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The American University in Cairo
School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

**A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE 2014
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN EGYPT: THE CASE STUDIES OF CBC AND
CHANNEL 1.**

A Thesis Submitted to the
Public Policy and Administration Department
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Public Policy

By

Jiana Nader Barsoum

Fall 2014

The American University in Cairo
School of Global Affairs and Public Policy
Department of Public Policy and Administration

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Jiana Nader Barsoum

Supervised by Dr. Amani Ismail

ABSTRACT

Television broadcasting offers a platform for bringing the attention to issues of high importance, and forming opinions on these issues. With a high dependency on television broadcasting in Egypt to receive news and information about current events to formulate opinions, regulated television broadcasting is very crucial to aid the shift towards a more democratic nation. Balanced and impartial reporting is essential to ensure pluralism in the information presented. Hence, this thesis examines the performance of public media compared to privately owned media in light of their coverage of the 2014 presidential elections. The overall theoretical approach is based on Article 19 and UNESCO's standard guidelines for broadcasting during election times. CBC and Channel1 are used as case studies from both media sectors. Qualitative content analysis is used to analyze coverage under both channels, from 3rd May to 23rd May 2014 (the official campaigning period), to mainly assess for balance, fairness, impartiality and comprehensiveness. Current affairs talk shows, as well as news content were covered, on the basis of popularity and relevance to the elections. Furthermore, the research examines policy changes that can be undertaken to ensure better regulation of the coverage of information during election times.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The importance of television broadcasting lies in its capacity to inform, educate, create public opinion, and shape a society. Broadcasting is considered to be the most powerful means of communication. With a high level of illiteracy rate in Egypt, there is a high dependency on television broadcasting by Egyptians to receive information and educate themselves on certain matters (Abdulla, 2013; Allam, 2012). This in turn influences to a great extent the formation of attitudes and beliefs. Television broadcasting offers a platform for bringing the attention to issues of high importance, and forming opinions on these issues. Egypt's broadcasting media sector is a mix of state-run and private broadcast media. However, the lack of content diversity and media pluralism, biased news representation and freedom restriction continue to be major barriers in media development in Egypt.

The main institution responsible for public broadcasting in Egypt is the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU). ERTU is owned and operated by the government. While ERTU claims as an institution to serve as a public broadcaster, there is a debate over whether it successfully acts as a public broadcaster in practice. The government controls it, and the research in this area shows that ERTU works to serve the interests of the state rather than the public. In other words, it acts like a state broadcaster (Abdulla, 2013). On the other side, a number of private satellite channels appeared following the 25th of January revolution in Egypt. This was accompanied by a rise in satellite penetration rates. The most common form of programming is in the form of talk shows that have dominated Egyptian television. Most people with access to private television satellite surf between channels, depending on different talk shows and hosts

to receive their information. Perhaps, they have emerged as the most popular source for receiving news and information. Some of the main private channels include ONTV, Dream TV, Mehwar TV, Al-Hayat, and CBC. Interestingly, with the increase in competition introduced by the private sector, especially after the 25th of January revolution, there was a shift in trust by the public to privately owned channels (Iskandar, 2011), with higher levels of viewership found on private channels (Mendel, Aziz, Allam, Fattah & Mahmoud, 2013).

With a high dependency on television broadcasting to receive news and information about current events to formulate opinions, regulated television broadcasting is very crucial in Egypt to aid the shift towards a more democratic nation alongside the process of electing a president. Balanced and impartial reporting is essential to ensure pluralism in the information presented. The objective of this research is to assess the performance of public media compared to privately owned media in light of their coverage of the presidential elections. The aim is to assess whether the coverage over the topic reflects the general guidelines for broadcasting regulation as set and universally agreed upon. Through this process the research aims to find reasons why there is a shift to a certain degree in trust towards privately owned channels when it comes to receiving information about issues of high importance.

The approach that this thesis uses is a comparative study of the coverage provided by one publicly owned channel (Channel 1) and one privately owned channel (CBC) of the 2014 presidential elections. The research examined the coverage during May 3rd 2014 to May 23rd 2014, which is the official campaigning period, to examine whether the channels offer fair coverage to different political actors, a balanced

critique, and a comprehensive coverage of the different aspects of the elections. The coverage included current affairs talk shows, as well as news coverage. Furthermore, the research examined areas that require regulation and policy formation regarding the coverage during election times.

1.1 Main Research Question:

To what extent did the public television sector adhere to UNESCO and Article 19's general broadcasting guidelines as agreed upon universally in light of their coverage of the 2014 presidential elections, in comparison to the private television sector in Egypt?

1.2 Sub-Questions that the research aims to answer:

Q1) By using Channel 1 and CBC as case studies, to what extent was their coverage of the presidential elections comprehensive, subjective, balanced and impartial?

Q2) To what extent did Channel 1 and CBC adhere to the rules and regulations set forth by the general committee responsible for establishing the guidelines for the media coverage by Egyptian Television during the 2014 presidential elections?

Q3) What policy changes can be undertaken to ensure better regulation of the coverage of information related to presidential elections?

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

2.1 Standards for Broadcasting during Election Times

The role of the media during election times is very crucial. It is important to provide a platform for candidates to present their electoral programs to the public, as well as to allow the electorate to make an informed decision in an election. The media should be up to date with reporting material relevant to electoral matters and developments. The media should also carry the duty to inform voters on how to exercise their rights in an election, as well as in reporting the results of an election. Voters should be provided with all the information needed to make an informed decision, and to exercise their right to vote. This infers that the media should be responsible in reporting matters in an accurate and objective manner, when it comes to presenting the electoral platforms of different candidates as well as in portraying the results of any election. Candidates should also be granted the right to present their different programs and views in an equal and balanced manner. Their right to reply should also not be forfeited. The media should hold the right to freely present different matters related to an election, ranging from informing the public, covering the different policies, statements, developments and any disagreements between parties, as well as in presenting the results of an election. Most importantly, this should be portrayed in an accurate, professional and balanced manner (OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), 2012).

A report under the title “Guidelines on Media Analysis during Election Observation Missions” (2005) issued by a collaboration between the OSCE’s Office for

Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the Council of Europe's Venice Commission and Directorate General of Human Rights, and the European Commission, provided the Article 19 guidelines on election broadcasting in transitional democracies as a good reference to existing legal standards. These guidelines are studied in the next sections of this chapter.

2.2 UNESCO's Guidelines for Broadcasting Regulations

According to a book published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), several guidelines were agreed upon to ensure an effective and credible broadcast regulation mechanism by both public and private sectors. These regulations should determine the balance between the conflicting interests of the broadcaster, society and the individual. These guidelines are referred to by broadcast policy makers, regulators, broadcast media practitioners, and for the purpose of studying broadcast media. With the increased international importance of broadcasting in aiding the shift towards democracy it is essential to ensure a free flow of information and news to establish an informed society. Regulating broadcasting serves many functions, some of which are for cultural promotion and globalization, democratic purposes and economic purposes (Merloe, 1994). This research considers some of the guidelines proposed here, according to their relevance to the area of study, i.e. regulations during election times.

The election guidelines, as stated by UNESCO's report cover mainly two elements. First is regulation to ensure 'proper' coverage of all political parties. The term proper here refers to ensuring that wide ranges of political views are represented, rather than only equal coverage. Second is to ensure that specific time slots are to be

dedicated to each of the different parties. When it comes to regulating content of programming, it is important to ensure the protection of democratic principles, mainly in relation to news and elections. It is required for news to be accurate, to be trusted as a broadcaster, and regarded as a reliable source of information. It is also required for news to be politically impartial. Broadcasters should try to avoid political biasness, and thus try to achieve fairness in their coverage (Merloe, 1994).

2.3 Guidelines for Broadcasting during Election Times (ACE Electoral Knowledge Network and Article 19)

The ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, an online knowledge portal that delivers comprehensive information and advice on electoral processes, also provides the guidelines for broadcast coverage of election campaigns in transitional democracies published by UNESCO. These guidelines refer to countries that have recently emerged from a period of non-democratic governance, and are suffering from the lack of free and fair elections (Merloe, 1994). Egypt falls under this category, being one of the countries that fall under the category of transitional democracies.

In order to abide by international law, government owned media should meet the requirements of impartiality and non-discrimination. The guidelines are based on principles of international human rights law (Merloe, 1994).

Below is a summary of some of the important guidelines agreed upon:

“ (a) To inform the public about matters relevant to the elections, including to provide voter education (b) to be balanced and impartial in their election reporting (c) not to refuse to transmit an election broadcast unless it constitutes a clear and direct incitement to violence or hatred (d) to be accurate, balanced and impartial in their news

and current affairs programs (e) to grant parties and candidates air time for direct access programs on a fair and non-discriminatory basis (f) to grant equal time to both sides of a referendum vote” (Merloe, 1994, p.74).

