Columbia, in 1970.
Zaitoon's study period was from May 16, 1967 to July 15, 1967 (period of 1967 war between Arabs and Israel and its aftermath). He compared between American quality newspapers and non-quality ones in their coverage of 1967 Middle East crisis. He chose *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* as representatives of quality newspapers. *The New York Post* and the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* were his choice of the non-quality newspapers. 23

Zaitoon randomized 20 issues from each newspaper as an adequate sample. He content-analyzed all items concerning the 1967 Middle East confrontation published in the four newspapers of his thesis. 24 He studied news stories, editorials, opinion columns, news pictures and maps and political cartoons. He excluded items appearing in Sunday sections only. He wrote "it was felt that such items [Sunday issues] might very well be duplications of items appearing in the daily issues." 25

In the present project, only straight news, feature stories and commentaries will be content-analyzed. Sunday issues will be excluded. Seventy-two issues out of the two periods of this study will be systematically randomized.

To measure attention, Zaitoon used attention score. For example:

Four points were given to (1) front-page stories with eight-column headlines and (2) news pictures and maps and political cartoons three
columns or wider appearing above the front-page fold.26

Zaitoon used one-tenth of an item as a coding unit and the whole item as the context unit.27 To measure direction, Zaitoon classified the items into favorable, neutral or unfavorable.28

In this thesis, the space (column-inches) unit will be the coding unit. The whole item (straight news, feature story or commentary) is the context unit. To measure attention, if the item is on the first page, it will be coded double of its space. If it is on interior pages of The New York Times, it will be coded as it is.

Zaitoon concluded that the American press "was more pro-Israel and anti-Arabs than the other way around."29 He found that the Hawaii daily's coverage of the crisis was more balanced, although less in quantity, than the other papers of his study. Zaitoon added two more variables not included in his study's hypotheses might be incorporated in this conclusion with regard to the four newspapers examined. These two variables are: The effects of audience components in terms of the Jewish community in New York City and proximity, Zaitoon explained, that New York City is closer to the Middle East than Los Angeles and Honolulu. Zaitoon suggested that there might be a relationship between the size of ethnic groups in a newspaper's
circulation area and its coverage of an international event of interest to these groups. He meant the Jews of New York and Los Angeles. Zaitoon suggested also that because the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of Hawaii was the farthest from the Middle East, its coverage of the 1967 crisis was the least of his four newspapers, i.e., less than the coverage of The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times and The New York Post. 30

Connie de Boer presented a study about attitudes toward the Arab-Israeli conflict in Public Opinion Quarterly. 31

De Boer summarizes polls conducted by and/or for eleven American and European organizations such as Gallup Institute (USA), Demoskopi (West Germany) and MORI (Britain). 32

The polls questioned attitudes of American and European societies toward the Arabs and Israel especially after the Israeli invasion to Lebanon on June 6, 1982 and the massacres Israel permitted in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila (September 18-19, 1982).

De Boer found that there is a decline in the sympathies of the American and European people toward Israel after the invasion and massacres, although not in favor of the Arab countries. 33
A Concluding Note

The literature reviewed in this chapter suggests a close relationship between the United States foreign policy toward other countries and the American media coverage of these countries. This is so particularly in the quotations of Professors Becker and Cooper at the beginning of this chapter. Liu's thesis concluded the same relationship between the American-Chinese relationship and the Chinese newspaper, the People's Daily, coverage of America in 1959.

This literature suggests that the American media coverage of a foreign country such as Egypt follows the American foreign policy toward this country positively and negatively. This suggestion is being pursued in this study in connection with the American-Egyptian relations or the American foreign policy toward Egypt.

Thus, two hypotheses of this thesis would assume that The New York Times' coverage of Egypt follows the American foreign policy toward Egypt in both attitudes and space. It is hypothesized that when the American-Egyptian relations are good, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be more favorable and extensive than ever.
ENDNOTES


4Ibid., p. 60.

5Ibid., p. 115.


7Ibid., p. 2.

8Ibid.

9Ibid., pp. 45-46.

10Ibid., pp. 48-49.

11Ibid., p. 49.

12Ibid., pp. 51-52.

13Ibid., pp. 55-64.

14Ibid., p. 75.


16Ibid., p. 21.

17Ibid., pp. 45-46.

18Ibid., p. 68.


21 Ibid.

22 Zaitoon, Samir Badih, p. 188.

23 Ibid., p. 2.

24 Ibid., pp. 101-102.

25 Ibid., p. 103.

26 Ibid., p. 105.

27 Ibid., pp. 106-107.

28 Ibid., p. 109.

29 Ibid., p. 189.

30 Ibid., pp. 182-183.


32 Ibid., p. 123.

33 Ibid., p. 122.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study analyzes the content of The New York Times during two periods of American-Egyptian relations. Chapter I presented the problem of this thesis and a summary of developments of the American-Egyptian relations. A major concern of this study is to answer two questions--how does The New York Times perceive and present the image of Egypt as a country and a nation? Does this image co-vary with the quality of the American-Egyptian relations? Chapter II has reviewed the literature pertinent to this study. This chapter will present the research design of this study.

