

**Media Coverage of the Military Council  
November 2011  
The Arabic Network for Human Rights Information**

## Introduction

During the month of November, The most two important events at all were the attack on the Tahrir sit-in and the elections. The attack aimed at dispersing the sit-in forcibly, triggering hundreds of thousands of Egyptians to demonstrate. With the ongoing policing approach with the protesters, the sit-in continued and extended after 50 Egyptian had been killed, and thousands had been injured. On the other hand, attention towards the elections was relatively distracted by the events in Tahrir, despite being historic elections. The Military Council was the main focus of the media coverage, whether in relation to the Tahrir sit-in dispersal, or to the arrangements for the elections.

Of the most prominent issues in the media scene in relation to the Military Council, Al-Selmi document was in the main focus by the beginning of the month, as well as the attempt to pass broad powers enabling the Military Council to control the capacities and and direction of the future state in Egypt, through constitutional articles. The controversy altered from the document, which the Islamic groups attributed to Ali Al-Selmi, the Vice Prime Minister, and was so reported by the mass media, to the military institution and the Military Council, especially after the violent handling of the sit-in which lasted for almost a week, leaving behind tens of martyrs and thousands of injured, among of which many lost their eyes.

The monitoring results showed that Al-Wafd allocated the largest space (19832 square centimeters) to the Military Council, followed by Al-Akhbar (18789 square centimeters), then Al-Masry Al-Youm (13234 square centimeters), then Al-Shorouk (10693 square centimeters), and finally Al-Ahram (550.5 square centimeters).

As per the topics that the newspapers were keen to cover, the elections differed in the priorities ranking of the newspapers in November, the month which witnessed the first stage of the first elections after the revolution. The priorities of the different newspapers and the ranking of the elections which comes in the second or third rank at most time, indicate that the media institutions differ in the assessment of their priorities in November. Some of the newspaper prioritize the protests, and others prioritize the political conditions and the governance mechanism. This is reflected in the recurrence of covering different topics in each newspaper.

The Military Council as a unified entity came on top of the sources of the news, to take almost three quarters of the space allocated for military figures. In the second rank came

Field Marshal Tantawi, and the space left was differently distributed between the members of the Council, like Lieutenant General Sami Anan, General Hamdi Badeen, General Mahmoud Higazy, and others.

On websites, Masrawy was the most to cover the Military Council during the monitoring hours through out November, with an average of 27096 words, followed by El-Badil (12797 words), then Youm7 (10217 words), and finally Al-Ahram Gate (3047 words).

As per the number of words that the websites allocated to the military figures (the Council as a whole and all its members by name), the largest coverage space was allocated to the Military Council with an average of 35472 words, then Tantawi with 12782 words, then Gen. Mohsen Al-Fangary with 1257 words, then Lieutenant General Anan with 1173 words, Gen. Al-Assar with 832 words, then Generals Mahmoud Higazy, Hassan Al-Ruweiny, Mamdouh Shahin, Mokhtar Al-Mulla, and Ismail Etman.

In the monitored talk shows, Al-Ashera Masa'an, broadcast on Dream TV, was the most to cover the Military Council with an average of 4 hours, 41 minutes, and 7 seconds in November. Live from Egypt, broadcast in the Egyptian Satellite Channel, allocated 1 hour, 48 minutes, and 13 seconds. Baladna Bel Masry, broadcast on ONTV, allocated 26 minutes and 5 seconds.

As per the spaces allocated to military figures (the Council and its members), the Council ranked first with an average of 5 hours, 44 minutes, and 45 seconds in the three shows. Field Marshal Tantawi had 54 minutes and 7 seconds. Lieutenant General Sami Anan had 8 minutes and 28 seconds. Gen. Al-Ruweiny had 4 minutes, Al-Fangary had 3 minutes and 35 seconds. Gen. Mamdouh Shahin had 30 seconds.

Why and How?

Given the importance of the transition in Egypt, and the essential role played by the media at this critical time, ANHRI is keen to monitor the media coverage for both the Military Council and the Judicial system, being the most two important pillars in founding the new post-revolution state. The manner of the media and the extent of freedom and responsibility it enjoys strongly influence, whether positively or negatively, the public opinion. Therefore, the media influences decision makers and the actual steps towards a democratic state.

Through reporting information and accurate news during this stage, and reporting different point of views, by which the audience of the different media outlets can form their positions based on clear information and givens. On the other hand, the more the mass media relies on anonymous sources, or incomplete information, or the more it was influenced by worry and fear in reporting news dealing with the most two important

authorities at this stage (The Military Council and the judiciary), the more confused the public opinion becomes, and thus leaving the decision to the Military Council and the government alone.

ANHRI works on the project with the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights and the International Media Support (Denmark). The project studies and monitors the media scene, and the manner it addressed the transitional phase in general, and the political scene and the elections in specific, as well as the media coverage of the judiciary and the Military Council.

These issues were selected to be monitored on the grounds that the judicial and executive authorities, led by the Military Council, are the most important authorities that make decision and are supposed to guarantee justice for the citizens during this stage in which the Egyptian stage is being rebuilt on democratic basis. This democratization primarily depends on the interactions in the political scene, and how these interaction impact the elections. Amid all this, the media plays an important role. It can contribute to clarifying the picture for the audience, or it can drift to political deals or orientations or fears from specific authorities. Therefore, monitoring the media is of great important at this critical and distinctive stage in the Egyptian history.

ANHRI works on monitoring a sample of the Egyptian mass media, which it made sure to enjoy 2 conditions, which are proliferation and the size of the audience they reach as a first condition, in addition to diversity whether in their general orientations or in the ownership of the media outlet.

The selected sample is made of the newspaper Al-Ahram, Al-Akhbar, Al-Masry Al-Youm, Al-Shorouk, and Al-Wafd, and the websites Youm7, Masrawy, Al-Ahram Gate, and El-Badil, and the talk shows Baladna Bel Masry (ONTV), Al-Ashera Masa'an (Dream), and Live from Egypt (Egyptian Satellite Channel). The monitoring and assessment process is conducted on the basis of two types of measurements. The first is quantitative monitoring to measure the spaces allocated to the different players in the judicial scene, such as judges, lawyers, different leveled courts, or the Military Council whether the Council as a whole or its members. The measurement for the press is by square centimeters, by words for websites, and seconds for talk shows.

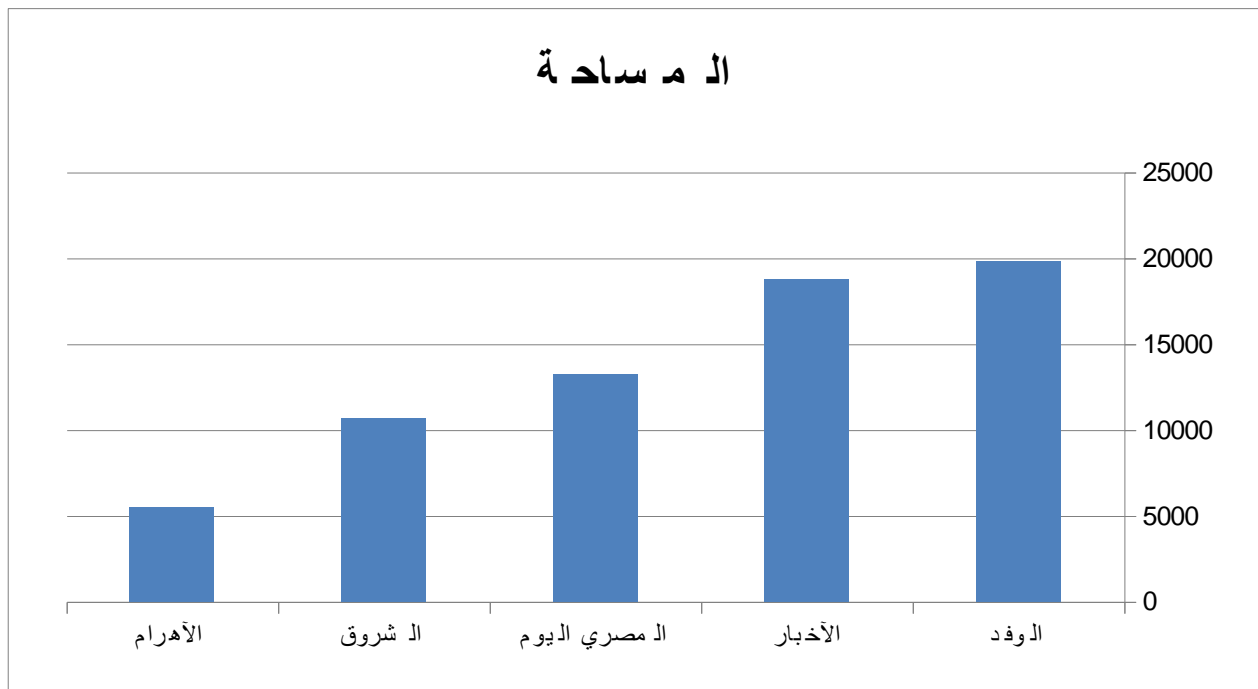
The recurrence and diversity of the legal dimensions of the coverage are also measured, in terms of the issues and topics related to the judiciary in the media. The recurrence of the Military Council and the way it is presented to the readers and the way the media addresses the Council and its members and news, are also monitored.

The second monitoring type is the quantitative type. It is an attempt to find the indirect content in the reports and media coverage, and to interpret and analyze the topics and

facts presented in them by a quantitative analysis form. The form primarily depends on the recurrence of the different impressions about the topics, and the addressing manner. It is alternately prepared by about 25 observer, in an attempt to reduce personal biases.

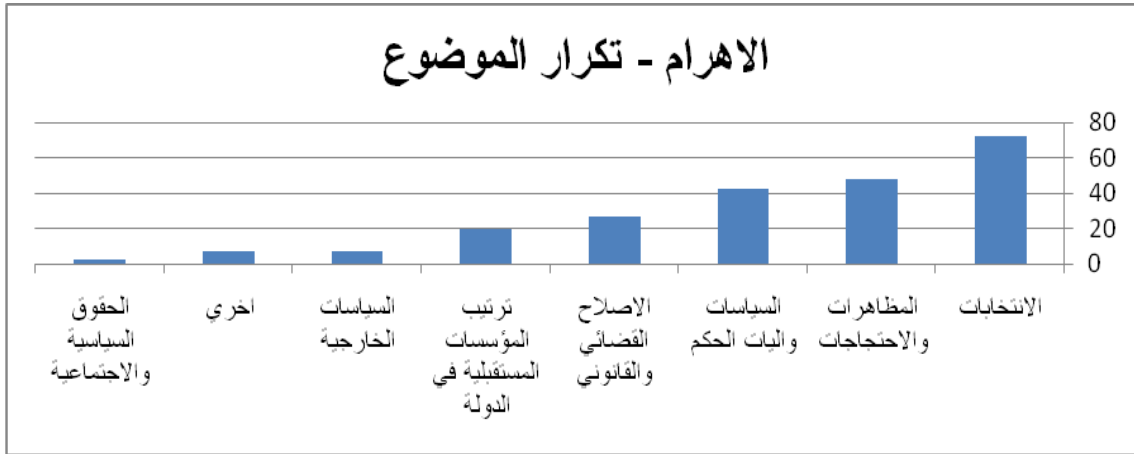
The media coverage of the Military Council in the monitored newspapers:

Last month, Al-Wafd allocated the largest space (19832 square centimeters) to the Military Council, followed by Al-Akhbar (18789 square centimeters), then Al-Masry Al-Youm (13234 square centimeters), then Al-Shorouk (10693 square centimeters), and finally Al-Ahram (550.5 square centimeters), as shown in the following 2 diagrams:

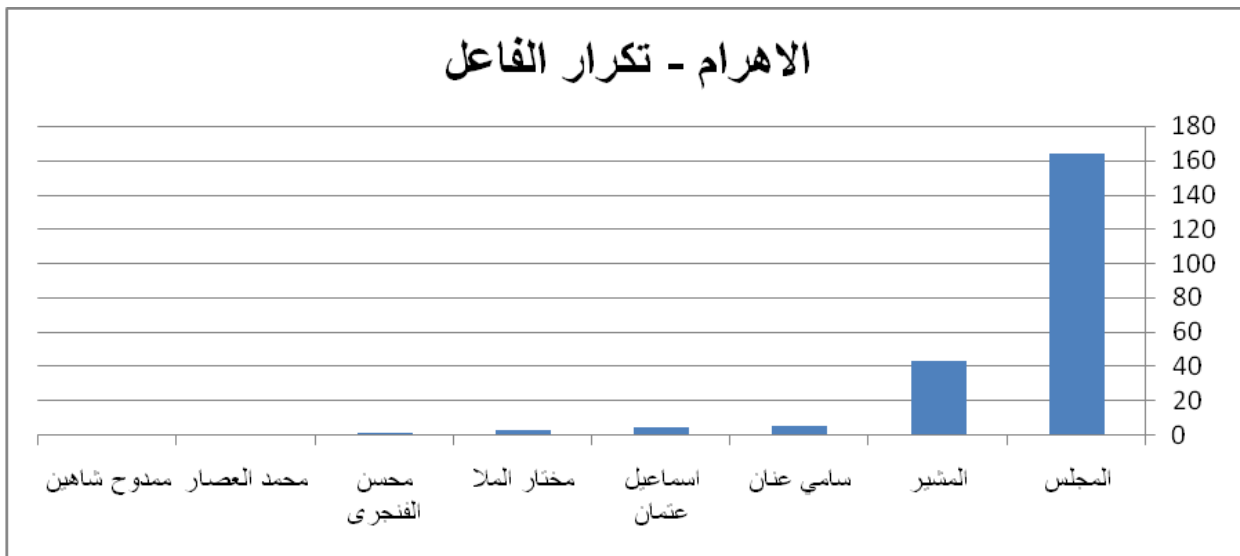


As per the topics that the newspapers were keen to cover, the elections differed in the priorities ranking of the newspapers in November, the month which witnessed the first stage of the first elections after the revolution. The priorities of the different newspapers and the ranking of the elections which comes in the second or third rank at most time, indicate that the media institutions differ in the assessment of their priorities in November. Some of the newspaper prioritize the protests, and others prioritize the political conditions and the governance mechanism. This is reflected in the recurrence of covering different topics in each newspaper.

Al-Ahram was keen to cover pro-Military Council news, more than to cover the elections. The second priority was the demonstrations and protests, then policies and governance mechanisms in the third rank. The following diagram shows the priorities of Al-Ahram through the topics that it focused on during last month:

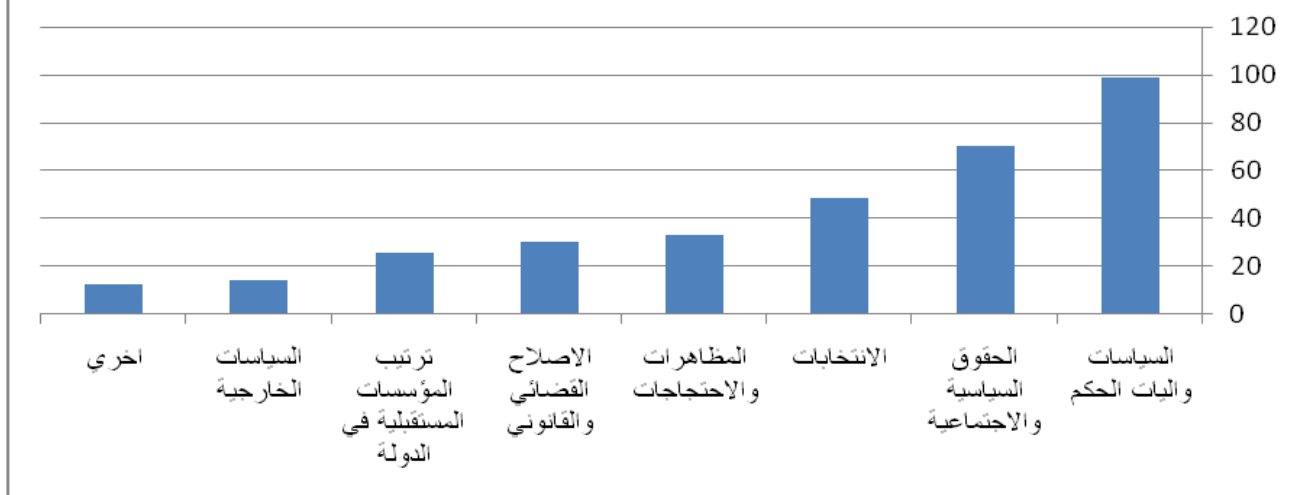


As per figures of the Military Council, it came as a unified entity on the top of the sources in the coverage of Al-Ahram, to take over three quarters of the space allocated to military figures in the newspaper. The second rank went to Field Marshal Tantawi, then Lieutenant General Sami Anan, then Gen. Ismail Etman, then Gen. Mokhtar Al-Mulla. The following diagram shows the recurrence of military figures in November:



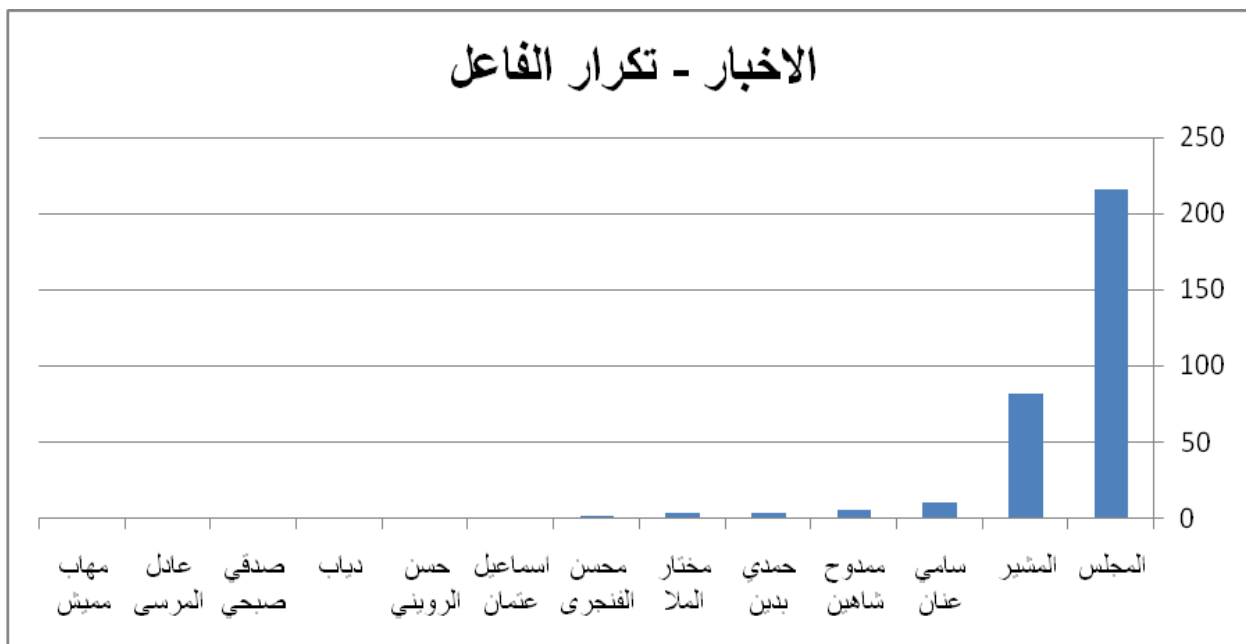
Al-Akhbar newspaper presented a strongly pro-Military Council coverage. It prioritized policies and governance mechanisms, followed by political and social rights, then the elections, then demonstrations. The recurrence of reports and news covering these issues is shown in the following diagram:

## الاخبار - تكرار الموضوع

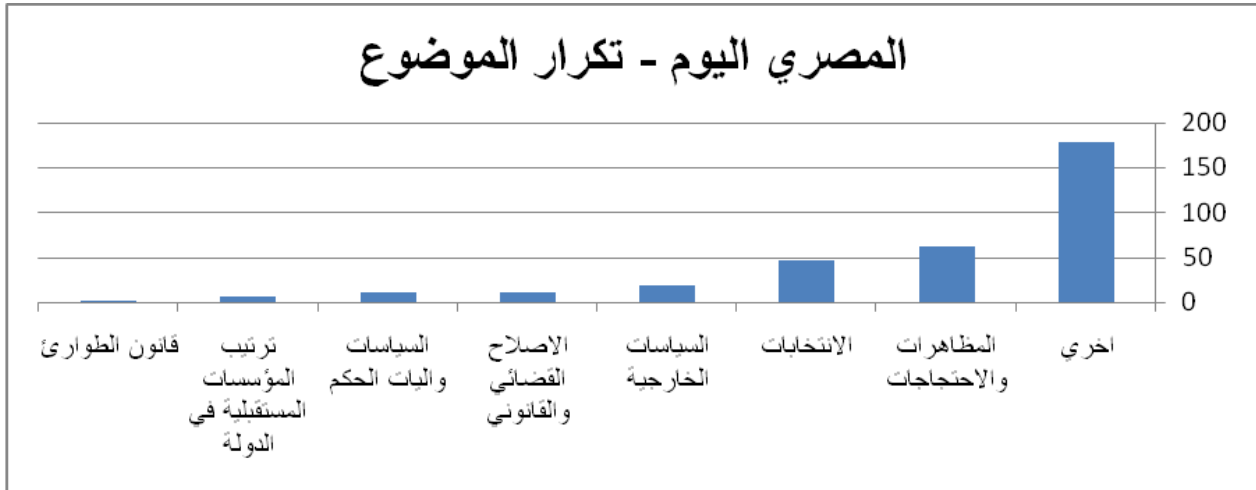


As per figures from the Military Council, the Military Council as a whole was on top of the sources of Al-Akhabar, taking over three quarters of the space allocated to military figures. Second came Field Marshal Tantawi, who had triple the share of the rest of the Council's members, followed by Lieutenant Gen. Sami Anan, then Gen. Mamdouh Shahin, Then Gen. Hamdy Badeen. The following diagram shows the recurrence of the military figures last month:

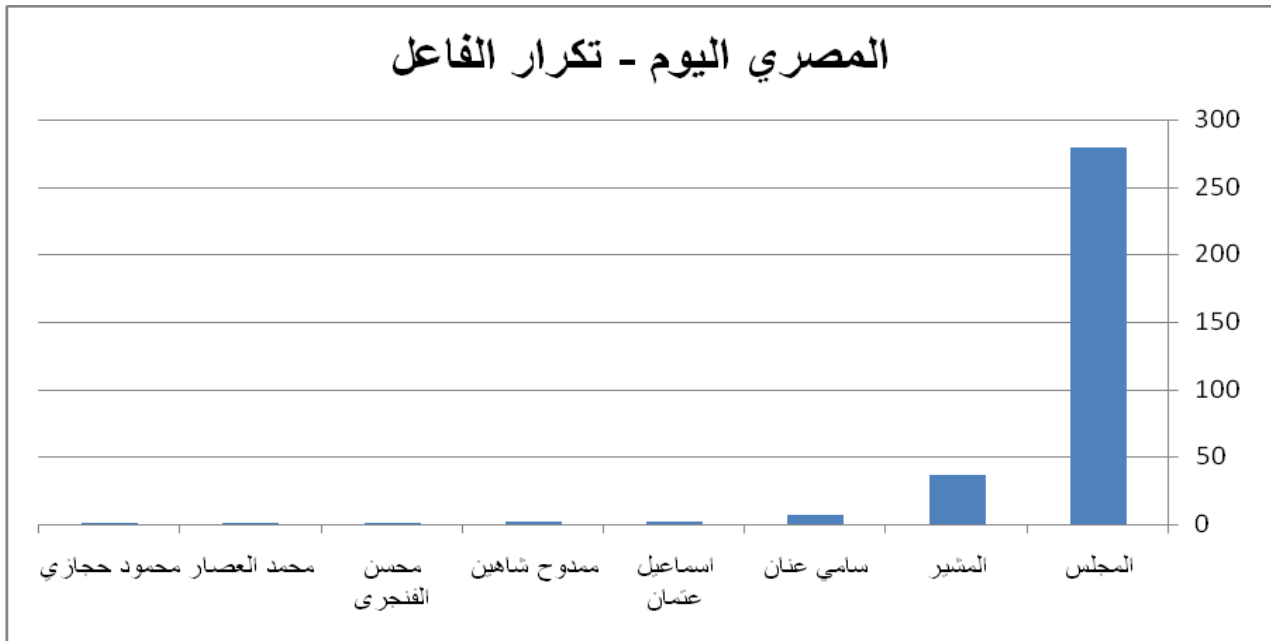
## الاخبار - تكرار الفاعل



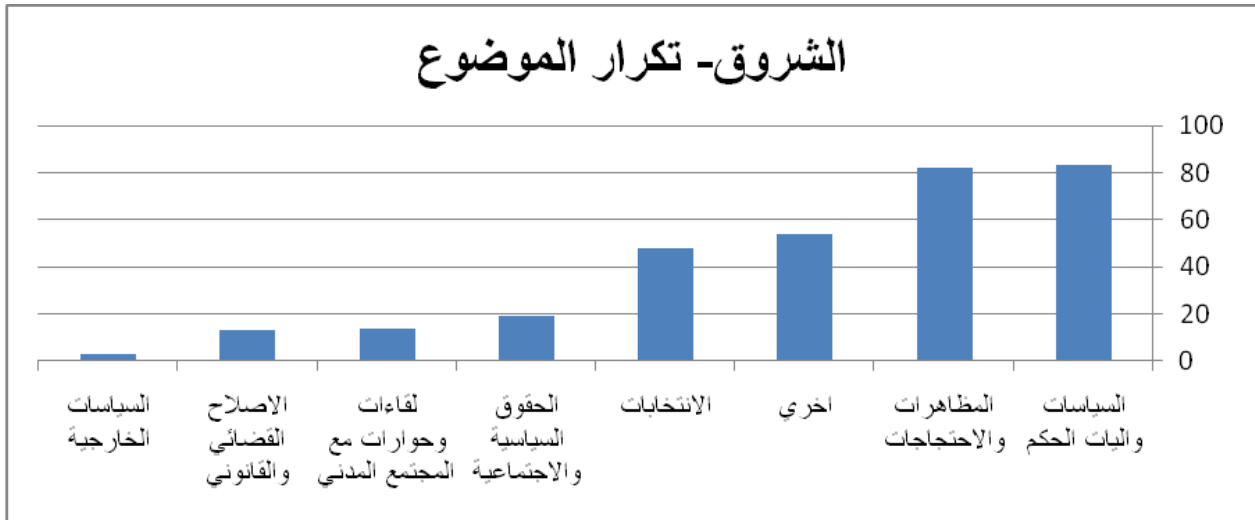
In Al-Masry Al-Youm, elections came second in priority after demonstrations and protests. Foreign policies ranked third, then judicial and legal reform. The issue of the emergency law was raised only once. The following diagram shows the interest of Al-Masry Al-Youm in different topics last month:



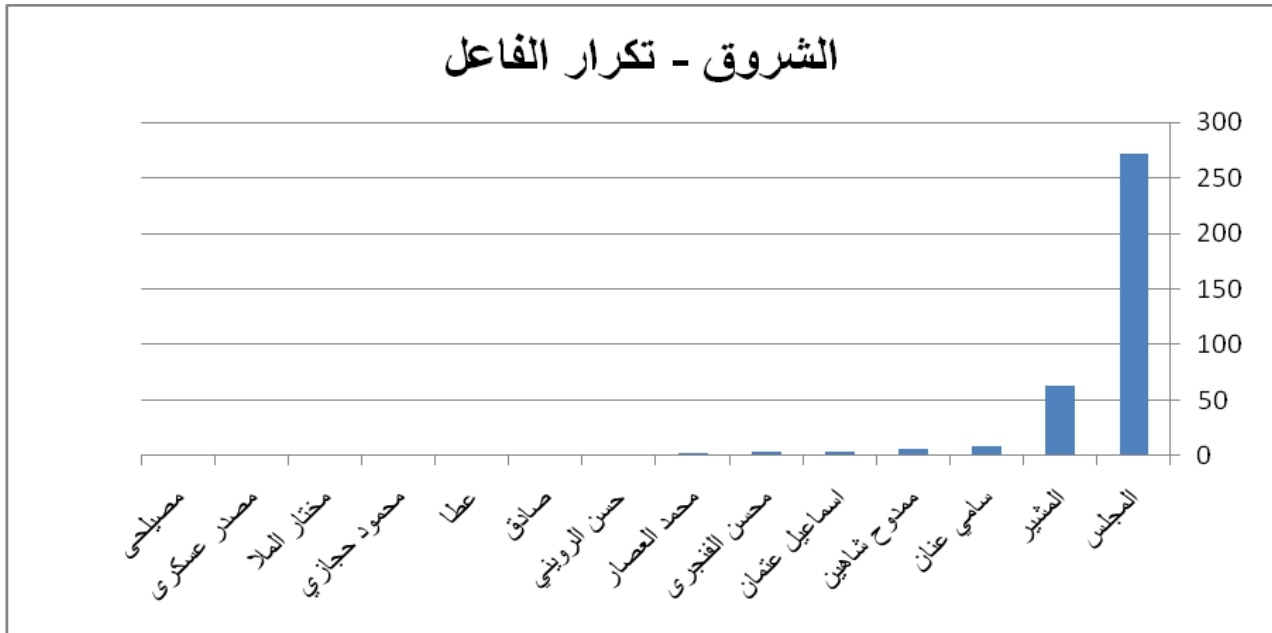
Regarding its interest in military figures, the Military Council as a whole ranked first, taking over 80% of the space allocated to military figures, then Field Marshal Tantawi, Lieutenant Gen. Sami Anan, who headed a number of meetings with political leaders, Gen. Ismail Etman, Gen. Mamdouh Shahin. The following diagram shows the recurrence of the military figures in the coverage of Al-Masry Al-Youm in November:



As for Al-Shorouk, elections ranked third after policies and governance mechanisms, and demonstrations and protests. Then newspaper also cared for covering political and social rights, meetings and interviews of the Military Council and the civil society, as well as legal and judicial reform, and finally foreign policies.

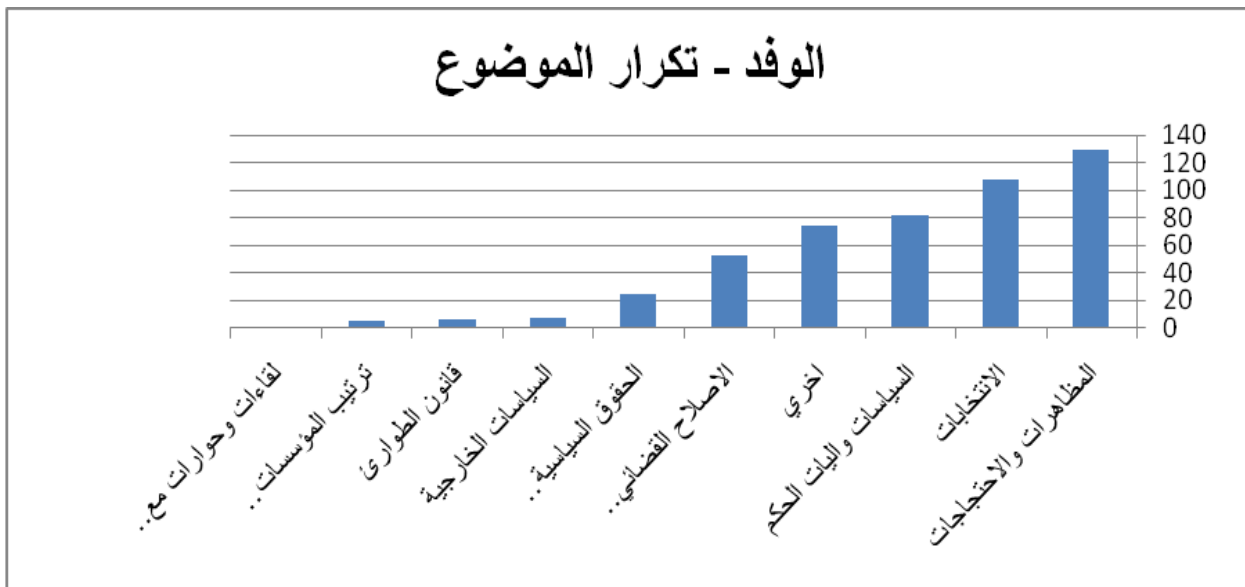


In regards to military figures of the Military Council, it came as a unified entity on top of the priorities, taking over three quarters of the space allocated to military figures. Field Marshal Tantawi ranked second, followed by Lieutenant Gen. Sami Anan, who headed a number of meetings with political leaders, then Gen. Mamdouh Shahin, Gen. Ismail Etman, Gen. Mohsen Al-Fangary. The following diagram shows the recurrence of the military figures in Al-Shorouk newspaper in November:

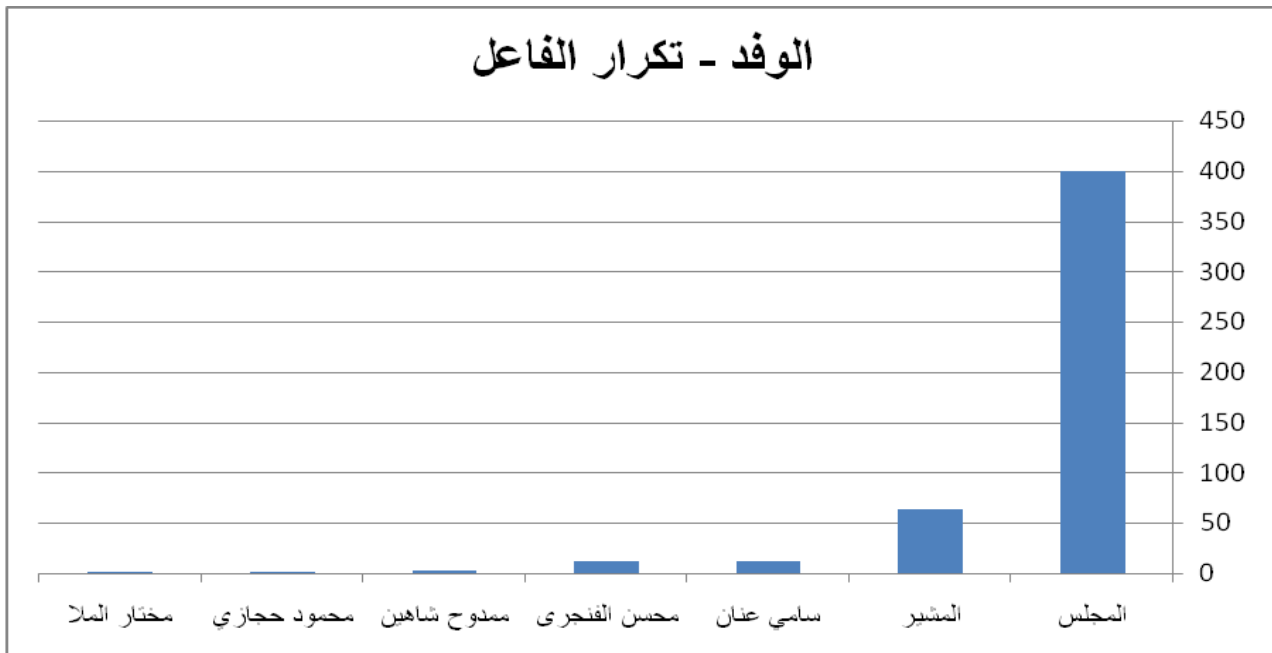


As regards Al-Wafd newspaper, elections ranked second in recurrence through out November after demonstrations and protests, then policies and governance mechanisms. After that, the topics varied between legal and judicial reforms, political and social rights, foreign policies, emergency law, and others. The following diagram shows the different topics addressed in Al-Wafd last month:





In regards to military figures of the Military Council, the Council as a whole ranked first in Al-Wafd, taking over three quarters the space allocated to military figures. Field Marshal Tantawi came second, as he made a number of statements and remarks and meetings with Libyan and American officials. Lieutenant Gen. Sami Anan ranked third, then Gen. Mohsen Al-Fangary. The following diagram shows the recurrence of the military figures in the coverage of Al-Wafd during last month:



During the qualitative monitoring of newspaper throughout the month of November, it became clear that Al-Masry Al-Youm has pursued a coverage critical of the Military Council. That was apparent in 2 November through the remarks of judge Zakaria Abdel-Aziz, the former chairman of the Judges Club, that the Military Council is behind the

crisis between the judges and the lawyers. He also accused the Council of working to postpone the trials of the representatives of the former regime. In the same issue, the newspaper published the statement of the International Court of Justice, condemning the referral of Alaa Abd El-Fattah to the military justice, especially that its forces were part of the violence in the Maspero events. Therefore, the Military Council cannot investigate the incident.

Moreover, the newspaper focused on the constitutional principles document that Ali Al-Selmi, the deputy Prime Minister, was responsible for negotiating about it. It also covered the rejection of the Islamic streams and parties of the document, and boycotting the meetings of Al-Selmi, in rejection of the draft guidelines of the constitution.

Among the stances that Al-Masry Al-Youm allocated space to, was an article by Diah Rashwan, in which he affirmed that the conspiracy theory has dominated many of the Egyptian elite. He also blamed the Military Council for the unrest. The newspaper also made sure to highlight the remarks of Mohamed Salim Al-Awa on 3 November, as he considered that the Military Council “rapes” the authority of the parliament through the constitutional principles document, especially that its articles give the Council broad powers. The newspaper also published an article by Hassan Nafaa, in which he pointed out that the document contains a big mine inserted by the Military Council. Additionally, it published the remarks of Essam Sultan, head of Al-Wasat party, that the Council will be controlling everything, according to the proposed document, as well as the remarks of a spokesperson of Al-Islah party, on that the Military Council and the government are undermining the society, in addition to many other opinions critical of the document and the Military Council. The document was originally suggested by civil forces to focus on setting forth principles for the new constitution, as a collective contract between all the components of the nation, and not to guarantee unlimited powers and authorities for the military institution.

Moreover, Al-Masry Al-Youm published news criticizing the Military Council, as a news story entitled “Battle of the constitutional principles”, which addresses the statement of the Islamic Group that called on the Military Council to repudiate the constitutional principles document, calling it “fishy”. It also published remarks by judge Mahmoud Al-Khodary, that the Council deliberately overlooked issuing the law of political isolation, as well as the remarks of Mohamed Salim under the title “Al-Selmi autocratic document”, in which he called on the Military Council to deny links to the document of constitutional principles, saying it hinders the elections.

On 8 November, the coverage affirmed its criticism over the Military Council in regards to the Document, as well as military trials, especially that of Alaa Abd El-Fattah. For example, there was a news story entitled “Islamists continue to lobby for a demonstration against the Document”, which addressed the remarks of Wahid Abdel-

Maguid, who refused the provision relating to the selection criteria of the Constituent Committee, which gives the Military Council the right to set it up. Another news story entitled “Foreign press: Alaa Abd El-Fattah, a scapegoat”, in which Al-Masry Al-Youm quoted the Guardian that the targeting of Abd El-Fattah is only part of systematic targeting of journalists and activists by the Military Council.

In addition, Al-Masry Al-Youm published several articles critical of the Council, among of which “Egypt and the playing cards” by Mamoun Fandy on 9 November, in which he criticized the Military Council and the Constitutional Declaration. It also published an article by Hassan Nafaa “Demolition or Coup”, in which he affirmed that the Council's inaction in issuing the legislations necessary to accomplish the goals of the revolution. In addition, the article “When will the police strike end?” by Khaled Al-Sergany, in which he affirmed that the Council did not restructure the police, deliberately. Finally, the article by Mahmoud Khalil on 20 November “The Heirs”, in which he stressed that the Military Council has not lifted the threat of military trials against the revolutionaries.

During the same month, the governmental newspaper Al-Ahram presented a pro-Military Council coverage, which was apparent in its publishing of articles supporting and justifying for the Military Council. For example, the article on 1 November by Ahmed Kamel Mortaga “Alternatives of the Military Council”, in which he stressed that the Council is better and more entitled to lead the transition than any other entity. This is the same tone that has been promoted before the ouster of Mubarak, as the question raised by the official media all the time was who to come after Mubarak. It emphasized that there are no alternatives and that the state ends by the end of his rule. The official media repeats the same tone with the Military Council last month, in which criticism escalated against the Document and the powers that the Military Council wants to assemble in the hands of the military institution, in addition to the killing and assaults that happened and is happening against the protesters and demonstrators, such as repression and military trials, which some of them have been replaced by other exceptional trials at the prosecution and courts of State Security, which depend on the emergency law, which the Council refuses to suspend.

Among the articles published by Al-Ahram last month, which show full support from this officially people owned institution for the Military Council, the article of Farouk Gweida on 4 November “Egypt was the foremost”, in which he criticized the lack of consensus among political forces with the Military Council, at the expense of the state. Another article was by Fatima Al-Zahraa on 8 November “When the dialogue is disproportionate”, in which she called for a proportionate dialogue between political forces and the Military Council.

Another example is the article “The elections and national security” by Abdel-Mene'm Saeed on 9 November, in which he highlighted the role of the Military Council in

managing and protecting the country, and another article by him on 10 November “The Constitutional Principles Clarified”, in which he explained the position of the Armed Forces in the new constitution. The third article by the same writer was “Making the future” on 10 November, in which he affirmed the necessity to obey the instruction of the Military Council in the current phase in order to success in managing the country.

Al-Ahram also made sure to highlight certain news stories, like the one on 2 November “Tantawi meets Abul-Jalil to support cooperation between Egypt and Libya”, and the one on 16 November “Full support for the Ministry of the Interior to secure the elections”, which highlighted the role played by the Council to secure the parliamentary elections. The newspaper deliberately published news that highlight the positives of the Council and ignore the criticism of the revolutionaries to it, and their demand to hand over power.

