

Challenging power and creating opportunities: A comparative analysis of how Al Jazeera English reported The Arab Spring

Dr Diana Bossio

Swinburne University

dbossio@swin.edu.au

Abstract

The recent wave of protests in the Middle East, termed the ‘Arab Spring’, have been notable for the interactions between alternative and mainstream modes of journalistic practice to report on events. This paper seeks to discuss both the new and traditional media production frameworks that have informed the interaction between those who have witnessed and those who have reported on the events of the ‘Arab Spring’. In particular, this paper seeks to complete a comparative analysis of the ways in which Al Jazeera English, CNN and BBC interacted with alternative modes of journalistic practice during the initial days of the Arab Spring protests. Focusing on Egypt and Libya on six politically important days during the protests, this paper will suggest that Al Jazeera English established journalistic interactions with citizen journalists and protesters in both countries and were therefore more successful at integrating ‘amateur’ material into their reportage.

Introduction:

The so-called ‘Arab Spring’ protests have taken place on the streets of Tunisia, Libya and Egypt—as well as many other countries in the Middle East. However, these protests have been discussed, filmed, photographed and commented on all over the world, facilitated by the prolific use of online digital and social media. Indeed, the protests had been somewhat controversially referred to in mainstream media as a ‘social media revolution’ because of the extent of social media use by protesters and journalists to amplify the protests. However misguided the notion of a ‘social media revolution’ is, the interaction between ‘mainstream’ and ‘alternative’ modes of journalistic practice during the Arab Spring has been widely discussed in the media and academia as an example of a shift in the investigation and dissemination of news.

This paper seeks to discuss how interactions between ‘alternative’ and ‘mainstream’ forms of journalistic practice were presented in the discourse of mainstream reportage about the Arab Spring protests in Egypt and Libya. In particular, this paper seeks to complete a comparative analysis of the ways in which *Al Jazeera English* (AJE) *CNN* and *BBC* interacted with alternative modes of journalistic practice during the initial days of the Arab Spring protests. I argue that AJE appeared to have been more successful at integrating alternative and amateur modes of journalism into their reportage of the Arab Spring. (AJE’s) institutional practices appear to have changed to incorporate the collaborative and engagement potential of online media, whereas there is more evidence of tensions occurring within the BBC and CNN’s interactions with alternative forms of journalistic practice.

Focussing on six days of protest in Egypt and Libya in 2011, this paper completed a comparative analysis of coverage of recent pro-democracy demonstrations on CNN, BBC and AJE. I compared how much ‘interaction’ the mainstream news channels had with other modes of journalistic practice—including blogging, uploading audio and video content, photography and other micro-blogging like Facebook and Twitter. I defined ‘interaction’ as moments where the two ‘modes of practice’ informed or modified each other’s reportage, including sharing of information, collaborative reportage and discussion of each other’s practice in reportage. This paper will refer to mainstream and alternative ‘modes of journalistic practice’. Referring to modes of practice seems to better encapsulate the different information gathering and dissemination processes that were occurring during the protests.

I define alternative journalistic modes of practice similarly to Rodriguez (2001) as a set of reportage, production and dissemination practices that are embedded within the everyday lives of people specific to a historical, political and cultural context. Alternative journalistic practices demarcate themselves from ‘professional’, ‘mainstream’ and institutionalised modes of practice by emphasising overt advocacy, first person and eyewitness accounts, collective organisation and reporting practice and populist styles of presentation (Rodriguez, 2001). The professionalised practices of mainstream journalism in comparison operate according to particular professional and discursive codes of practice, as well as a particular economic model. Their economic imperative means that mainstream media are disseminated via the largest distribution channels and are likely to be encountered by a larger number of ‘consumers’.

