Analysis of CNN and The Fox News Networks' framing of the Muslim Brotherhood during the Egyptian revolution in 2011

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Abstract

As the world watched the Egyptian revolution unfold in January 2011, all of the images broadcast over the news from Tahrir Square had an accompanying commentary that explained to viewers in the United States the events unfolding. This research specifically focused on the characterization and information reported about Egypt's leading political opposition group, the Muslim Brotherhood, during the revolution and directly following Mubarak's resignation. The portrayal of the Muslim Brotherhood by CNN and The Fox News Channel was analyzed in this study during the time frame mentioned previously through a content analysis of television broadcast transcripts. This analysis aimed to provide a holistic review of the scope of the coverage and discrepancies in reporting during the crisis, but more so, it sought to examine American understanding through the popular news media of a political Islamist group in the forefront of the political upheaval presently occurring in Egypt. It illuminated a bias in both news channels but showed a higher frequency of exaggerated extremism in The Fox News Channel's reporting.

I. Introduction

The beginning of 2011 witnessed the start of what has proven to be major upheaval in the political stability of the Middle East. Starting in Tunisia and spreading across North Africa and the Middle East, popular protest and revolt against the ruling regimes has changed the political landscape, and the world's understanding of the region, forever. On the heels of Tunisia's revolution, another peaceful, mass protest was born in the North African country of Egypt. After three decades of semi-authoritarian rule under President Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian people staged one of the largest peaceful protests in recent history.

Given America's close relationship with Egypt—American foreign aid to Egypt totals two-three billion dollars annually (Perry, 2004)—the change in government leadership and its effect on America's relationship with its most important ally in the Arab world put the revolution in the headlines of virtually all major news media outlets in the U.S. In addition to chronicling the progress of the revolution, American media also reported on possible remedies or outcomes of the revolution and just who could take over the vacant leadership role if Mubarak was to step down, as he later did. One of the most discussed possibilities of future leadership was Egypt's largest opposition group, the Muslim Brotherhood.

With a tumultuous past, a formidable presence on Egypt's political scene today, and one of the few political groups organized enough to take a substantial role in the development of a post-revolution Egypt, it is no wonder American media dedicated a large amount of inches and airtime reporting on the nature and intentions of the Muslim Brotherhood and how it would affect Egyptian-American relations if they were to take

power.

From this coverage comes the impetus for this study—to discern how American media framed the Muslim Brotherhood during the revolution and directly following its conclusion. The proliferation of news sources in the United States in the contemporary media ecology created a wide variety of sources to analyze, but to maintain uniformity in media sources thus enabling an equivalent field to compare, the two leading cable news networks were chosen for analysis. Additionally, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

R1: What language was used in CNN and Fox News Network coverage to frame the Muslim Brotherhood and its role in the revolution?

R2: How did framing of the Muslim Brotherhood vary between CNN and The Fox News Network?

R3: How does the media portrayal of the Muslim Brotherhood compare to contemporary scholar's portrayal, explained below, of the Muslim Brotherhood?

Understanding how the Muslim Brotherhood was framed to the American people will constitute the first step towards future research to understand forthcoming American foreign policy towards the Brotherhood (Entman, 2004), and Egypt as a whole, as it moves forward from the revolution and begins to make steps towards instituting a true democracy.

II. What is being discussed in Academia?

The Muslim Brotherhood in the 21st Century

In 2007, *al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin* or the Muslim Brotherhood released a draft of its political platform if it were to be granted legal status as a political party (Brown & Hamzawy, 2008; 2010; Harnisch & Mecham, 2009; Stilt, 2010). Though originally released to a limited selection of Egyptian intellects, the platform draft was soon leaked to the media and has since been released entirely to the public and published, but has never been completed. This draft signified the clearest, comprehensive picture of the goals and aspirations of the organization to date and opened the floodgates for domestic and international scrutiny and discussion about its platform tenets (Brown & Hamzawy, 2008). As a result, a number of scholars have written on the topic of who the Muslim Brotherhood is today as an organization and the realities and implications of its objectives as a social and political movement.

