

**Morsi and Muslim Brotherhood in
Western Eyes: A critical discourse
analysis of Western media coverage of
the 2012 presidential elections
campaign**

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Abstract

The present study is critical discourse analysis of the Western online newspapers coverage of the 2012 Egyptian presidential elections, with a focus on the way the elected president- Mohammed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood group. The way the candidate- toppled later after a tumultuous revolution- was represented to the Western nonprofessional is of extreme importance in the interpretation of the way he was received by the masses. In addition to Halliday's (2014) theory of systemic functional grammar and van Dijk's (1988a) socio-cognitive model in analyzing news discourse, the tools applied to the analysis are drawn from the insights of Richardson (2007) into the analysis of news discourse. The articles under analysis are selected to represent a variety of coverage stances, highlighting the way each presidential candidate is depicted, and revealing political stance the news article aims at confirming. The results show a state of wariness among key political players towards Morsi and his group in fear of changing the secular identity of Egypt.

1. The problem

The present study aims at delineating the portrayal of the toppled Egyptian president Mohammed Morsi as a presidential hopeful who entered the final competition for presidency in Egypt. As he came to the rule of Egypt after the January 25 Revolution, it is important to relate the conditions of his election to the current affairs in the country. The analysis covers the examination of the verbal signs employed in the selected news articles to show to what extent they cohere and harmonize with each other to deliver the message of the writer and/or the news agency. Among the significant purposes of the study is to show whether the candidate was favored in over the other competitor- retired General and former Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq. In general, the linguistic and multimodal features of the selected article, published on heavily visited news websites, are investigated to obtain a lucid understanding of the way the Western nonprofessional was given an image of the elections scene in Egypt. This investigation is conducted while taking the ideological overtones, shown in the articles' verbal signs, into consideration.

Insights from systemic functional grammar and critical discourse analysis are employed for the analysis of the verbal texts.

The study attempts to answer the following question:

What are the lexico-grammatical tools employed in the selected articles to cover the Egyptian presidential elections of 2012 represented in the selected news article?

2. Review of Literature

2.1 Theoretical background of news discourse analysis

The analysis of news discourse has been started and developed since the nineteen seventies, and it owes much of its development to the renowned discourse analyst Teun A. van Dijk. Van Dijk (1998a) regards discourse analysis as a more recent form of classical rhetoric. Its most prominent development started in the 1960s when it was found that “classical rhetoric had more to give” (p.18). Among van Dijk’s earliest studies is his (1983) study that traces the development of discourse analysis and its application to the analysis of news as an independent branch of discourse. He regards that the textual structures of news articles were given a meager attention by analyst, who directed their attention to the linguistic features of any given text.

An important aspect of van Dijk’s (1988a) insights into news analysis is the interpretation of news events. There is a system of “news values” employed by the journalist to produce specific effects on the reader (p.111). Such values are tested by the reader’s system of evaluation and understanding, a system that is based on the reader’s personal observations and knowledge developed in the course of his/her social membership. This system is what decides which news texts are biased, and which are neutral; that is why readers’ interpretations of texts differ. What makes up for such diversity of interpretation is the linguistic analysis that gives a more objective interpretation, based on the linguistic frameworks applied.

2.2 Analytical framework: Critical discourse analysis and functional grammar

Van Dijk’s (1988a) socio-cognitive model will be the main model of analysis for its focus on analyzing news structures. The model

consists of three cardinal dimensions: semantic macroproposition, global superstructure, and local meaning. Starting with semantic macroproposition, it is concerned with how the main constituents of the news text cohere to deliver a specific meaning of the text, that is, the main message. By global structures, van Dijk means the overall organization of the news text and the main structural forms of the text that control the process of comprehension. The dimension of local meaning is related to the first dimension of semantic macroproposition. Each word represents a secondary macroproposition, and the way they relate to each other shares in the depiction of the whole message.

2.5 Previous research on news discourse

The research studies analyzing urging social and political events propagated through news articles have remarkably increased during the last decade; from the relevant studies is Ismail's (2006) analysis of the Egyptian newspapers' coverage of rape crimes. Her focus was on "the ideological implications of the transitivity choices" of news reporters, and on how this originates in the prevailing social ideology about rape (p.85). Applying Halliday's (2004) experiential level of analyzing action processes, the researcher differentiates between the various ways the rapists and the victims are represented.