Al Jazeera English, the Arab Spring protests and journalism in the social media

age:

AJE is the English language component of the Arabic news service delivered globally by Al Jazeera. Since its inception in 1996, Al Jazeera has become one of the most watched channels in the Middle East, and is beamed via satellite to over 250 million television sets worldwide. Headquartered in Doha, Qatar and until recently, owned by the Qatari government, it is largely funded by the Qatari emir. AJE differentiates its public profile from other global broadcasters by emphasising reportage of the global south. The availability of Al Jazeera via satellite has meant that many somewhat controversial viewpoints have been aired, putting the station and their journalists at odds with many Middle Eastern governments and gaining the station international notoriety. Despite criticism about the influence of Qatar's emir on the channel and claims of anti-Semitism, sensationalism and lack of professional objectivity Al Jazeera's broadcasts are being increasingly used by western media outlets and in 2003, BBC announced an agreement with Al Jazeera to share resources, including news footage (BBC in news deal, 2003)

In comparison with BBC and CNN, AJE is a relative newcomer to the global mediasphere. The BBC has been broadcasting for more than 90 years as a public service broadcaster in the United Kingdom. As a semi-autonomous broadcaster, the BBC has positioned itself as a hub of entertainment, information and education and in informing the public aims to adhere to traditional news values of objectivity. BBC's News arm is one of the largest news broadcasters in the world, with research indicating it is one of the most watched news sources in Britain when large news

events occur. BBC News has nonetheless been criticised for an overly Eurocentric news focus and that its coverage panders to the United Kingdom's political aims. CNN is an American-based global news organisation, launched in 1980 and the first all-news channel in the US. CNN International is differentiated from its US counterpart, which is based in Atlanta. CNN has positioned itself as a broadcaster delivering live and of the moment news coverage and was the first organisation to deliver live reports from the first Gulf War and the September 11 attacks on the Twin Towers in New York. CNN's impact as a live, 24 hour news channel even led officials at the Pentagon during coverage of the first Gulf War to coin the term "the CNN effect" to describe the impact of the 24-hour news coverage on decisions made by the government (Belknap, 2001). CNN has been criticised for both liberal and conservative governmental bias in the US but also for being too 'pro-US in reporting international events.

There is no doubt that each broadcaster has had a significant impact on the global media sphere in their own particular way, often because of their own particular institutional practices. However during the Arab Spring, it was Al Jazeera's coverage that was the source of much acclaim, winning several awards including from the Foreign Press Association for their coverage of the Egyptian protests in 2011. While the organisation certainly capitalised on its physical proximity to the protests, the number of Arabic-speaking journalists with contacts in Egypt and its political and cultural knowledge of the region, their interactions with protesters, activists and ordinary Egyptians has been a much discussed aspect of AJE's Arab Spring reportage. Contemporary theoretical frameworks have thus suggested the ways in which these productive interactions could occur. By defining a framework for understanding new

types of news work, media production and journalism as an integrated whole, Deuze (2003) for example, has investigated the way in which online and converged media have been incorporated into journalism. He suggests (2003: 206) that digital and networked journalism cannot always be tied to the work that defines the salaried media practitioners in traditional media formats. More recently, theorisations of networked journalism has investigated the “collaborative nature of journalism now: professionals and amateurs working together to get the real story...It recognises the complex relationships that will make news. And it focusses in the process more than the product” (Jarvis, 2006). More recently, Heinrich argued that there is evidence of the potential of globalised networks of interaction between mainstream and alternative modes of journalistic practice, but they are not applied to a conceptual model of practical interaction (Heinrich, 2011: 58). She asks how we can illustrate these practices to better encapsulate the complexities of their practice both in terms of the kinds of people and professionals contributing to news reportage, as well as their institutional, political and personal interests in doing so.

Initial study of the Arab Spring protests has provided some cautious answers to this question. Hermida et al. (2012) for example, have examined the use of Twitter by journalists during the Arab Spring, finding “...a new paradigm of sourcing at play. In a networked media environment, the journalist emerges as a central node trusted to authenticate, interpret and contextualise information flows on social awareness streams, drawing on a distributed and networked newsroom where knowledge and expertise are fluid, dynamic and hybrid.” This finding drew from previous research by Hermida (2010), Bruno (2011) and Lotan et al (2011) who also found that it was social media content and alternative modes of journalistic practice that were much