Article 19, a UK based organization that takes its name from Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) provide the same set of guidelines to govern broadcasting during the times of election campaigns. These guidelines are based on international standards and best comparative practice. According to Article 19, these guidelines can be categorized into four main areas (Coliver, 1997):

- 1- The duty to inform (Guidelines 1, 9, 10 and 11).
 - 2- Rules regarding election coverage (Guidelines 2, 8, 12, and 15).
 - 3- Protection for freedom of expression during elections (Guidelines 3, 4, 5, and 6).
 - 4- Implementation/applicability of the guidelines (Guidelines 7, 13, 14 and 16)
- (Coliver, 1997).

For the purpose of this study, this set of guidelines is chosen for assessment since it provides a comprehensive set of rules and regulations that broadcasting agencies should abide by in times of elections. These guidelines are used by various organizations as a standard for broadcasting. The third and forth categories will be disregarded from the assessment since it is not within the scope of the analysis of this study.

2.4 Egyptian Rules and Regulations for the Media Coverage of the 2014

Presidential Elections

The general committee for establishing the guidelines of the media coverage during the presidential elections issued a set of rules and regulations governing the media coverage of the 2014 presidential elections in Egypt. The committee composed of media experts, political party representatives, scholars, journalists and policy makers. Following are a summary of the set of guidelines:

- 1- Fairly and equally raising awareness about candidates and their electoral programs with complete neutrality.
- 2- Actively raising political and electoral awareness that lead to positive participation in the elections.
- 3- Preventing potential pressures from any group to affect media coverage in a way that may jeopardize equality and neutrality.
- 4- Not to broadcast material that may affect candidates' personal reputation or expose their personal life.
- 5- Ensuring respect of national unity and Egyptian values and customs.
- 6- Clearly differentiating between what is allowed under expression of opinion and what is referred to as audited news, which shall be in reference to their sources.
- 7- Clearly differentiating media coverage and campaign advertising and ensuring transparency and fairness between candidates regarding paid advertising material.
- 8- Complying with the campaigning period as stipulated under law number 174 for the year 2005 for campaigning in radio and television.

- 9- Disclosing all relevant information when broadcasting opinion polls, surveys, and statistics including but not limited to: the source of the material and its ultimate source of funds, the questions that were included in surveying, sample size and demographics, methods used in conducting the survey and collecting the data, and date of the report and its statistical margin of error.
- 10- Disclosing these guidelines to candidates in order for them to abide by them.
- 11- Establishing a committee for evaluating the performance of the media coverage and ensuring compliance with the guidelines and correcting any deviations from them ("Egyptian Radio and Television", 2014).

The study intends to measure to what extent both Channel 1 and CBC abided by some of these guidelines, according to their relevance to the study. Guidelines 1, 2, and 9 are used since they overlap the general guidelines for broadcasting used as the basis for this study.

2.5 PSB Model

The public service broadcasting model also serves as an ideal model for studying broadcasting, with its importance lying in its clearly defined role to inform, educate and entertain. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defined public service broadcasting as "broadcasting made, financed and controlled by the public, for the public. It is neither commercial nor state-owned, free from political interference and pressure from commercial factors". UNESCO states that "through PSB, citizens are informed, educated and also entertained. When guaranteed with pluralism, programming diversity, editorial independence, appropriate funding,

accountability and transparency, public service broadcasting can serve as a cornerstone of democracy” (Banerjee & Seneviratne, 2014, p.1).

A rather comprehensive definition of public service broadcasting was submitted by the Broadcasting Research Unit (BRU) to the Peacock Committee on Broadcasting in the UK. It states that “a typical PSB system enjoys geographical universality; caters for all interests and tastes; addresses minorities in society; is motivated by concern for national identity and community; is detached from vested interests and government; is funded by the corpus of users; competes on the basis of program quality rather than quantity; and sets liberating guidelines for program makers” (Ayish, 2010, p.3).

Public service broadcasting, “should aim at those media objectives that are not sufficiently met by unregulated markets. Typical media objectives are pluralism and diversity, independence, quality and accessibility” (Dijk, Nahuys & Waagmeester, 2006, p.19). Paternalism is identified as an important role in media policy making. While governments may aim at providing independent media that is diverse, accessible and of high quality, unregulated media markets fall back at meeting these media policy standards (Dijk, Nahuys & Waagmeester, 2006).

2.6 Media Pluralism during Election Times

“Pluralism guarantees that citizens have free access to information that represents all points of view, and consequently, allows them to develop an independent opinion” (Humanes, Sanchez, Molina de Dios & Lopez-Berini, 2013, para. 3). Two kinds of pluralism are identified with the purpose of guaranteeing freedom of information: internal and external pluralism. External pluralism refers to having a variety of media organizations and contents that include diversity. This includes private

and public companies, as well as different media outlets such as broadcast, print, etc. Internal pluralism refers to diversity within each media organization “and reflect the search for neutrality, content balance, and cultural diversity” (Humanes, Sanchez, Molina de Dios & Lopez-Berini, 2013, para. 3).

Pluralism in broadcasting should be guaranteed during election periods. In this context, dealing with election news and political figures should be regulated. Two main criteria are identified. First is fairness, where candidates are guaranteed their airtime, taking into account their relative importance in the elections. The second is equality, which ensures equal coverage to all the different candidates (Porter & Hasselbach, 1991). Objectivity and impartiality are also identified as attributes of covering election periods by broadcasters, that is, there should not be an expression of a broadcaster’s own views, or election parties and candidates (Furey, 2011).

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Broadcasting in the Arab World and Egypt

Television broadcasting in the Arab world has been for decades defined by the state-broadcasting model, meaning that broadcasting institutions remained under the control of the government and financed by state budgets. It has been the case that there was no editorial and financial independence. It was only until recently, by the mid 1990s that some changes started to become evident. Social and political reforms as well as emerging technological advances and the introduction of private broadcasting accompanied these. With the social and political transitions in the Arab region, transitions in the paternalistic state broadcasting system became very necessary (Ayish, 2010).

Egypt is one of the countries analyzed in the report under the title “Public Service Broadcasting in the MENA Region: Potential for Reform”. The findings show that the Code of Ethics under ERTU works to hinder freedom of expression with its restrictions, and not allow for any state criticism, rather than to allow the balance between informing, educating and entertaining the public. It is owned and controlled by the government. There is no editorial independence as a result of the lack of financial independence (Mostafaoui et al., 2012). Rasha Abdulla reported that broadcasting in its aim to serve the public is non-existent in Egypt. However, state owned media work to serve the ones in power, and this was very well demonstrated in the coverage of previous presidential elections (Abdulla, 2013).

A summary report was written on a workshop under the title “Building New Media Institutions in the MENA Region”, also exploring different strategies to reform

the media in the MENA region. In their discussion on the media coverage of Egypt, the period of the presidential elections is stressed on, in terms of the media reforms necessary to ensure fair coverage for elections. The workshop mainly focused on opportunities to reform media law in Tunisia and Egypt. The participants agreed that state controlled broadcasting is an area of top priority, with the urge to transform them into ideal public broadcasting services. This report also reinforces the importance of transforming ERTU into a true public service broadcaster, and discusses the different possibilities. Furthermore, the obstacles of such a transformation are analyzed, such as the number of staff employed, the lack of training/ qualified employees and highly bureaucratic culture. The issue of the lack of public trust as a result of being state controlled is also considered (Wong, 2011).

A study conducted in 1999 by Douglas Boyd under the title “Broadcasting in the Arab World: A survey of the Electronic Media in the Middle East”, analyzes broadcasting in several Arab countries, concentrating in greater detail on Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Looking at Egypt historically, four presidents have had their influence on electronic media in the country. Under the control of Nasser, Egypt was the first to create transmitters to reach the local population and promote the Nasserite Pan-Arab message to the rest of the Arab world. Egypt was the leading country in the Arab world and continued to dominate in the film industry. When the ministry of information was adopted, ERTU was formed, which had some sovereignty over broadcasting in Egypt. Control over electronic media depended on political conditions, by both the ministry and the president’s office (Boyd, 1999).

There is a consensus in the literature that the media coverage in Egypt during the clashes between the government and the Muslim Brotherhood was heavily subjective and polarized politically. (Abdulla, 2014) (“Political bias saturates Egypt’s media”, 2013). The theme of “war on terror” was consistent on all television channels. (Shukrallah, 2013). Following the break out of the revolution in 2011 in Egypt, changes have been rapid, and the media in Egypt continued to back any regime in power or serve their own interests. Reform in state media is hindered as a result of a lack of political will. Even after the revolution, media in Egypt continued to suffer from authoritarian control, as well as limited freedom of expression. No major opportunities have been set forth to reform the public or private media sector in Egypt (Abdulla, 2014).