A Brief History

Founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna, the Muslim Brotherhood sprung forth out the growing contempt within Egyptian society towards the ruling monarchy, its manipulation by the British, and the general secular nature of the political system (Soage & Franganillo, 2010). By the 1930s the organization had quickly grown throughout Egypt and began to spread across the Middle East and began to face extreme persecution by the monarchy (Simms, 2002). Into the 1940s the tensions continued to escalate between the Brotherhood and the regime, as did the violence carried out by the Brotherhood's militant wing known as the Secret Apparatus, culminating with the Brotherhood's organized and executed assassination of Egyptian Prime Minister Nuqrashi in 1948 (Perry, 2004; Zollner, 2009). In retaliation, secret government police assassinated Hasan al-Banna in 1949 and sent the movement underground (Simms, 2002).

In 1952 the political landscape of Egypt changed drastically with the *coup d'etat* lead by the Free Officers, ultimately abolishing the monarchy and installing Gamal Abdel Nasser as President (Glover, 2011; Perry, 2004; Simms, 2002; Soage & Franganillo, 2010; Zollner, 2009). Under Nasser's regime, which allowed no political dissent, the Brotherhood suffered its most severe oppression with the arrest, imprisonment, and torture of thousands of members in concentration camps (Kepel, 1985). While imprisoned and languishing from abhorrent treatment and poor health, one Brotherhood member took to writing about his disillusionment with the secular Nasserist government and since has become one of the most influential Islamist ideologues in history. Sayyid Qutb's works, most famously *Milestones*, have become part of the basic ideology of almost every Islamist movement today, from the Muslim Brotherhood to Al Qaeda depending on its interpretation

(Kepel, 1985). This association with other extremist groups has muddled the Muslim Brotherhood's true objectives for decades. Ultimately, the movement was able to survive Nasser's persecution and emerge onto the political scene after his death and the transfer of the presidency to Anwar Sadat in 1970 (Perry, 2004).

Sadat soon began to reverse many of his predecessor's policies and initiated a liberalization of the political system, which allowed the Brotherhood to rebuild itself after the destruction caused by Nasser's oppression. Sadat allowed the Brotherhood a measure of vocal opposition as long it stayed within specific boundaries and for most of his rule the movement experienced a reasonably tolerable political landscape (Beattie, 2000). It was also during this time that the Brotherhood officially renounced violence as a method to bring about change. Once Sadat initiated and secured peace with Israel, though, through the Camp David Peace accords, the Muslim Brotherhood criticisms of his regime and of the President himself became abundantly more vociferous and Sadat responded with oppression and his own mass arrests (Zollner, 2009). The Muslim Brotherhood was not the only Islamic group unhappy with Sadat's relationship with Israel and America, and in October of 1981, a radical Islamic extremist group assassinated Sadat while he was reviewing a military parade (Perry, 2004; Soage & Franganillo, 2010).

"With Sadat's death, the reins of power were placed in the hands of his Vice President, Husni [sic] Mubarak. A state of emergency was declared throughout the country and the government was granted absolute authority in coping with domestic threats" (Meital, 2006, p. 259). The state of emergency was renewed for more than twenty-five years and afforded Mubarak the right to curb civil liberties, as he needed, including in the political system (Soage & Franganillo, 2010). With this in mind, Mubarak initially allowed a fair amount of political liberalization and pluralism within the Egyptian political ecology, but as his regime became more entrenched and the Brotherhood began to have a larger presence in elections, Mubarak continually instigated waves of oppression and persecution, though milder than the measures of his predecessors (al-Awadi, 2009). "Representatives of the opposition parties and independent candidates (many of whom are affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood movement) have participated in parliamentary elections since 1984, however, their limited representation has not sufficed to undermine the absolute control of the government party over the legislative body" (Meital, 2006, p. 259). In recent years, the Muslim Brotherhood has made significant gains in the Parliamentary elections of 2000 and 2005, where they won 88 out of 444 seats (Zahid & Medley, 2006). President Hosni Mubarak was in power for thirty years and officially resigned the presidency on February 11, 2011 after eighteen days of mass popular protest. This brief historical background can provide a context to understand contemporary scholarly discourse about the Muslim Brotherhood today.

Recent discussions about the Muslim Brotherhood in the 21st century

As stated above, the recent dispersion of the never-finished draft of the Muslim Brotherhood's political platform, 128 pages in total, in conjunction with their growing participation and presence in the Egyptian Parliament over the past twenty years, has fostered a discussion of its implications on the Egyptian political system and what it says about the nature and objectives of the movement today. As early as 1995, scholar Sana abed-Kotob, among others, had begun to examine just exactly how moderate or extreme the Muslim Brotherhood was. She came to the conclusion that a conviction exists amongst the Brothers to work within the existing political system for change, along with the belief that democratic principles are in fact compatible with an Islamic system of governance; she argues the Brotherhood of today actually encourages the cultivation of democracy within Egypt while denouncing violence as a method of change, despite their less than peaceful history (Abed-Kotob, 1995).