more dominant aspects of the news coverage of the Arab Spring. Nanabhay and Farmanfarmaian (2011) provided a slightly more nuanced analysis, suggesting that alternative media practitioners amplify the protest in the public sphere using social media, while mainstream media coverage transform this process into a ‘spectacular’ with 24/7 rolling coverage. This is supported by Aday et al’s research (2013) which suggests that the vast amount of attention to social media content about the Arab Spring came from outside the Middle East regions, showing social media as a useful tool for amplification of news events, rather than for the protests themselves. Research about Al Jazeera’s reportage more specifically has been largely anecdotal; however Idle and Nunns (2011) suggest that ‘reporting was influenced by information and footage coming from citizen journalists on the ground.’

Research Method:

This project was completed in two parts and thus uses two different methodologies. The first aspect of the project (which will not be reported on in detail due to space constraints) utilised a comparative analysis of reportage between the three broadcasters during the pro-democracy demonstrations in Egypt and Libya on six separate days at the beginning of the protests in January and February, 2011. Specific dates were chosen to frame the analysis firstly, because of the ongoing nature of the political situations in Egypt and Libya, and secondly, to gain a stable selection of data for analysis and comparison. I chose to analyse six politically significant days where either a) significant governmental action occurred b) a significantly large protest occurred or, c) significant violence was reported. As a point of comparison I chose to analyse three days where journalistic practice may have been more difficult as a result

of governmental curfews, threats of violence or logistical difficulty and three days where journalistic practice was not hindered in these ways.

The comparative analysis measured how much ‘interaction’ (as defined above) CNN, BBC and AJE had with other modes of journalistic practice—including blogging, uploading audio and video content, photography and other micro-blogging like Facebook and Twitter. Materials for analysis were selected from the three mainstream news organisation's websites: CNN, BBC and AJE. I looked for evidence of use of alternative modes of journalistic practice such as blogs, Facebook, Twitter and Youtube and traced these back to the original sources. I identified 'alternative' journalism ‘practitioners’ by identifying the authors within the most widely accessed Egyptian and Libyan non-governmental blogs, Twitter and Facebook sites. Once I had collected all text, video and audio material CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera English, I completed individual analyses of alternative media content used by each broadcaster. The individual analyses were reviewed together to compare how the emergent themes occurred across the differing protests, as well as the different media and practitioners.

Al Jazeera during the Arab Spring:

The analysis found that on days where reportage was likely to be hindered, mainstream reportage contains many more opinion features and contextual reportage (Bossio and Bebawi, 2013). Looking at the ways in which reportage was sourced, in mainstream coverage of the protests, there was a mix of traditional reporting techniques being used in the coverage, as well as social media and citizen journalism, whereby the news was sourced from Twitter, Facebook and other social media platforms, and from posts by a broad range of contributors including, official media

representatives, 'citizen journalists', activists and NGOs. These contributions were often subsequently aggregated into a format that enabled listeners or viewers to access a broad overview of the developing situation (Bossio and Bebawi, 2013). It appears, however, that most of the organisations relied more heavily on social media on hindered days. It was Al Jazeera English that appeared to have been most successful in integrating citizen or amateur journalism, activist comment and user generated content within their own professionalised reporting practices. Al Jazeera also contextualises the use of social networks in the protests not as reportage or information, but as the rallying of protesters.

The preliminary results of the analysis show that AJE utilised almost double the number of social media sources of information in Egypt, especially Tweets. Where BBC and AJE appeared to use much more information sourced from other journalists, our analysis indicated that AJE was much more reliant on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube to source evidence. In Libya, the situation was more complex because of the precarious environment for reporters. While all three broadcasters appeared to utilise eyewitness accounts on the telephone as a major source of information, AJE once again had almost double the number of references to different social media as evidence in their reportage (see Bossio and Bebawi, 2013). Interestingly, within the discourse of the reportage itself, CNN and BBC had almost double the number of references to the use of social media by activists, whereas AJE seemed much more focused on reporting on the protesters themselves and their actions in the discourse of its reportage (See Bossio and Bebawi, 2013).