Following Hafez's (2006) analysis of the newspaper coverage of the way former Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, Bahaaeddin (2008) tackles the bias manifest in the televisual representation of news covering Al Aqsa Intifada. As objectivity and impartiality should be the choice of news reporters while representing news stories, some of them intentionally violate that principle of credibility and support one side against the other. What is found is that there are different ways of reporting events that reflect different viewpoints that represent the conflicting parties in contradictory images.

Abdul-Mageed and Herring (2008) conduct a comparative study of the Arabic and English versions of the same event as represented by the Qatari news network Al Jazeera. It has become evident from the analysis of an adequate corpus of articles drawn from both Al Jazeera Arabic and Al Jazeera English channels that the different version of the same event as articulated in the articles are culturally biased.

Hakam (2009) acts to reveal more about the “little-known discourse” of the English-language Arab newspapers (p.33). Hakam approaches the ‘Prophet Muhammad cartoons controversy’ that occurred in Europe in 2006, when the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* published denigrating caricatures of Prophet Muhammad. From that analysis, Hakam concludes that the majority of the Arab newspapers that are sourced by distinctive Western news agencies altered their lexical and syntactic choices in a challenge to the denigrating caricatures.

Ali (2011) explores the difference in the ideological views held by Arabs concerning the execution of the former ruler of Iraq Saddam Hussein, approaching “the multitude of inner-Arabic ideological divisions” that led to the contrasting views about the way Saddam Hussein was punished by the American authority in Iraq (p.301). What was found is that there is an interstate division in some Arab countries, where some of its local newspapers sympathized with Hussein and attacked his death by this manner. Others, however, justified his execution, regardless of any national or religious considerations.

Mahfouz (2013) scrutinizes the way the stories covering the practices of the Egyptian police system before the January 25 Revolution. Mahfouz selected articles published on the state-owned newspaper *Al-Gomhuria* and the independent newspaper *Al-Dostour* to compare between the ideological undertones manifest in the articles dealing with the same event to show the degree of bias and neutrality. The results show that the ideological perspective of each newspaper controls the way the content is rendered as the analysis exposes “political and ideological interests of each paper underlying the news accounts” (p.330).

Vergani and Bliuc have an interesting relevant study (2015) tracing the development of the language used by the Islamist militant group the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria- widely known at the present time as ISIS- in the English language version of their magazine *Dabiq* during the first year of its publication. The results of the study show that achievement, affiliation, and power are the “core drives and needs” expressed in the language of ISIS (p.15). The focus on death,

females, and religion unveils “three important ideological aspects of the propaganda of ISIS,” as their use is for attracting new members for recruitment (p.16).

3. Methodology

3.1 Data and news sources

The articles selected as the sample of analysis were retrieved from their online sources-Reuters, Christian Science Monitor, and Wall Street Journal- for their convenience. Their easy accessibility and the wide popularity of their websites are also among the reasons of their selection. However, their dealing with the challenging economic conditions and the conflict between the military institution and the Muslim Brotherhood group made them quite attractive.

3.2 Model of analysis

The model of analysis depends mainly on van Dijk’s (1980, 1988a) theory of semantic macrostructures, Montgomery et al.’s (2000) framework of analyzing narrative content and narrative form in news stories, and van Dijk’s (1998) method of analyzing ideological practices evident in discourse, following Ali’ (2011) model of analyzing news discourse. Van Dijk’s work is applied to the analysis of the social and cultural influences on the coverage of the events of the Egyptian political scene.

4. Analysis

4.1 Analysis of Article One

Islamist joy as Morsi elected Egypt president

(Reuters) - Islamist Mohamed Morsi was declared Egypt’s first freely elected president on Sunday, sparking joy among his Muslim Brotherhood supporters on the streets who vowed to wrest more power from armed forces reluctant to cede ultimate control.

But many Egyptians, and anxious Western allies, urged Morsi to work fast to repair a country economically stricken and bitterly divided since the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak fractured the police state which had suppressed dissent for decades.

In his first address to the people, many of whom voiced fears of Islamic law and a threat to secular traditions, Morsi insisted: “I am today a president to all Egyptians.”

The military council which has ruled the biggest Arab nation since February 11, 2011, curbed the powers of the presidency by decree last week, meaning the head of state will have to work closely with the army on a planned democratic constitution.