Many other scholars have reinforced these findings over the last fifteen years and elaborated on them as the Brotherhood has further elucidated its goals via campaigning, public statements, its actions and the draft political platform (al-Awadi, 2009; Brown & Hamzawy, 2008; 2010; Glover, 2011; Harnisch & Mecham, 2009; Soage & Franganillo, 2010; Stilt, 2010). Furthermore, scholars have acknowledged that while the fact the Brotherhood still propagates its goal of a governing system based on *Shari'a* law "is no doubt alien to Western political thought, and perhaps even threatening in the view of many scholars, it is significant that the vision of an Islamic state encompasses other, less alien objectives, namely, (1) the imposition of democratic ideals… and (2) the pursuit of socioeconomic justice" (Abed-Kotob, 1995, p. 336; Brown & Hamzawy, 2010). Moreover, the Brotherhood also stresses that even though it wants to implement *Shari'a* law in the governing system, it wants a pluralistic political economy made up of many parties who can together represent the entire Egyptian population in the making of legislation and governance (Harnisch & Mecham, 2009). The development of democracy within the political strategy has enabled the movement to criticize the ruling regime

because of its lack of adherence to true democratic principles evident in its corrupt elections, oppressive measures against opposition movements, and general semi-authoritarian tactics (Harnisch & Mecham, 2009). If a survey were taken of scholars' arguments put forth characterizing the Muslim Brotherhood, the overall judgment would be one of accommodation and political engagement to bring about change that has similar goals to many familiar Western political principles. This summary judgment, however, would be made with reservation given the vagueness that still exists around some of its goals and objectives and lack of certainty about the true intentions of the Brotherhood's leadership since their actions are limited and unable to fully endorse what they are professing.

These findings have not come without their critics, though. During Mubarak's reign as President over the last thirty years, he has systematically depicted himself and his regime as the only roadblock between the Islamists, namely the Muslim Brotherhood, and the establishment of an Islamic state (al-Awadi, 2009; Stilt, 2010). Many scholars have claimed the Brotherhood is still a radical Islamist group and closely connected to the extremist groups around the world that have roots in the Brotherhood. Scholar Christine Sixta Rinehart posited the Muslim Brotherhood, "not only transformed into a terrorist organization but also eventually spawned some of the most violent terrorist organizations throughout the world. The Muslim Brotherhood became the prototype for the Muslim fundamentalist terrorist organizations and some of its members later created organizations such as Hamas and Al Qaeda" (2009, p. 953). This link with more radical groups has affected the West's ability to understand the nature of the Muslim Brotherhood today and only amplifies the need for research into how the U.S. media is portraying the organization at such a pivotal time in Egyptian history. Below, the current arguments in the academic milieu will be explained to understand how media framing impacts the transmission of a story and why it is important to take into consideration when examining the Muslim Brotherhood during the January 25th Revolution.

Framing Analysis

Framing Analysis, as a methodology within the field of communications, casts its net around a wide range of possible approaches, and a more general survey of the scholarly discourse will be whittled down to understand the specific methodology utilized in this study to discern the bias created through the frame used, if any, in the portrayal of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt. Frames can have a measureable impact on public opinion, but as Kuypers (2002) said,

> Looking for bias within press accounts of events is not an easy task. Bias is not highlighted as such, and newspapers certainly do not advertise their political leanings on the front page. However, by using framing analysis, one may discover how the press frames an issue and then look at that frame for bias. (p. 18)

A general consensus exists among scholars that media framing of news coverage can mold the audience's opinions and beliefs about policies, concerning both domestic and foreign issues (Brewer, 2006; Coe, et al., 2008; Druckman, The implications of framing effects for citizen competence, 2001; Entman, 2004; Evans, 2010; Harmon & Muenchen, 2009; Kuypers, 2002; Morris, 2007). There is dissent, however, on what exactly is defined as 'framing' and what unit of analysis should be used to detect framing (Entman, 2004; Kuypers, 2002; Soroka, 2003; Druckman, The implications of framing effects for citizen competence, 2001). The basic definition that is most cited among scholars is from the work of Robert M. Entman who has posited, "frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them" (as cited in Kuypers, 2002, p. 10). Examples of these specific properties include the use of metaphors, symbols, keywords, images, and concepts which repeated surface within news accounts that together codify a particular theme over time (Kuypers, 2002).