Research Design

Professor Kerlinger wrote:

Research design is the plan, structure, and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions. ... Strictly speaking, design does not "tell" us precisely what to do, but rather "suggests" the directions of observation-making and analysis. An adequate design "suggests," for example, how many observations should be made, and which variables are active and which are attribute.
Hypotheses

Professor Kerlinger said that "A hypothesis is a conjectural statement of the relation between two or more variables." As the previous chapters noted, this study will explore the image of Egypt presented by The New York Times to the American public through testing relations expressed by the following hypotheses:

1. When relations between America and Egypt are good, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be favorable to Egypt.

2. When relations between America and Egypt are good, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be more extensive.

3. Straight news about Egypt is more neutral than feature stories or commentaries.

4. The New York Times' coverage of Egypt is almost always associated with the Arab-Israeli conflict and occasionally with the ancient Egyptian (Pharaonic) monuments such as pyramids, Sphinx and Pharaos temples.

These hypotheses are based on two major variables: The American-Egyptian relations and The New York Times' coverage of Egypt. The first is the independent variable and the second is the dependent one. They are expected to co-vary positively and negatively.
Operational Definitions

Professor Kerlinger stated that "An operational definition assigns meaning to a construct or a variable by specifying the activities or "operations" necessary to measure it." The terms included in the hypotheses and variables above are operationally defined as follows:

Coverage of Egypt--any straight news, feature stories and/or commentaries from and/or about Egypt published by The New York Times as they are in the sample of this study and according to its limitations.

Good American-Egyptian relations--for this study's purpose, presence of any and/or all of the following between America and Egypt would be a sign of good relations:

1. Diplomatic representation.
2. American Aid Programs to Egypt.
3. Any form of political, military and/or economic cooperation.

It is assumed that the non-presence of all of them between America and Egypt means that relations between both countries are not good, e.g., the first period of this study. The second period of this study has all of these signs. Therefore, American-Egyptian relations are good.

Favorable--those items depicting Egypt and/or Egyptians as strong, progressive, successful, moral, peace-loving, intelligent, lawful and/or in economic stability.
Items about Pharaonic monuments would be coded as favorable because they present the cultural heritage of Egypt.

Unfavorable—those items depicting Egypt and/or Egyptians as backward, immoral, impractical, unlawful, disunified and/or in economic unstability.⁵

Neutral—those items reflecting neither favorable or unfavorable meaning either through balance of content or a lack of controversial material.⁶

Extensive coverage—it will be judged, for this study's purpose, by the considerable increase of space (column/inches) devoted to coverage of Egypt by The New York Times in one of this study's two periods.

Coding Units

Professor Stempel stated that:

What we are asking here is simply whether we are going to consider words, statements, paragraphs, or entire articles. The answer must be related to the purpose of the study. If our objective is to find out how much coverage newspapers give to South America, it would be silly to use the word as the unit of analysis and count each mention of South America or a South American country. We would learn as much by counting articles as by counting words, and obviously would take considerably less work.

For the purpose of this study, the item is either the straight news, feature story or commentary. The space (column/inches) is the coding unit of this study. Item is the context unit.
Limitations

This study limited itself to examining *The New York Times* as a representative of the American media.

Advertising, letters to the editor and special sections were excluded.

From the pilot study, it was found that *The New York Times*’ coverage of Egypt is not always mentioned under and/or about Egypt only. It was found that this coverage is almost always mixed with the Arab-Israeli conflict and even with news about the United States. That is so particularly during the peace process between Egypt and Israel (the second period of this study). Also, it was found that Egypt, during the first period of this study, had the United Arab Republic (UAR) as its formal name while it had and still has the Arab Republic of Egypt (ARE) as its formal name in the second period of this study.

So, any straight news, in order to be included in this study, must be published under the dateline of either UAR or ARE or Cairo or any of the Egyptian places or towns such as Sinai. Because it was found, from the pilot study, that there are many straight news stories about Egypt, in *The New York Times*, but originated from other countries such as the United States, Israel and Arab countries, the earlier limitation is to make this study manageable.
Pharaonic items were recorded either under feature stories or commentaries as they appeared in The New York Times without considering their sources.

"Topics" and/or "News analysis" of The New York Times were recorded under commentaries. "Man in the news" was recorded as feature stories.

A commentary and/or a feature story, in order to be included in this study, must mention the word Egypt and/or Egyptians at least once without considering their sources or origins.

A straight news, feature story and/or commentary, in order to be included in this study under the category of "Egypt mixed with the Arab-Israeli conflict," must mention the words Arab (Arabs) and/or Israel (Israeli) at least once in addition to Egypt and/or Egyptians. This is in addition to the criterion of the straight news mentioned earlier.

Parts concerning Egypt within "Transcripts of President's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Matters" were recorded as commentaries.

Texts of letters exchanged by Egyptian presidents with the other presidents are excluded.

Sunday issues, if they show up in the randomly selected sample, will be excluded and replaced by issues of the following Mondays.
Only the microfilmed copies of The New York Times at Hilton M. Briggs library of South Dakota State University will be examined.

New Jersey editions of The New York Times are excluded.

When testing hypothesis 2 (the attention hypothesis), if the item is on the first page, it will be coded double its space. This is because of the importance given to the news to be published on page one. If the item on the first page is extended to an interior page, whatever its number is, it will be coded as it is.