In pursuance of the same approach of Al-Ahram, the coverage of Al-Akhbar newspaper was pro-Military Council. That was apparent in what it published from news and opinion articles. For example, the news story on 3 November “Anan: We work on establishing a civil state where there is no difference between a Muslim and a Christian”, and “Tantawi gives amnesty to 334 inmates who had final sentences”, in an attempt to present the members of the Council as the protectors of the civil state and citizenship rights, and even caring for prisoners. The bias was clear on 4 November, as it presented the Council as “considering the right to vote for the Egyptian abroad”. On 5 November, it published congratulations on the occasion of Al-Adha feast as in “Essam Sharaf congratulates Tantawi and Anan on Al-Adha feast”, a news story deemed professionally as value-less. On 6 November, the newspaper published a similar news story “Tantawi exchanges congratulatory telegrams with the Emirs of The Arab states on the occasion of Al-Adha feast”. On 7 November, it highlighted the news report “Tantawi and Sharaf perform the feast prayers at the Armed Forces mosque”.

Amid all the local and regional problems, this governmental newspaper highlighted a news story on 11 November “Tantawi congratulates the President of Angola on its National Day”. In an attempt to calm the escalating anger in the streets because of the constitutional principles document and the proposed broad powers of the military institution in the new constitution. Official media, and of course Al-Akhbar newspaper, was keen to cover information the Military Council approaching the issuance of a legislation excluding the representatives and leaders of the dissolved Military Council and isolating them from political life.

As elections approached, the coverage generally included praise of anything relating to the Military Council in the elections, and accusation to those who call for boycotting them, despite how low their voices are. For example, it said that such calls are an attempt to “drive a wedge between the Military Council and political forces”, and an

attempt to derail the democratic process, and other accusation and references to foreign interventions.

Among the news that the newspaper tried by which positively present the Council, the news story on 16 November “Tantawi in his meeting with the Cabinet: The elections are a major step towards democratic Egypt”, and Tantawi meets the head of the U.S. Central Command, who praised allowing international organization to follow up the parliamentary elections.

On 23 November, Al-Akhbar covered the Council in a positive way, despite the massive protests in Egypt, demanding power handover to a civil authority for the army to go back to its barracks. It also focused on the speech of Field Marshal Tantawi, as well as the agreement of Lieutenant Gen. Anan with 12 parties leaders and presidential candidates on a timetable for the handover of power. On the other hand, it ignored that many other parties refused to meet Anan, or have not been invited to the meeting. It also neglected the protesters who took to the streets against the policies of the Council, and its silence on the killing of protesters and even getting involved in it, are not affiliated to these parties which do not represent them.

Al-Shorouk newspaper made sure to cover the news and opinions critical of the Council, such as the warning of the National Assembly for Change from “a wave of violence during the elections”, and criticized the Council for not responding to the demands of the revolutionaries, and abolishing the emergency law. On 8 November it published a report entitled “Al-Selmi put himself in a controversial position .. Al-Wasat party: The Military Council wants to indirectly control the country”. It also covered the reactions of some presidential candidates to the Document in the framework of lobbying for a demonstration against it. Abdel-Mene'm Aboul-Fotouh criticized the Council and called it a failure. Mohamed Salim Al-Awa pointed out the the Council works without monitoring, threatening with civil disobedience in response to the blurry actions of the Council. The newspaper then cared to publish criticism of the remarks of Tantawi and Gen. Shatin on the army, the parliament, and their powers, as well as the attack on Tahrir demonstrators.

Among the articles published by Al-Shorouk, the article of Ahmed Youssef Ahmed on 3 November “Against the current, ideas on immediate transition of power to a civil authority”, in which he criticized the performance of the Military Council during the transitional phase. On 6 November it published an article by Wael Qandil “Fraud against the martyrs and injured of the revolution”. On 7 November it published an article by Sayed Qassem Al-Masry “Messages to the Military Council: O Despotism, Rejoice at prolonged peace in Egypt. On 13 November, it published an article by Mo'taz Abdel-Fattah entitled “Management of the country, not in the favor of its people”. On 17

November, it published an article by Emad Al-Deen Hussein, entitled “Egypt needs a leader”, on lawlessness and the responsibility of the Military Council”.

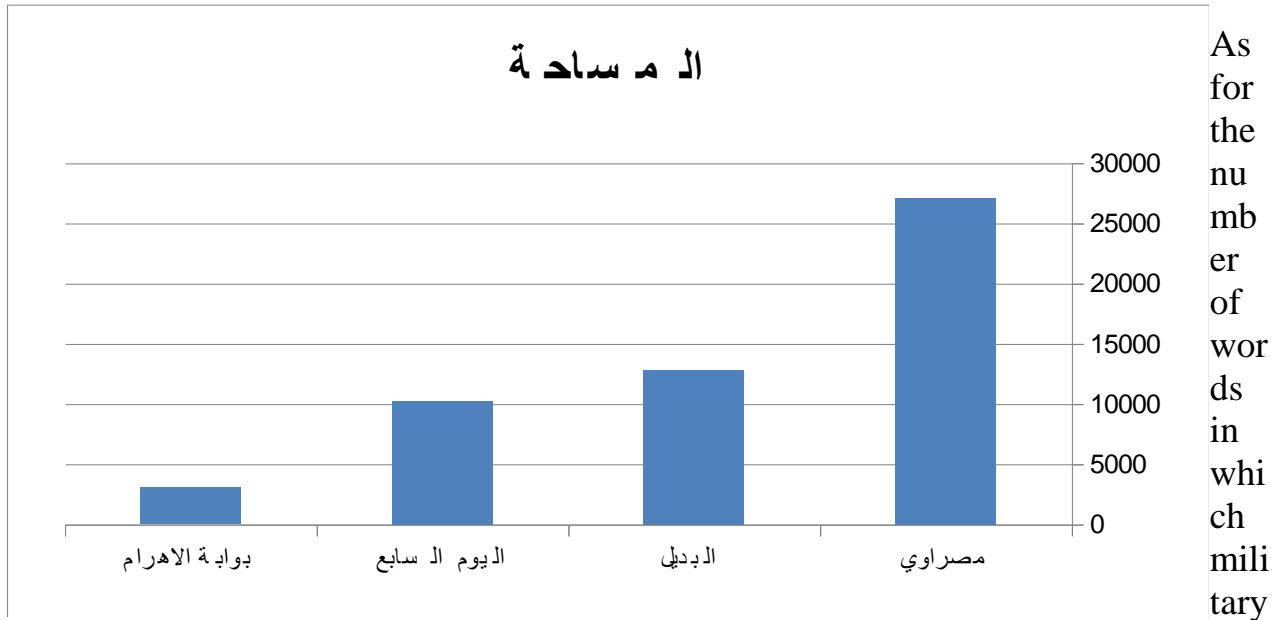
As for Al-Wafd newspaper, it tried to give a neutral impression and focused on the “pros” of the Council and the steps that it takes. On the other hand, it allocates a space for some criticism. That was evident on 5 November in the news story “Lawsuit requesting the army to supervise the elections and nominate a military figure for presidency”. On 10 November it published the text of the constitutional principles and the text of the amendments of articles 9 and 10 of Al-Selmi document. It made sure to defend the position of Al-Selmi, and presented a considerably significant coverage for the pro-Military Council Abbasiya demonstration.

It is worth noting that Al-Wafd was the source of the first spark for the detention of Alaa Abd El-Fattah and accusing him of stealing a weapon and killing an army soldier, by the Hanan Khoask article it published. Khoask called on the Military Council in another article on 14 November to bear full responsibility, stressing on its ability to do that whether internally or externally.

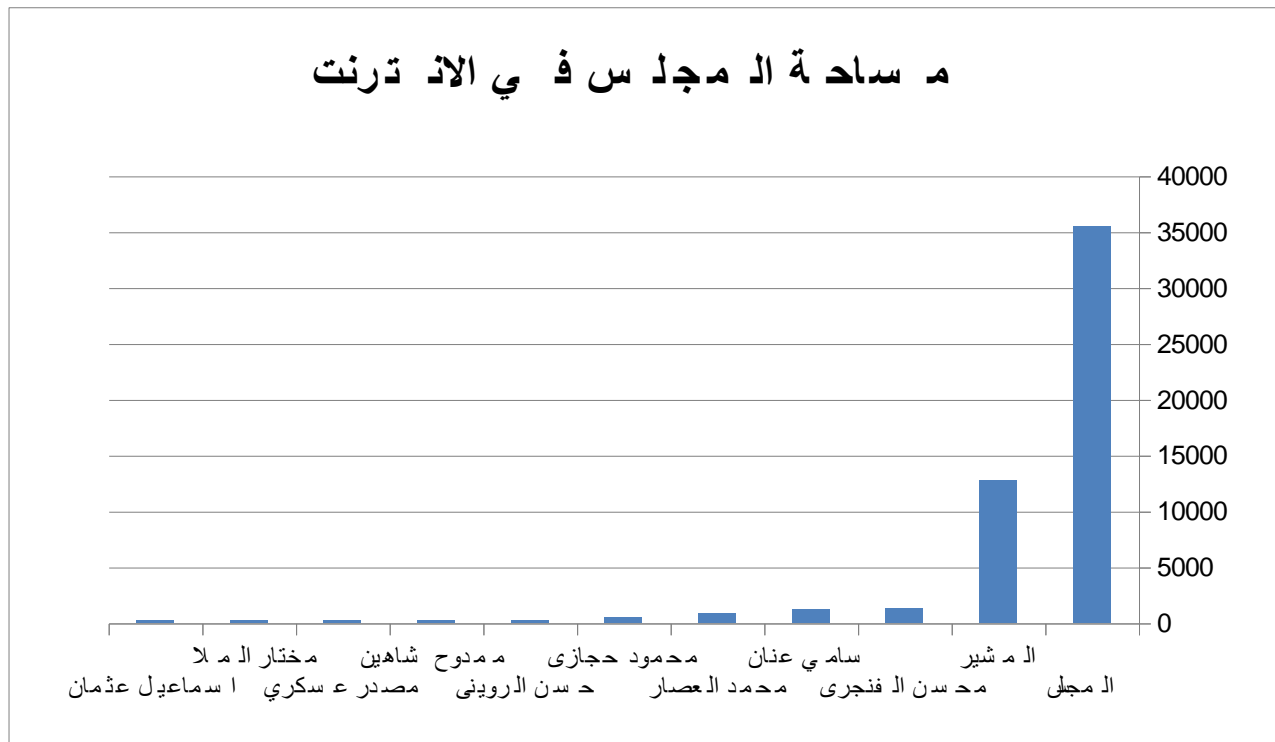
On a different note, Al-Wafd published the criticism of Hazem Salah Abou-Ismael against the Military Council, and his threat with the million man march of 18 November. It also published an article by Ossama Abou-Taleb on 8 November, who considered the Military Council the cause for demonstrations and lawlessness. It also made sure to cover the Tahrir demonstrations, the sit-in, and the criticism of the protesters against the Military Council.

## Second: Media Coverage of the Websites

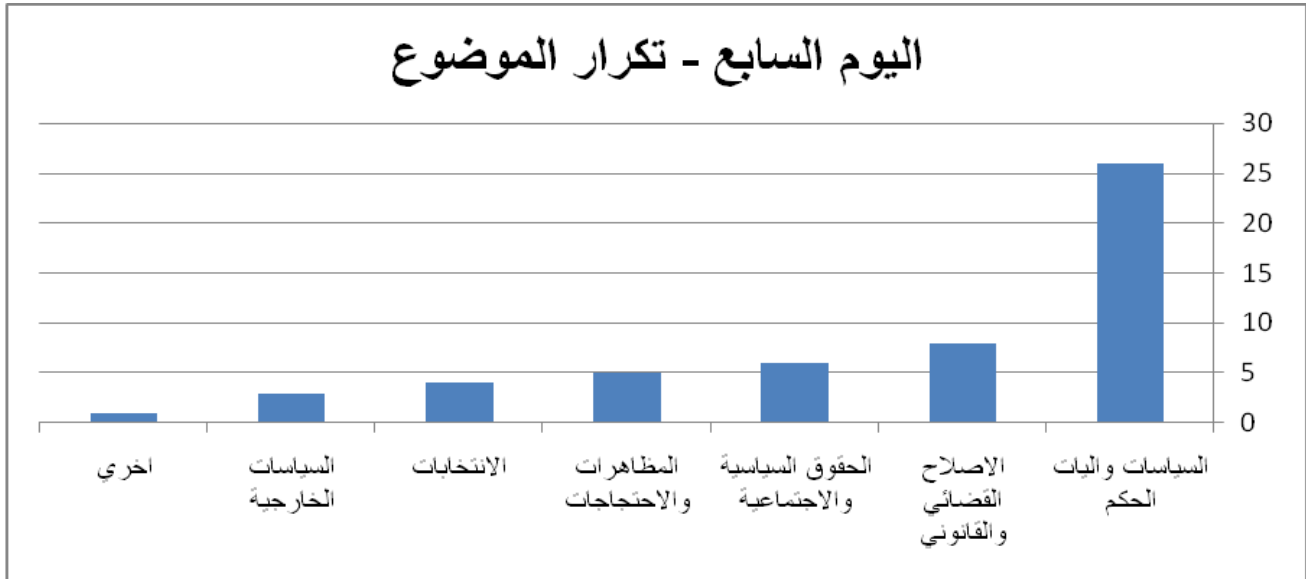
Masrawy was the most website to cover the Military Council during the monitoring hours throughout November, at the allocation of 27096 words, followed by El-Badil website (12797 words), and then Youm7 (10217 words), and finally Al-Ahram Gate (3047 words). The following chart shows the percentages detected throughout the month for 3 hours per day for each website of the monitored sample:



figures were covered (The Council as a whole and all its members by name), the largest share was allocated to the Military Council at a rate of 35472 words, followed by Field Marshal Tantawi, at a rate of 12782 words, then Gen. Mohsen Al-Fangary at 1257 words, then Lieutenant Gen. Sami Anan at 1173 words, and Gen. Mohamed Al-Assar at 832 words, and then Generals Mahmoud Higazy, Hassan Al-Ruweiny, Mamdouh Shahin, Mokhtar Al-Mulla, and Ismail Etman, as shown in the following diagram:

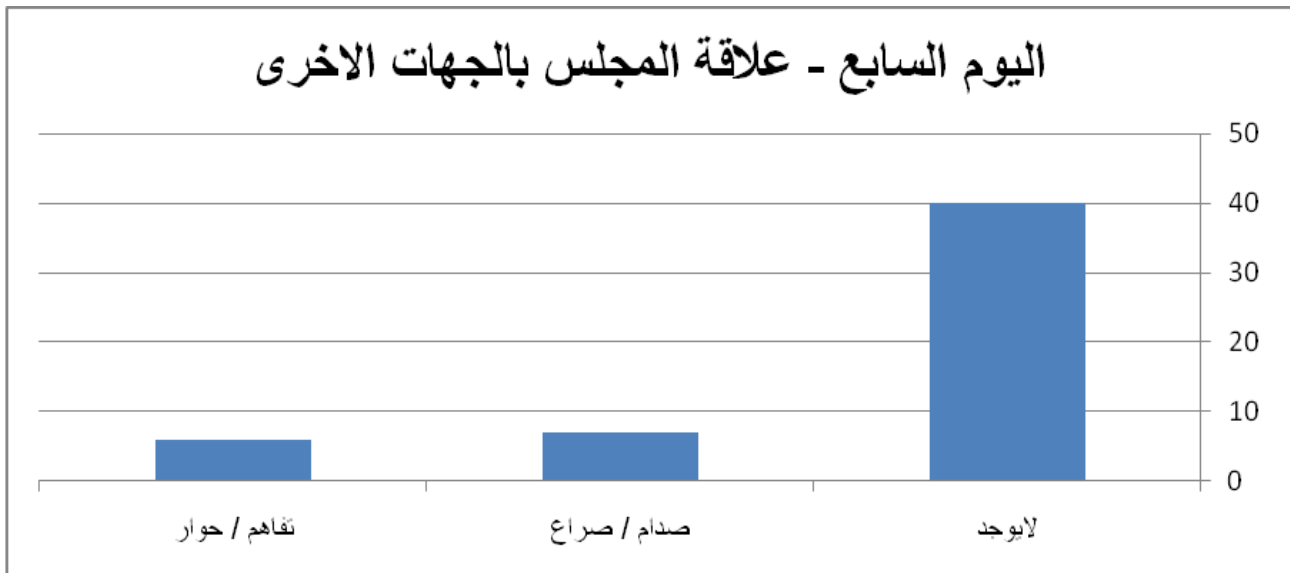
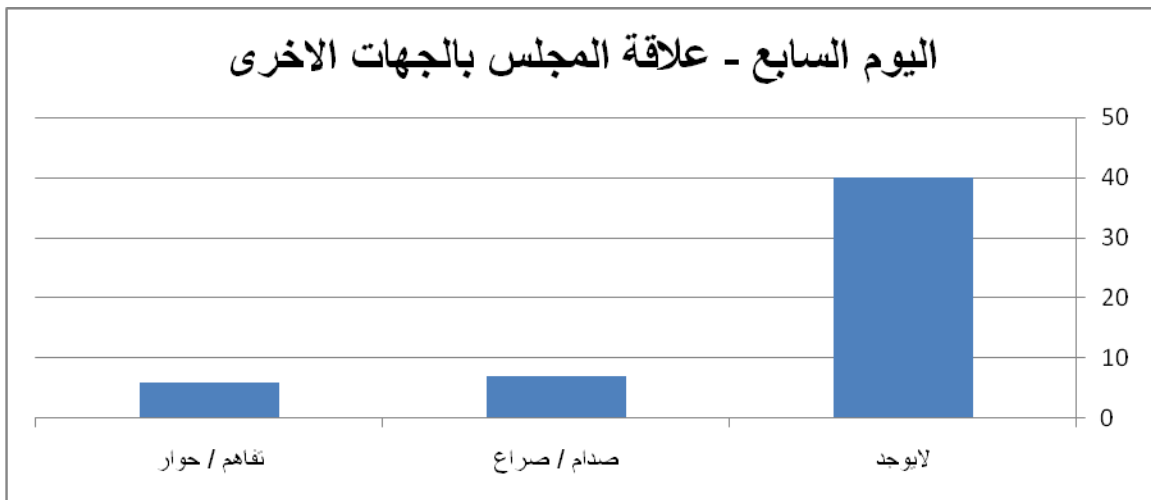


In regards to the topics that the websites focused on, it is clear that elections were not prioritized in the coverage relating to the Military Council. Ranks of the elections varied from one website to another. On Youm7, it became clear at the quantitative monitoring that policies and governance mechanisms were prioritized, followed by judicial and legal reform, then political and social rights. In the fourth rank came demonstrations and protests, then elections. The following diagram shows the rates of interest of Youm7 in different topics.