One of the major fields of studies is its effects on public opinion and subsequent domestic and foreign policy. There is an added emphasis on foreign policy given that the public tends to gain all of its knowledge about a foreign event solely from news coverage, instead of using it to supplement their opinions based on lived experience, like in the case of domestic policy (Brewer, 2006; Druckman, The implications of framing effects for citizen competence, 2001; Evans, 2010; Soroka, 2003). Some scholars have argued that media framing rots the principles of a democratic society by positioning the public in a certain frame of mind and leave them incapable of making an autonomous policy decisions (Druckman, The implications of framing effects for citizen competence, 2001; Soroka, 2003). Other scholars have taken a vested interest in the effects of framing on perceptions of other countries, especially when related to conflict or competition and have found that media framing has a discernable impact on the development of U.S. foreign policy (Barkho, 2007;

Brewer, 2006; Evans, 2010; Harmon & Muenchen, 2009; Soroka, 2003). However, there is a strong current within scholarship that emphasizes the limitations of framing according to source credibility, lived experience, and personal preference (Druckman, On the limits of framing effects: Who can frame?, 2001; Entman, 2004; Kuypers, 2002).

With the evident effects of media framing on foreign policy in mind, another burgeoning field of study within framing analysis research is the role of cable news stations, their use of framing, and its widespread effect on public opinion. As cable news networks have increasingly identified themselves more closely with a particular political view and become fragmented, the effects of such alignment have become the focus of more research (Coe, et al., 2008; Morris, 2005; 2007; Harnisch & Mecham, 2009).

"Facts remain neutral until framed; thus, how the press frames an issue or event will affect public understanding of that issue or event" (Kuypers, 2002, p. 7). The so-called 'CNN effect' and the general influence of cable news on humanitarian intervention and the formation of U.S. foreign policy has piqued the interest of several leading scholars. Their frame analysis research into the fragmentation of cable news media, specifically comparing CNN and The Fox News Network, showed that Fox consistently resonated more and was thought to have less bias with a more conservative audience and CNN was more likely to resonate with people who viewed the press, as a whole, as a less biased entity (Morris, 2005; 2007). These previous studies will inform the methodology and hypotheses of this study as it seeks to analyze the leading cable news networks' portrayal of an international issue that is directly related to US foreign policy.

Before moving to methodology, it must first be reiterated what the consensus is among scholars as to how to determine a frame. According to leading scholars Entman and Kuypers, "frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies" (Kuypers, 2002, p. 18). Additionally, they are set around an event and actor who come together to create the issue being framed according to the specifications in the previous sentence (Entman, 2004). It is in accordance with these standards of frame measurement that the move to methodology is made.

III. Methodology

As is evident from the review of current academic literature on framing analysis, the breadth of research and areas of focus with framing analysis and their subsequent methodologies are bountiful, but, as consistently done in several other studies using framing analysis, this study will follow the guidelines set forth by Entman, which are discussed below.

This study analyzed the broadcast transcripts of CNN and The Fox News Network (Fox News) from January 25, 2011, the official start of the Egyptian Revolution, to February 16, 2011,** five days after the official resignation of Hosni Mubarak as President of Egypt. The dates were chosen to examine how CNN and Fox News discussed the role of the Muslim Brotherhood during the revolution and after the drastic change in Egypt's political landscape.

The transcripts were coded as a cohesive narrative divided into two groups according to their parent cable news network, and were analyzed for the particular frame through which the narrative was transmitted. A frame, according to Entman, takes "'some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described'" (Entman as cited in Kuypers, 2002, p. 18). To better illustrate this measurement tool Entman (2004) created *Figure* I on the next page.

The coding of both CNN and Fox News' transcripts was done with the aid of the Atlas.ti computer program. The program allows for both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the documents allowing for a contextualization of the coded words and phrases indicative of framing measurements, such as possible remedies and moral judgments, present in the narrative. Based on the above mentioned research questions, the following three hypotheses were made:

** To collect the transcripts used in this study follow the guidelines below using the LexisNexis Academic database: LexisNexis Academic > Power Search>Search type "Terms and Connectors">Search terms "Muslim Brotherhood"> Specify Date "Date is between… 1/25/2011 and 2/16/2011"> Select Source "By type: Broadcast Transcripts"> Search>Search Results: +News Transcripts>CNN Transcripts (199 transcripts), Fox News Network (144 transcripts)

H1: The language used by both CNN and Fox News to frame or 'evaluate' the Muslim Brotherhood will more often be connected with terrorism or radical Islam than with moderate, nonviolent Islamic political movement.