3.2 Public Media Sector in Egypt

ERTU is a large organization, employing more than 43,000 employees. It was established in 1970, and its governing legislation is the 1979 ERTU Law, last modified by Law 223 of 1989 (Mendel, 2011). Two national terrestrial channels, six regional channels, and a network of satellite channels operate under ERTU. The management system of ERTU is a heavily centralized one, with a strong top-down management style that has a great influence on its lack of independence. The main bodies overseeing ERTU are the Board of Trustees, the General Assembly and the Board of Managing Directors (Mendel, Aziz, Allam, Fattah & Mahmoud, 2013)

Under article 2 of the ERTU Law, a number of purposes are set out, including “delivering broadcasting services in an effective and efficient manner, for the benefit of the nation, consistently with the values of Egyptian society and the Constitution”

(Mendel, Aziz, Allam, Fattah & Mahmoud, 2013, p.58). At the same time, there are no mandates tailored specifically for the different stations operating under its umbrella. The only mention of independence is with reference to the budget. The purposes mentioned under article 2 do not include providing balanced and impartial reporting during elections, which is regarded as an issue of high concern with any upcoming elections. It has been reported in the past that ERTU failed to provide a balanced and independent coverage of previous elections (Mendel, Aziz, Allam, Fattah & Mahmoud, 2013).

With recent technological advancements and the tremendous increase in the number of satellite channels, competition has dramatically increased, especially between privately owned channels and government owned ones. With increased competition and globalization, pressure is exerted on government owned media to restructure their systems (Allam, 2012).

The 25th of January revolution has also had its impacts on ERTU's governance systems. The control of the governing military authorities over ERTU is very evident. The removal of the Minister of Information was also followed with replacement of the Chair of the Board of Trustees, who was one more time replaced by Tareq El-Mahdy, a military general. With that, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces appointed a council to be in charge of directing the organization (Mendel, Aziz, Allam, Fattah & Mahmoud, 2013).

While Egypt takes its path towards democracy, the broadcast media system should undergo reforms to be able to meet the standards of an ideal broadcasting system that is free from high government intervention and control. There are many

reasons identified to hinder this kind of independence. ERTU is heavily dependent on commercial revenue and government subsidy. This lack of economic independency is a strong barrier. There is also a very high degree of political interference that coincides with the highly centralized and bureaucratic managerial structure. Another barrier is that there is no independent legal framework that guarantees free access to information as well as no program/content framework that defines what broadcasters should follow in terms of the cultural, social or democratic needs of the society (Allam, 2012).

3.3 Private Media Sector in Egypt

Following the January 25th Revolution in Egypt, there was a transformation within state-owned media, where the channels embraced the revolution by dedicating a large amount of time to the heroes of the revolution and continuously playing patriotic songs. However, state television continued to show massive support to the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces (SCAF). Following the criticism that state media received during that period of time, the SCAF approved sixteen new private satellite channels and approval of the National Security Agency was no longer necessary. As a result of these changes, Egyptians mainly depended on different talk shows on television to receive their news on current events in the country (Iskandar, 2011).

Private media channels were able to gain the trust of the masses and majority of the people followed them regularly. However, the private media sector still lacks freedom in its different aspects. They are still dependent on personnel who worked for state media previously, or still are. Evidence supports that private media channels are under the control of a few businessmen and advertisers, who are active in the field of

politics, and thus, using these media channels for political affiliations. As a result of the rise of the private media sector and their influential role, those in power attempted to collaborate with these channels. This also resulted in controlling the elite and media personalities through limiting opposing ideas and promoting supporting ones. This period of time demonstrated restricted freedom in the media, aiming to influence public opinion, such as reinforcing the idea of challenging terrorism and the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood. The topics chosen and the messages disseminated were mostly misleading and parallel to the ideas of the elite and businessmen who were in control (Shuman, 2014; Nasser, 2012).

According to ERTU's charter, it is the only entity allowed to own a television station. To get around that, the Media Production City in Egypt was turned into a 'free zone' under the control of the General Authority for Investments and Free Zones, which implies that the experience needed for regulating private broadcasting is quite low. Research also states that a large amount of the licensing is very political in nature and goes back to state authority (Mostafaoui et al., 2012).

Although the media landscape in Egypt has been witnessing diversity and vibrancy, it continued to be partisan and was one of the main contributors to the extreme polarization and division that the society witnessed during the rise of political unrest in the country (Hamdy, 2013). There is a general consensus in the literature covering this area that in order to reach a more democratic nation, Egypt's media landscape needs to promote a more objective and free voice. Despite the growing popularity of private media channels, the literature available on this sector claims that

the media is saturated with bias and unprofessionalism, as a result of poor management systems, and ownership interference (Shukrallah, 2013; Nasser, 2012).

3.4 Media coverage of Presidential Elections in Egypt

The literature available on the media coverage of the 2005 presidential elections in Egypt states that freedom was allowed to a certain degree. A Media Monitoring Committee was formed to ensure that candidates were allowed unrestricted access to broadcast media and are ensured fair coverage. The committee also held responsibility to ensure that broadcast media coverage allowed voters the chance to create an informed choice. This was claimed to be a mark to the beginning of fair and free coverage of the elections in Egypt. There were standards set for the campaign coverage that should guarantee a fair and balanced coverage of the elections (Amin, 2006). However, there was a lot of criticism directed to the coverage of these elections. According to The Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS) Former President Mubarak received a much greater amount of coverage over the rest of the candidates. At the same time, the media coverage did not offer enough criticism resulting in a very dilute and repetitive coverage (Amin, 2006).

A report issued by CIHRS on the media coverage of the 2012 presidential elections claims that there was a pattern of negative advertising during the run-off campaigning. There was extensive criticism, defamation and rebuttal between candidates. According to the report, this media coverage aided the extreme division and polarization in the country during the time. Negative information was transmitted, such as the threat to disqualify presidential candidate Ahmed Shafiq, leading to more confusion and misinforming the public. State-owned channels continued to criticize the

Muslim Brotherhood. Private channels tried their best to be neutral towards both candidates, but individual anchors did not abide by that. Television channels respected electoral silence by refraining from direct advertising, but some used indirect advertising (Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS), 2012).

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

This research uses qualitative data. The main aim of the research was to assess the performance of public media compared to privately owned media in light of their coverage of the presidential elections. The aim was to assess whether the coverage reflects the general guidelines for broadcasting regulation as set and universally agreed upon by international organizations such as UNESCO and Article 19. In order to accomplish that, a content analysis was conducted on the coverage of one public channel and one privately owned channel in Egypt to assess their coverage. Followed by that, the research compared the results of the coverage of both channels.

The research examined the coverage during 3rd May 2014 to 23rd May 2014, to assess whether the channels offered fair coverage to different political actors, a balanced critique, and a comprehensive coverage of the different aspects of the elections. The coverage included television programs (current affairs talk shows), as well as news coverage. News coverage here refers to news bulletins, as well as news announcements provided through the hosts of current affairs talk shows. CBC (Cairo Broadcasting Corporation) was chosen as a case study from the private media sector since it is one of the most popular private channels in Egypt and has one of the highest viewership rates. In an official report published by the Egyptian Radio and Television Union, CBC received the highest viewership amongst other private channels (Hosni, 2013). Mohamed Al-Amin, an Egyptian Businessman, owns CBC. Al- Amin is also a partner in several other media ventures (Solayman, 2011). Channel 1 was chosen as a case study from the public sector since it is the most thematic and comprehensive channel within the public sector, not specializing in one particular sector, unlike other

public channels under ERTU such as Nile TV channels. It is also the oldest non-satellite national channel in Egypt that ERTU depends on (Allam, n.d.).

4.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis involves organizing and identifying patterns from existing data. It involves analyzing written texts extracted from certain documents, archived material, etc., as well as analyzing visual data from sources such as videos or pictures (Huttlinger, 2011). "Content analysis can be used simply to describe communication content to give a context in which a particular topic or issue is portrayed. It may also be used to compare media content to the 'real world' to investigate the representation of particular issues or sections of society" (Mosdell, 2009, para. 7). Studying media content through content analysis has been proven to be successful as well as beneficial (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). This study used qualitative content analysis because qualitative content analysis involves inductive reasoning, which is "a process designed to condense raw data into categories or themes based on valid inference and interpretation", and hence, it is a process through which "themes and categories emerge from the data through the researcher's careful examination and constant comparison" (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p.2). This study used an inductive approach and hence qualitative content analysis was the best approach.

In the context of this study, content analysis was used to assess whether the coverage of the upcoming 2014 presidential elections reflected the general guidelines for broadcasting regulation as set and universally agreed upon internationally, during the period of 3rd May 2014 to 23rd May 2014. Content analysis can best identify to what extent comprehensive, balanced, subjective and impartial coverage is offered.

4.2 Defining the Universe

The initial step in content analysis is to clearly define the universe, meaning to specify the topic area and time period, in order to provide a clear parameter of the investigation (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). This study considered the main programs in CBC and Channel 1 that cover content related to the presidential elections. Television broadcasting is one of the main sources of information to the Egyptian people, and thus, such programs can be considered as the main sources of information that they depend on. Such programs include current affairs talk shows as well as news coverage.

4.3 Sampling

This study used a purposive sample. A purposive sample is a type of non-probability sample that is deliberately chosen, which includes subjects or elements selected for holding certain characteristics. Media studies often use purposive sampling (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Therefore, the measure for purposive sampling was to include current affairs talk shows and news stories covered by CBC and Channel 1. The study aimed to assess whether the coverage of the elections reflects the general guidelines for broadcasting regulation as set and universally agreed upon by international organizations such as UNESCO and Article 19. Hence, television programs were chosen from each channel for analysis based on popularity and content related to the presidential elections. Three programs were chosen from each channel.