I was particularly interested in the way AJE was positioned in the protests as being the 'social media innovators' and how they positioned their interactions with activists,

protesters and citizen journalists. While the full report on the content analysis has been published (Bossio and Bebawi, 2013), I have conducted a further preliminary analysis of the way AJE's reporting practices were positioned during the initial protests in Libya and Egypt. The thematic analysis follows Orbe and Kinefuchi (2008) in utilising three criteria in a discursive analysis to elicit emergent themes from diverse communication sources. Firstly, an initial reading of the texts allowed the themes to emerge from the articles themselves, rather than guiding the search through pre-defined themes. Next the text was read closely, organising items relating to similar topics into categories or 'proto-themes'. Lastly, proto-themes were categorised and given a particular significance according to how it had emerged from the text.

For journalists working at AJE, 'covering' the Egyptian Arab Spring meant working with a community of media-savvy protesters, especially when governments affected by the protests were attempting to silence the broadcaster, often using violent means. Journalists from many mainstream media organisations reported that their practice had been compromised by threats of violence by pro-government groups. Equipment was confiscated and smashed and Journalists were routinely threatened or beaten by mobs; the most infamous being the sexual assaults of female journalists Mona Eltahawy and CBS chief foreign correspondent Lara Logan (Lara Logan, 2011).

AJE was however targeted as a 'dissident' channel in Egypt and Libya. Despite a provision for freedom of speech in the Egyptian constitution, Hosni Mubarak had instituted a state of emergency in the country. This effectively allowed censorship and violent sanctions against anything considered a threat to national security. The Mubarak government also owned stocks in mainstream media in Egypt as well as controlling the licensing of newspapers. As a Human Rights forum reported in 2009,

57 journalists from 13 newspapers in Egypt were sanctioned for their criticism of the government in the media (Bureau of Democracy, 2009). During the initial days of protest, Egypt's information ministry revoked AJE's license and withdrew accreditation of the network's journalists. Egyptian authorities shut down AJE's Cairo bureau, and shut off satellite access to the channel (Egyptian government, 2011). But AJE refused to stop broadcasting—they found another satellite service and relied on social media to put together the news.

In Libya, the amount of reportage varied so much, that it was difficult to draw together a coherent range of discursive references. There were also serious institutional constraints that affected the analysis. For example, CNN did not have media access to Libya at the beginning of the protests. Journalist Ben Wedeman was only allowed access into Libya as of February 21. AJE was also singled out as a dissident Arab channel and was not permitted entry into Libya, which explains the very small number of reports to analyse and the huge reliance on eyewitness reports. AJE stated that '[v]erifying news from Libya has been difficult since the protests began, because of restrictions on journalists entering the country, as well as internet and mobile phone blackouts imposed by the government' (Uprising flares in Libyan City, 2011). In addition there was the problem that such sourced material could not be verified which made it difficult for mainstream journalists to confirm most of the news.

In contrast to BBC and CNN, AJE contextualised the use of social networks in the protests not as reportage or information, but as the rallying of protesters. One reporter suggested: "After having their Cairo bureau closed and press credentials revoked by Egyptian authorities, AJE journalists continued to tweet and call in anonymously to

report on the protests to the news organisations Live Stream. AJE and other news organisations like Russia Today utilised YouTube to post updated video reports on the demonstrations” (Lavrusik, 2011). This increasing use of social media and the interaction and support of protesters seemingly became part of the protests. As *The New York Times* argued: “The protests rocking the Arab world this week have one thread uniting them: Al Jazeera English, [...] whose aggressive coverage has helped propel insurgent emotions from one capital to the next” (Worth and Kirkpatrick, 2011).

My analysis shows that AJE utilised interactions with alternate modes of journalistic practice in several ways during the Arab Spring protests in Egypt and Libya. Firstly, social media was also a vital tool in allowing news organisations to interview protesters from remote locations, as was the case with the *New York Times* interview with Gigi Ibrahim, conducted via skype (Mackey, 2011). It appears that most of the organisations relied more heavily on social media on hindered days, especially for gaining access to potential eye witnesses or other sources of information.