The student will research the manifest content of the sampled issues only. He will not contact The New York Times about what has been published or what has not been written in the newspaper during the research periods. Inferences from the manifest content may be employed according to the above mentioned operational definitions, limitations and the student's judgment.

Selection of The New York Times

The New York Times daily newspaper has been chosen for this study because it represents one of the best mediums of international news coverage in the United States, is nationally recognized as a highly influential newspaper, has a long history as a quality newspaper and because its
issues are available microfilmed at South Dakota State University library and its index as well.

Selection of the Content and Sampling

Two periods in the American-Egyptian relations' history were selected. They are representative of these relations in their weaknesses and strengths. Of these two periods, a purposive sample is selected as follows:

The first period is composed of years 1967, 1968 and 1969. Those years have witnessed the American-Egyptian relations in their worst conditions which culminated in a complete severance of diplomatic representation between both countries during June 1967 war between Egypt and Israel.

The second period is composed of years 1977, 1978 and 1979. Those years represent good relations between Egypt and the United States. A full diplomatic representation has been already resumed in 1974. American aid programs have been started, too. The United States took full responsibility of the peace-making process between Egypt and Israel.

The first period is an example of weak or bad relations between America and Egypt. The second period is an example of strong or good relations between both countries. Furthermore, and from the pilot study, there are many items about Egypt in The New York Times covering
important events of these two periods such as the June 1967 war between Arabs and Israel and the Camp David peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979.

A subset of three months will be selected from each period including important events as follows:

**The First Period**

Of the year 1967, June is selected because the June 1967 war between Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Israel occurred.

Of the year 1968, August is selected because Egypt eased its position on a Middle East settlement by initiating a new peace plan.

Of the year 1969, December is chosen because American Secretary of State William Rogers disclosed a previously American peaceful settlement in the Middle East. It was known in Egypt as Roger's initiative, at that time.

**The Second Period**

Of the year 1977, November is selected where President Sadat's peace initiative and visit to Israel took place.

Of the year 1978, December is chosen because it witnessed the beginning of Camp David peace negotiations between Egypt and Israel. President Sadat and Prime
Minister Begin of Israel, at that time, shared the Nobel Peace Prize.

Of the year 1979, March is selected because Camp David peace agreement had been finally signed by Egypt, Israel and the United States on the 26th of the month.

A systematic sample of twelve issues are selected from each of the previous months. In order to allow every week day a chance to be represented, the student selected every other odd day's number from the first month and every other even day's number from the next month and so on through the entire six months.

The rationale of selecting twelve issues only out of each month is in Professor Stempel's statement that "increasing the sample size beyond twelve does not produce marked differences in the results." 8

**Categories**

Professor Stempel wrote:

As you set out to create a set of categories, you should keep three things in mind:
1. Categories must be pertinent to the objectives of your study.
2. Categories should be functional.
3. The system of categories must be manageable.

These three concepts are interrelated, and when a set of categories falls short on one of these, it is likely to fall short on all of them.

The simple test of whether or not categories are pertinent is whether or not the information they yield will answer the research questions of the study or permit the testing of the hypotheses
of the study. . . . In many cases, whether or not a particular category is pertinent or not can be determined only by careful consideration of the hypotheses of the study.

Based on this study purpose and hypotheses, six main categories are set up as follows:

1. Straight news
2. Feature stories
3. Commentaries

Each of these categories will be recorded as either favorable, neutral or unfavorable to Egypt following this study operational definitions and limitations. Also, these three categories would test hypotheses 1, 2 and 3.

In order to test hypothesis 4, three additional categories are set up as follows:

4. Egypt mixed with the Arab-Israeli conflict.
5. Egyptian items only--those items which mention Egypt and/or Egyptians without Arab and/or Israel.
6. Pharaonic items--those items which talk about Pharaonic monuments such as pyramids, Sphinx and Pharaoh temples.

Coding Reliability

Professor Stempel defined reliability as "consistency of classification." In order to determine reliability in content analysis, one or more coders recode a sample of the same content coded already by the researcher.
The results are to be compared with those of the researcher to obtain the percentage of agreement. Professor Stempel said, "What percentage is acceptable is entirely a matter of judgment. Nevertheless, percentage of agreement is an accepted way of reliability."^{11}

One coder, in addition to the author, was chosen for the coding reliability of the analyzed content of this study. The coder is a graduate student at South Dakota State University, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication. He was given detailed instruction about the subject, hypotheses, operational definitions and limitations.

Percentage of agreement between the coder and researcher was 80 percent. This percentage of inter-coder reliability was considered satisfactory for this study's purposes.
ENDNOTES


2Ibid., p. 19.

3Ibid., p. 31.

4Adapted from R. W. Budd, Cited in Zaitoon, Samir Badih, pp. 36-37.

5Ibid., p. 37.

6Ibid.


10Ibid., p. 127.

11Ibid., p. 128.
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This study is a content analysis of The New York Times' coverage of Egypt. Only straight news, feature stories and commentaries were examined. A major concern of this study is to answer two questions--how do the American media perceive and present the image of Egypt as a country and a nation? Does this image co-vary with the quality of the American-Egyptian relations?