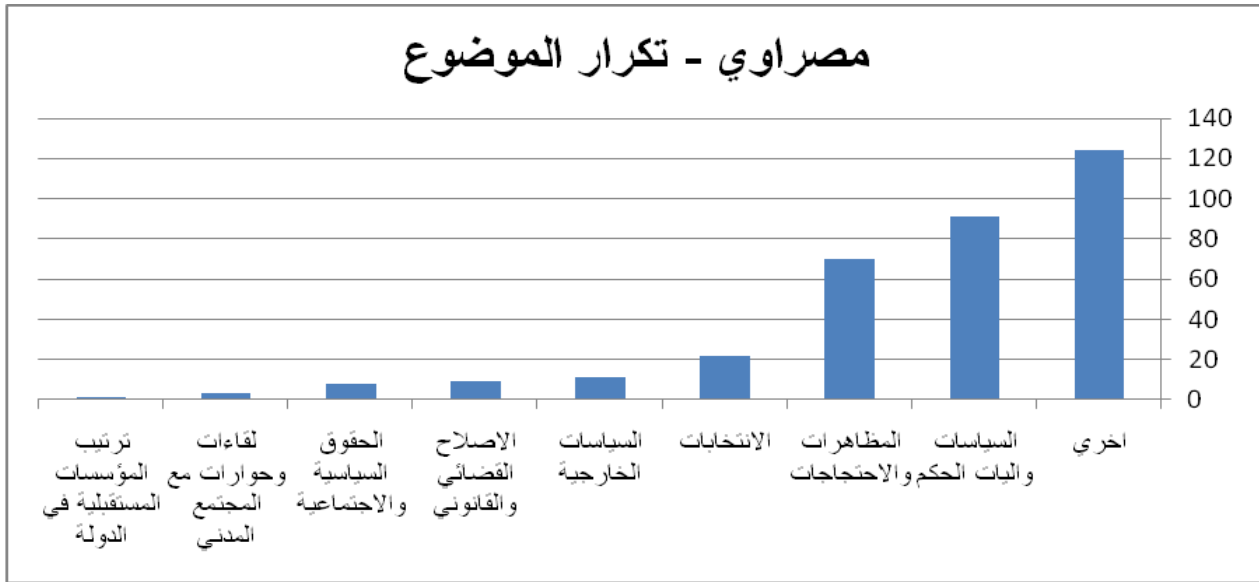


As for the coverage of the relation of the Military Council and other entities in the state, such as the government and protesters and civil society, whether organizations or parties, the coverage of Youm7 tended to focus on the news that do not involve other entities with the Council, and thus no clear relationship. In the second and third rank and at a very close rate, came the news and report that reflect conflict or lash, and those that involve agreement or dialogue between the Council and other entities covered in the news, as shown in the following paragraph:

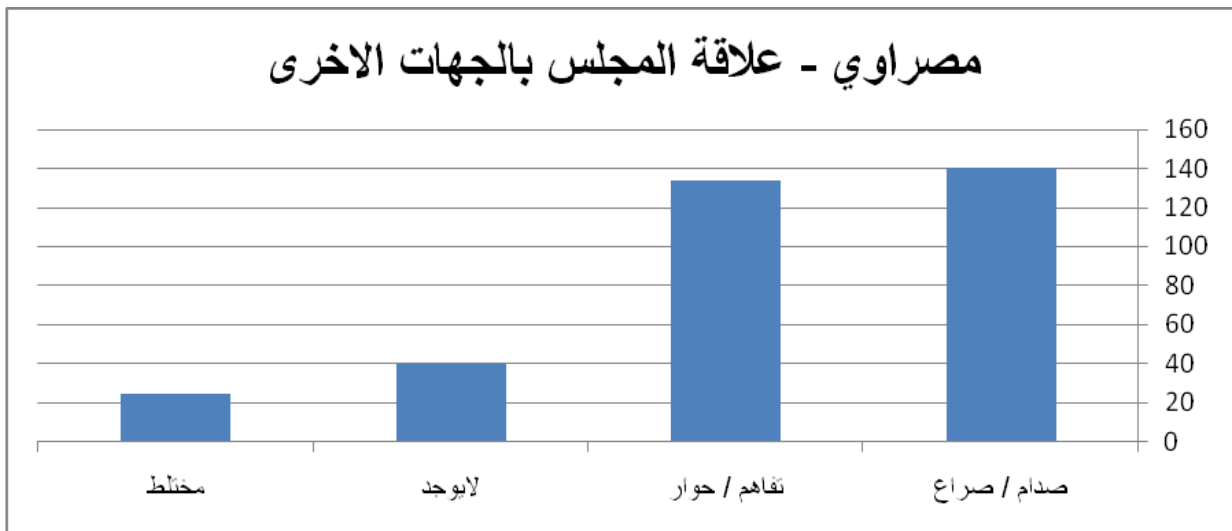




On Masrawy website, policies and governance mechanisms were on top of the concerns, followed by demonstrations and protests, then elections in the third rank. In terms of recurrence of certain news, the following diagram shows the rates on Masrawy website:

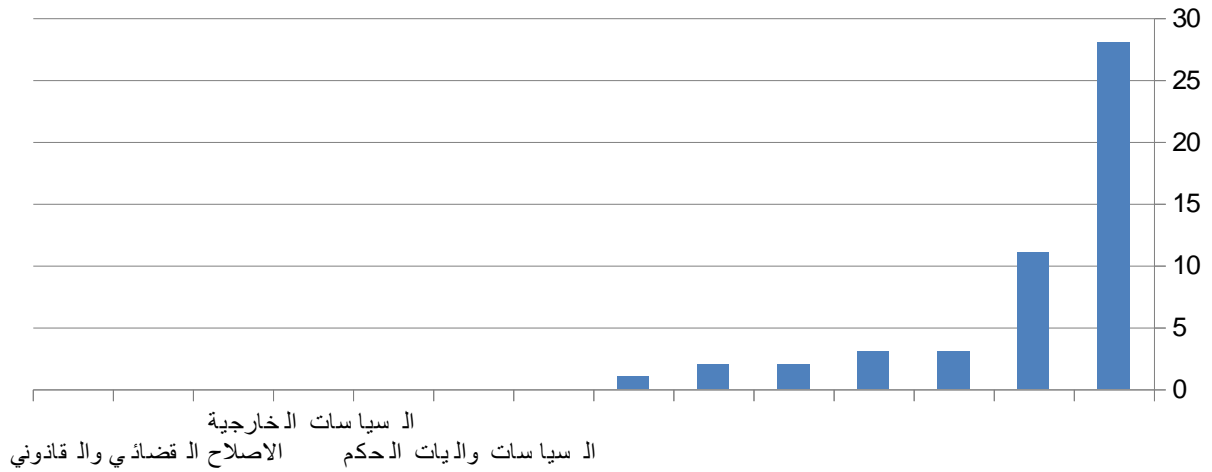


In the context of covering the relationship of the Military Council with other entities in the states, such as the government and protesters and civil society, whether organizations or parties, the coverage of Masrawy tended to focus squarely on the news that reflect conflict or clash, and -with a very narrow gap- the news that reflect agreement and dialogue. In the third rank came the news that do not involve other entities with the Council, and thus no clear kind of relationship is detected, according to the following diagram:



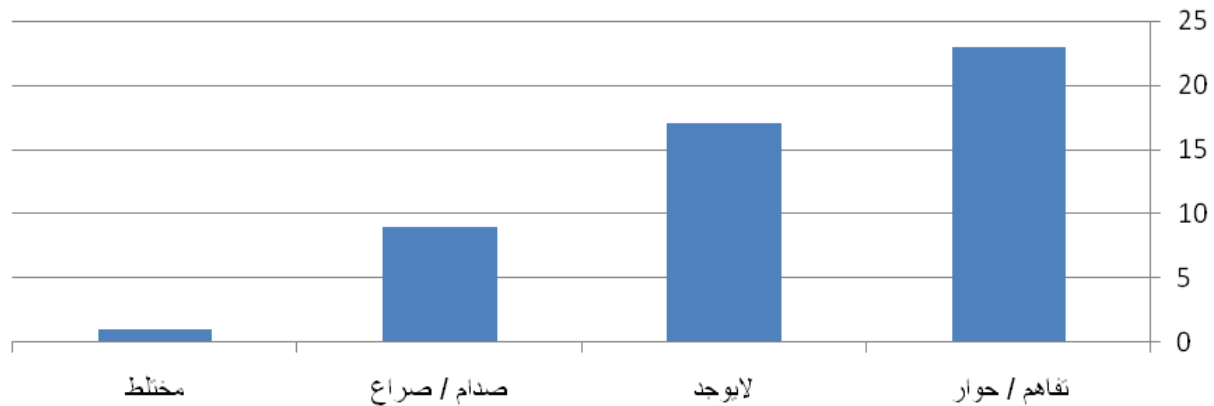
Unlike Al-Ahram printed newspaper, which prioritized the elections and their relation to the Military Council, the same topic occupied the fourth rank in Al-Ahram Gate website, after policies and governance mechanisms, demonstrations and protests, and foreign policies. The following diagram shows the rates of interest of Al-Ahram gate in the different topics as it was covering the Military Council in November:

## بوابة الاهرام - تكرار الموضوع

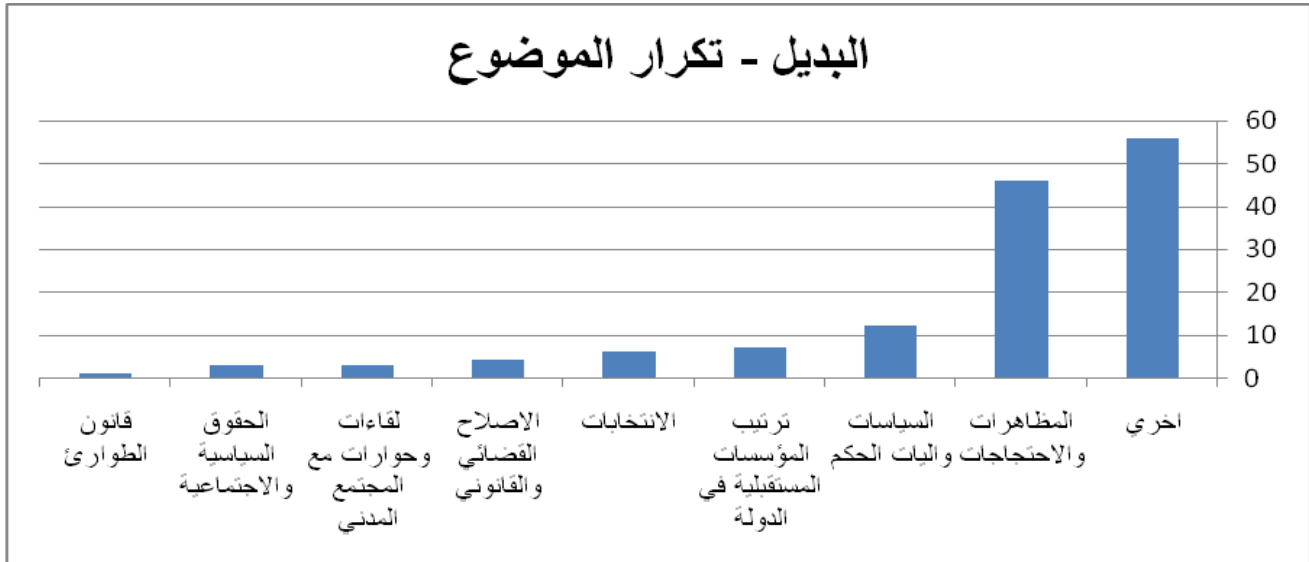


In the context covering the relationship of the Council with other entities, the coverage of Al-Ahram Gate tended to focus on the news that reflect dialogue and agreement between the Council and the other entities, or news that do not involve other entities with the Council, and thus no clear relationship is detected. In the third rank came the news that reflect clash or conflict with the Council, as shown in the following diagram:

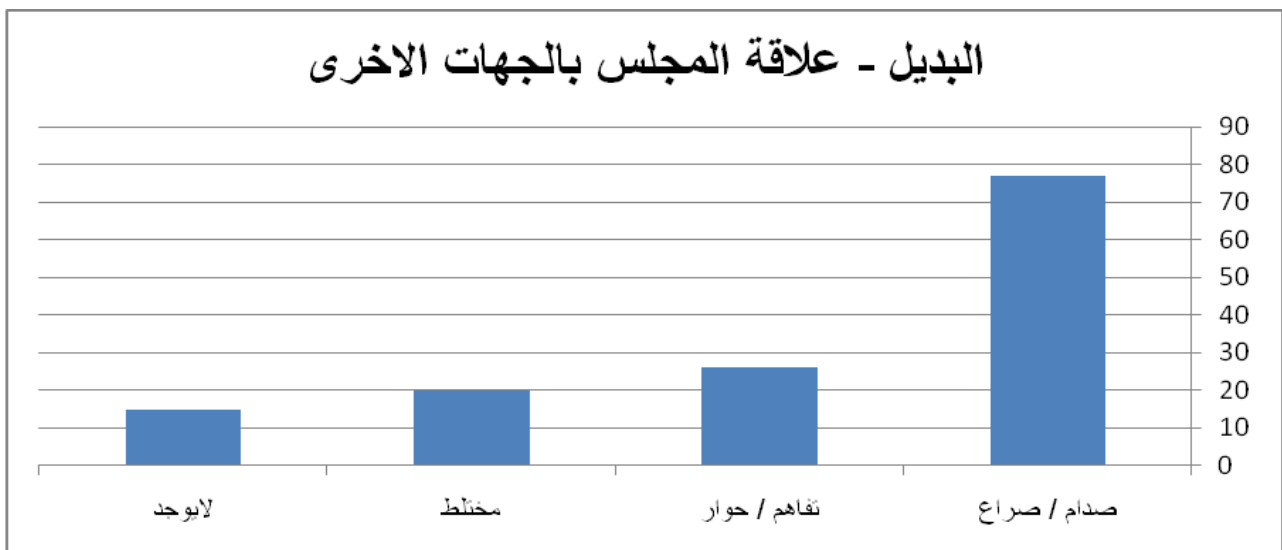
## بوابة الاهرام - علاقة المجلس بالجهات الاخرى



As for El-Badil website, the elections and its relationship with the Military Council in the fourth rank as it is with Al-Ahram Gate. Demonstration and protests came first, followed by policies and governance mechanisms with a huge gap. Future institutions of the state came third. The following diagram shows the rates of interests of El-Badil in the different topics related to the Military Council in November:



In the context covering the relationship of the Council with other entities, the coverage of El-Badil tended to focus on the news that reflect dialogue and agreement between the Council and the other entities, taking over about half the coverage of the Military Council in November. In the second rank came dialogue and agreement between the Council and other entities. The following diagram shows the relationship of the Council with other entities in the state as presented in El-Badil:



During the qualitative monitoring, this adopted primarily the collection of different biases throughout the month. It became clear that Al-Badeel relied on the critical method for the performance of the Supreme Council, as shown in the published articles by the website, like Walid Osman's article in the first of November, who believed that the junta received Egypt in February as a unified country and divided it to teams. Moreover, Hisham Salmawi's article confirmed that the eight months of procrastination and emergency made many believe that the junta would not hand over power, and another article by the same writer called "the military master of its own decision," and Wafaa Ismail's article entitled "Allegiance to the military on Mount Arafat," and another for Nader Ferjani entitled "Is the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces of schizophrenic?."

Additionally, the type of news that the website published, as clear from the quantitative monitoring, expressed the relations of conflict or clash between the Military Council and other entities, as it is for the remarks of Khaled Al-Sayed, representative of Coalition of Revolution Youth, who demanded the Military Council to speed up the transitional phase and to hand over power to an elected civil authority. A news story was also published on 3 November "The second revolution of wrath and Abou-Ismael campaign lobbies for the demonstration of 18 November.. sit-in calls are open till the Military Council steps down". El-Badil chose to highlight the anti-Council chants, unlike other websites, such as: "Hundreds participate in a march from Shubra to the Judges Club and chant Down with the Military Rule", "A protest by the injured of the revolution in Tahrir, blaming the Military Council for not being treated and being dismissed from their jobs", and "A protest demanding the Military Council to step down".

El-Badeel continued rejecting military trials for civilians. A piece of news was published within its coverage on 11 June, entitled: "The activist Seif talked about Alaa's trial and saying no for military trials, the arrested mothers and virginity tests". Moreover, there was an ongoing coverage of Alaa Seif and his mother hunger strike and then accepted to respond to the Supreme State Security Court of emergency, and defend itself as a civil court despite being exceptional.

The site coverage of the Tahrir Square events and the attack on the demonstrators. Akhbar newspaper headlines was such as "The protesters claim to prosecute those responsible for the attack and overthrow the military junta" and "Amnesty International:the military failed to fulfill its promises and is responsible for a list of violations exceeded Mubarak's record" and "Abu Ismail, in a message to Marshal and Annan:there is nothing you can do but taking this plane and go away" in addition to the news dealt with criticism of the military Council administration of the crisis.

The website Youm 7 published news only about the military council unbiased. The uncritical news appeared in the News on 2 November titled Field Marshal issued a pardon for 344 people and on 6 November , it specified spaces for the Armed Forces wishes to the Egyptian people of Adha Feast.

In other situations, it reflects an affirmative or positive attitude, such as a news story entitled "Field Marshal probes Cooperation with Libya during a meeting with the president of the transitional committee "and news on the composition of Amr Moussa of an advisory board includes a number of different political forces and representatives of the Military Council.

For the news critical of the Council, the web site quoted the statements of the positions of some powers, such as Mohammed Mursi, the head of Freedom and Justice Party, in which he accused the military of ignoring the referendum.

There was also a news story, entitled "Times: the Military Judiciary challenges the revolution youth" and the newspaper accused the Military of controlling the transitional phase. This is in addition to coverage of the various stopovers in a number of capitals around the world in solidarity with the demonstrators in Tahrir Square and an attempt to continue the revolution entitled: "The capitals of the world witness the International Day of Solidarity for the Defense of the Egyptian revolution."

Regarding the biased type of news conveyed by Ahram during the month of November, it viewed all the opinions and news of the Military Council, especially the positive ones despite its importance. Among the published news, the website issued a piece of news entitled: "Abdul Jalil in Cairo in his first visit after the death of Gaddafi", saying that the transitional President of Libya met Tantawi, to discuss ways of bonding the relations between the two countries, without details about the meeting or information about "activating the relations" and its own ways. There was also a news story entitled: "Field Marshal congratulates the Armed Forces on the occasion of Adha Feast" and "Marshal Tantawi, exchange greetings with the kings of the nations on the occasion of Adha feast" and the "Supreme Council of the Armed Forces congratulates the Egyptian People's Eid Al-Adha" and "Field Marshal Tantawi, congratulates the President of Liberia by re-electing" and "telegrams of thanks and confidence to Military Council by Egyptians in America and Canada."

The website also focused on the news of Selmi's document and different responses to it , including the preparations for a million man march rejecting it by . Among this coverage , titles were such as: "Political forces give the military and the government until Wednesday to retreat from Selmi's document," and " through a video: El Baradei to the military , you do not have any experience in managing the country , so hand over power

and return to barks to protect our homeland" and "Ayman Nour: We want the army for Egypt ... but Egypt does not want the army .. and the financial policies make the people hate the revolution. "

Masrawy website tried to report news that seem reassuring to the concerns of the Council remaining in power, such as : “Senior source: Field Marhsl Tantawi is to retire after power handover”, affirming that he does not intend to run for presidency, and that the Council will not nominate a military persona for presidency, and “Consultations between the government and the Military Council on Al-Selmi Document”, and “American source: Egypt is a very strong state and the Military Council will hand over power”, affirming that the American embassy in Cairo trusts the Military Council and fully supports it. Another news story was “Suleiman: The army is the only national guardian of Egypt”, reporting the rejection of Omar Suleiman to the attack on the Military Council and pressuring it, demanding a friendly dialogue with it to reform its policies.

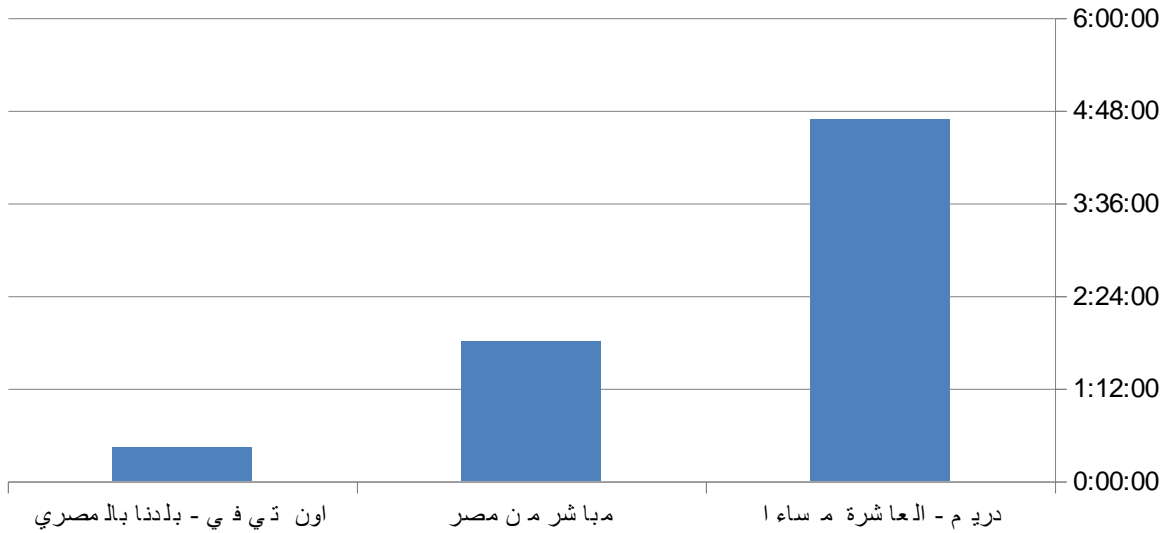
In contrast, the website published news critical of the Council, such as: “Lawsuit against the Council requesting dissolving the Judges Club”, “Amnesty condemns referring Alaa Abd El-Fattah to Military Judiciary”, “Rights center: Maspero events are the worst disaster after the defeat of 1967”, in which Cairo enter criticized the Military Council and considering it the main reason for the decline of the revolution, and that the difference between Egypt and Tunisia is that the Military Ccouncil in Egypt wants to get special gains, resulting in derailing the revolution. On 12 November, all news were critical to the policies of the Council and reject Al-Selmi Document, such as: “Youth of the revolution participate in the Friday of power handover, and considers a sit-in in Tahrir until their demand of a power handover time table is met”, “The Muslim Brotherhood affirms its participation in the upcoming Friday demonstrations for rejecting Al-Selmi Document and its provisions that give the Military Council broad powers”. On 17 November, the Council was criticized in multiple news stories, such as: “El-Baradei: We are living a retaliation phase, not a transitional one”, in which El-Baradei criticized the way the Military Council rules the country, and called on it to reconsider its policies and to support the revolution.