Secondly, AJE also allowed direct reportage into mainstream news reports that alternative modes of journalistic practice. In particular, some major news stories were actually broken by activists calling into mainstream news organisations to report facts, clear up misinformation, and also call for international help. This was an exchange that was encouraged and promoted during the protests in both Libya and Egypt as it also assisted in information gathering for mainstream journalists. For example, AJE allowed a ‘celebrity’ protester, Alaa al-Aswany, author of a best-selling book in Egypt which portrays the country’s corrupt politicians and police brutality, to report on the

protests in his own words. (Fresh anti-govt, 2011) Another article on the BBC features the prominent activist and blogger Gigi Ibrahim as an expert (Egypt unrest, 2011) and also provides a video of her interview. Another “eyewitness” is given prominence in a video about the planned Friday of Rage protests (Cairo protests, 2011).

Thirdly, social media provided an alternative technique of news gathering when it was too dangerous or technically difficult for correspondents to remain on location. For example, Mashable (Lavrusik, 2011) describes the ‘live’ blogs and ‘curated’ Twitter, You Tube and Facebook posts which were a part of the mainstream coverage of the uprisings in Egypt and Libya, sometimes the only coverage, particularly during the state crackdown on journalists in Egypt and for the early days of the Libyan revolution. In fact, the AJE ‘live’ blog covering the Libyan revolution went as far as crediting Libya 17 voices as a main source of news reportage during the early days of the conflict. They also established a permanent link on their site to a ‘live’ stream set up by a protester in Benghazi.

Lastly, reporters from AJE also said they were relying on Egyptian protesters to update them on news from the protests (McArthur, 2011). Use of social media was a major aspect of their reportage of the protests especially tweets and Youtube footage. El-Hamalawy, who tweeted from the protests in Egypt every day said in a news report that would come home from the demonstrations at 11pm then turn on Al Jazeera English, where he would often see his pictures and videos used for their news report. As he notes: “A lot of my tweets had been broadcasted on Al Jazeera English, or they

would call me and confirm if something was actually happening” (El-Hamalawy, in Rabie, 2011).

The reliance on the social media for reporting was particularly evident during internet and communications blackouts. The Arab Forum (McArthur, 2011) described AJE’s journalistic process in Egypt: “When Al Jazeera English’s signal was cut by authorities in the country, and the network’s journalists were forced to hide their identities whilst reporting, it became a case of demonstrators calling up news channels to report as well.” The Arab Media forum (Hunter, 2011) describes this as a process of co-operation:

When internet coverage was blocked, twenty-four-hour news channel Al Jazeera—a news outlet using the old media platform of T.V.—curated and collected the raw, immediate content citizens were sharing from each and every country, and made all that content available to television viewers as fast as possible. According to the Allied Media Corporation, Al Jazeera English reaches 40 million viewers in the Arab world. Their extensive coverage of the Arab Revolution and willingness to broadcast both original citizen journalism and diverse views allowed Arab citizens without computers to see the digital content being shared by their neighbours and countrymen.

AJE’s Head of Online Riyadh Minty said hundreds of videos would pour into AJE offices each day and Egyptian reporters would help to verify them before being posted or broadcast (Wang, 2012). Reporters would also monitor social media, following specific bloggers, Facebook groups and even hashtags. Minty said “this was one of the most amazing things that happened—the power of hashtag. Never before

would I have thought that in such a short space of time that people doing something like this could have an impact that could overthrow a government” (in Wang, 2012). The power of the hashtag was not only as a source of information, but a rallying tool that both journalists and activist used. For example, when prominent AJE reporter Ayman Mohyeldin was arrested by Egyptian governmental authorities as part of what journalists suggested was a crackdown on non-state media, social media was used to raise an alert and pressure the authorities into releasing him (Fisher, 2011: 6). A Twitter campaign with the hash tag #freeayman was trending worldwide in under an hour. Given Ayman’s American passport and the increasing public scrutiny, the US State Department made contact with the Egyptian government and he was released after a day (Fisher, 2011: 6).