Chapter I presented the problem of this study and a summary of developments of the American-Egyptian relations. Chapter II reviewed the literature pertinent to this study. Chapter III presented the research design of this thesis.

A sample of six months representative of two periods of the American-Egyptian relations in their poor and good conditions were selected. Out of these six months, a total of seventy-two issues were examined. The study issues were selected at random. The dates of the issues are shown in tables 1 and 2.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the collected data, find out whether or not they are in
Table 1

Dates of issues of the first period, June 1967, August 1968 and December 1969, when the American-Egyptian relations were poor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>June 1967</th>
<th>August 1968</th>
<th>December 1969</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

Dates of issues of the second period, November 1977, December 1978 and March 1979, when the American-Egyptian relations were, and are still, good

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>November 1977</th>
<th>December 1978</th>
<th>March 1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
support of this study hypotheses and to discuss this study's findings.

Professor Kerlinger wrote:

Analysis means the categorizing, ordering, manipulating, and summarizing of data to obtain answers to research questions. The purpose of analysis is to reduce data to intelligible and interpretable form so that the relations of research problems can be studied and tested.

The computer was used to figure out percentages and Chi square ($X^2$) values. Analysis of this study's data in relation to the hypotheses was as follows:

**The First Hypothesis**

The first hypothesis of this study was when relations between America and Egypt are good, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be favorable to Egypt.

The New York Times devoted a total space of 971 column-inches favorable to Egypt during both periods of this study (See Table 3.). Out of this space 3.71 percent was in the first period when relations between America and Egypt were poor; 96.29 percent was in the second period when relations between America and Egypt became better or stronger.

Table 3 shows that The New York Times devoted a total space of 1203.5 column-inches neutral to Egypt during both periods of this study. Out of this neutral...
Table 3


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude of The New York Times</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The first period (Years 1967, 1968 and 1969)</td>
<td>36 (3.71%)</td>
<td>578 (48.05%)</td>
<td>181.5 (61.09%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second period (Years 1977, 1978 and 1979)</td>
<td>935 (96.29%)</td>
<td>625.5 (51.95%)</td>
<td>116 (38.91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>971 (100%)</td>
<td>1203.5 (100%)</td>
<td>297.5 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
coverage 48.05 percent was in the first period and 51.95 percent was in the second period.

Table 3 shows that The New York Times devoted a total space of 297.5 column-inches unfavorable to Egypt during both periods of this study. Out of this unfavorable coverage 61.09 percent fell in the first period. While 38.91 percent of this unfavorable coverage was in the second period.

Chi square value of Table 3 is 623.1934 at 2 degrees of freedom and at .01 level of significance. It is highly significant. The first hypothesis is supported.

Other than the Pharaohs' items, most of the favorable coverage was associated with the peace process between Egypt and Israel. In this regard, the coverage showed the Egyptians as peace-loving (the second period of this study when President Sadat peace initiative and visit to Israel took place which led to the Camp David peace agreement between Egypt and Israel in 1979).

Examples of The New York Times' favorable coverage to Egypt were what it wrote under "Peace seems Attractive to Cairo Students, on its issue of March 19, 1979. The New York Times reported:

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times
CAIRO, March 18--"I don't see anything wrong with living peacefully with the Israelis," said Masr Mukhtaar, a 22-year-old student of economics,
as he paused between classes at Cairo University to discuss the pending peace treaty with Israel. "At least we will have an advanced country in the neighborhood."

"Egyptians are peaceful people by nature," Mr. Mkhtar went on. "I don't think we made many concessions as long as we get our land back. The Arabs have done more harm to us than the Israelis."

For years, Cairo University has been a reliable weather vane for the political mood of educated young Egyptians. Its once elegant campus has deteriorated with overuse, and the shortage of funds is evident in the shabby classrooms. But the university is the largest in the Arab world and still considered one of the best.

... "I welcome peace like all Egyptians, but I want to know what Sadat has agreed to, in order to make sure that we have all our land and sovereignty over it," said Dalal Abdu, 23, who is studying literature.

On November 22, 1977, Abba Eban, a former Israeli Foreign Minister, wrote in one of The New York Times commentaries:

... For Egypt is not just one of 22 Arab States. It is nearly half of the Arab world in population, the only recognized center of its policy and culture. It is only because of Egypt's strength--and of Anwar Sadat's daring in 1973--that the Arab world has a credible military option. Without Egypt it is doubtful whether the Arab world can make either war or peace.

Also, the unfavorable coverage of Egypt was mostly associated with Israel or Egypt's stand from the Arab-Israeli conflict. Examples of that were what The New York Times of June 19, 1967, wrote in News Analysis and under "Face-Saving in Cairo." The New York Times reported:

... President Gamal Abdel Nasser appears to have staked his future on an attempt to regenerate
the remnants of his military power while pursuing a policy of unrelenting hostility toward the United States and Britain as well as Israel. . . .

. . . Mr. Nasser's intentions have grown clear during the last week, during which this writer, the last American newspaper man in Egypt was expelled and ordered aboard a ship for Italy by an Egyptian colonel whose Alexandria office building bore a sign reading, "Death to the U.S.A." . . .