4.3.1 CBC

Three main programs were devoted to covering the elections campaigning period. (1) 'Hona Al Assema', a daily political and social talks show. It is one of the main programs that CBC depends on in portraying current events, conflicts, etc. Lamees El

Hadidy, a very famous talk show host in Egypt, presents this show. (2) 'Momken', another political and social talks show that discusses and analyzes current events. Presented by Journalist Khairy Ramadan, it is also one of the main programs that covered the election campaigning period. (3) 'Misr Tantakheb Al Ra'ees', a program that emerged during the campaigning period, dedicated solely to the coverage of the elections.

4.3.2 Channel 1

Two television programs were chosen from Channel 1, in addition to a news bulletin. (1) 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees', a daily television program specialized to covering the elections campaigning period, presented by the host Khaled Habeeb. (2) 'Sabah El Khair Ya Masr', a main daily news program reporting on current, political, social, cultural, historical, agricultural events, etc. that Channel 1 depends on. (3) '9:00 pm News Bulletin', a daily evening news report. This news bulletin was chosen since it falls within the prime time.

Data was collected through videos from each channel's YouTube portal. To avoid systematic bias in the content itself, the time period of May 3rd 2014 to May 23rd 2014 was chosen since May 3rd was the official first day of campaigning until the 23rd, followed by two days of silence on the 24th and 25th. This time period was specifically chosen since it played a major role in forming opinions on the different candidates, and in taking voting decisions.

4.4 Unit of Analysis

The first element of study was whether the coverage is comprehensive, in terms of fulfilling their duty to inform the public about matters relevant to the presidential

elections. The second element of study was whether the coverage is communicated in a balanced and impartial manner; whether neutral coverage to both candidates of the presidential elections was provided; and whether opinion poll results were provided in a reliable manner.

4.5 Coding Procedure

Wimmer & Dominick identified two ways of establishing content categories. This study used Emergent Coding, where categories are identified following a preliminary examination of the data (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Based on that, the coding sheet was drafted after the researcher was better familiarized with the data of interest, to be able to come up with useful, relevant categories. The coding sheet and coding book are attached to the Appendix. The category system was based on themes that emerged from the content itself. They were divided mainly into two sub-heads:

4.5.1 Duty to Inform

With reference to the broadcasting guidelines used as the basis of this research, media channels carry the duty to ensure that the public is well informed about matters relevant to the elections (Merloe, 1994). This section analyzes how comprehensive CBC and Channel 1 were in carrying out their duty to inform.

- i. The study here examined if the programs studied under each channel offer programs providing special information in the form of interviews with candidates, representatives of candidates, or candidate forums and debates. Coders identified and analyzed the presence of any of this kind of special information programs.

- ii. The study also analyzed if voter information is provided, in terms of where, when and how to vote, as well as necessary documents to be eligible to vote, and any registration processes required. Voter education also refers to encouraging voter participation, information on the nature of the issues, platforms and programs of the two parties, as well as the character of the candidates. Coders identified any form of voter education provided in a single episode.
- iii. Another element studied was whether programs offered direct access airtime to candidates to present their views and aspects of their electoral programs.
- iv. Presenting the different aspects of each candidate's electoral program is an integral part of a broadcaster's duty to inform. Hence, after closely looking at the data, this study identified the main categories of the electoral programs as: National Security, Economic Development, Social Justice and Equality, Unemployment, Energy Issues, International Affairs, Women's Rights/Status, Democratization and Human Rights, the Role of the Military in Governance and Education. Coders indicated which aspects of both electoral programs were highlighted in a single episode, through the form of news coverage, or guests invited on the program.

4.5.2 Election Coverage

Under rules regarding election coverage, broadcasting channels should carry the obligation and responsibility to be balanced and impartial in their coverage as well as carry the duty of providing the necessary information relevant to opinion polls.

- i. Coders identified any news coverage of either candidate, as well as the news coverage of each candidate's campaigning activities. After closely looking at the

data, the main activities that the study identified are Conferences, Interviews, Public Speeches, and Meetings/ Visits.

- ii. The study also analyzed individual as well as institutional support for candidates, through the guests invited on each program. Coders identified any representatives/supporters of either candidate, and specified information on the guest such as their name, title and evidence of support. Individual support refers to guests representing one of the campaigns, or an individual who has declared support to either candidate. Institutional support refers to a representative of any party supporting either candidate. Any phone calls from outside providing support to either candidate are also considered during analysis. The amount of speaking time allowed for each guest is recorded to be able to assess fairness granted to both sides.
- iii. Another element of study to assess balance and impartiality were the broadcaster as well as the guest's opinion vis-à-vis candidates. Coders identified any implications of personal characteristics of either candidate, whether positive or negative. Coders also identified any opinions set forth by the broadcaster or guest on either candidate's electoral programs, in terms of the points of strength in each candidate's program as well as the points of weakness of each. The broadcaster's opinion was differentiated from the guest's opinion to ensure accuracy in analyzing the data.
- iv. To assess whether broadcasters report the results of opinion polls fairly and with accuracy, coders were asked to identify any poll information if provided; including

the poll data, source of the information, statistical margin of error, time the poll was conducted, and the number of people polled.

4.6 Reliability

Two graduate students coded the sample along with the author. The first coder was a female Mass Communication graduate student and the second coder was a male Political Science graduate student. Training was offered in the form of reviewing the coding book, as well as giving them instructions to ensure that they understood what is required in the study. The author, who is the primary coder, coded the entire sample of 77 episodes. The secondary coders coded 10% of the sample on a random basis. Inter-coder reliability was assessed using Cohen's Kappa, which was recorded for each variable mentioned above. A reliability coefficient of .841 on average was obtained.

4.7 Validity

Validity in content analysis refers to "the extent to which a measuring procedure represents the intended, and only the intended concept" (Figenschou, 2010, p.13). To measure for internal validity, "categories should be exhaustive; categories should be mutually exclusive, and each variable must be measured with categories that are the highest level of measurement possible" (Figenschou, 2010, p.17). Hence, to check for validity in this study a peer review was performed on the coded data, to ensure that the results obtained are the ones intended for the purpose of this research, and hence, add validity to the study.

4.8 Comparative Analysis

The research conducted a comparison between the coverage of the two channels. The criteria used to compare the coverage will be based on the following elements (obtained from the general guidelines for broadcasting):

- Impartiality
- Balance
- Objectivity
- Comprehensiveness

Through this criterion, the researcher was able to assess the performance of both channels, as well as determine reasons (if any) for the shift in trust to the private channels in Egypt. Following that, areas for improvement and policy changes are suggested.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion I: Duty to Inform

To answer the main research question of this study: To what extent did the public television sector adhere to UNESCO and Article 19's general broadcasting guidelines as agreed upon universally in light of their coverage of the upcoming 2014 presidential elections, in comparison to the private television sector In Egypt?, this study explored the media coverage of the presidential elections campaigning period of two channels in Egypt: CBC and Channel 1. The aim was to assess their coverage according to the general guidelines for broadcasting during election times as agreed upon by Article 19 and UNESCO. Under the six programs used for analysis, all 77 episodes were covered in total during the period of 3rd May 2014 to 23rd May 2014. The total amount of time varied from each program to the other, as well as each episode. Information relevant to the coverage of the presidential elections was covered. Any other information was omitted.

Under CBC, the three main programs covering the elections were 'Hona Al Assema', 'Momken' and 'Misr Tantakheb Al Ra'ees'. The total number of episodes under these three programs was 22, divided as follows: 10 episodes under 'Hona Al Assema', 8 episodes under 'Momken', and 4 episodes under 'Misr Tantakheb Al Ra'ees'. None of the episodes were excluded from analysis. Under Channel 1, the three main programs covered were 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees', 'Sabah El Khair Ya Masr' and '9:00 pm News Bulletin'. The total number of episodes under these three programs were 55, divided as follows: 15 episodes under 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees', 20 episodes under 'Sabah El Khair Ya Masr' and 20 episodes under '9:00 pm News Bulletin'. None of the episodes were excluded from analysis. The first sub- research question asked: By

using Channel 1 and CBC as case studies, to what extent was their coverage of the presidential elections comprehensive, subjective, balanced and impartial? To answer this question the results and discussion are divided into three chapters. The first two chapters 'Results and Discussion I' and 'Results and Discussion II' are divided according to the two main sub-heads of the broadcasting guidelines selected above: Duty to Inform and Election Coverage. This chapter addresses Duty to Inform, and the following chapter addresses Election Coverage. The second and third sub-research questions are answered in the third chapter, under the title 'Results and Discussion III'.

Both channels under the scope of this study carried out their duty to inform at a satisfactory level. Electors were provided with an adequate amount of information on relevant electoral matters and the different candidates such as voting processes and campaign issues. However, both channels failed in different areas, where milestone development measures are required.