The variety of interactions demonstrate the high level of co-operation between different forms of journalistic practice—and how each action appears to satisfy the different interests of each group. For alternative media practitioners, the value of interaction with mainstream reportage is the dissemination of information about the crisis on a global scale. For mainstream news reporters, the value of the interaction was to obtain news and images quickly in a crisis situation; information that would have been very difficult to obtain given the instability of the political situation and the inherent danger associated with being on the streets of Libya and Egypt.

In collaborating closely with mainstream news organisations, one of the aims of the alternative modes of journalistic practice was to influence the discourses used by Western media organisations. In Egypt especially, activists such as Gigi Ibrahim, Wael Ghonim and others are quoted directly in the mainstream press, and their

representations of events on the ground are then ‘recycled’ through other news channels. This is evidenced in some accounts where activists correct western journalists who refer to ‘pro-Mubarak demonstrators’. Instead alternative modes of journalistic practice use the term ‘thugs’ implying they are not sincere supporters of the regime, but hired henchmen. This representation became widely quoted in the mainstream media, especially in AJE which stopped referring to ‘protesters’ in favour of the description ‘pro-democracy protesters’. This was in opposition to BBC and CNN which began their reportage referring to the more negative sounding ‘anti-government protesters’, but later changed them to be in line with AJE.

Conclusion:

During the Arab Spring, the interaction between mainstream and alternative modes of journalistic practice created opportunities to disseminate information about the crisis in a way that was instantaneous and more importantly, intimately engaged with those experiencing the situation. Some media organisations dealt with this better than others—where CNN and the BBC were still critical of the ‘social media turn’ that so impacted on their status as traditional news authorities in a crisis situation, AJE appeared to be more successful at integrating their reportage as part of the news community.

What this analysis suggests is that while interaction between mainstream and alternative modes of journalistic practice during the Arab Spring protests in Libya and Egypt were mostly co-operative and productive in terms of the investigation and dissemination of news, Al Jazeera English’s reportage integrated more user generated

content and interaction with citizens as part of their reportage. Indeed, the analysis shows that 'sharing' of information was widespread and welcomed in the relations between Al Jazeera English and alternative journalistic practitioners. Two major changes seen were the increased co-operation in linking different news sources with the ways in which alternative forms of journalistic practice were able to inform the mainstream news. These forms of co-operation appeared to satisfy the informational needs of mainstream forms of journalistic practice as well as the information dissemination needs of alternative modes of journalistic practice.

References

- BBC in news deal with Arabic TV 2003, *BBC*, 17 January. Available from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/2668007.stm> [30 October 2012].
- Belknap, M.H., 2001, *The CNN Effect: Strategic Enabler or Operational Risk?* U.S. Army War College Strategy Research Project, Available from: http://www.iwar.org.uk/psyops/resources/cnn-effect/Belknap_M_H_01.pdf [11 January, 2012].
- Bossio, D. and Bebawi, S., 2013, 'Reaping and sowing the news from an Arab Spring: the politicised interaction between traditional and alternative journalistic practitioners', *Global Media Journal*, vol. 6, no. 2. Available from: http://www.commart.uws.edu.au/gmjau/2012_6_2_toc.html
- Bruno, N., 2011, 'Tweet first, verify later? How real-time information is changing the coverage of worldwide crisis events'. *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*, Available from http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/fellows_papers/2010-2011/TWEET_FIRST_VERIFY_LATER.pdf. [10 June 2011]
- Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2010, *US Department of State*, March 11, Available from <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/nea/136067.htm>. [10 June, 2011].
- Cairo protests: Eyewitness account 2011, *BBC*, 28 January. Available from www.bbc.co.uk [10 June 2011].
- Deuze, M., 2003, 'The web and its journalisms: considering the consequences of

different types of news media online', *New Media and Society*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 203-230.

Egypt unrest: Day Nine as it happened 2011, *BBC*, 3 February. Available from www.bbc.co.uk. [10 June, 2011].

Egyptian government

Fisher, A., 2011, 'The Arab Spring, Social Media and Al Jazeera English' in *Mirage in the Desert? Reporting the Arab Spring*, eds J Mair & RL Keeble, Arima Abramis Academic Publishing, St Edmonds.