. . . One guard, undetered by his government's denunciations of Americans as "pirates, blood-suckers and the scum of the earth," later meekly asked for a tip. This passiveness coupled with the masses' worship of President Nasser—"he invented television," one Cairo majd said fondly—makes his powstwar policy possible.

In "Man in the News," The New York Times, on June 7, 1967, wrote:

The Egyptian President
Gamal Abdel Nasser

. . . Some who have a chance to observe him at close quarters believe President Nasser is a mixture of caution and impulsiveness, reason and irresponsibility, calculation and turbulence.

A Catalogue of Troubles

They believe his actions of recent weeks reflect the situation in which he found himself—his economy at home crumbling, his troops tied down in an inconclusive war in Yemen, his dream of Arab unity showing new cracks, his own prestige in the Arab world so low that the Syrians taunted him for "hiding behind" the United Nations peace-keeping force. . . .

A Hero of the 1948 War

. . . In the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, he was one of the few heroes on the Arab side. He distin-
guished himself in the battle of Faluja in Palestine where the Egyptian force was trapped. There he earned the nickname "Tiger of the Faluja."

Nevertheless, a considerable part of the unfavorable coverage presented Egypt and the Egyptians as poor and suffering from many economic problems (in economic
unstability). Under "For Thousands in Cairo, Home is a Tomb With the Dead," The New York Times, on December 13, 1978, reported:

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN
Special to The New York Times
CAIRO, Dec. 12—For the last 29 years Mohammed Mabrouk has coexisted with the dead in rent-free accommodations that many other Cairenes would envy. He and his wife have four rooms with electricity and an outside water faucet—and half a dozen graves on the cool premises. Mr. Mabrouk is among count­less thousands of people who inhabit the sepulchers in the City of the Dead a necropolis stretching six miles long and up to a mile along the fringe of southeastern Cairo.

Cairo, built to accommodate perhaps three million people, is bursting with nearly three times that number. No one knows how many squatters have moved into the cemetery because of the housing crisis. But some estimates of the living inhabit­ants in the City of the Dead run as high as 400,000 people, which is more than the population of Jerusalem.

Despite their macabre surroundings, residents contend that they live better than they might in a squalid Cairo slum, where a dozen people may sleep in a single room.

Mr. Mabrouk, who supports himself by selling macaroni and rice to neighbors, said he worries that new comers might try to squeeze into his tomb's square rooms.

Under "With Peace, Egyptians Long for Plenty," and after presenting the majority of the Egyptians as poor who anticipate prosperity with the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, The New York Times, on March 24, 1979, reported:

... Mr. Sadat is worried about the rising expectations, according to sources close to him. In return for his compromises on the peace treaty, Mr. Sadat is reportedly counting on the Carter
The United States is already providing $1 billion a year in civilian assistance to Egypt, but some Egyptian officials are expecting $500 million more a year. This does not include $2 billion more that Washington has reportedly promised Cairo military hardware.

Many Egyptians also assume that the United States will make up for any cutoff in aid from the Gulf Arab states as a consequence of the treaty with Israel. The exact amount is not known but it was believed to have run over $1 billion last year, with the majority from Saudi Arabia.

The New York Times' neutral coverage of Egypt was no exception. Most of this neutral coverage was associated with events of the Arab-Israeli conflict--war and peace. In its issue of December 1, 1969, The New York Times reported:

Cairo Reports Success

By RAYMOND H. ANDERSON

Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, Nov. 30--Israeli aircraft struck at Egyptian positions along the southern sector of the Suez Canal today following what was described here as one of the most destructive commando assaults across the waterway.

According to an Egyptian communiqué, about 130 raiders crossed the canal to attack Israeli positions in the area of El Shatt, opposite the city of Suez.

The Second Hypothesis

The second hypothesis of this study was when relations between America and Egypt are good, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be more extensive.
As shown in Table 4, The New York Times devoted a total space of 2472 column-inches to coverage of Egypt in both periods of this study. Out of this total space 32.18 percent was in the first period. While 67.82 percent fell in the second period (more than double the space of the first period). The second hypothesis is confirmed.

Table 4


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Space (Column-Inches)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The First Period</td>
<td>795.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Years 1967, 1968 and 1969)</td>
<td>(32.18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Second Period</td>
<td>1676.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Years 1977, 1978 and 1979)</td>
<td>(67.82%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Third Hypothesis

The third hypothesis of this study was that straight news about Egypt is more neutral than feature stories or commentaries.

Table 5 shows that The New York Times devoted a total space of 1491.5 column-inches to straight news
Table 5


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Straight News</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>859.5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1491.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(39.96%)</td>
<td>(57.63%)</td>
<td>(2.41%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature Stories</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(45.11%)</td>
<td>(20.98%)</td>
<td>(33.91%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentaries</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>143.5</td>
<td>632.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(34.46%)</td>
<td>(42.85%)</td>
<td>(22.69%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
from Egypt during the two periods of this study. Out of this space 39.96 percent was favorable to Egypt, 57.63 percent was neutral and 2.41 percent was unfavorable.

A total space of 348 column-inches was devoted to feature stories from and/or about Egypt in both periods of this study. Out of this space 45.11 percent was favorable to Egypt, 20.98 percent was neutral and 33.91 percent was unfavorable.