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### **Third: Media Coverage of the Military Council in Talk Shows**

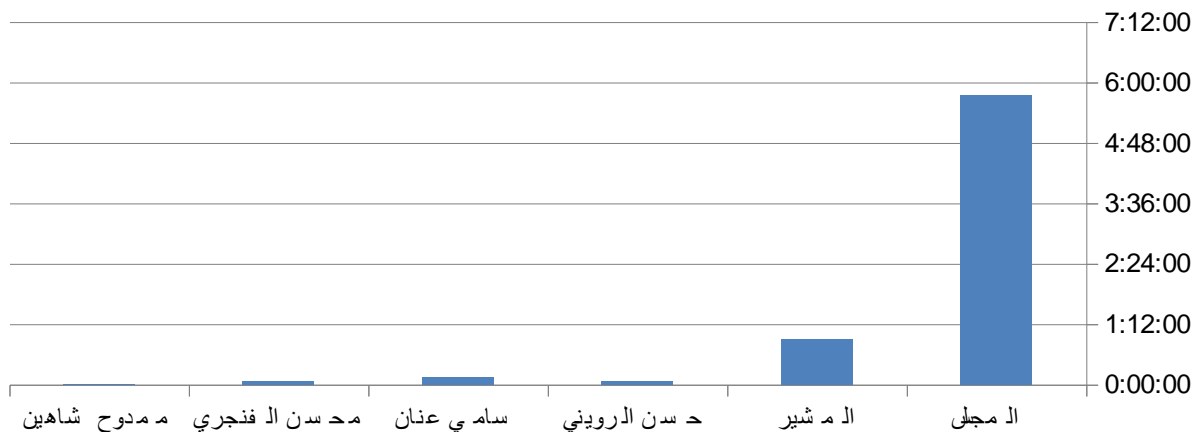
Al-Ashera Masa'an, broadcast on Dream TV, allocated 4 hors, 41 minutes, and 7 seconds to the Military Council in November. Live from Egypt, broadcast on the Egyptian Satellite Channel, allocated 1 hours, 48 mintues, and 13 seconds. Baladna Bel Masry, broadcast on ONTV, allocated 26 minutes and 5 seconds. The following diagram chart shows the result:

## المدى سادة



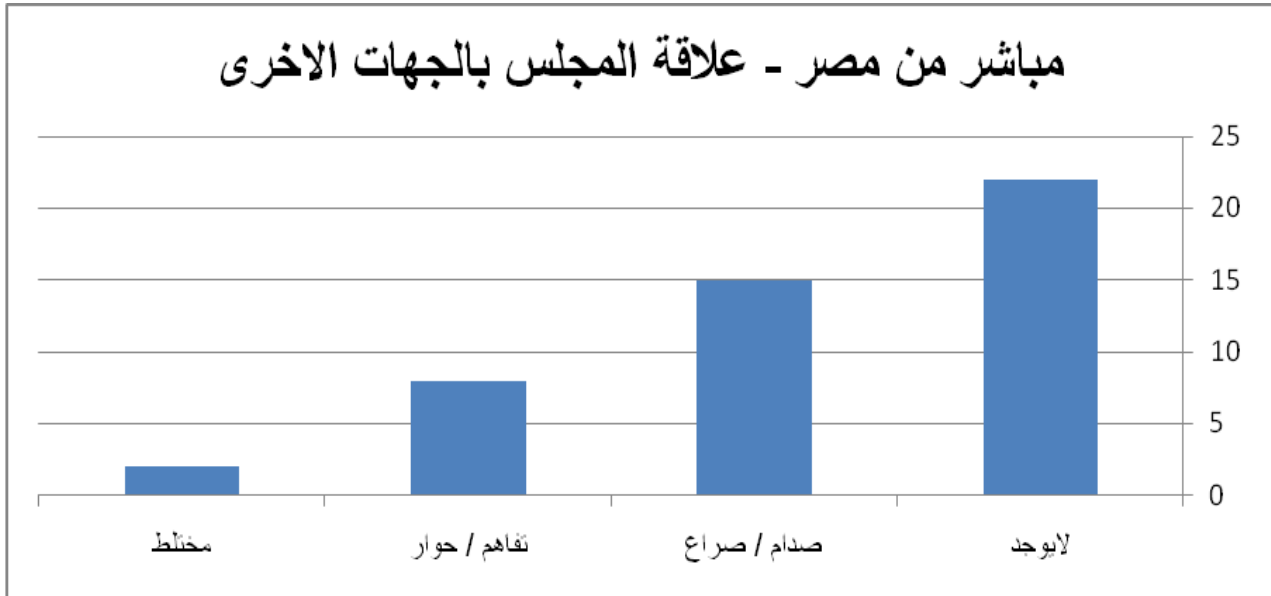
On the spaces allocated to military figures (the Military Council and its members), the Military Council as one entity ranked first at 5 hours, 44 minutes, and 45 seconds in November in the 3 shows. Field Marshal Tantawi had 54 minutes and 7 seconds. Lieutenant Gen. Sami Anan had 8 minutes and 28 seconds. Gen. Hassan Al-Ruweiny had 4 minutes. Gen. Mohsen Al-Fangary had 3 minutes and 35 seconds. Finally Gen. Mamdouh Shahin had 30 seconds, as shown in the following graph:

## مدى سادة الفاعل العسكري في البرامج



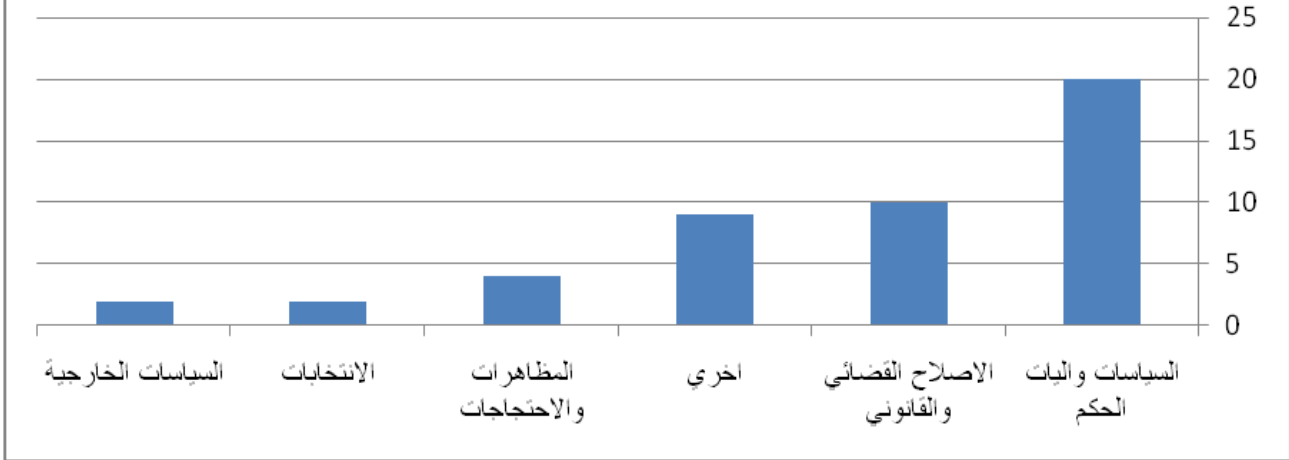


With respect to the coverage of the different shows of the relationship between the Council with other entities in the state. Live from Egypt tended report news that do not involve conflict or agreement between the Council and other entities, or reporting news without mentioning any other entities with the Council. In the second rank, the show discussed the news that reflect conflict or clash between the Council and other entities in Egypt, then news that reflect agreement or dialogue, as shown in the following chart:



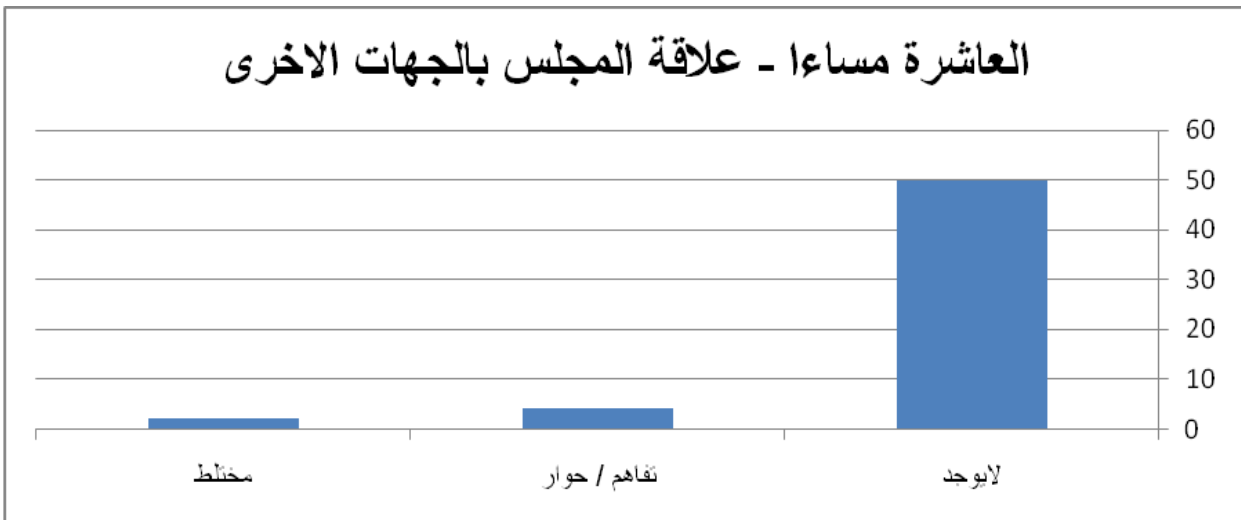
As for the topics discussed in Live from Egypt as it was covering news relating to the Council, policies and governance mechanisms ranked first, followed by judicial and legal reform, then demonstrations and protests, then elections, and finally foreign policies, as shown in the following chart:

## مباشر من مصر - الموضوع

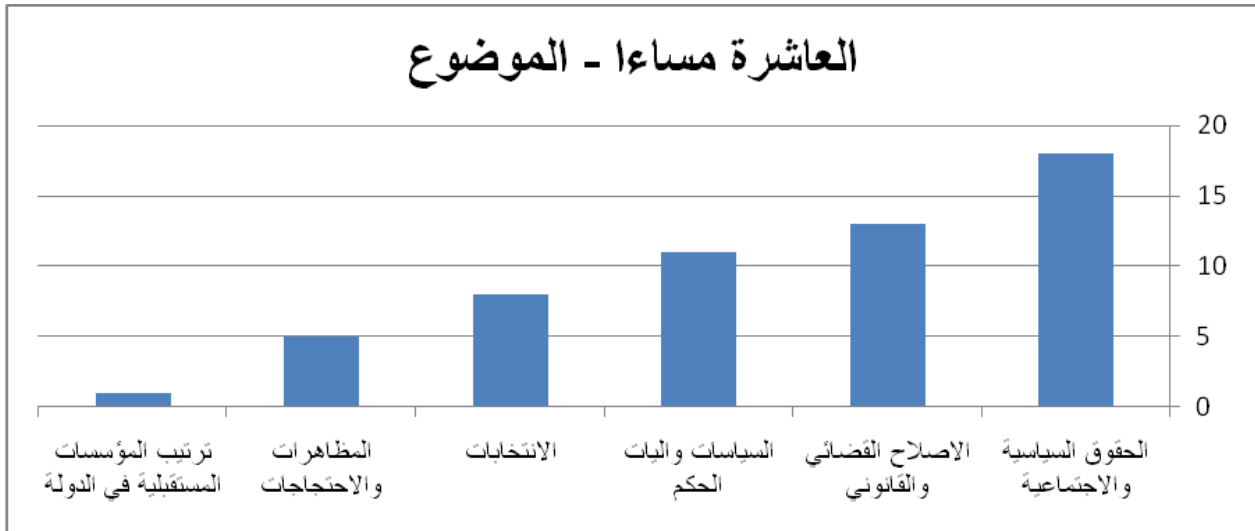


In Al-Ashera Masa'an, the show was eager not to address the relationship of the Military Council with the other powers in Egypt in November, presenting 4 reports on agreement or dialogue between the Council and the other entities. It also presented 2 report with no clear relationship between the Council and other entities. It was a mixture of dialogue and disagreement, but did not present any clear conflict or clash in any of its reports:

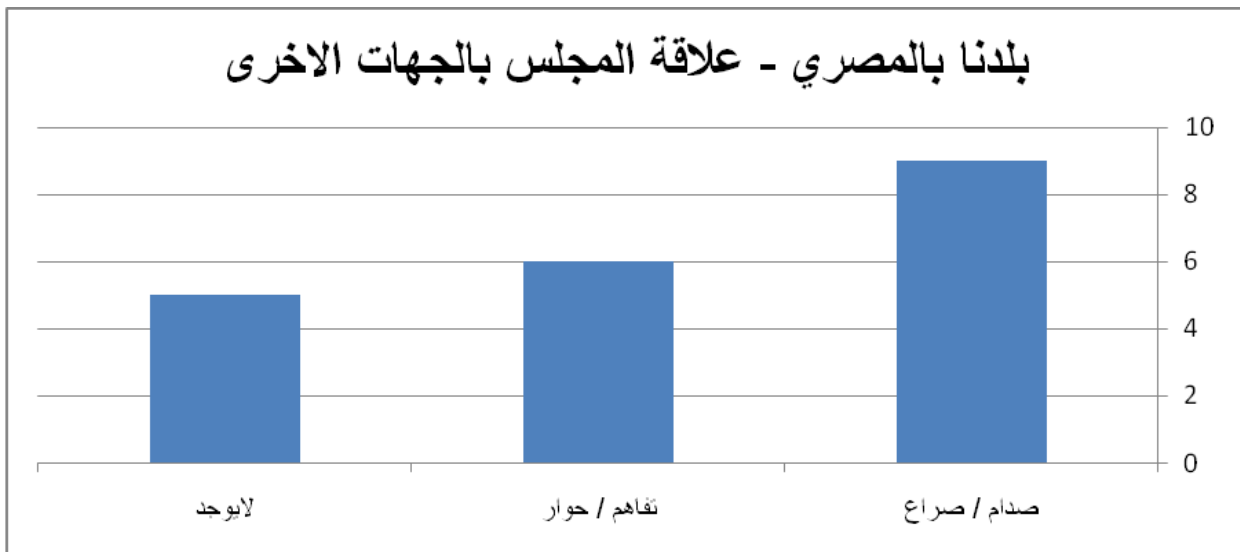
## العاشرة مساءً - علاقة المجلس بالجهات الاخرى



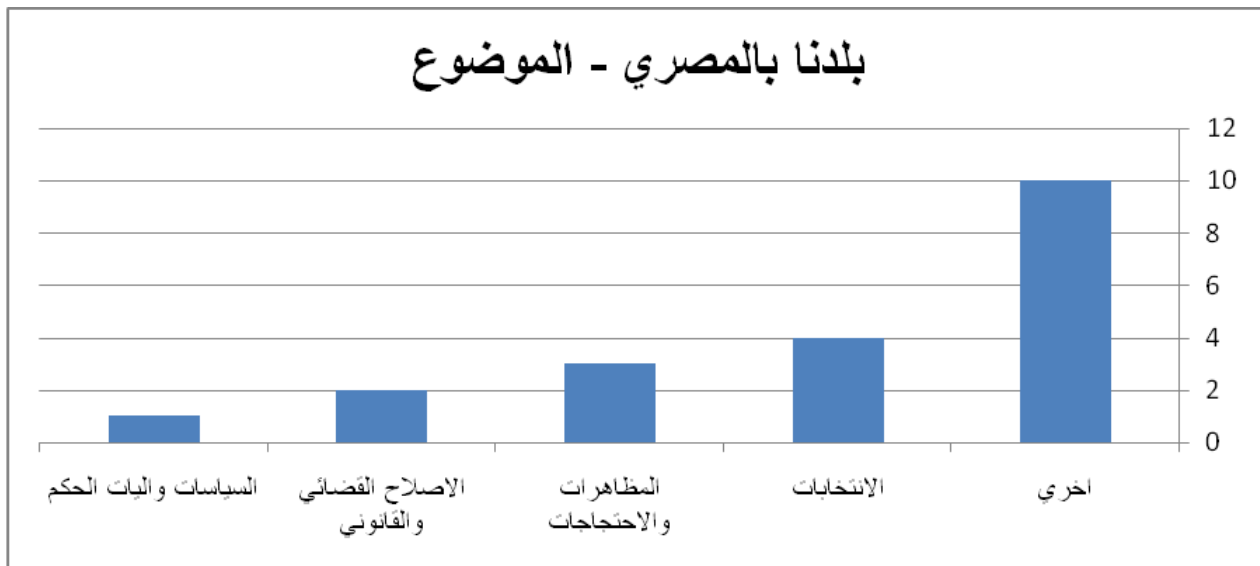
As for the topics discussed during the coverage of the Military Council in the show, political and social rights ranked first, followed by legal and judicial reform, then policies and governance mechanisms, then elections ranked fourth. Demonstration and protests ranked fifth, then future institutions of the state, as shown in the following chart:



In Baladna Bel Masry, the ranking of the kinds of relationships of the Council with other entities varied. News that report conflict or disagreement ranked first, then news reflect dialogue and agreement, and finally news that do not mention other entities than the Council. The following chart shows the results of the monitoring:



As for the topics discussed in Baladna Bel Masry as it covered news relating to the Military Council, elections ranked first, then demonstrations and protests, then judicial and legal reform, and finally policies and governance mechanisms, as shown in the following chart:



Qualitative analysis of November for the 3 shows cleared out that the coverage of Al-Ashera Masa'an was generally critical to the Military Council, as apparent in the episode of 13 November in which the presenter raised questions on the campaign nominating Tantawi as a president, and whether or not the Council agrees, and demanded the Council to clarify its position in this regard. The episode of 15 November also critically addressed Al-Selmi Document, especially that it gives the Military Council authorities higher than that of the government. In the episode of 21 November, Salim Al-Awa affirmed in his interview with Mona Al-Shazly that the Military Council is in fact Mubarak.

Baladna Bel Masry show was interested in all the news that address the Military Council, without any intervention. It presented on 31 October the remarks of Yosri Hamma, official spokesperson of Al-Nour party, that the Military Council promised to enforce political isolation law in 27 hours. It did not happen, and thus the statement of the Council is void. On 28 November, the show presented the remarks of the activist Aida Seif Al-Dawla, detractor of the Council, who rejects the elections under its rule because the produce a parliament with no powers, in addition to the bloodshed of Tahrir protesters. It also presented the activist Wael Khalil, who considered that the people have a chance to elect the appropriate political powers, which can be used later to tip the people and the elected civil authority against the Military Council.

Live from Egypt tried to present a neutral coverage for the Military Council. It reported news on 12 November "Financial Times: The Military Council endangers the Egyptian revolution". It also reported the accusation of Ahmed Abou-Baraka, the legal advisor of Justice and Freedom party, to the Military Council for abandoning the revolution. On the other hand, the show presented pro-Council news and reports, among of which the decisions of the Council and the remarks of its members, as well as the affirmation of the American embassy in Cairo that it will hand over power to an elected civil

government, and the assurances of the former Prime Minister Essam Sahraf that the political isolation law is on its way.

**Media coverage of the judicial system  
November 2011  
the Arabic Network for Human Rights Information**

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Introduction:

- After the lawyers and judges crisis, during the month of October, the tone of sharpness declined, without any clear obvious reason. It began to prepare for parliamentary elections and the role of the electoral process. The judges came at the forefront of actors (characters and actors in the Egyptian judicial system) who press highlighted by talking about them, or publishing their statements and news. Has been allocated 31,740 square centimeter them, and in the second place, came the lawyers with an area of 30215.5 cm, then the prosecution with an area of 8331 cm and after the administrative court (8054 cm) and the Criminal Court (3814 cm), jurists (3232 cm) and the Court of Appeal (1010 cm) and the Court of Cassation and the Judges Club, followed by the Constitutional Court, and military courts, and finally the state security courts.
- For the topics that are focused on by newspapers, cases before the courts continued to be the issue of media coverage. In Al-Ahram won approximately 75% coverage, followed by elections and then the role and responsibilities of judges, and in the fourth position, the trial of Mubarak declining the rest of the subjects. The following diagram illustrates the arrangement topics addressed by the Al-Ahram's coverage of the judicial file and the justice system in Egypt:
- Regarding the websites, result of monitoring clarified that during the month of November, the judges came in the first place within the coverage of the judicial

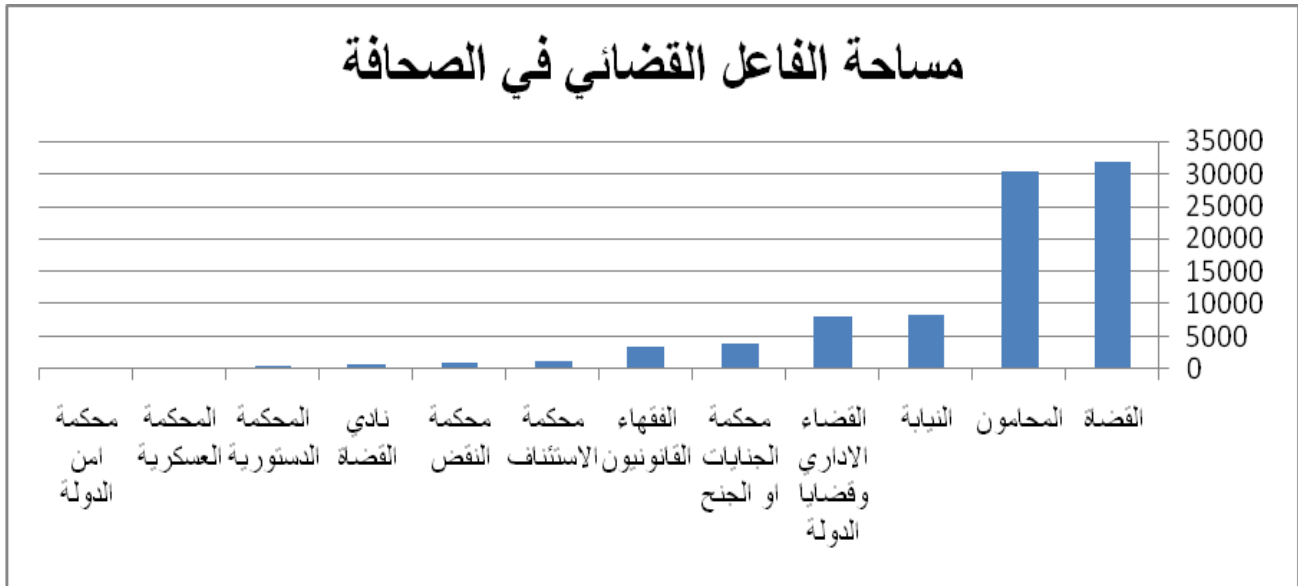
file at the news sites, the location of censorship. 27 543 words were allocated for them, and in the second place, different Prosecutions, which 16 282 words were allocated for them were allocated for them, and lawyers with an area of 14 840 words, then the administrative and state issues (7813 words), the Criminal Court (4444 words) and the Military Court (1819 words).