Fresh anti-govt protests in Egypt 2001, *Al Jazeera English*, January 26. Available from <http://english.aljazeera.net/news> [10 June, 2011].

Heinrich, A., 2011, *Network Journalism: Journalistic Practice in Interactive Spheres*, Routledge, Hoboken.

Hermida, A., 2010, 'Twittering the News: The emergence of ambient journalism', *Journalism Practice*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 297–308.

Hermida, A., Lewis, S. and Zamith, R., 2012, 'Sourcing the Arab Spring: A case study of Andy Carvin's sources during the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions', *Proceedings from the International Symposium on Online Journalism, Austin Texas*. Available from: <http://journalistsresource.org/wpcontent/uploads/2013/01/Hermida.pdf> [April, 2012].

Hunter, E., 2011, 'The Arab Revolution and Social Media', February 24, *Flip The Media: At the crossroads of Media, Culture and Technology*. Available from <http://flipthemediacom.com/2011/02/the-arab-revolution-and-social-media/> [10 June, 2011].

Idle, N. and Nunns, A., 2011, *Tweets from Tahrir: Egypt's revolution as it unfolded in the words of the people who made it*, OR Books, New York.

Jarvis, J., 2006, 'Networked journalism', *Buzzmachine*, 5 July. Available from www.buzzmachine.com/2006/07/05/networked-journalism [10 July, 2011].

Lara Logan breaks her silence on '60 Minutes': 'They raped me with their hands' 2011, *Los Angeles Times*, May 2. Available from <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/showtracker/2011/05/lara-logan-breaks-her-silence-on-60-minutes-.html> [10 June, 2011].

Lavrusik, V., 2011, How journalists are using social media to report on the Egyptian demonstrations, *Mashable*, January 31. Available from <http://mashable.com/2011/01/31/journalists-social-media-egypt/> [10 June, 2011].

- Lotan, G., Graeff, E., Ananny, M., Gaffney, D., Pearce, I. and Boyd, D., 2011, 'The Revolutions Were Tweeted: Information Flows During the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions', *International Journal of Communication*, vol. 5, pp. 1375-1405.
- Mackey, R., 2011, Interview with an Egyptian blogger. *New York Times*, January 27. Available from <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/01/27/interview-with-anegyptianblogger/> [10 June, 2011].
- McArthur, S., 2011 Arab Media Forum 2011 Day Two. *Arabian Bytes: Digital and Tech Trends in the Middle East*, 18 May. Available from <http://arabianbytes.com/tag/news-2/> [10 June, 2011].
- Nanabhay, M. and Farmanfarmaian, R., 2011, 'From spectacle to spectacular: How physical space, social media and mainstream broadcast amplified the public sphere in Egypt's 'revolution'', *The Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 573-603.
- Orbe, M.P. and Kinefuchi, E., 2008, 'Crash under investigation: engaging complications of complicity, coherence and implicature through critical analysis', *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, vol. 25, pp. 135-156.
- Rabie, P., 2011, The Cyber Revolution. *Egypt Today*, March 1. Available from: <http://www.egypttoday.com/news/display/article/artId:198/The-Cyber-Revolution/secId:46> [10 June, 2011].
- Rodriguez, C., 2001, *Fissures in the mediascape: an international study of citizens' media*, Hampton Press, USA.
- Uprising Flares in Libyan City, 2011, *Al Jazeera English*, 11 February. Available from: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/02/201122014259976293.html> [10 June, 2011].
- Wang, R., 2012, 'Al Jazeera English Social Media Head on new media and the Arab Spring', *East-West Center*, 22 June. Available from <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/news-center/east-west-wire/al-jazeera-social-media-head-new-media-and-the-arab-spring> [10 June, 2011].
- Worth, R. and Kirkpatrick, D., 2011, 'Seizing a moment, Al Jazeera English galvanises Egyptian frustration'. *New York Times*, 27 January. Available from http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/28/world/middleeast/28jazeera.html?_r=0 [10 June, 2011].