H2: Given the literature's indication that the Fox News Network consistently frames their coverage along more conservative lines, Fox News will more often evaluate and convey the moral judgment that Muslim Brotherhood is an extremist and radical organization than CNN.

H3: The media framing of the Muslim Brotherhood will predominantly characterize the organization as a threat to democracy as opposed to the current trend in academia suggesting the Brotherhood will positively contribute and support the development of democracy in Egypt.

Function of Frame	Issues	Events	Political Actor (Individual, Group, Nation)
Defining problematic effects/ conditions			
Identifying Cause			
Endorsing remedy			
Conveying moral Judgment			

Figure I. Focus of Frame

IV. Findings and analysis

The analyses of this study focused on the 'evaluation' and 'remedy' or 'moral judgment' of the Muslim Brotherhood by the media in determining the Muslim Brotherhood's role in the revolution and possible role in the future of Egypt (See *Figure* I). The Muslim Brotherhood was mentioned 847 times in 144 Fox News transcripts, creating an average of 5.8 times per transcript. Alternately, the Muslim Brotherhood was mentioned 817 times in 199 CNN transcripts, creating an average of 4.10 times per transcript during this time frame. Simple though these statistics may be, it illuminates that fact the Fox News devoted more of their coverage, on average, to the Muslim Brotherhood in their broadcasts than CNN when reporting the narrative of the revolution.

After examining the context in which the Muslim Brotherhood was discussed throughout both cable networks' transcripts, the results were most often associated with radical Islam or as a threat to the democratic ideals because of the Brotherhood's goal of Islamic jurisprudence. Between the two networks, 45 instances of co-occurrence were noted with the words coded as describing the Muslim Brotherhood to be 'radical' and the words coded because they associate the Brotherhood with terrorism. For example, Sean Hannity of The Sean Hannity show on Fox News described the Brotherhood as, "a real, clear present danger and the only organized political opposition. I think the odds are that radicals, maybe not immediately, but over time, they will sound moderate then it becomes radical Islamic." On CNN, it was said it compared the Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's future to the Iranian Revolution when they said,

> Now Israel is right next door as the obvious target and, of course, the Muslim Brotherhood has been playing that card for many years. Don't underestimate the radicals in these situations. That is the mistake that America made in 1979. People in the western media initially thought it was great news that the shah of Iran had gone. It took them a while to realize that the main beneficiaries of this would not be secular Democrats, but radical Islamists. This would happen again.

The significant occurrence of portraying the Brotherhood in such a manner will almost certainly affect American public opinion of the Muslim Brotherhood when taking into account America's sensitivity concerning terrorism. Furthermore, on numerous occasions, the Brotherhood was evaluated as a threat instead of as a positive part of a pluralistic political system in the Egypt. All of these findings support H1. Additionally, there is

a great amount of dissent and little agreement within both network's reporting about the attainability of democracy if an Islamist organization gets into power.

To address H2, the transcripts of both CNN and Fox News were coded for the paragraphs mentioning the Muslim Brotherhood to eliminate extraneous information and words that could skew the data collection. The resulting paragraphs containing a mention of the Muslim Brotherhood were further analyzed to determine which network evaluated the Muslim Brotherhood and passed judgment more obviously negatively, therefore, framing them in a more radical manner. Of those 45 co-occurrences of coded words falling under 'radical' and 'association with terrorism' in the same paragraph, Fox News accounted for 30 or three-fourths of those co-occurrences.

Additionally, Fox News routinely discussed the Muslim Brotherhood as the enemy of democracy, while CNN provided slightly more moderate comments and discussion of the Muslim Brotherhood amongst its Islamic democracy naysayers and reporting. Moreover, Fox News averaged nearly 98 associations of the Muslim Brotherhood with terrorism per every 100 transcripts whereas CNN averaged only 35 associations for every 100 transcripts.