- The court cases occupied the first order in all websites and elections respectively the second. Topics changed from one website to another in terms of interest. Youm 7 website , for example, court cases were in the first order of attention, and the elections occupied the second place of the site's focus during its coverage of the judicial system and then legal reforms, followed by lack of insurance and then judges potentials financial and administrative affairs of the judges and finally the Constitution amendment , which is described in the following graph:
- During the same month, judges were also in the first place within the coverage of talk shows programs. center of censorship, in which an hour and 51minutesand 49 seconds was allocated for their statements or to talk about them, and, the lawyers came in the second place , as an hour and 17minutesand 31seconds was allocated for them, Legal scholars(59 minutes and 6seconds),then prosecution(49 minutes and 46 seconds), then the first class courts (mostly criminal) at 34 minutes and 30 seconds, followed by military courts(23 minutes and 44seconds).The following chart shows the time that was allocated to each judicial actor during the month of November:
- It was the same case in the press and the Internet coverage, the cases brought before the court was the first in talk shows and the elections and the judges' relationships were either in the second or third place in various programs. For the method of handling the news that dealt with one of the judiciary files , it was more of a presentation of criticizing the guests; the program Mubasher Min Masr(52% of the criticism), which was broadcasted on the Egyptian television, followed by Ashera Masaan(38%) and the least critical Baladna Bel Masry(10%.)

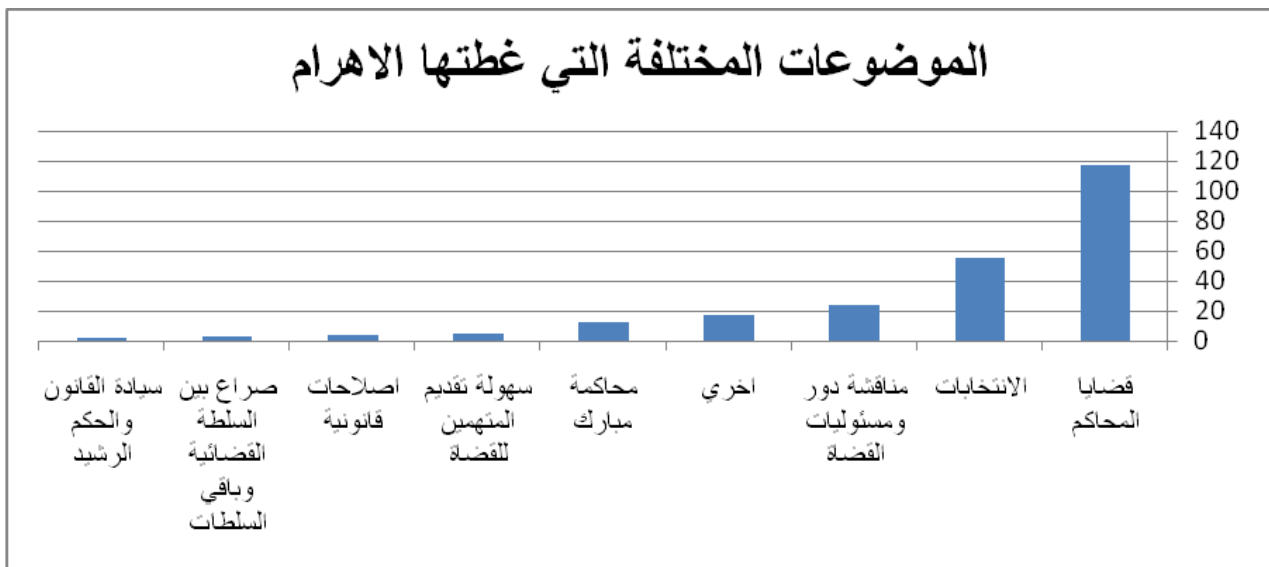
### **First, coverage of the judicial system in the newspapers:**

- The role of judges was reflected in the election, monitoring it and they argue about their insurance through their work on media coverage. The judges were at the forefront of doers (characters and actors in the Egyptian judicial system), who focused on newspapers focused on them, talking about them, and publishing their statements and news. 31,740 square centimeter Has been allocated for them, and in the second place, the lawyers came with an area of 30215.5cm, then the prosecution with an area of 8331cm and after the administrative court(8054 cm) and the Criminal Court(3814cm), jurists(3232cm) and the Court of Appeal(1010cm) and the Court of Cassation and the Judges Club, followed by the

Constitutional Court, and military courts, and finally the state security courts. The following chart shows that the result in the monitored newspapers during the month of November:

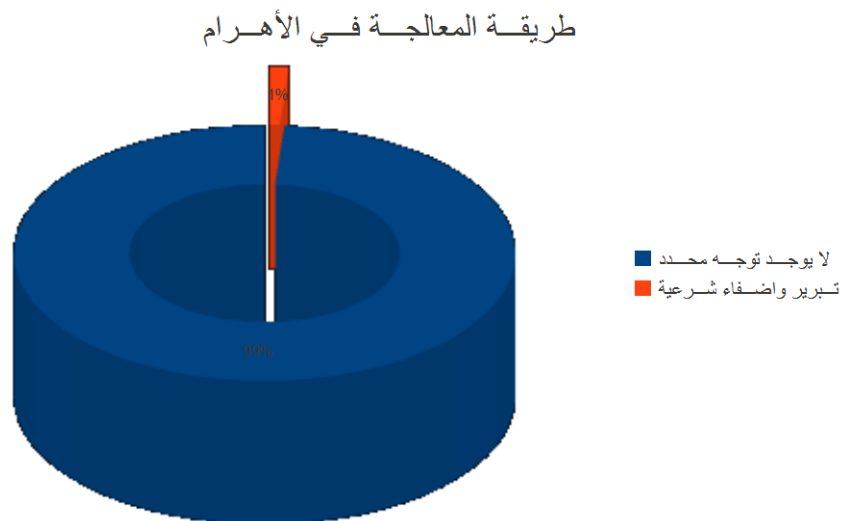


- For the topics that are focused on by newspapers, cases before the courts continued to be the first of media coverage. Al-Ahram won approximately 75% of the coverage, followed by elections and then discussing the role and responsibilities of judges. In the fourth position was Mubarak's trial while the rest of the subjects back down. The following diagram illustrates the arrangement of topics addressed by Al-Ahram's coverage of the judicial file and justice system in Egypt:



- In its approach to the coverage, Al-Ahram stayed as far as possible unbiased .99% of its coverage came without any specific orientation toward the judiciary and the news, 1% was for the support and justifies the positions of judges, as

shown in the following figure:



- In Akhbar cases before the court

s was in the lead, far ahead of all other topics, followed also the elections, and then discussing how easy it is to bring the culprits to justice, preceded by the legal reforms, rule of law and good governance, the following diagram illustrates the order of the topics addressed by Akbar's coverage of the judicial film and the justice system in Egypt:

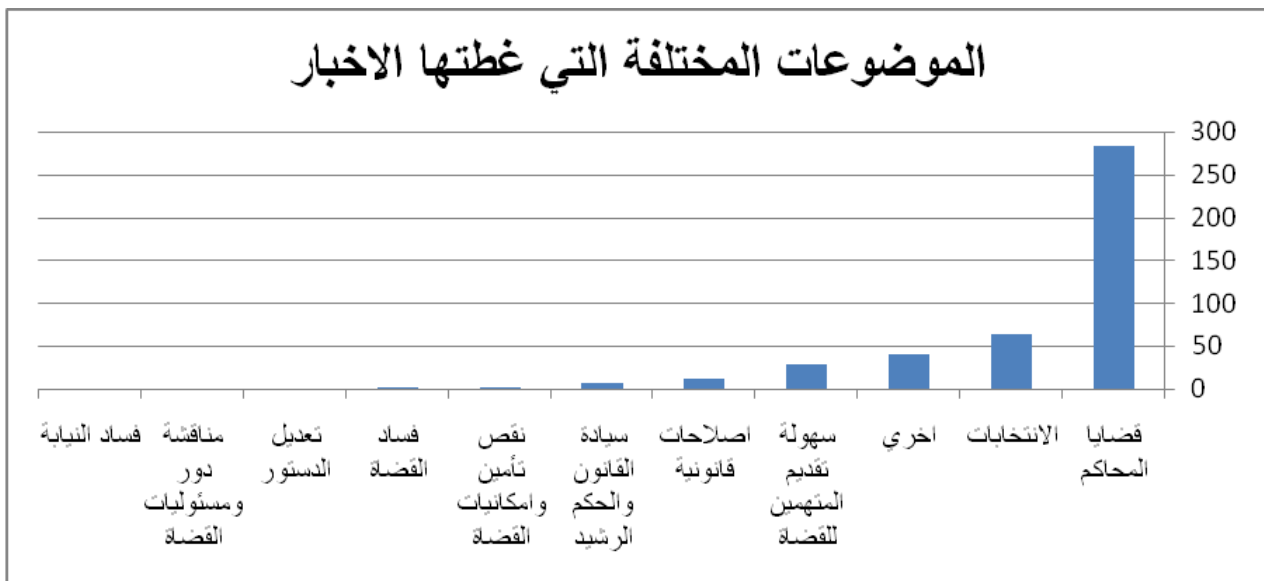


## القضايا في الصحافة

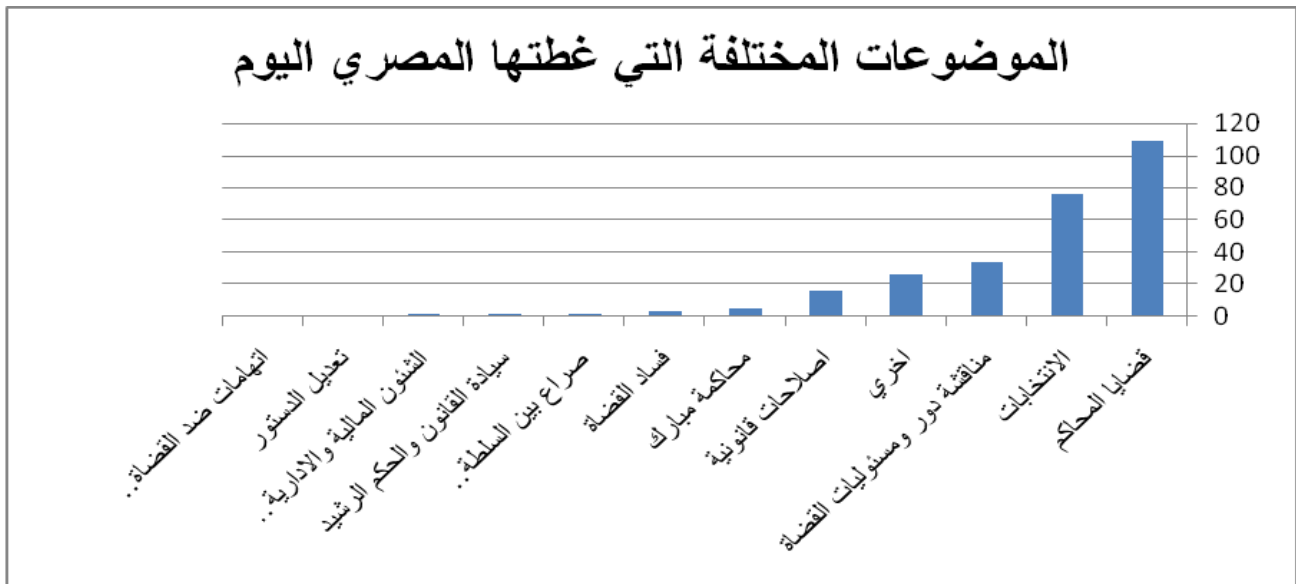


- In its approach to news coverage, Akhbar stayed unbiased as much as possible , as 91% of its coverage was without a specific orientation toward the judiciary and the news, compared to 5% of the criticism, and 4% of the support and justify the positions of judges, as shown in the following figure:

## الموضوعات المختلفة التي غطتها الاخبار

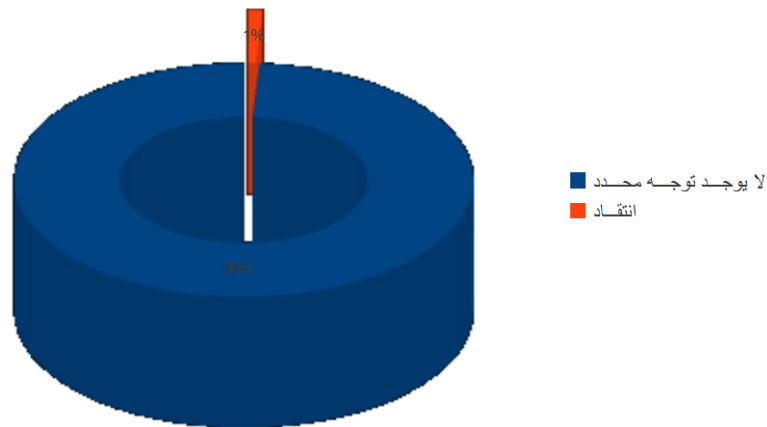


- In Al-Masri Al-Youm newspaper, the cases before the courts were in the lead far ahead of all other topics, followed by elections and then discuss the role and responsibilities of judges, and after that the legal reforms. After that, Mubarak's trial drops the coverage of the rest of the issues by a large margin. the following diagram illustrates the arrangement topics addressed by the Al-Masri Al-Youm's coverage of a judicial and justice system in Egypt:



- In its approach to news coverage, Al-Masri Al-Youm did not make any clear and direct support to the judiciary, and was keen to be unbiased and not to take any stance about treatment, compared to a small percentage of the criticism, as shown in the diagram below:

## طريقة المعالجة في المصري اليوم

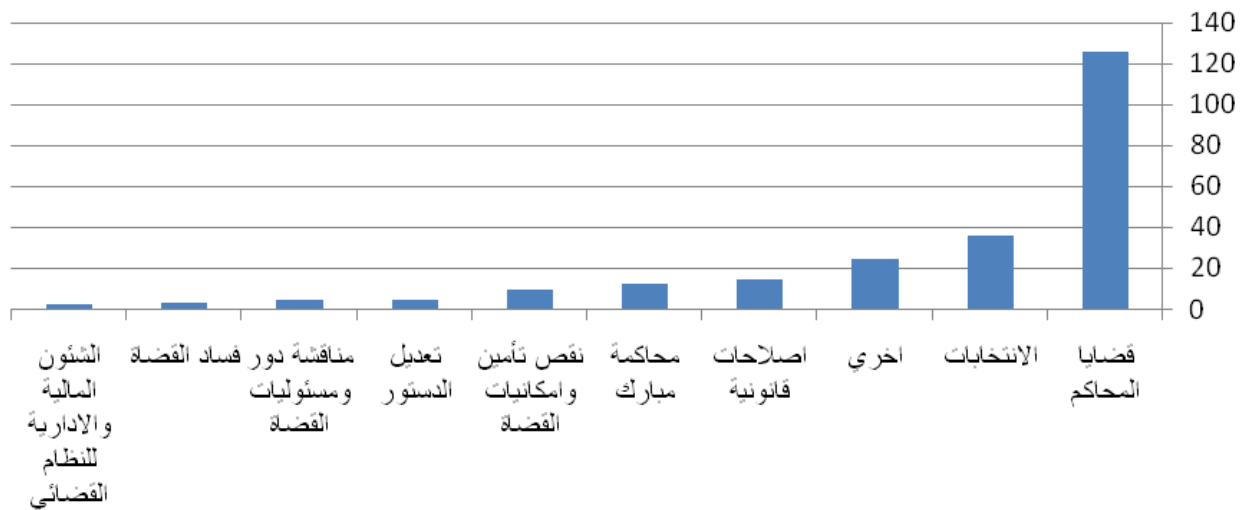


- concerns of the topics did not also differ in

Shorouk and Wafd as court

cases came in the first order , followed by elections and topics would be changed later and its rate of discussion decline strongly as is evident in the following graphics:

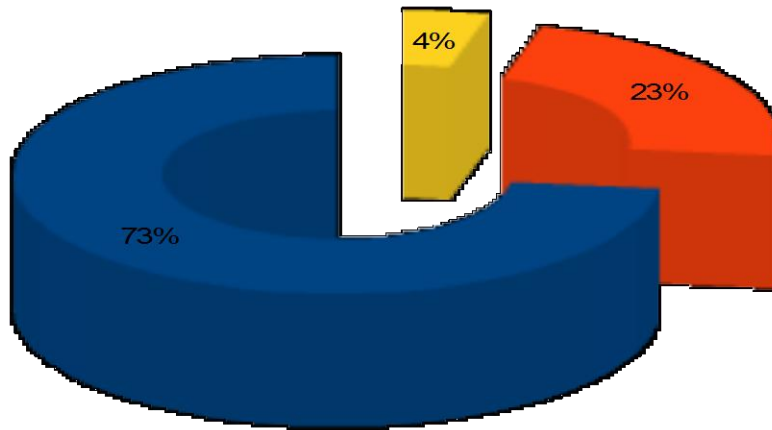
## الموضوعات المختلفة التي غطتها الشروق



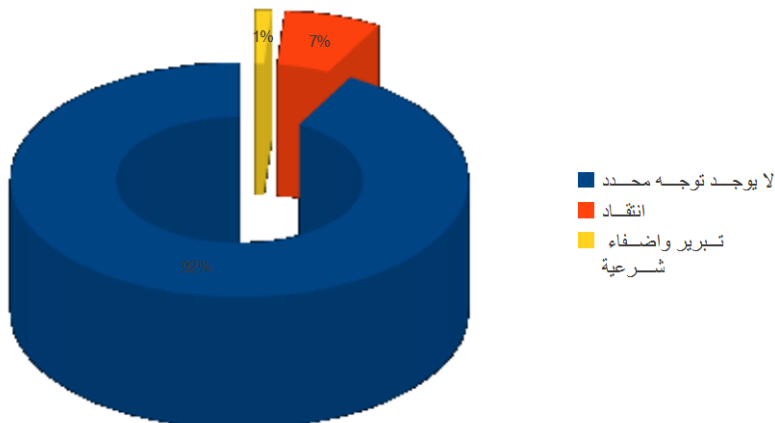
## مختلفة التي غطتها الوفد

سيادة القانون والحكم الرشيد  
 تعديل الدستور  
 فساد القضاة  
 مناقشة دور ومسؤوليات..  
 صراع بين السلطة..  
 الشؤون المالية والادارية..  
 تأمين امكانيات..