Calling it a “milestone in their transition to democracy,” the United States, the army’s key sponsor and also long wary of the rise of political Islam, joined other Western powers in congratulating Morsi and calling on him to form a government of national unity that would respect all Egyptians’ civil rights.

Starting with the semantic macroproposition, it represents the whole stance of the article; that Morsi’s victory “sparked joy,” almost exclusively, among his supporters, Islamists, among them the society of Muslim Brotherhood. Morsi’s victory acts as an Initiator in a causative process that induced the Muslim Brotherhood society to rejoice. The use of the descriptive appositive “Islamist” as the Theme of the headline initiates the concept of extremism, as the term is a pejorative description for the involvement of religious sects in politics, negatively representing the president-elect, even before he practices his own authorities. The new president is represented as being separated from the rest of the Egyptians, except for his supporters. In terms of transitivity, Morsi is represented as a Token that owes his victory to the support of the Islamist groups, as shown in “**Morsi** was declared Egypt’s first freely elected president.”

Following van Dijk’s (1988a) socio-cognitive model, the analysis of local meanings will be the next step, focusing on the description and lexicalization of the main actors. The main participants mentioned in the articles are the president-elect Mohammed Morsi, the defeated candidate Ahmed Shafiq, Islamist supporters, including Muslim Brotherhood society, other Egyptians, among them Western allies, the Egyptian military council, and the United States of America.

There are two indications that Morsi is not expected to practice his presidential powers independently, without the intervention of his supporters; the first indication, which is implicit, is in “his **Muslim**

Brotherhood supporters on the streets who *vowed* to *wrest* more power from armed forces.” The use of the verb “vowed” shows strong determination to seize power, while the use of “wrest” indicates the use of force to achieve that purpose, and this means that Muslim Brotherhood society intended to have a share of Morsi’s presidential power, even under the pretense of playing a “supportive” role. The second, clearly explicit, indication comes in “**The military council** ... *curbed* the powers of the presidency by decree.”

Morsi’s authority is shared by another power, but this power is more competing than supporting. The consequence is that “**the head of state** *will have to work* closely with the army;” the modulation expression “will have to” indicates Morsi’s obligation to collaborate with the military institution, while the Circumstance of Quality “closely” grants the institution the privilege of monitoring his action. The institution’s weak inclination to “cede power” is shown in the Attribute “reluctant,” and this is justified by the Circumstance of Cause, Reason in “defending their privileges” and their suspicion about Egypt’s ability to “establish a stable constitutional democracy.” This suspicion is equally about Morsi’s capacity for ruling Egypt in these critical circumstances.

The author employs many “persuasive moves” to convince the reader with the incompetence of Morsi and his group to rule Egypt in its procession towards democracy (van Dijk, 1993, p.264). There is a structural emphasis on their negative action from the very first word used in the headline “Islamist,” implying religious intolerance. “Islamist” as a quality also contradicts with any democratic political movement. The author also quotes a credible witness, which is the military council that doubts Egypt’s ability under the current circumstances to “establish constitutional democracy.” The military council employs evasion in their statement, referring to the “fragmented, and long oppressed political movements,” which include Muslim Brotherhood’s movement. What confirms this doubt is the representation of the United States of America as “wary of the rise of political Islam” as it reflects the feeling that the outcomes of the rule of a president from an Islamist background are still unclear.

Tackling the global superstructure of the article, it follows the traditional organization van Dijk (1980, 1988a) enunciates. It starts

with a summary of the whole theme of the article, which is that Morsi's election was welcome exclusively by Islamist groups, implying that the sole beneficiaries, and consequently that he will not be a president for all the Egyptians. Richardson's (2007) recommendation to analyze news stories in terms of Montgomery et al.'s (2000) specification of narrative content and narrative form is also taken into account. Whereas narrative content is the true sequence of events as they took place in real situations, narrative form refers to the sequence of events as they are reported in news articles. The narrative form starts with reporting the extreme happiness the Islamists met Morsi's victory with, and their vow to seize more power from the military council using terms that indicate their tendency to violence is depicted as the main event.

4.2 Analysis of Article Two

Egyptian presidential candidate: Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood

(Christian Science Monitor) -Mohamed Morsi was never supposed to run for president of Egypt. He was the Muslim Brotherhood's backup candidate and only came into the limelight after the organization's first pick – Khairat El Shater, a strategist, financier, and heavyweight in the Brotherhood – was disqualified for legal reasons.