5.1 Direct Access Programs and Special Information Programs

The results showed that none of the programs analyzed offered direct access programs, where candidates were allowed specific direct access airtime on an equal basis to present their ideas, allowing the public to form their own opinions on the candidate's views as well as their character. Direct access communication to candidates can take the form of candidates presenting their political programs to voters directly. Ideally, in a transitional country systematic time slots should be allotted for both candidates (Merloe, 1994). Both channels, CBC and Channel 1 failed to provide direct information in this form.

However, the programs offered this kind of information through special information programs, which take the form of interviews with candidates, interviews with representatives of candidates, or candidate forums and debates.

Interviews with Candidates

Under CBC, the program 'Misr Tantakheb Al Ra'ees' was specialized only in offering 4 episodes dedicated to interviewing both candidates. These interviews were aired on CBC and OnTV (another popular private channel in Egypt). Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi's interview lasted 4 hours and 5 minutes, while Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi's interview lasted 3 hours and 28 minutes. These interviews were each divided into two episodes. Channel 1 aired the same interview with El-Sisi; and Sabahi was interviewed on 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees' for a total amount of 2 hours and 43 minutes, along with two representatives of his campaign. Under the umbrella of this content analysis these were the only forms of interviews with the candidates. Some of the programs offered candidate forums and debates between representatives from each campaign. However, there was no debate between both candidates. Inequality was reflected in terms of the amount of time allotted for each interview on CBC. El-Sisi's interview was longer than Sabahi's interview. Also, the former candidate's interview was not a live broadcast. This caused a lot of controversy over the fact that the interview may have been edited and questions may have been manipulated to favor the candidate. This was particularly unfair to the latter candidate. Also, questions posed to Sabahi were very detailed in terms of asking about different aspects of his electoral program compared to the other candidate. Channel 1 conducted an interview with Sabahi on the program 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees'; however, there was no interview

conducted with El-Sisi. In fact, his interview on private television was broadcasted on Channel 1. This poses some controversy on why the candidate did not appear on Egyptian Television in an interview.

Interviews with Representatives/ Supporters of Candidates

CBC

‘Hona Al Assema’, hosted a total of 2 guests representing El-Sisi’s campaign, and a total of 1 guest representing Sabahi’s campaign. One of the episodes took the form of a debate between one representative from each side. ‘Momken’, offered information through interviewing representatives from each campaign in one episode only.

Although it was labeled as a ‘dialogue’ not a debate, it took the form of a debate. The total number of representatives was 2 from each candidate’s side. ‘Misr Tantakheb Al Ra’ees’ did not host any representatives/ supporters from any side. Interviewers’ preferences and opinion-based comments were evident during candidate forums and debates on CBC, where representatives of each candidate appeared on the same program. For example, on the 19th of May, ‘Hona Al Assema’ hosted a forum between a representative from each side of the candidates. The total speaking time was 20 minutes for El-Sisi’s representative compared to 15 minutes granted to the other. This was also present in the broadcaster’s attitude towards the guests. When Sabahi’s representative portrayed his ideas, the interviewer directed comments such as “I will try not to answer to that” to him. Also, the interviewer tended to agree with the other side’s views and disagree with Sabahi’s representative. Such comments and attitudes displayed unprofessionalism and partiality from the broadcaster’s side. Information presented through candidate forums and debates on CBC did not portray enough

details to educate the public on the different electoral matters. One episode from each of the two programs 'Hona Al Assema' and 'Momken' hosted representatives from both sides. Also, the same guest was present on both programs, speaking on the economic development aspect of El-Sisi's program. The main two aspects presented on these programs were economic development and education. Other aspects were not tackled or presented through representatives from each campaign.

Channel 1

'9:00 pm News Bulletin' offered no special information material of this kind since it takes the form of a news bulletin. 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees', hosted guests on every episode during the campaigning period. This program offered the most comprehensive form of presenting each side of the campaigning candidates. In total the program hosted 10 representatives/supporters from Sabahi's side including the candidate himself, and 10 from El-Sisi's side. Four episodes offered information in the shape of a forum between representatives/supporters from both sides. 'Sabah El Khair Ya Masr', hosted a total number of 2 guests representing/supporting candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi and 2 guests representing/supporting candidate Hamdeen Sabahi. Although 10 representatives/supporters were present in total on the program during the period under study, the coverage was not balanced in the sense that all guests representing Sabahi were those working on his campaign. On the other side, most of the guests from El-Sisi's side were people supporting him, rather than the people working on his campaign. However, five episodes were dedicated to El-Sisi, whereas only two were dedicated to Sabahi. This showed some partiality to the former candidate. Channel 1, in comparison to CBC offered more comprehensive information

in terms of holding debates and forums between representatives. The program 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees' hosted guests everyday to talk about both candidates and their programs. As stated earlier, although the total number of guests hosted in the program throughout the campaigning period was equal, in terms of distribution and airtime, a certain degree of impartiality was evident.

5.2 Voter Education

Voter Education was prominent during the period under study. Both channels provided necessary information to voters, on how, when, where to vote, the meaning of spoiled ballots as well as in urging electors to cast their ballots, rather than selling their vote. Both channels also gave considerable coverage to news directed from the High Elections Committee. However, each channel focused on different areas under providing voter education, and hence failed in other areas. Channel 1 was more successful in this respect.

CBC

Hona Al Assema: The coverage of this program during the time studied showed voter education in certain areas. The host of the program, Lamees El Hadidy presented information on campaign activities, however this information was limited mostly to announcing parties that declared their support to each candidate, as well as encouraging people to participate in the electoral process. The coverage shows partiality to El-Sisi when it came to presenting news on recent activities, electoral programs, and in terms of presenting his character. The most prominent type of voter education that this program offered is extensive and in-depth coverage of the voting processes and trends outside Egypt. The program lacked extensive coverage of other

important issues, such as news coverage of the elections. Lamees El Hadidy continued to interview different public officials over the phone to keep voters updated with the voting processes and numbers outside. On the 4th of May, a phone interview was conducted with the Assistant Foreign Minister for Consular Affairs, Ambassador Ali El Asheri to deliver information related to the voting processes outside Egypt such as the dates of voting (15th to 18th of May), and information on the necessary documents and voting eligibility. On the 13th, 18th and 19th of May, phone interviews were conducted with Ambassadors from different countries such as: Ambassador Ehab Hamouda in UAE, Ambassador Afifi Abdel Wahab in Riyadh, Ambassador Mohamed Hegazy in Germany, Ambassador Mohamed Mustafa Kamel in Paris, as well as Ambassador Badr Abdelaaty, Spokesman on behalf of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, and Atef Helmy, the Minister of Communication; all providing information on the voting processes there, the necessary documents, as well as to discuss the ease of the voting processes during these elections compared to any previous ones. On the 17th of May, the program hosted the Prime Minister, Ibrahim Mehlab, to discuss the current problems in the country amidst electing a new president. Through this interview he provides information on the role of the government during this critical time in Egypt, as well as efforts in proving security and improving the economy of the country.

Momken: The period of time analyzed under this program showed voter education in a form similar to that of 'Hona Al Assema'. Directions on where and when to vote were delivered. Little information was provided on campaigning activities. Brief headlines were communicated on some of the recent activities as well as news relevant to the electoral process. Most of the episodes, especially during the beginning of the campaigning period covered topics that were not related to the elections. In terms of

presenting the different candidates in light of their characters or their electoral programs, very minimal information was provided, limited to one episode where a representative from each side was hosted on the program to present the economic aspects of their programs. Information on the voting processes outside Egypt was covered in-detail. On the 15th of May (which was the first day of voting outside), the host of the program Khairy Ramadan interviewed several public figures over the phone to cover information on the nature of voting abroad. Phone interviews were conducted with Ambassador Ali El Asheri, Assistant Foreign Minister for Consular Affairs, Ambassador Ashraf Hamdi in Lebanon, Ambassador Afifi Abdel Wahab in Saudi Arabia, Ambassador Sherif El Badawi in Dubai, and Ambassador Ashraf Al Khouly in London, all providing information on the current atmosphere of the electoral processes taking place outside Egypt, as well as offering information on where and how to vote, and the necessary documents to be eligible to vote. Information on the numbers of voters outside was presented. For example, on the 16th of May, Badr Abdelaaty, Spokesman on behalf of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry was interviewed over the phone, updating voters on the current numbers of voting abroad, and some of the problems they had encountered. However, none of these numbers were official figures yet.

Misr Tantakheb Al Ra'ees: The only form of voter education that this program offered during the period of study was through the form of interviews with both candidates. These interviews helped viewers form opinions on the nature and characters of both candidates. However, the questions asked took a different approach towards each candidate. The interview with El-Sisi focused more on providing information on his background, experiences and future plans on a broad level. On the other side, the questions posed to Sabahi were more detailed in terms of his electoral program and his

means of implementation. This can be attributed to the fact that Sabahi's campaign depended on a very detailed electoral program, unlike El-Sisi, who depended more on his vision for the future of Egypt. The nature of the interviews can show a lack of equality to both candidates, and may not be reliable in terms of educating the voters on the programs of each candidate.