- for Shorouk's handling of the judiciary file , it affirmed to stay unbiased as Treatment (73%), compared to less criticism (23%) and the justification and the support of the judiciary at a rate much lower (4%) as shown in the following graph:



•  
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- For Wafd 's approach of handling of the Judiciary file , it affirmed its unbiased as Treatment (92%), compared to less criticism (7%) and the justification and the support of the judiciary at a

rate much lower (1%) as shown in the following graph:

- As for the results of qualitative monitoring during the month of November, it became clear that Al-Ahram newspaper focused, through a non critical method of coverage, on covering the trial cases, particularly on elections and the right of Egyptians abroad to vote, like its news about the return of the courts to work, and the end of the High Elections Commission of preparing statements and the final rules for media coverage, and many others. The newspaper made over this period of time, a pure news vision, without any comments on the news. It did not take any stance towards any of the issues raised on the scene, and offered only some of the legislative scholars and constitutionalists views, particularly in the case of exclusion of some of the NDP dissolved in the parliamentary elections. The newspaper viewed, on its issue of 13 November 2011, the opinion of *Zakaria Shalash*, head judge of the *Cairo Court of Appeals*, *Mohamed Fouad Gadalla*, vice president of the Egyptian state council, *Fawzia Abdel-Sattar*, professor of constitutional law at Cairo University. It also viewed the opinion of both *Chancellor Mahmoud El-Khodeiry Vice President of the Court of Cassation* and the former *Dr. Shawki Al-Sayed* on the same subject on 15 November.
- In Shorouk newspaper, the criticism was obvious, although the majority of the coverage focused on the news without mentioning any feedback except newspapers published about some judges, such as charges of legal adviser *Zakria Abdel Aziz* for the crisis over the lawyers and judges to postpone the trial of Mubarak. And coverage of the vigils organized by the lawyers to denounce the statements of the president of the judges club *Ahmed al-Zend*.  
The paper did not show a clear position about the raised legal issues as it provided only a news coverage of the events, and quoted the views of judges and lawyers on certain issues in particular, identifying the role of the military in the new constitution, through her view of *Hisham Geneina*, Prime Cairo Court of appeal, opinion on 1 November. The *Counselor Ahmed Saber's clarification of the legal adaptation of the judicial authority's coverage was viewed on 9 November. On 14 November*, It was also interested in reflecting *Chancellor Abdel Moez about the exclusion of the remnants of the national election coverage*. It also introduced, on its coverage 15 November, the *Chancellor Refaat el-Sayed*, opinion about the case of judges 'refusal of the elections supervision, which confirmed that this may expose them to penalty.
- It was the same with other newspapers coverage, which focused on news coverage

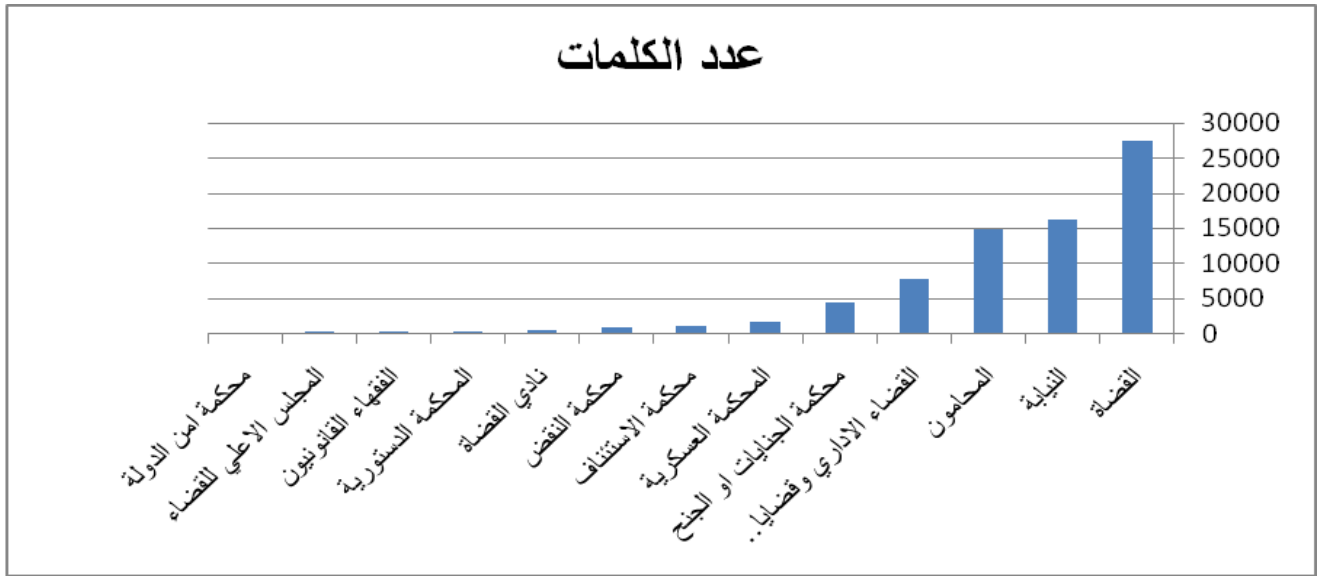
only, and not taking any actions concerning the legal and judicial issues; it only transferred the views of experts and jurists. Al-Masri Al-You viewed M. *Cherif Bassiouni, Professor of Law at DePaul University College of Law* , within her publication of its views on the stolen money and the ways to regain it back on November 1.

It also presented, on 15 November, the views of Dr. Jaber Al-Nassar, Professor of Criminal Law Faculty of Law, who confirmed that the rule of the Supreme Administrative of excluding remnants of NDP do not include the administrative courts on the Republic level .

## **Second: media coverage of the judiciary in the websites:**

- During the month of November, the judges were in the first place for the coverage of the judicial file in Egypt in the monitored news websites. the judges came at the forefront of actors (characters and actors in the Egyptian judicial system) 27 543words were allocated for them, and in the second place, different Prosecutions came, in which 16 282words were allocated for them and then an area of 14,840words for lawyers,and then the administrative and state issues(7813 words),the Criminal Court(4444words)and the Military Court(1819words).The table and graph enumerate the following words that have been allocated to each judicial figure through:

Judicial actors	No. of words
Judges	273543
Prosecution	16282
Lawyers	14840
The administrative courts and state issues	7813
Criminal courts	4444
Military Court	1819
Appeal	1232
Veto	968
Judges' Club	595
Constitutional Court	409
Jurists	329
Supreme Judicial Council	329
State Security Court	209

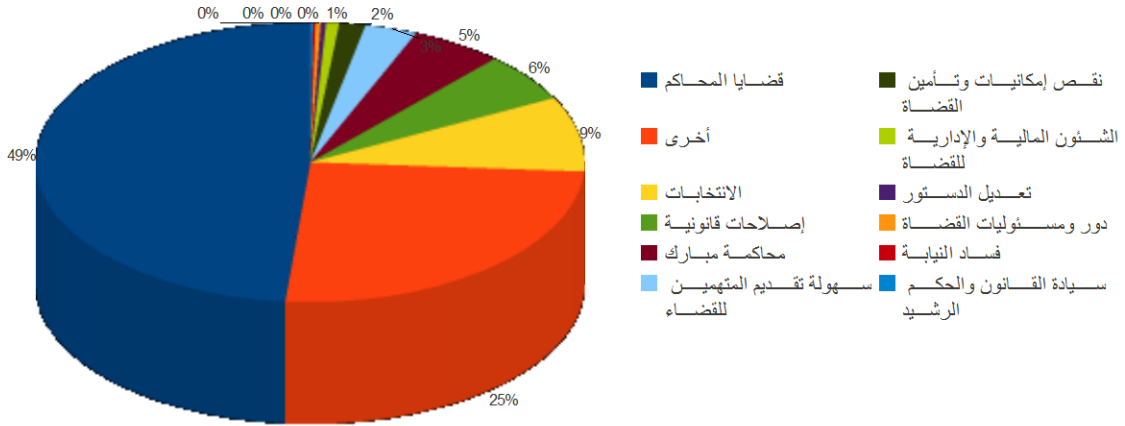


One of the main interests of websites is the cases before courts for its importance and neutrality and it was:

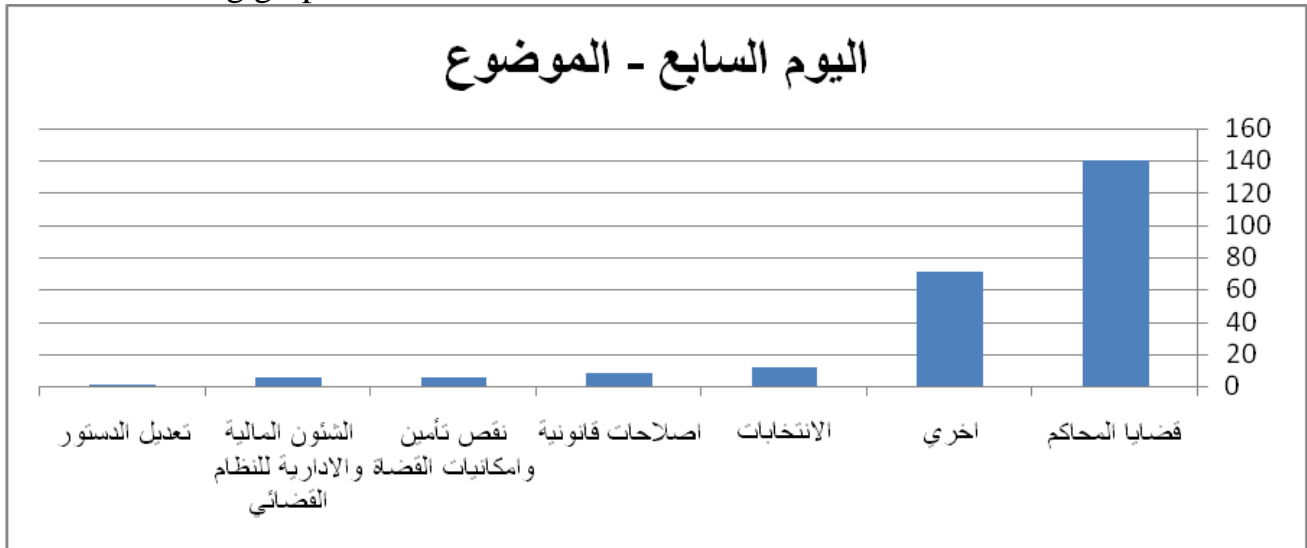
Subject	No. of times covered
Court cases	315
Others	165
Mubarak Trial	35
Elections	56
Legal reforms	37
Facility of bringing defendants to justice	20
Lack of potentials and secure the judges	10
Financial and administrative affairs of the judges	5
Constitution amendments	2
Roles and responsibilities of judges	2
Corruption of prosecution	1
The rule of law and good governance	1

## معدل تناول الموضوعات في المواقع

● The court cases

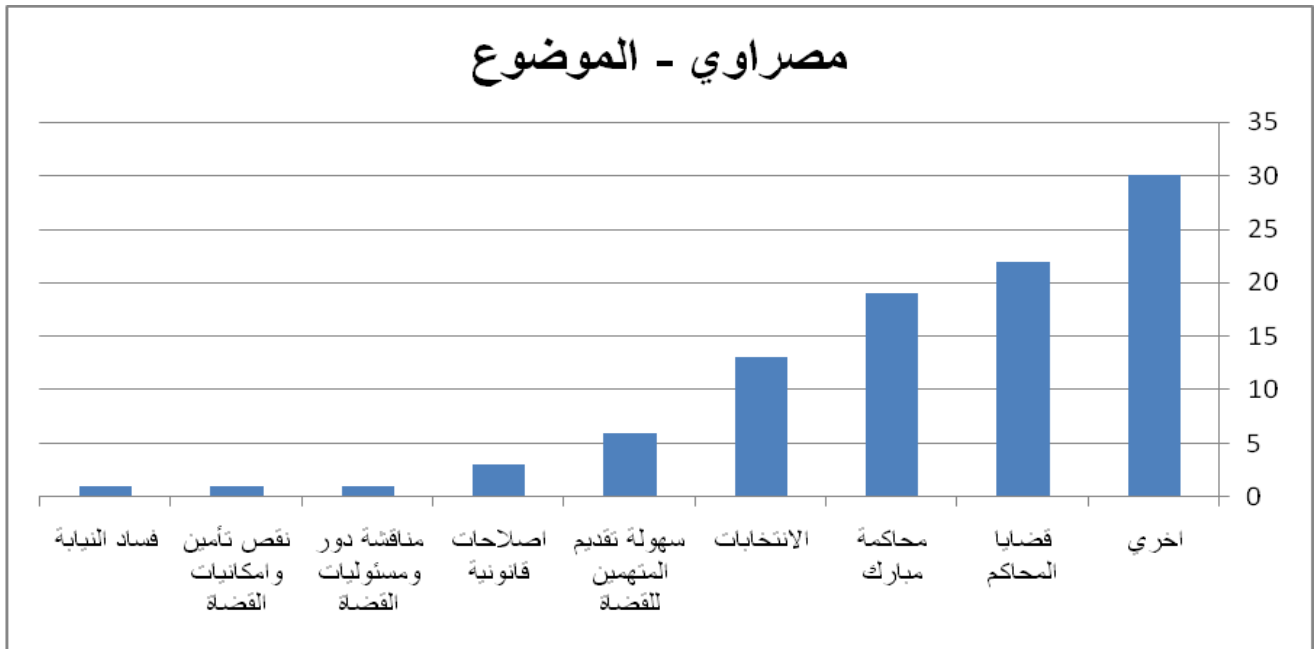


occupied the first order in all websites and elections occupied respectively the second. Topics changed later from one website to another in terms of rate of interest. At Youm 7 website, for example, court cases were in the first order of attention, and the elections occupied the second place of the website focus during its coverage of the judicial system and legal reforms, followed by lack of insurance and then Judges potentials, financial and administrative affairs of the judges and finally the constitution amendments, which is described in the following graph:

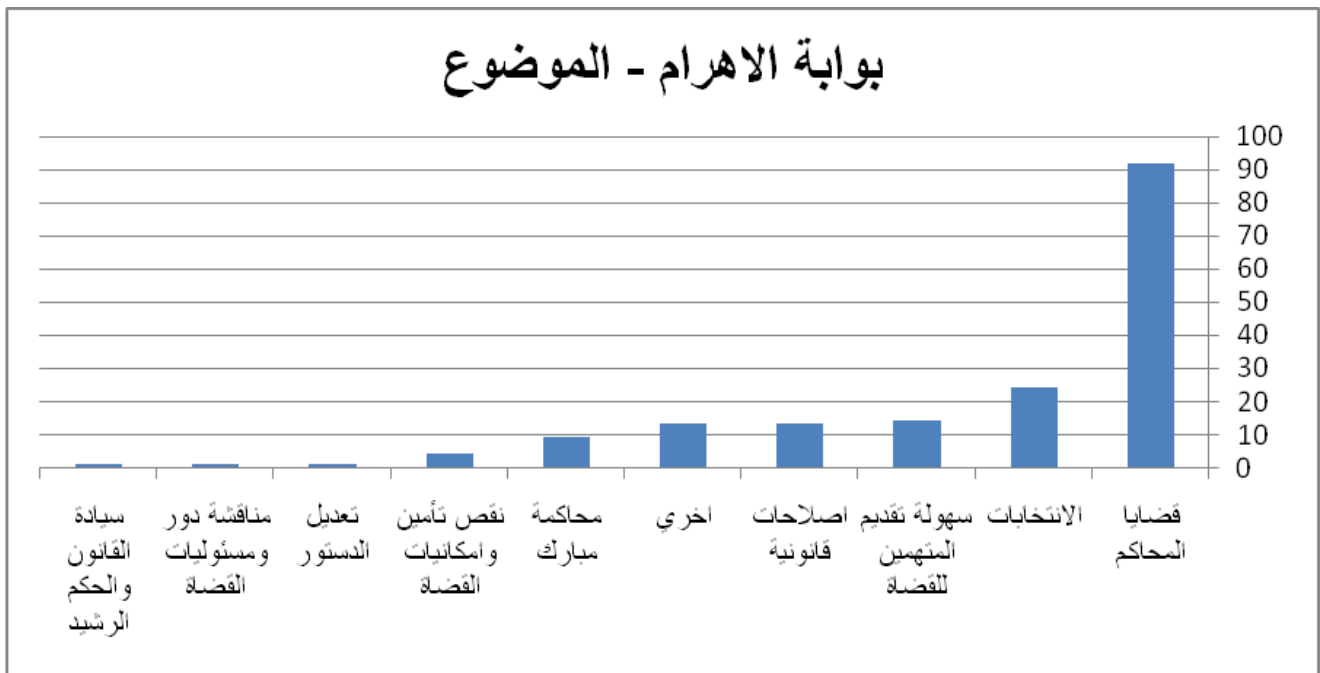




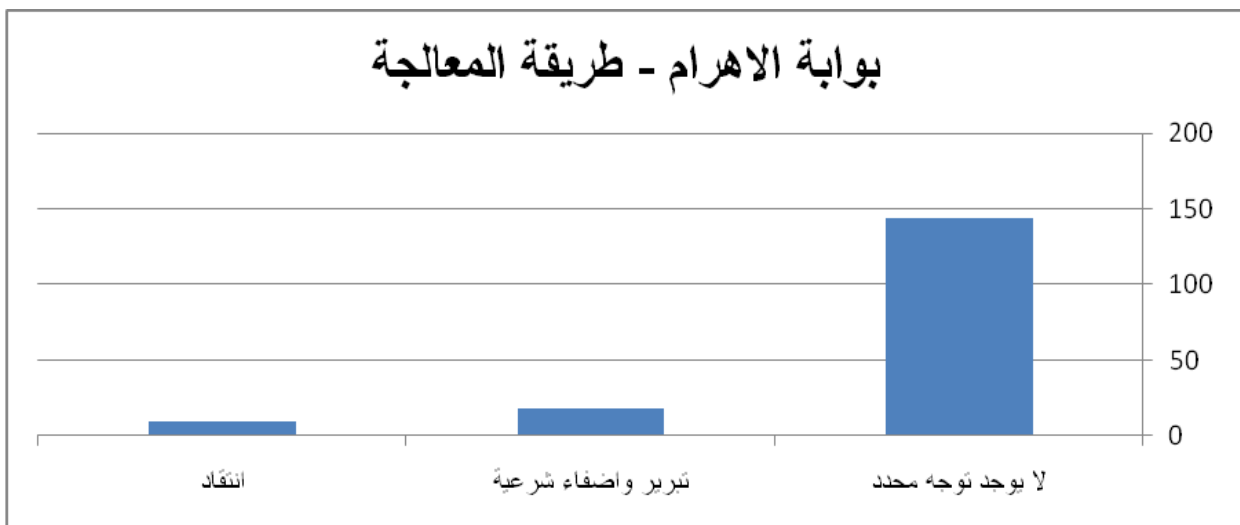
- At Masrawy website, orders were relatively different, in which the court cases came first, followed by Mubarak’s trial ,making the elections backs down to the third order of the website interest (during the monitoring period that were identified as three hours per day). Other issues came later on such as facility of bringing defendants to justice, legal reforms and others as shown in the following figure:



- As for the way of handling topics, all websites were characterized by neutrality. They were either for or against the Egyptian courts. El-Badeel website covered, during the monitoring period, judges 145 times without any bias, criticized the judiciary 11 times, and supported it 9 times as shown:



Al-Ahram support and emphasis on the legitimacy of judiciary was more than on criticism, and both of them came at a large rate of media coverage that did not adopt any stances or directions, according to the following form:



- As for the results of the qualitative monitoring, findings revealed that most of the web sites were similar in a way like being careful not to criticize, compared to a few of the topics that deal with the judicial system in Egypt in a way declare a clear position or adopt a position that either support or opposition. The website Masrawy's coverage of the judicial system came to be very few, but in the limited

coverage provided, it was committed to be essentially non-critical. The website introduced examples of topics, most important news was the Attorney General investigation about the fire of Bella, and the rejection of the military court to release activist Alaa Abdel-Fattah, postponement of the case of killing of rebels Suez to January, the postponement of the verdict in the fighting with President of the Court of Appeal, and the lawsuit of preventing the Egyptians in Israel to vote for state commissioners, and the website did not adopt any clear position on the legal issues and the judicial system during that period.