The New York Times devoted a total space of 632.5 column-inches to commentaries about Egypt in the two periods of this study. Out of this space 34.46 percent was favorable to Egypt, 42.85 percent was neutral and 22.69 percent was unfavorable.

Value of Chi square of table 5 is 403.4314 at 4 degrees of freedom and at .01 level of significance. It is highly significant. The third hypothesis is supported.

For the purpose of this study, it was understood that straight news is the reported events from Egypt. An example of straight news, as it is defined in this study and according to its limitations, is what The New York Times reported under "Cairo Cites Peril to Ships." The New York Times, on June 7, 1967, wrote:

CAIRO, June 6 (AP)--The Cairo radio declared today that the Government had closed the Suez Canal because Israeli attacks on shipping had raised the possibility that a ship might be hit and block the canal for a long time.
Yesterday the Egyptians declared that Israeli planes had fired on a French tanker in the canal, although apparently it struck. The latest broadcast indicated that more ships had been attacked.

It was understood, for the purpose of this study, that feature stories were those items which talk about Egyptian customs, people, cities, places/and or Pharaohs' monuments. An example of a feature story was what The New York Times wrote under "The Sinai Desert: Vast, Harsh and Unrelentingly Hostile to Men." The New York Times, on June 21, 1967, describing the Sinai Peninsula, wrote:

BIR GIFGAGA, United Arab Republic, June 12--Because it provided room for speedy maneuver, the Sinai Desert was an ideal place for Israel's generals to encircle and destroy Egyptian forces. But the vast desert on the Sinai Peninsula is one of the most unforgiving and harsh pieces of terrain in the world. It turns an unrelentingly hostile face to men.

Arid mountains run east to west in the north-central section and south to north in the western portion. Between these sharp ranges lie great expanses of sand dunes, gravelly flats and grassless, dune-colored undulations. Mirages dance over the eye-wearying distances. Through field glasses the mirage looks like molten metal flowing over the sand.

Sun, wind and dryness combine to burn and crack the lips and skin of soldiers. Their eyes are bloodshot and habitually squinted. One is never conscious of perspiring in this climate despite temperatures as high as 108 degrees in the shade because perspiration dries rapidly.

It was understood also that commentaries are those items that usually express the opinion of their writers towards Egypt's political policies, Egypt's stand from the Arab-Israeli conflict, American-Egyptian relations,
Egyptian economy and/or Pharaohs' monuments. The New York Times' editorials fell in this category. An example of these commentaries is what The New York Times, on March 8, 1979, wrote under "The Risks of Peace," by Anthony Lewis. Lewis wrote:

BOSTON, March 7--The drama of President Carter's trip, however it turns out, makes clear how extraordinary personal diplomacy of the Middle East has become. The search for peace between Israel and Egypt, over the last eighteen months has turned largely on the personalities of Anwar Sadat, Menahem Begin and Jimmy Carter. Each of them has taken an enormous risk. Each has come under severe political strain. Each has been tested in skill and resolve. And each, I am convinced, has got the fundamental decisions right.

The boldness of President Sadat's role is most obvious. He made the decision from which everything else has sprung: to deal directly with Israel.

Table 5 shows that more than half of the content was straight news. More than half of the straight news was neutral. The unfavorable or favorable coverage were more clear in the feature stories and commentaries than in the straight news.

The Fourth Hypothesis

The fourth hypothesis of this study was that The New York Times' coverage of Egypt is almost always mixed with the Arab-Israeli conflict and occasionally with the ancient Egyptians' (Pharaos) monuments.
Table 6 shows that The New York Times devoted a total space of 2472 column-inches to coverage of Egypt in the two periods of this study. The bulk of this coverage, 92.03 percent, was mixed with the Arab-Israeli conflict or associated with Israel and events of the conflict—military actions and/or peace initiatives. Only 5.89 percent of the total coverage was about Egyptian matters without Israel or Pharaohs. The Pharaohs' items were 2.08 percent of the total coverage. The fourth hypothesis is confirmed.

Table 6

Percents of space (column-inches) of The New York Times' coverage of Egypt mixed with Israel, during the two periods of this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Space (Column-Inches)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt Mixed With The Arab-Israeli Conflict</td>
<td>2275 (92.03%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian Items Only</td>
<td>145.5 (5.89%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharaohs' Items</td>
<td>51.5 (2.08%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2472 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is in order here to cite an example of the ancient Egyptians' (Pharaohs) items. In its issue of Thursday, August 22, 1968, page 44, The New York Times reported:

**Egyptian Temple Is Delivered Here in 661 Crates**

By McCANDLISH PHILIPS

At 10:15 yesterday morning the lower hold of the freighter Concordia Star was opened and there was a lovely little Egyptian temple, packed in crates. It was the 2000-year-old Temple of Dendur, saved from the rising waters of the Nile and bound for a climate controlled haven at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It arrived in 661 wooden crates.

... The temple has come from Elephantine Island in the Nile River, via Alexandria, in a kind of do-it-yourself kit. Every stone has a number engraved on it, and the museum has charts showing how the pieces fit together. It will be 26½ feet high and weigh 640 tons.

The stones were packed in heavy crates, with an inch-thick cushion of Styrofoam sheathing, the highly porous and crumbly Aeolian sandstone.