Under CBC, all 10 episodes analyzed under 'Hona Al Assema' as well as all 8 episodes analyzed under 'Momken' provided voter education through different forms such as news coverage, phone calls from outside providing information on voting procedures, administrative processes, necessary documents to be eligible to vote, voting outside Egypt, monitoring troops, poll stations, voting dates, encouraging people to vote, explaining the meaning of spoilt ballots, necessary measures taken to secure election process, interviewing representatives from each campaign, and other relevant information. All 4 episodes analyzed in 'Misr Tantakheb Al Ra'ees' provided voter education through interviewing both candidates. However, information was limited in some areas. Considering that these three programs were main ones responsible for the coverage of the elections, voter education lacked in areas like the coverage of all the campaigning activities of the candidates and in presenting the different aspects of their programs. Information provided in this respect, lacked comprehensiveness. The two programs 'Hona Al Assema' and 'Momken' provided very similar coverage, focusing on the same areas such as extensive coverage on voting outside Egypt. This is an interesting observation considering that there can be advantages as well as disadvantages to this kind of coverage. Sending a message that voting numbers are high can encourage more people to participate in voting, as well as discourage others thinking that their vote would not make a difference. Announcing on the last days of

elections abroad that the results were almost 90% for El-Sisi could change voting trends and public opinion. There can be some controversy over this kind of coverage, especially that the official numbers were not stated yet. There was a lack of coverage on the different aspects of the electoral programs. The main focus was on the Economic aspect of both programs. It is important to educate the public on all matters relevant to the programs of each candidate to be able to make an informed decision. CBC as a sample of the private media sector failed to provide comprehensive coverage on this matter.

Channel 1

‘Sabah El Khair Ya Masr’: The coverage of this program during the campaigning period showed that news coverage was the most prominent form of educating the public on electoral matters. Most of the episodes provided only news headlines, while the rest of the episode did not provide information related to the elections. Guests were present on some episodes, giving their opinions on the election processes and issues related to these processes. For example, on the 13th of May, there was a section devoted to the media coverage of the elections. Dr. Howaida Mustafa and Dr. Amgad Fathi, members of the media monitoring committee were hosted on the program to talk about the results of the media coverage during the first period of the campaigning process. Their report showed that private channels were more biased than Egyptian Television. However, there was no detailed information or time allotted to allow candidates or their representatives to present their views and their programs.

‘9:00 pm News Bulletin’: Some episodes provided more detailed news coverage of the candidates, their activities and their programs, while others provided only headlines.

Majority of the news related to elections was on voting procedures, monitoring committees, the High Elections Committee, registration procedures, voting dates, security measures and voting outside Egypt. For example, on the 3rd of May (the first day of electoral campaigning), 10 minutes were devoted to presenting the Rules Governing the Law of Presidential Election Campaigning, issued by the Presidential Elections Committee. These laws included information on what is forbidden to both candidates during the campaigning period, the penalties on violating any rules, as well as monitoring committees.

‘Misr Tantazer Al Ra’ees’: The main form of voter education this program took was in the form of presenting the different aspects of each candidate’s electoral programs, as well as their characters through representatives from each side. Different topics were presented such as economic development plans, education, women’s status, international relations, nutrition, status of workers, energy-saving plans, etc. Each episode specialized in different topics. However, little attention was paid to news coverage. It was only offered in terms of brief headlines at the beginning of the episode, and was absent in other episodes.

Under Channel 1, all 20 episodes analyzed in ‘Sabah El Khair Ya Masr’ and all 20 episodes analyzed in ‘9pm News Bulletin’ offered detailed voter education mainly through news coverage, reports, phone calls from outside as well as interviewing public figures to provide information on voting and the elections. Voter education was prominent in the form of presenting the rules governing the law of presidential elections campaigning, voting outside Egypt, voting procedures, necessary documents to be eligible to vote, monitoring troops and committees, poll stations, encouraging

people to vote, necessary measures taken to secure election process. 'Sabah El Khair Ya Masr' presented daily a report on some of the problems/ challenges that the new president will face in the upcoming period, as a form of educating the public and raising awareness on the current problems facing Egypt. Some episodes devoted only headlines related to the elections, whereas others devoted more time to the elections through interviews and more detailed coverage. All episodes analyzed under 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees also offered voter education in the form of interviewing representatives from each campaign, interviewing one of the candidates (Hamdeen Sabahi), as well as interviewing public figures such as the Assistant Foreign Minister of Consular Affairs. Under this period of study, Channel 1 was more successful in providing voter education. Voter education was a mixture between news coverage of candidates, their activities, statements, and the main aspects of their electoral programs. Information on voting procedures, registration processes, and necessary documents were present more often in their news coverage. Information was also presented on the different monitoring troops, and security measures during election times. The news coverage under Channel 1 was comprehensive and informative, however, the amount of time devoted to election coverage was not sufficient in many episodes, where only a few minutes were dedicated to covering the elections. In comparison to CBC, Channel 1 provided voter information at a higher level, and in a more comprehensive manner.

5.3 Aspects of Electoral Programs

It is interesting to note that the coverage of both channels related to aspects of the electoral programs were quite different. CBC's coverage was 53% for El-Sisi, and 47% for Sabahi, whereas Channel 1's coverage was 56% for Sabahi and 44% for El-Sisi.

However, each candidate received the highest coverage in the same aspects in both channels. These results show that there is room for choosing which aspects to cover when presenting news coverage, or professionals to speak on both programs. Coverage can be manipulated to associate certain ideas with a specific candidate.

CBC

The different aspects of both candidates' electoral programs covered under CBC are shown in Table 1. The results show that the coverage of the programs under this study was slightly to the advantage of El-Sisi in terms of the diversification of different topics, as well obtaining higher coverage. Aspects of Sabahi's program were absent in (61%) of the episodes on CBC, while aspects of El-Sisi's program were absent in only (39%).

CBC	Abdel Fatah El-Sisi	Hamdeen Sabahi
Aspects of Electoral Programs	Number of Coverage Instances	
National Security	4	0
Economic Development	7	8
Social Justice and Equality	4	6
Unemployment	3	3
Energy Issues	1	0
International Affairs	2	0
Women Rights/Status	1	0
Democratization and Human Rights	2	8
Role of the Military in Governance	4	0
Education	1	1
Other	2	2
Total Number of Instances	31	28
	Number of Episodes	
Episodes with Absent Coverage	7	11
Total Number of Episodes	18	18
(%) of Absence	39%	61%

Table 1: Main Aspects of Electoral Program Covered in CBC

The coverage of the different aspects of the candidate's electoral programs showed some interesting results. Coverage of topics related to El-Sisi was a lot more

comprehensive than that of the other candidate. He received coverage on all the different aspects identified in this study. Coverage of Sabahi was more concentrated in some aspects only, as shown in Figure 1:

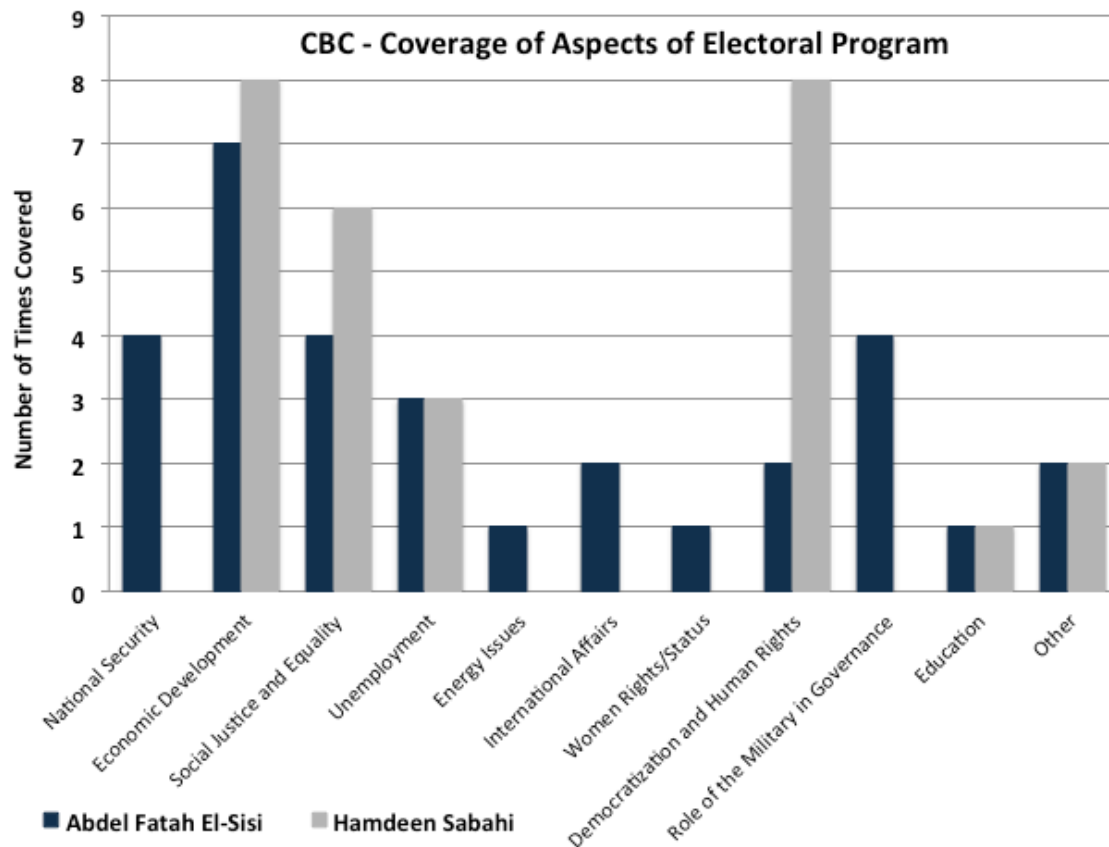


Figure 1: CBC - Coverage of Aspects of Electoral Program

National Security, Energy Issues, International Affairs, Women’s Rights/ Status and The Role of the Military in Governance only received coverage under El-Sisi. The three most covered topics were Economic Development, National Security and The Role of the Military in Governance. Provided that El-Sisi was portrayed as the hero in the “fight against terrorism”, national security was highly prominent and associated with his name. Also, given that he comes from a military background, many of his words and his coverage included the role of the military. This was not present with his rival Sabahi. This can be understood as the role of the media in promoting El-Sisi as the