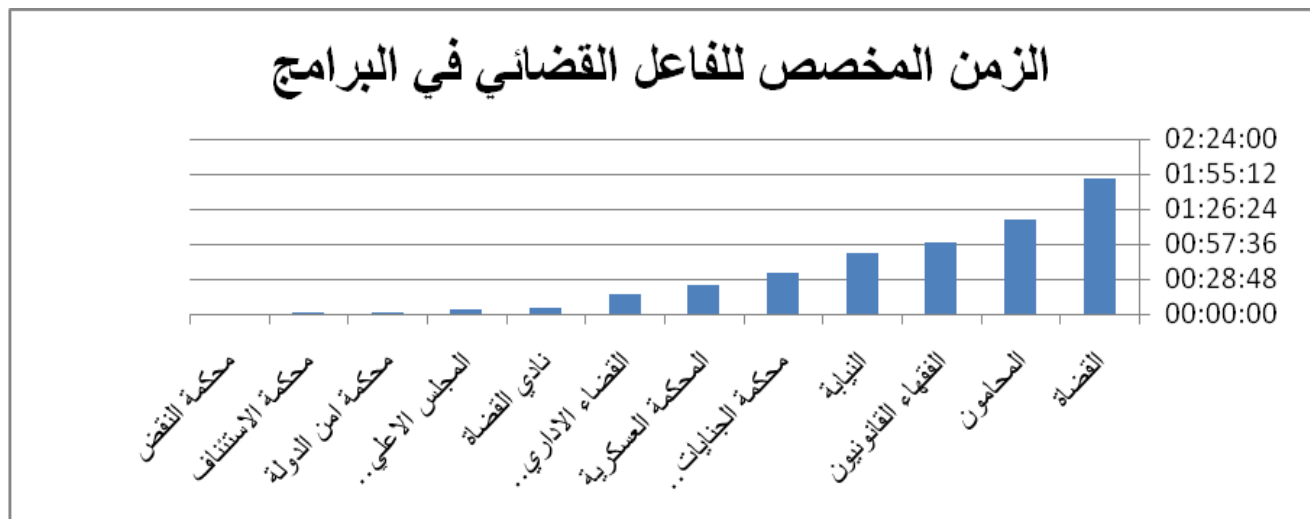
- For El-Badeel website, the coverage at the site based mainly on neutrality, not adopting a certain position. However, its intensified publication of some of the topics suggests an interest in adopting a position such as the ongoing refusal to military trials, and publishing all news of solidarity, the marches and protests on those trials, and sometimes there is a direct claim by the position in an article. Among the titles that addressed the critical legal issues: military trials threats to prevent the democratic transformation, 6 movements and parties demanding non-appearance of civilians before military prosecution, in which it criticized the idea of offering civilian prosecutors and courts-martial.
- The website published an article on November 15, by Ikram Youssef titled: Any Alaa or any mother of Alaa and another on 12 November to Moataz Abdel-Rahman entitled: We all Ismail Yassin, where the writer criticized the trial of civilians before military courts.
- During the same month, it became clear that Al-Ahram adopted uncritical coverage, as it published news on various issues, such as the State Council request of lawyers and judges to be rational and to give priority to the interests of the country, the announcement that December 4th is the day of completion of witnesses investigation in the cause of sedition Imbaba, the decision of the administrative judiciary to commit electoral commissions to accept the nomination papers, the military prosecution refusal of Alaa Abdel-Fattah's appeal, the new witnesses that are against him, and announcing the time of ruling on the issue of fighting with Mubarak's judge.
- Moreover, the site offered a number of lawyers' views, as in the crisis of judges and lawyers, it focused on Hossam Ghariani and Murtaza Mansoor views in its coverage on November 1. It also offered the opinion of both advisers Ahmed El-Zend, head of the Judges Club as well as Sameh Ashour on the issue of ending the crisis between lawyers and judges on November 2. It also offered the opinion of

the lawyer Ahmed Seif on the issue of legal adaptation of Alaa Abdel-Fattah and presented to the military prosecutor, published in the Nov. 4.

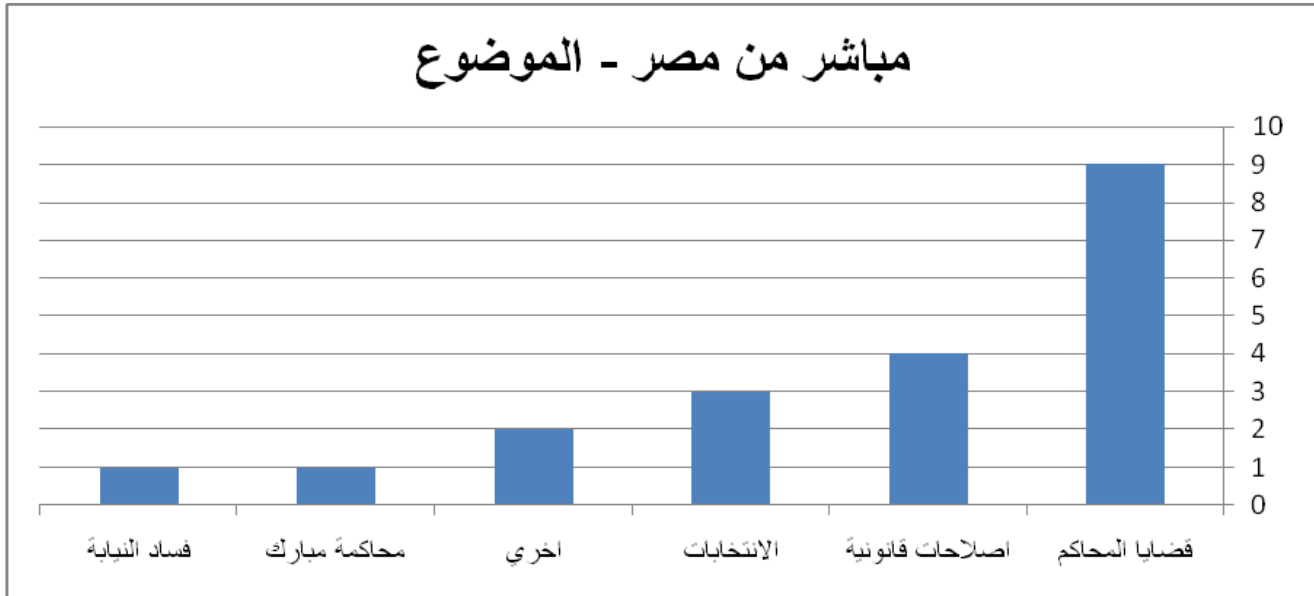
- For a the website Youm 7 , the coverage of the judicial and legal system based mainly on neutrality and non-criticism and only published news and opinion statements such as Hisham Ghariani statement that the crisis of judges and lawyers is over and its emphasis on the supervision of judges on the election. the decision of the State Security Prosecution renewed imprisonment of Ahmed EHz 15 days pending the issue of money laundering, and refused to postpone the case lists of freedom, justice and the Democratic Alliance's to November 15 and the postponement of the trial of protesters killed in hadayek koba, then the different charges and complaints that have reached the judiciary regarding elections, such as direct charges by a candidate against the staff for rigging the ballot boxes.

### Third: media coverage of the judicial system in talk shows:

- During the month of November, the judges came in the first place within the coverage of the legal file in Egypt in the monitored talk shows; the judges came at the forefront of actors (characters and actors in the Egyptian judicial system) as an hour and 51 minutes and 49 seconds was allocated for their statements or talk shows about them, and in the second place, lawyers came in which an hour and 17 minutes and 31 seconds was allocated for them, then scholars legal (59 minutes and 6 seconds), then prosecution (49 minutes and 46 seconds), then courts of First Instance (Criminal mostly) at 34 minutes and 30 seconds, followed by a military court (23 minutes and 44 seconds). The following chart shows the time that was allocated to each judicial actor during the month of November:

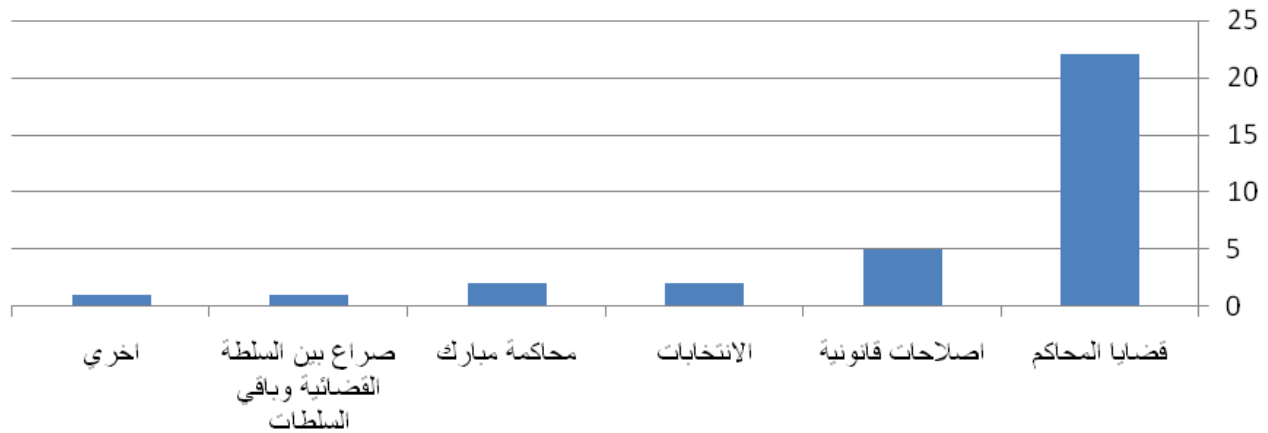


- the case was the same in the press and the Internet, the coverage of the court cases scene in talk shows and the election of judges and their relationship with it was in a progressed order , that is either the second or third in the various programs. In the program Mubasher Min Masr, for example,the arrangement was the court cases at the forefront ,followed by legal reforms, the election, preceded by Mubarak’s trial , as shown in the following figure:



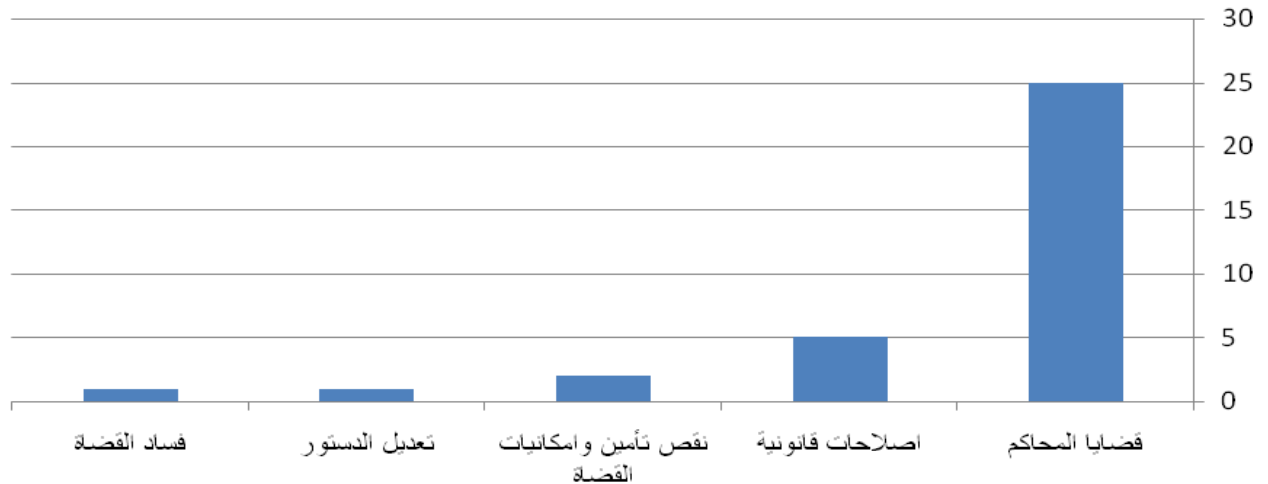
- In the program Baldana Bell Masri, the arrangement was similar to a large extent as the court cases came in the forefront ,followed by legal reforms, the election, followed by Mubarak’s trial , and finally the struggle of the judiciary another authorities, as shown in the following figure:

## بلدنا بالمصري - الموضوع



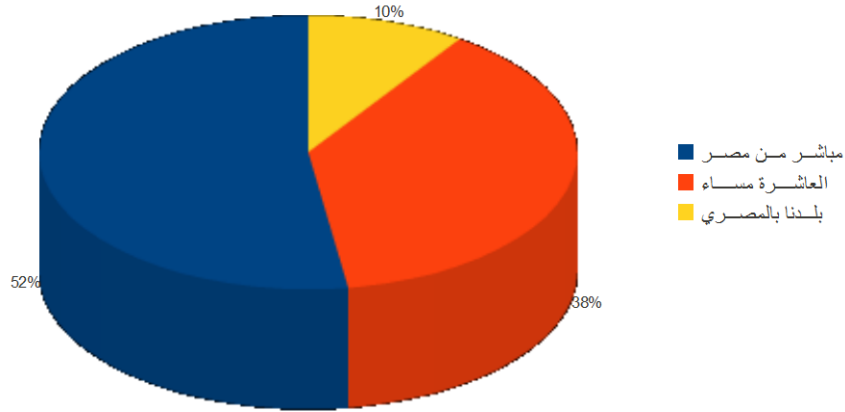
- In the program of Ashera Masaan, the order changed relatively as elections backed down. the courts cases came in the forefront ,followed by legal reforms, and lack of insurance and the judges potentials , and in the fourth position of the focus of the program was the issue of the Constitution amendments and finally corruption of judges, as shown in the following figure:

## العاشرة مساء - الموضوع



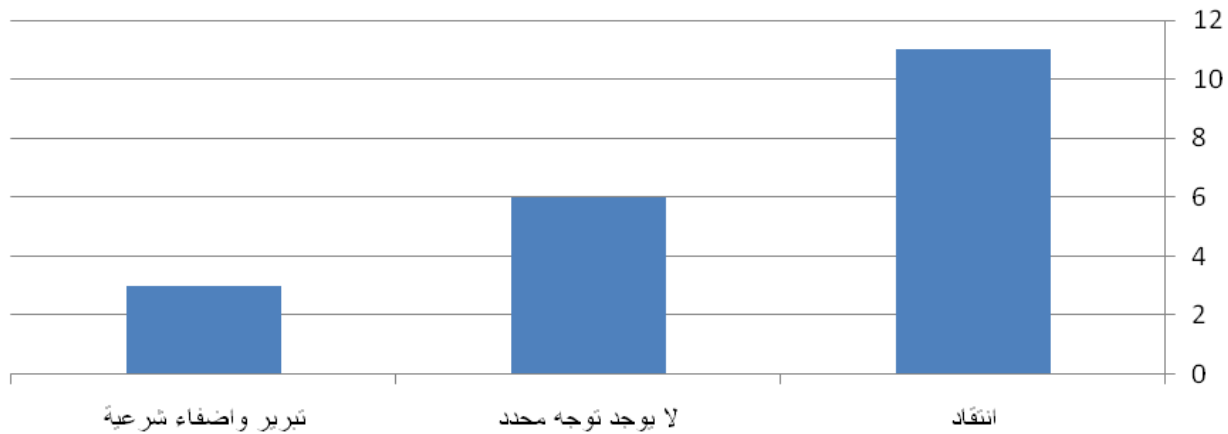
- For the method of handling the news that dealt with the judiciary, the most critical program was Mubasher Min Masr (52% of the criticism), which was broadcast on the Egyptian television, followed in the order , Ashera Masaan (38%) and Baladna Bil Masri was the least critical (10%), according to what is described as follows:

### الانتقادات للقضاء في البرامج

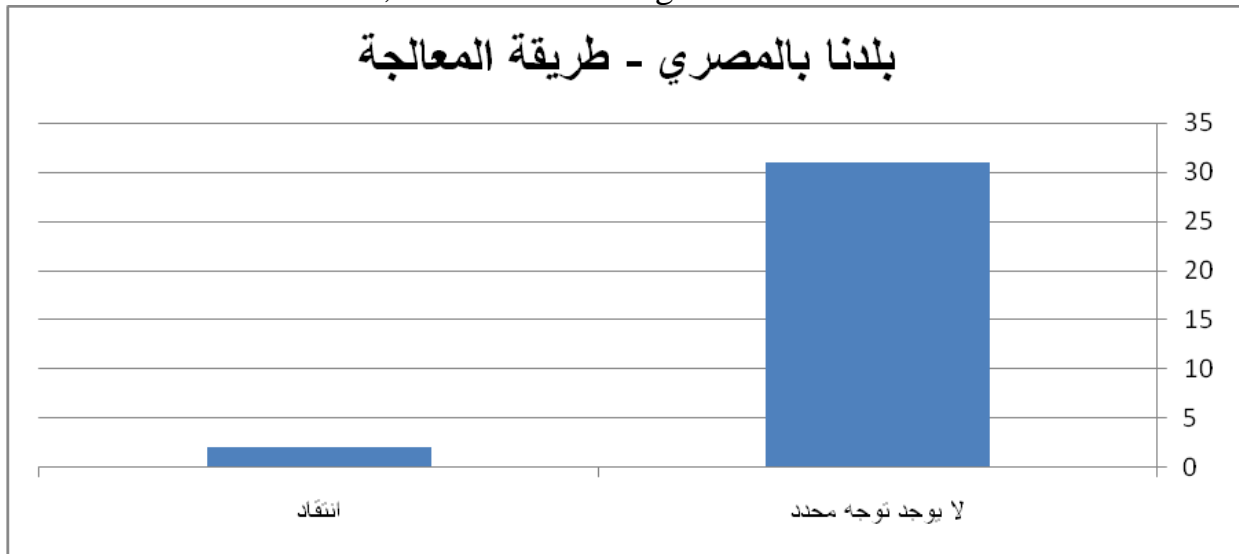


- For the programs approach to the news that dealt with the judiciary, Mubasher Min Masr was the most critical program as its critical reports were the first order of coverage, followed by reports on the judiciary file without specific position, support came in a small percentage of reports according to the graph follows:

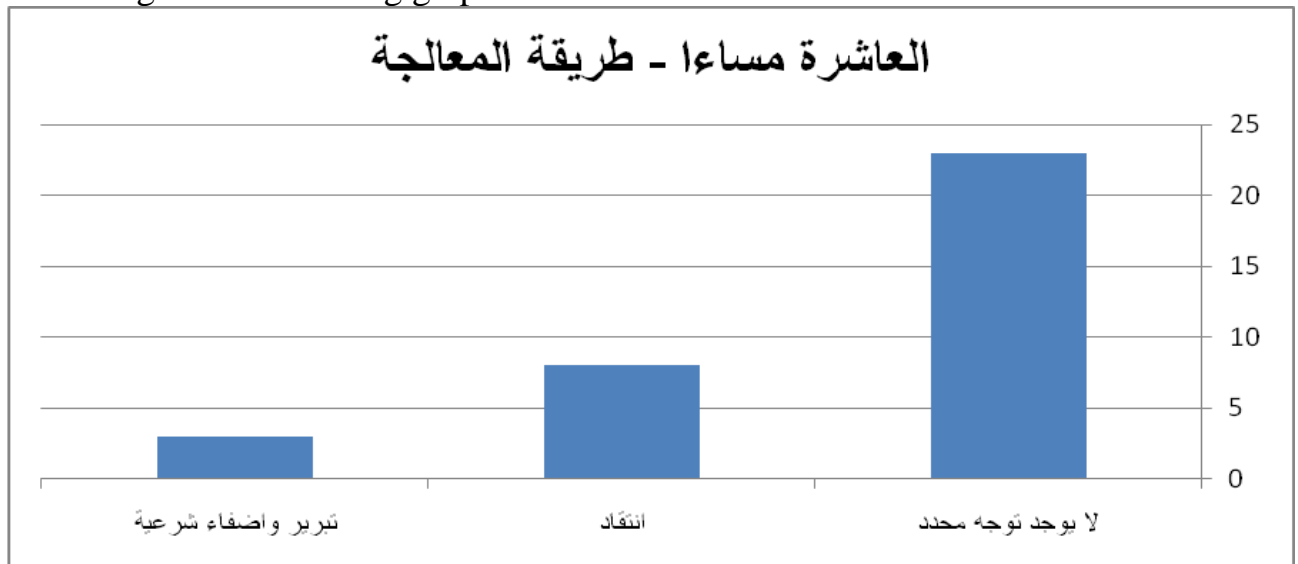
### مباشر من مصر - طريقة المعالجة



- The program Baladna Bil Masri did not take a supporting or opposing position during the month of November, and the coverage was based mainly on neutrality and some criticism, as shown in the figure:



- In Ashera Masaan program, it remained neutral and did not take any positions. the most prominent was criticism and finally support the judges and their positions according to the following graph:



- Based on qualitative monitoring, it was found that the program Baladna Bel Masri was based on both the critical and uncritical methods. On the critical level, the program provided several examples, most notably his way in the presentation of news about the postponement of Michael Nabil trial to 13 November broadcast on November 1 episode . It was critical also, as it published news of the Supreme State Security Court postponement of sedition Imbaba's case for emergency to



December 4, including also the news about the High Committee for the elections.

- On the critical level, questions were asked and tried to find answers to them or leave them in front of viewers. The program addressed the court, ruling administrative system, to prevent remnants from holding a position in the parliamentary elections. On the episode on November 13, several questions were raised about whether this decision will include all remnants of the National Party at the level of the Republic or not. The program also raised questions about the possibility of polls being held according to its schedule or not, and the ability of Interior to secure the elections, in episode 27 November.
- Concerning the website position of the legal and judicial issues, media deliberately means to support the decision of the Court of eliminating the remnants of the national party to prevent them from running any position in elections and looking to apply on the Republic level ..
- For Ashera Masaan program, the whole episode on November 1 was critical of the judiciary in Ahmed Ezz case. Moreover, its coverage criticized the role of military justice in the renewal of the detention of political activist Alaa Abdel-Fattah; during a program on Nov. 13. The coverage was also critical on November 16, where the show reflected the lawyer, who demanded restitution of Mubarak's trial.
- The program Mubasher Min Masr adopted an uncritical method as media professionals did not announce any bias of any kind, not with or against, while the guests and calls were critical of the judiciary.
- However, the "almost only" situation, during its coverage on November 14, the program supported was the decision of the judiciary to eliminate remnants of the National Party from being candidates in the parliament.
- The program wanted to review the views of the legal and constitutional scholars, like the lawyer Khaled El *Islamboly'*, who demanded from the prosecutor not to delay corruption cases of the remnants, on episode 15 November. It also offered *Mohamed Ahmed Elgarhy*, and the constitutional scholar Wagdy Sanusi opinions, clarifying some things for judicial supervision of elections in the episode on November 27.