It was noted, from the pilot study, that The New York Times, during the first period of this study, was eight columns a page. Unlike the second period where it was, and is still, six columns a page. Since the space (column-inches) is the coding unit of this study, it was decided that this difference of space should be considered. During the first period, width of the column was 1.7 inches (10.5 Picas). During the second period, and now, the width of the column was 2.2 inches (12.5 Picas). The ratio is 43.59 percent and 56.41 percent, respectively.
This difference, if calculated, would be in favor of the second period of this study.

However, after content-analyzing the material, it was decided to disregard this difference because it was found that results of this study in both periods already support the hypotheses without calculating this difference. Other considerations of disregarding this difference were to facilitate calculations and not to violate the coding unit procedure stated earlier in the methodology of this thesis (Chapter III). i.e., since the column-inches unit is the coding unit, inches were to be multiplied by the number of columns and not to multiply inches by inches.

**Summary**

This chapter was the analysis and discussion of this study's data. Tables 1 and 2 listed dates of issues of the selected sample of both periods of this study. Table 3 compared between The New York Times' coverage of Egypt in each period of the study classified as either favorable, neutral or unfavorable. It showed that when the American-Egyptian relations are good, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be favorable to Egypt. Table 4 showed the same relationship in terms of space The New York Times devoted to coverage of Egypt. When the American-Egyptian relations are good, The New York Times'
coverage of Egypt tends to be more extensive than the other way around.

Table 5 compared attitudes of straight news to those of feature stories or commentaries. It was found that straight news about Egypt is more neutral than feature stories or commentaries. More than half of the coverage was straight news.

Table 6 showed percent of Egypt's coverage mixed with Israel to those Egyptian items only and to Pharaohs' items. It was found that more than 90 percent of The New York Times' coverage of Egypt was associated with Israel or events of the Arab-Israeli conflict—war and peace. The New York Times' coverage of Egypt is almost always associated with Israel.
1Kerlinger, Fred N., p. 134.
3Ibid., November 22, 1977.
5Ibid., June 7, 1967.
6Ibid., December 13, 1978.
7Ibid., March 24, 1979.
8Ibid., December 1, 1969.
9Ibid., June 7, 1967.
11Ibid., March 8, 1979.
12Ibid., August 22, 1968.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This study was a content analysis of The New York Times' coverage of Egypt during two different periods of the American-Egyptian relations. Chapter I presented the problem of this study and a summary of developments of the American-Egyptian relations. Chapter II reviewed the literature pertinent to this study. Chapter III was the methodology being followed in this research. Chapter IV presented the findings of this study and a discussion of its results. This chapter will present this study's conclusions and implications and suggest further research.

A major concern of this study was to answer two questions--how does The New York Times perceive and present the image of Egypt as a country and a nation? Does this image co-vary with the quality of the American-Egyptian relations?

It was hypothesized that when relations between America and Egypt are good, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be favorable to Egypt; that when relations between America and Egypt are good, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be more extensive; that straight news about Egypt is more neutral than feature
stories or commentaries; and that The New York Times' coverage of Egypt is almost always mixed with the Arab-Israeli conflict and occasionally with the ancient Egyptians' (Pharaohs) monuments.

Findings of this thesis conclude that The New York Times, in its coverage of Egypt, follows the United States foreign policy towards Egypt. When the United States relations with Egypt are poor, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be unfavorable to Egypt (the first period of this study, years 1967, 1968 and 1969). When the United States relations with Egypt are good, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt tends to be favorable to Egypt (the second period of this study, years 1977, 1978 and 1979). It should be noted that this conclusion is consistent with literature reviewed in chapter II of this study. That is so particularly in the quotations of Professors Becker and Cooper.

Not only favorability or unfavorability of the coverage that follow the American foreign policy towards Egypt, space devoted to Egypt's coverage also follows the American-Egyptian relations. It was found that, when these relations were good, The New York Times devoted more than double the space to its coverage of Egypt when the American-Egyptian relations were poor.
It seems that this conclusion does not apply to The New York Times' coverage of Egypt or the American-Egyptian relations only. A content analysis study of the Pravda, the Soviet Union daily national newspaper, in connection with the Soviet-Sino relations concluded the same results. In the 1950s, China was a Soviet ally. The 1960s saw the Sino-Soviet split. Percentages of space, in column-inches, devoted by Pravda to coverage of China in particular years were: 1956: 6%; 1959: 5.25%; 1962: 0.7%; 1965: 0.1%.¹

It was found that straight news about Egypt is more neutral than feature stories or commentaries. This conclusion is consistent with the journalistic standards that straight news is more objective than the other material such as commentaries or feature stories.

It is concluded that the image of Egypt is almost always mixed with the Arab-Israeli conflict or Israel. Occasionally, Pharaohs' topics were reported on The New York Times' pages. The New York Times' coverage of Egypt was conflict oriented. i.e., the coverage was concentrated on events of the Arab-Israeli conflict particularly military actions and peace initiatives between Egypt and Israel. The New York Times' coverage of June 1967 war between Arabs, including Egypt, and Israel and the Camp
David peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979 are fitting examples.