candidate who will ensure national security at a time where the security situation in the country is very low. On the other side, Sabahi received the most coverage in Economic Development, Democratization and Human Rights, and Social Justice and Equality. This reflects the strategy that Sabahi used throughout his campaign, focusing on these there areas. National Security was not associated with Sabahi at all. Although his campaign did include aspects related to national security, this was not reflected in CBC's coverage. Security was portrayed as the most prominent problem in the country during the times of the elections, and not associating Sabahi's name with security clearly gives an advantage to the other candidate, who's name is associated with security more frequently.

Channel 1

Channel 1's coverage was more neutral, as shown in Table 2. Aspects of Sabahi's program were absent in (40%) of the episodes, while aspects of El-Sisi's program were absent in (42%). However, the content focused on different aspects under each candidate's program, and Sabahi received more coverage in terms of the number of times aspects of his electoral program were mentioned.

Channel 1	Abdel Fatah El-Sisi	Hamdeen Sabahi
Aspects of Electoral Programs	Number of Coverage Instances	
National Security	10	5
Economic Development	23	29
Social Justice and Equality	4	14
Unemployment	3	10
Energy Issues	2	2
International Affairs	6	2
Women Rights/Status	4	2
Democratization and Human Rights	6	17
Role of the Military in Governance	6	1
Education	1	2
Other	7	6

Total Number of Instances	72	90
	Number of Episodes	
Episodes with Absent Coverage	23	22
Total Number of Episodes	55	55
(%) of Absence	42%	40%

Table 2 Main Aspects of Electoral Program Covered in Channel 1

Channel 1's coverage of the different aspects related to each candidate's electoral program presented more diversification in terms of covering both candidates relative to the main aspects of their program, as shown in Figure 2 below:

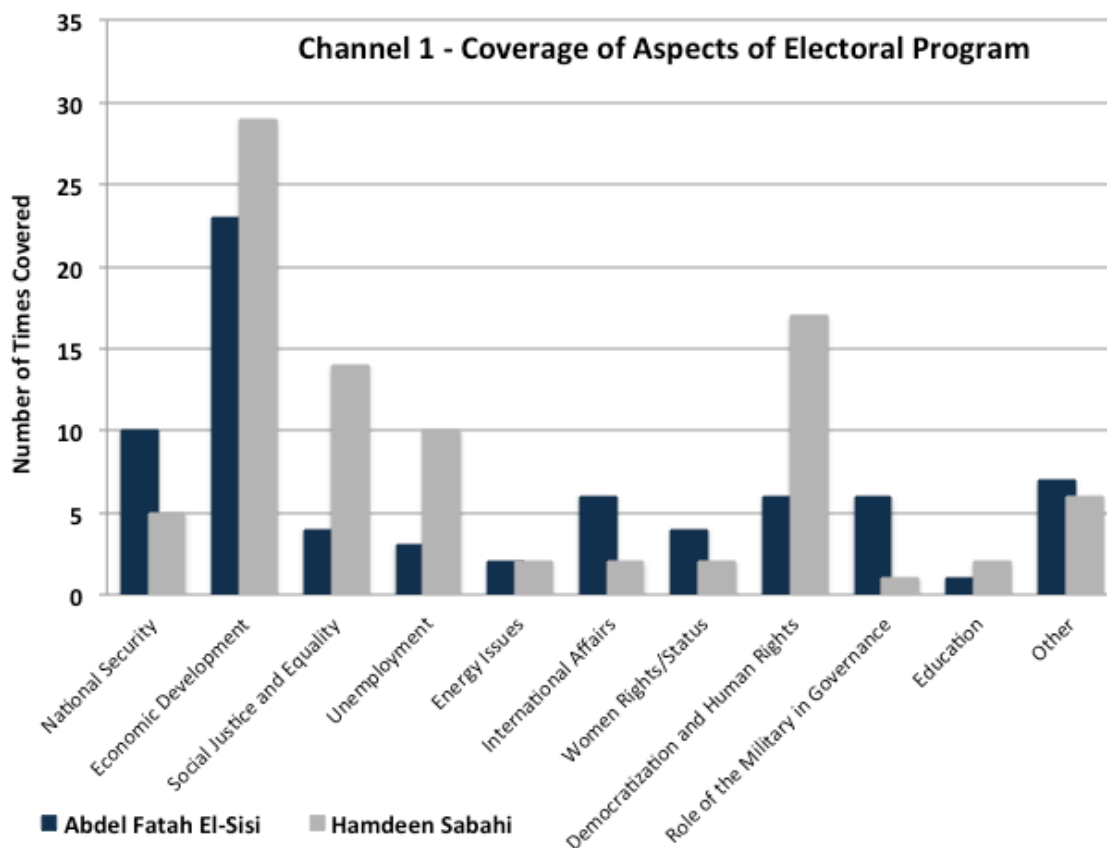


Figure 2: Channel 1 - Coverage of Aspects of Electoral Program

Both candidates received coverage on all the different aspects identified in this study. Sabahi received more coverage in terms of the number of times any aspect of his program was mentioned. This presents Sabahi as having a more solid program. Economic Development, Social Justice and Equality, and Democratization and Human Rights were the highest aspects associated with Sabahi's name, which also reflects his

strategy on focusing on these three areas as his strongest. National Security, Economic Development and the Role of the Military received the highest coverage in El-Sisi's program. National Security was associated with El-Sisi double the number of times it was associated with Sabahi. This also reinforces his image as the hero in the "fight against terrorism".

Chapter 6: Results and Discussion II: Election Coverage

6.1 Balance and Impartiality

6.1.1 News Coverage of Candidates

CBC

Table 3 shows how many episodes during the campaigning period covered news items related to each candidate. A total of 5 episodes did not cover any news items, and a total of 3 episodes only covered news related to El-Sisi. These results show a percentage of impartiality between both candidates.

News Coverage of Candidates	Number of Episodes
Abdel Fatah El-Sisi Only	3
Hamdeen Sabahi Only	0
Both Candidates	10
Absent	5
Total	18

Table 3: News Coverage of Candidates in CBC

As shown in the pie chart on the right, episodes that covered news related to El-Sisi only are 17% of the total episodes studied. 55% of the episodes covered news related to both candidates.

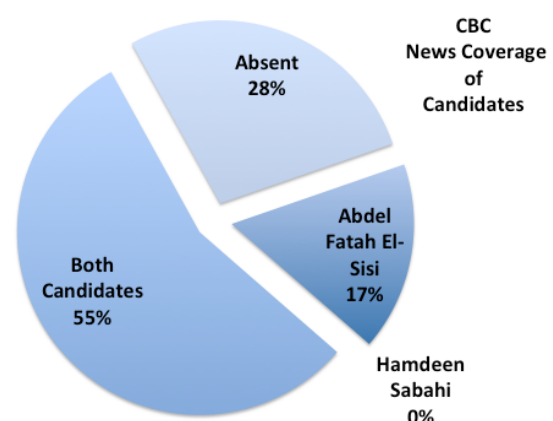


Figure 3: CBC - News Coverage of Candidates

This coverage shows a lack of abiding by balance and impartiality in their news coverage of the candidates. It is therefore safe to claim that CBC showed bias to a great extent towards El-Sisi throughout their coverage. As a sample from the private media

sector in Egypt, these results demonstrate a lack of regulation and ethical standards in their role as a broadcasting channel.

Channel 1

Table 4 shows the number of episodes that covered news items related to both candidates. These results reflect a higher balance between both candidates; however, one episode only covered news related to Sabahi and only 5 episodes out of 55 did not cover any news items of both candidates.

News Coverage of Candidates	Number of Episodes
Abdel Fatah El-Sisi Only	0
Hamdeen Sabahi Only	1
Both Candidates	49
Absent	5
Total	55

Table 4: News Coverage of Candidates in Channel 1

The pie chart on the right shows a more balanced and fair coverage to both candidates, with the exception of 2% of the episodes under the period of study covering news related to only Sabahi.