All of these findings indicated that H2 is accurate in claiming that Fox News more negatively evaluated and judged the Muslim Brotherhood as a radical organization with ties to terrorism than CNN did in their broadcasts. Referring back to the literature, studies found that Fox News' audience tended to be conservative than CNN's and that conservatism was evident in their frame of the Muslim Brotherhood. It is outside the scope of this research to decide which frame was correct or not, but it is important to note the correlation between Fox News's conservative audience and their conservative frame of the Muslim Brotherhood in regard to applying traditionally Western ideals to an Islamic organization and weighing in on the likelihood of their success.

Finally, as is indicated by H1, the media evaluation and moral judgment of the Muslim Brotherhood during and directly following the January 25th Revolution was riddled with classification and associations not found in contemporary scholarship. While both the news media and scholarship focused on the implications of Islamic jurisprudence on the governing system of Egypt, as outlined in the goals of the Brotherhood, academia goes beyond this point and focuses on the organization as a whole through their strategic narrative which is a combination of their past, present and planned future actions, social impact, cultural history, goals and objectives (Glover, 2011). The media frame failed to factor in all of these components of the modern day Muslim Brotherhood and relied too heavily on one or two components instead.

H3 was supported by the findings of this study and showed that the frame propagated by American news coverage of the Muslim Brotherhood during the revolution and their possible role in post-Mubarak Egypt was not as informed as current academia nor was it without bias when reporting nature of the Muslim Brotherhood today. Obviously, news reporters are not going to have the expertise that academics do in this particular area of Egyptian politics, but this lack of knowledge is usually supplemented by the employment of expert analysis and comments during the broadcasts. While this study is in no way claiming that academia has innately greater insight into issues, but peer-review and other systems of accountability lessen the amount inaccuracies than found in news television.

Even those experts consulted on air did not foment the same trends described in the literature above, which could be for many reasons including the fact that the experts may not be strong enough to change the hegemonic frame already in place at a news organization. One example occurred during a Fox News program where one commentator what putting for the idea that the Muslim Brotherhood were in fact moderate but was refuted by nearly every other contributor to the show, thus silencing his alternative evaluation and remedy (Hannity, 2011). The effects of this nullification of expert commentary by the hegemonic frame of the news network could have serious implications for the plurality and diversity of news sources that allow their audiences to make informed decisions.

V. Conclusion

Figure II below (Entman, 2004) fully elucidates the intricacies of the frame used to portray the Muslim Brotherhood during the Egyptian Revolution. Though the frame varied slightly between CNN and Fox News, the figure shows a general guide and overall analysis of the framing used by two of America's leading and most influential media outlets, CNN and The Fox News Network. The 'event' that brought the frame into being was the revolution itself and one of the main 'actors' discussed during the revolution, and the focus of this study, was the Muslim Brotherhood. These two factors combined to form the overall 'issue,' which was informed by this analysis of CNN and Fox News' attempt to frame the 'actor' within the 'event' while evaluating

and remedying the 'issue.'