Some speculated that this would hurt Dr. Morsi's chances – he is the frequent butt of jokes about spare tires. But he won the most votes in the first round of Egypt's presidential elections, with about 25 percent of the total votes cast on May 23-24. Now, the erstwhile backup candidate may become Egypt's next president. He faces former Mubarak Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq in a runoff in mid-June.

Morsi is not considered a charismatic leader. At campaign rallies, he sometimes looks uncomfortable being the center of attention. But some voters say that's not important with an organization like the Brotherhood to back him. The organization itself emphasizes his platform, which focuses on economic development and security, more than his person.

Some Egyptians worry that this mind-set means he would still answer to the Brotherhood's leader even if he became president. But others appreciate the fact that he is not known for political maneuvering, and consider him honest.

The global meaning represented by the text is mainly the introduction of Mohammed Morsi as the presidential candidate, induced to run for the presidential elections and supported by the “Muslim Brotherhood organization.” The main semantic macroproposition introduced is that Morsi is merely a stooge manipulated by the Muslim Brotherhood group in the implementation of their political scheme of ruling Egypt. The secondary macroproposition represented in this article is of the opinions of the Egyptian people concerning Morsi’s nomination, which majorly enhance his weakness as a political leader and his absolute dependence on the Muslim Brotherhood, and doubt his ability to rule the country smoothly without the intervention of his group. The postposed description of Morsi, as being “of the Muslim Brotherhood” diminishes the sense of his independence in thinking and acting, and assumes that he owes his significance to his belonging to that group. This is further confirmed as a former member of the group is reported to have that “**he’s not** an independent leader,” encapsulating the whole message of the article.

Analyzing the local meaning of the text, in terms of the language used in the introduction on Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood group, Morsi is assigned to assume weak transitive roles. Morsi is introduced from two main sides: as a presidential candidate and as a member of the Muslim Brotherhood group. In his representation as a presidential candidate, Morsi appears engaged in a series of agency roles that enhance his weakness and doubt his convenience for the position. He is represented as a Token, in “**He was** the Muslim Brotherhood’s backup candidate,” in a degrading way, as adding the postposed description “backup candidate” weakens his position as an opponent of the other candidates, especially General and former Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq.

Labeling Morsi by referring to his academic position, as “Dr. Morsi,” while referring to his opponent as “former Mubarak Prime Minister,” confirms his inferiority, as compared to Shafiq, and denies him his legitimate right to the title of “president of Egypt.” His representation as a Target in “**he is the frequent butt of jokes** about

“spare tires” includes a satirical note, his being compared to “spare tires,” which is a pejorative description of sexually used men. Morsi’s insignificance as a political figure is shown in his role as a Medium, in “**he came** into limelight,” who was forced to run for the elections for unexpected reasons. This is later enhanced as he assumes the role of a Carrier in “**Morsi is not considered** a charismatic leader.” Morsi lacks the skills of an accomplished political leader while dealing with his supporters directly, as shown in “**he sometimes looks** uncomfortable being the center of attention,” in which he assumes the role of a Carrier again.

Despite the negative representation of Morsi in the majority of the sections of this article, some of his positive sides are also reported in others; however, he assumes in such cases weak roles in terms of transitivity. One example is in “**he is not** known for political maneuvering,” in which he appears as a Carrier, the same role he assumes in “**others... consider** him honest.” The only elector reported to be supporting Morsi justifies her stance by his intention that “**he’s going to apply** sharia”; however, this justification is related to a future action that has not been fulfilled yet.

As this article is dedicated to the representation of Morsi as a presidential candidate, it is not unexpected that he appears most frequently in relational processes, in which he appears as a Carrier six times and as a Token two times. However, the majority of such processes negatively represent him. An explicit example comes in “**he sometimes looks** uncomfortable being the center of attention,” and in “**he was** the Muslim Brotherhood’s backup candidate.” The two processes that favorably represent the presidential candidate” and “**others...consider him** honest and “**he is not** known for political maneuvering,” come in a disclaimer after supposing the continuity of his subservience to his group, “he would still answer to the Brotherhood’s leader even if he became president.”