The New York Times showed Egypt and the Egyptians either within the Arab-Israeli conflict or as poor suffering from many problems. Also, favorable or unfavorable coverage of Egypt were associated with Egypt's stand from Israel or the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the first period of this study, when hostilities were continuous between Egypt and Israel and America, the Egyptian President, Gamal Abdel Nasser at that time, was imbalanced. In the second period of this study, when relations between America and Egypt improved and the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was signed, the Egyptian President Sadat was a brave and wise man. The Egyptians were peace-loving. However, Egypt's image as a poor country was dominant in both periods of this study.

Findings of this study show that 92.03 percent of The New York Times' coverage of Egypt is mixed with Israel or the Arab-Israeli conflict (Table 6). It is safe to assume that without Israel, The New York Times' coverage of Egypt would have been different in both attitude and space.

This limited information and imbalanced coverage of Egypt could have contributed to misconceptions about Egypt which might have aided in creating stereotypes and distortions.
Neither Egypt nor its coverage by The New York Times is the only case. Martin Walker concluded his book, Powers of the Press: Twelve of the World's Influential Newspapers, by a survey of the coverage of the Iranian crisis in the 1970s. Walker conducted this survey on the twelve leading newspapers in today's world, as he calls them. These twelve newspapers are The Times (Britain), Le Monde (France), Die Welt (West Germany), Corriere della Sera (Italy), Pravda (the Soviet Union), Al-Ahram (Egypt), Asahi Shimbun (Japan), The New York Times and The Washington Post (America), Toronto Globe & Mail (Canada), The Age, Melbourne (Australia) and Rand Daily Mail (South Africa). Walker studied each newspaper's coverage of Iran from 1971 up to the fall of the Shah at the beginning of 1979. His survey was to test each of these twelve newspapers' concern for international news.3

Walker, in conclusion of this survey, wrote:

Perhaps the kindest word that can be used to describe the performance of these leading newspapers in covering Iran story is "disappointing." In some cases, their reports were wholly misleading... There is a simple reason for this. The mechanics of news means that the press is very much better at responding to a single event, to an announcement, to a shock or surprise, than to comprehending or analyzing a long, slow, social process that unfolds without news "peaks" to spur instant coverage. The events of the Shah's final year, the riots and the street battles and demonstrations and attacks on cinemas, were reported with professional competence. The fact that they were almost incomprehensible without
serious assessment of the political forces and social developments which had provoked them meant that most newspaper readers were left in a vacuum of understanding.

Perhaps some other variables, not incorporated in the hypotheses of this study along with the quality of the American-Egyptian relations, might have led to *The New York Times'* imbalanced coverage of Egypt. This coverage was mostly about the Arab-Israeli conflict and rarely about the real Egypt—the country and nation or the other side of the story. Such variables may include the Jewish community of New York City where *The New York Times* is published. As Zaitoon suggested earlier in chapter II that there might be relationship between the size of ethnic groups in a newspaper's circulation area and its coverage of international events [or a foreign country like Egypt] of interest to these groups.

It may be the mechanics of news, as Martin Walker contended earlier in this chapter, that the press is very much better at responding to a single event, to a shock or surprise than to a comprehending and in-depth coverage. This might have explained *The New York Times'* extensive coverage of the June 1967 war between Arabs and Israel (in the first period of this study) and the peace process between Egypt and Israel in the second period of this study (years 1977, 1978 and 1979).
Suggestions

The investigation and the conclusions of this thesis indicate that communication messages in one country's media about another country could be content-analyzed to find out the image of that country. This image could be examined by relating it to other variables, such as the quality of relations between the concerned nations, following the methodology of this study's inquiry. The image of Egypt in The New York Times was researched in connection with the quality of the American-Egyptian relations. On the other hand, the image of one country in another's media could be researched separately, i.e., without relating it to other variables.

More attention could be paid to the role of communication in stereotyping countries and nations. As this study concluded that The New York Times' imbalanced coverage of Egypt, which was mostly about the Arab-Israeli conflict, might have aided in creating stereotypes about Egypt and the Egyptians.

It has been said that the lack of communication among nations has its share of the current problems of today's world. Lack of objective and comprehensive communication between the East and West may be incorporated as one of the causes behind this lack of understanding among nations. The Arab-Israeli conflict is a good
example. More attention could be paid to the objective, comprehensive and balanced flow of information among nations.

It has been said that the flow of information, in today's world, follows the power. i.e., the powerful countries such as the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, and France dominate information sources, specifically the major news agencies, to the rest of the world, particularly the third world countries. The researcher noted that there were more dispatches about Egypt from Washington than those from Cairo. This is so particularly during the peace process between Egypt and Israel (the second period of this study.

This could be researched—the flow of information follows the power—by using the content analysis technique. A content analysis study could tell how much space (in column-inches) is devoted to dispatches from the major news agencies and/or one international news agency about an international event in a small country's press comparatively to space devoted to dispatches from the local sources of that country and about the same event.

Different mass communications media's coverage of one country could be content-analyzed and compared. For example, newspapers' coverage could be compared with
that of weekly magazines. The print media could be compared with the electronic ones. Newspapers' coverage could be compared with that of television.
ENDNOTES


2 Mousa, Issam Suleiman, pp. 182-183.

3 Walker, Martin, p. 343.

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