This frame and analysis had implications in many different areas. Firstly, it addressed some of the discrepancies always discussed about the media but not often verified by hard fact and should be kept in mind as an audience member viewing either channel. Furthermore, the consequences of such a frame could be later researched through subsequent public opinion and foreign policy to look for direct connections in popular cognitive thought about the Muslim Brotherhood and terrorism in general.
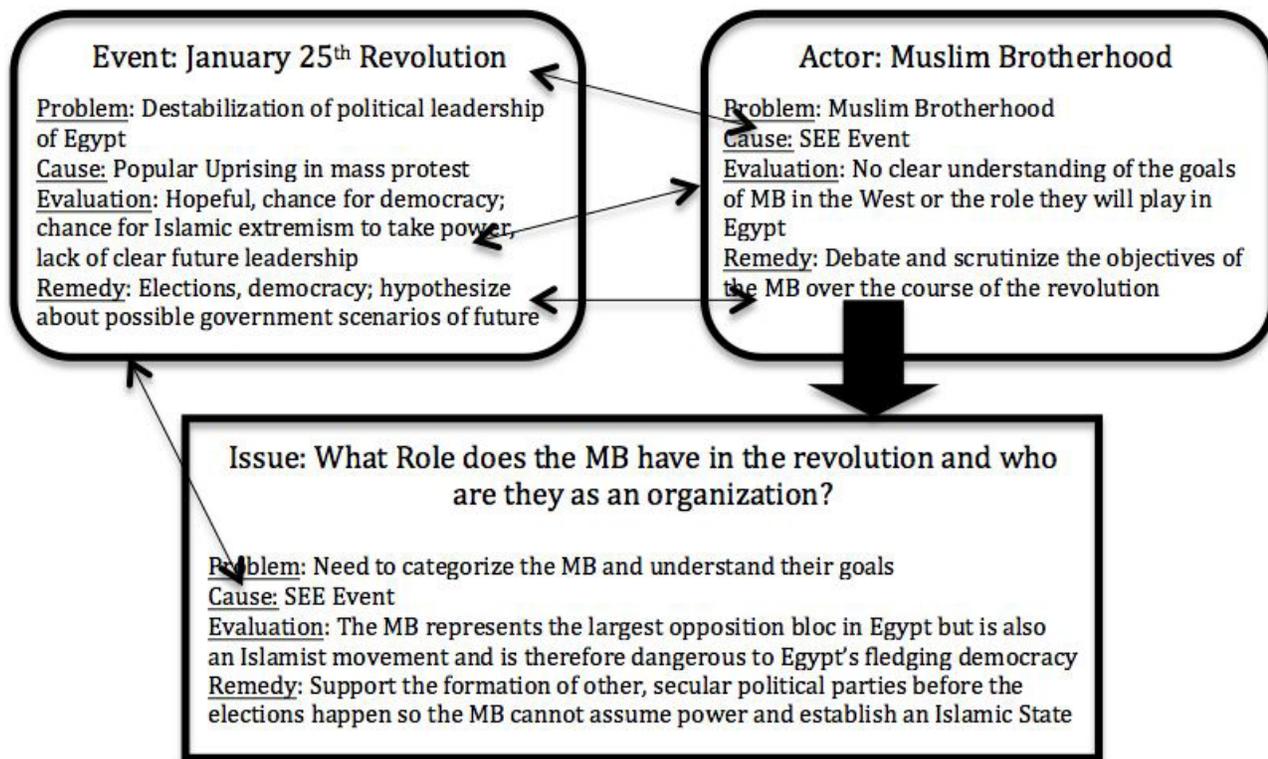
Event: January 25th Revolution

Problem: Destabilization of political leadership of Egypt
Cause: Popular Uprising in mass protest
Evaluation: Hopeful, chance for democracy; chance for Islamic extremism to take power, lack of clear future leadership
Remedy: Elections, democracy; hypothesize about possible government scenarios of future

Actor: Muslim Brotherhood

Problem: Muslim Brotherhood
Cause: SEE Event
Evaluation: No clear understanding of the goals of MB in the West or the role they will play in Egypt
Remedy: Debate and scrutinize the objectives of the MB over the course of the revolution

Issue: What Role does the MB have in the revolution and who are they as an organization?

Problem: Need to categorize the MB and understand their goals
Cause: SEE Event
Evaluation: The MB represents the largest opposition bloc in Egypt but is also an Islamist movement and is therefore dangerous to Egypt's fledging democracy
Remedy: Support the formation of other, secular political parties before the elections happen so the MB cannot assume power and establish an Islamic State

Figure II. News frame used for the Muslim Brotherhood. Fully developed frame for the Muslim Brotherhood's portrayal by CNN and The Fox News Network during the January 25th Revolution in Egypt and the five days following its end.

It is important to address two limitations of this study. While coding through a computer program can provide a rich pool of data, it can also increase the margin of error either through program or operator error. Furthermore, the Egyptian Revolution occurred too recently to be able to measure the framing effects on public opinion and subsequent foreign policy, limiting the scope of this analysis. The results of this study, however, can be built upon in the years to come as Egypt's current, chaotic political landscape begins to mold itself into a definite shape of some set system of governance, and given the demands of the Egyptian people, hopefully that system will be a true democratic one.

Given the influential nature of framing on the development of public opinion and foreign policy as discussed in the current scholarship on framing analysis, this analysis should act as the first step towards long-term research concerning the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, American public opinion of the Islamist movement, and U.S. foreign policy towards the organization over the next five to ten years as the Brotherhood's role in the future of Egypt becomes clearer. Though large amounts of research exist in the realms of the impact of framing during humanitarian crises and conflicts/wars, little research exists concerning framing's influence on domestic public opinion of a foreign revolution.

With the beginning of 2011 beginning the tsunami of protest and civil disobedience in the Middle East that has become popularly known as the 'Arab Spring,' there are many rich case studies in American media framing of Arab revolutions waiting to be analyzed. This research will inform communications professionals and audiences alike as to how they should approach the news coverage of a foreign revolution and can understand how to more objectively communicate in times of such chaos.

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