The global superstructure of this article proceeds in line with the norm enunciated by van Dijk (1980, 1988a), as it starts with a lead that summarizes the whole situation. However, it starts with a comment on Morsi’s nomination as presidential candidate, “Mohamed Morsi was never supposed to run for president of Egypt,” which affects the degree of objectivity of the author. The main situation,

Morsi's nomination and his confrontation of Shafiq, is explicated, adding several facts and historical events. Later, the historical background of Morsi's life and the way he joined the Muslim Brotherhood group and advanced in rank. The focus in that part is on setting the events in the context of selecting Morsi as the "backup candidate in this race." The author refers to several reasons that denigrate Morsi's image, including his subordination to his group. In order to confirm Morsi's dependence and unreliability, a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood group, is cited as referring to the candidate's blind obedience to the leaders of his group. What challenges the authenticity of such entity is a grudge he may have harbored against the group after his former experience with it.

4.3 Analysis of Article Three

Islamist Wins Egyptian Vote

Egyptian election officials declared the Muslim Brotherhood's Mohammed Morsi the country's first freely elected president on Sunday, propelling an Islamist to power and marking another milestone in the Arab world's tumultuous democratic transition.

It sets up what is likely to be an uneasy ruling alliance between two longtime rivals, the Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian military, which has been the country's backbone of power and has ruled Egypt since former President Hosni Mubarak stepped down last year.

Celebrations erupted across Egypt after the announcement as Mr. Morsi's supporters and opponents of the old order filled the streets. Many secular Egyptians watched uneasily, wondering what Islamist rule will mean for a country that has long been a bulwark of secular, moderate and pro-American governance.

President Barack Obama called Mr. Morsi Sunday, the White House said, adding that Mr. Morsi told Mr. Obama he "welcomed U.S. support for Egypt's transition."

The White House congratulated Mr. Morsi and urged him to reach out to other political forces and respect the rights of women and Christians. Mr. Morsi's victory opens a new chapter in the U.S.'s slow rapprochement with the region's rising Islamist movements.

In Israel, where there is deep unease about the Brotherhood's growing clout, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said "Israel looks forward to continuing to cooperate with the Egyptian administration on the basis of the peace treaty between the two countries."

The wider Arab world greeted Mr. Morsi's victory with a mixture of enthusiasm and dismay. Officials in the oil-rich Arab states of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates view the Muslim Brotherhood as a threat to their rule second only to the Shiite-led Islamic Republic of Iran because of the group's criticism of their traditional authoritarian rule.

However, Mr. Morsi is likely to receive a boost of support from natural-gas powerhouse Qatar, which has hosted exiled Muslim Brotherhood leaders for years and given the group a powerful platform on its government-financed al-Jazeera Arab news network.

There is no wonder that this article mainly focuses on the political and economic consequences of the election of Morsi as the new president of Egypt, if we keep in mind Wall Street Journal's interest in world economy. The Egyptian event is related to the political scene in the neighboring countries, to point out the influence of Morsi's victory on the current events throughout the Middle East region. Thus, the semantic macroproposition, introduced by the title and developed through the events reported, is the national and international reactions towards the victory of "Islamist" Morsi, and the later consequences of such reactions on the future of Egypt's relationships with the other World countries. A further evidence comes in replacing Morsi's name with the derogatory descriptive term "Islamist" as the Theme of the title.

Similar to its depiction in Reuters's coverage of the same event in Article 1, the United States of America is represented as a supportive country that was satisfied by the democratic transition in Egypt. As for the neighboring countries, they are classified into two main sects: one sect, representing the majority of neighboring countries, especially Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, declares pleasure in the election of Morsi, but is worried about his political background. The other sect is both satisfied with Morsi's election and is ready to support his program, and this is best represented by Qatar.

The analysis of the local meanings selected by the author is the focus of this section. Although Morsi is the main news actor and participant in this article, his agency roles do not show any instance of strength and competence as the elected president. The only two times he appears as an Actor is in his vow to “preserve international agreements and commitments,” a future commitment that is concerned with an international relation, and in his welcome of U.S. support for Egypt’s transition,” also an action concerned with maintaining international relations. The new president’s fruitful action is turned into nominalizations, as in “Morsi’s election” and “Morsi’s victory,” in a typical form of suppression that aims at the exclusion of Morsi’s personal efforts during his “election” campaign that resulted in his “victory.”

Unlike what is reported in Article 1 about the exclusive joy of the supporters of Morsi at his victory, this article shows that there is another Senser of emotion for that Phenomenon, “opponents of the old order.” In addition to this reaction, there is a contrasting reaction of wariness and caution embraced by the secular Egyptians. These news actors appear both as Sensers of perception, as they “*watched* the scene uneasily,” and as Sensers of cognition in their “*wondering*” about the future of the country after its transition from a secular to a religious nation. This indicates that such actors are still at the stage of meditation about the future of Egypt, which can be seen as a preliminary stage for some later action.

It seems that the fear of religious conservatism is the main motivation behind the reaction of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates towards Morsi’s Victory. Using the proposed description “oil-rich” in introducing Arab states indicates that their material wealth will give their reaction a significance. Another motivation for that stance is the Muslim Brotherhood’s “criticism” of these countries’ “traditional authoritarian rule.” As they regard the rule of Morsi and his group as “a threat to their rule,” this gives their future action a justification, as in this case they will be defending the stability of their states.

Equally wealthy Qatar, however, has a contrasting stance, not only in the present, but in the past, as well. Qatar assumes the role of Actor of a material process three times; the first time occurred actually, in “*hosted* exiled Muslim Brotherhood leaders for years.” The use of the Circumstance of Extent “for years” confirms that Qatar continues to play that supportive role tirelessly for decades. The second time, “*given* the group a powerful platform,” which also occurred actually, shows another form of support, which is a means of self-expression and defense against the attacks of the opponents of Islamists, provided by the Circumstance of Manner, means “on its government-financed al-Jazeera Arab news network.” The third material process Qatar is assigned to assume is virtual, in “**Mr. Morsi** is likely to receive a boost of support from natural-gas powerhouse Qatar.”

The global superstructure of this article does not differ from the expected tradition, as it starts with a concise headline that summarizes the whole point of the article: the rise of an Islamist to the rule of Egypt, which is expected to cause a political upheaval and grave societal changes. The lead stresses that assumption, as the author assumes that the declaration of Morsi results in “milestone in the Arab world’s tumultuous democratic transition.” The situation is reported later to be the challenges the new president will confront nationally, with the long conflict between his political group and the military institution, and internationally, with the unsteady relations between same group and the majority of Gulf states. The episode that is focused on is of the direct consequences of the victory of Morsi. Relating Morsi’s background, both as a “U.S.-educated engineer” and as a “descendant of a conservative Islamist party,” to the current situation of his victory, the article raises two conflicting scenarios about his rule. The first is that he will comply with the pieces of advice of America and apply the rules requires for achieving democracy, while the second is that his action will be directed by the thoughts and teachings of his group. It seems that the second scenario will cause tension with the majority of the neighboring countries, and will trouble the Egyptian relations with America, the ardent supporter of the military institution.

5. Findings and discussion

It has become clear from the analysis of the selected article that Morsi's election resulted in different reactions among the electorate and the parties concerned with the Egyptian political scene. Despite the joy Morsi's election "sparked" among his supporters, it initiated a state of "wariness" among other non-Islamist political currents. External key players in the political scene share this wariness, especially the United States- described as "the army's key sponsor" in Article One- and Israel-worried about the future of "the peace treaty" with Egypt under the rule of an Islamist administration. Oil-rich Gulf countries show two contrasting stances: whereas Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates treat Morsi's election as "a threat to their rule," it was expected that he would receive a great support from Qatar.

While describing Morsi as an "Islamist" was repeated in the first and third articles, he was labeled as "Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood" in the second, in an intentional stress on his belonging to an Islamist group that constitutes his political agenda. The future of Egypt raises the concerns of political monitors, lest the secular identity of Egypt is erased under an Islamist rule. Such results contradict with what Al Sawi (2015) found in his multimodal analysis of the representation of Morsi in the state-run Al Ahram newspaper, which illustrated his as "a powerful leader performing material action verbs with modality of absolute certainty" (p.192). The flimsy economic conditions in Egypt in 2012 are slightly referred to in Article Three, assuming that oil-rich countries may suspend their financial support to Egypt, foreshadowing facts that occurred later.

For reasons of space, a relatively limited number of studies was investigated. Consequently, it is recommended that a broader study should be conducted to encompass not only a larger number of articles retrieved from different news agencies, but also more variety of events. Tracing the perspectives towards Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood after the June 30 Revolution is also of extreme interest. The application of corpus analysis may add a more lucid insight into the political scene.

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