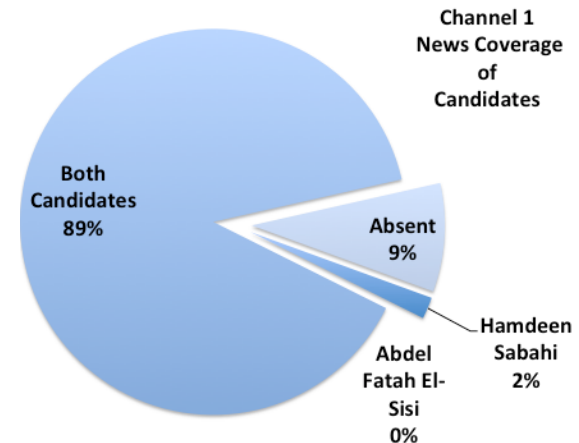


Figure 4: Channel 1 - News Coverage of Candidates

About 89% of the episodes covered news related to both candidates, and none covered news only related to El-Sisi. Channel 1, as a representative of the Egyptian television, demonstrated fairness at a much higher level than CBC.

As mentioned earlier in the study, the previous literature on this matter showed that the level of trust from Egyptians had moved from publicly owned channels to

private ones, especially after the 25th of January revolution. However, the private media is saturated with bias and unfair coverage. The results above confirm the theory that the businessmen that own private channels, as well as anchors on television each have their own agenda and work according to them. News coverage is considered to be the most influential, and hence providing unbalanced coverage can easily change public opinion.

6.1.2 News Coverage of Candidates' Activities

CBC

In terms of covering the candidate's activities, the coverage was more balanced in the number of occurrences in total within all the episodes, as shown in Table 5.

Candidates' Activities	Number of Occurrences	
	Abdel Fatah El-Sisi	Hamdeen Sabahi
Conferences	0	5
Interviews	6	2
Public Speech	1	2
Meetings/Visits	3	2
Other	0	0
Total	10	11

Table 5: News Coverage of Candidate's Activities in CBC

As shown in the pie chart on the right, CBC's coverage of the candidates' activities was relatively equal, in terms of the number of occurrences of each candidate's activities.

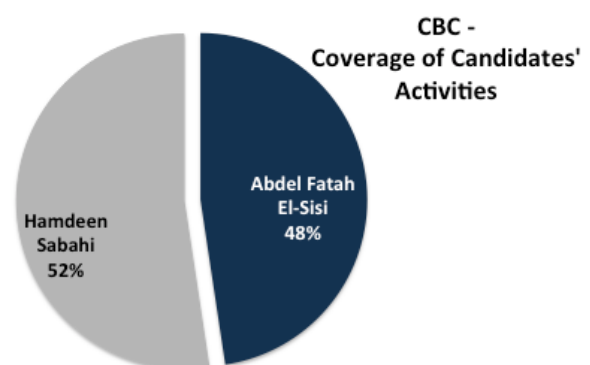


Figure 5: CBC - Coverage of Candidates' Activities

The number of times Sabahi's activities were mentioned is 52%, compared to 48% in the number of times El-Sisi's activities were mentioned. Sabahi received more coverage by a very slight percentage.

Channel 1

Coverage of the candidate's activities in Channel 1 shows a higher coverage in total of the activities related to El-Sisi, as shown in Table 6.

Candidates' Activities	Number of Occurrences	
	Abdel Fatah El-Sisi	Hamdeen Sabahi
Conferences	22	17
Interviews	11	9
Public Speech	3	4
Meetings/Visits	17	10
Other	9	14
Total	62	54

Table 6: News Coverage of Candidate's Activities in Channel 1

Channel 1's coverage of the activities of both candidates showed a higher number of instances for El-Sisi. Precise count of the amount of news coverage each candidate receives should be regulated in a systematic manner in order to achieve balance and impartiality (Merloe, 1994).

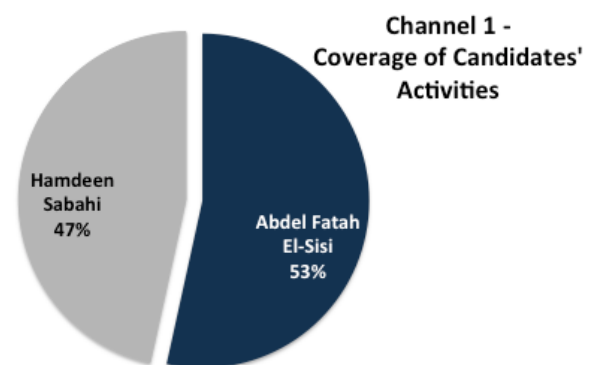


Figure 6: Channel 1 - Coverage of Candidates' Activities

Although the previous results show that Channel 1 was relatively more neutral than CBC in their coverage, this is not reflected in terms of their news coverage of both candidates' activities. News coverage of both candidates were present in every episode, however, the number of times El-Sisi's activities were mentioned exceed the number of times of the other candidate. This may reflect that more time was devoted to the news coverage of the former candidate.

6.1.3 Guests on the Program Representing/Supporting each Candidate

CBC

Hona Al Assema: A member of the advisory committee on El-Sisi's campaign, Dr. Hani Sari El-Din was invited to talk about the economic aspects of his program. No representative of Sabahi was interviewed to present the economic aspects of his program. In another episode, Lamees El Hadidy hosted one representative from each campaign. The guests were Abdel Halima Kandil, supporting El-Sisi, and Medhat El Zahed, Depute Chairman for Popular Organizations supporting Sabahi, and representing institutional support. The estimated total amount of speaking time recorded for each is 20 minutes for Kandil, and 15 minutes for El Zahed. Referring to the amount of speaking time allotted for both sides of the campaigns, El-Sisi's campaign received more time.

Momken: Khairy Ramadan, the host of the program invited Dr. Hani Sarei El-Din, in charge of the economic aspect of El-Sisi's campaign (the same guest that Hadidy interviewed), and Dr. Abdel Khaled Farouk, in charge of the economic aspect of Sabahi's campaign. In the same episode, Khairy Ramadan also invited Dr. Mohamed Abdel Latif, in charge of the education aspect in El-Sisi's campaign, as well as Dr. Alaa Abdel Hady, in charge of the education aspect in Sabahi's program. In this episode, 3 minutes of speaking time was allowed for each of the four guests in turn. This reflected fairness to both sides of the campaigns.

Lack of fairness was very apparent through the nature of guests invited on CBC, as well as the amount of speaking time allowed for each side's representatives. This was particularly evident in 'Hona Al Assema', where an episode presented El-Sisi's

economic program through his representative, while no similar airtime was allotted to the other candidate. Although the host Lamees El-Hadidy claimed that Sabahi's representative apologized from being present, any other form of airtime could have been allowed for a representative from his side. However, this was not the case. Also, when she hosted a representative from each side, El-Sisi's representative received more airtime, and partiality from the interviewer's side was very obvious, as mentioned earlier. On the other side, Khairy Ramadan, in his program 'Momken' hosted representatives from each side and allowed an equal time of 3 minutes each to every speaker. Throughout the campaigning period, very limited information was offered through hosting guests to speak on electoral matters. The only aspects presented through the guests speaking on each candidate's electoral programs were economic development and education. It is also interesting to note that both programs offered very similar information, although they are both presented on the same channel. For example, Dr. Hani Sarei El-Din, speaking on El-Sisi's economic programs was invited on both programs. This shows a lack of diversity. Most of the episodes invited guests to speak on different matters irrelevant to the elections. At a crucial time like this, more diversity and time should have been allotted to matters relevant to the elections, and since public opinion is mainly formed through the coverage of the media, a comprehensive and balanced coverage should be present.

Channel 1

Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees: In some episodes representatives/supporters from both sides were present in an episode:

- Tamer El Qadm, a member of the Egyptian Revolutionary Coalition and Amr Ali, a member of the Liberal Egyptians Party, both representing institutional support to El-Sisi, were interviewed against Ahmed El Anani, a member of the committee on Sabahi's campaign, and Tamer Hendawi, a member of the media committee on Sabahi's campaign.
- Dr. Mohamed Sobky, responsible for the energy saving aspect of El-Sisi's program, against Dr. Bahi Eldin Arboun, responsible for the energy saving aspect of Sabahi's program. The estimated total amount of speaking time recorded for each was 22 minutes for Dr. Sobky and 16 minutes for Dr. Arboun. Referring to the amount of speaking time allotted to both sides of the campaigns, El-Sisi's campaign received more time.
- Dr. Amani El Taweel, expert in Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, and Director of the Women's Program, who is a member of Sabahi's campaign, against Dr. Margaret Azel, Assistant Secretary General of the National Council for Women, who through her views was a supporter of El-Sisi. The amount of speaking time recorded for each was 14 minutes 30 seconds for Dr. El-Taweel and 14 minutes for Dr. Azel. This reflected fairness in terms of speaking time to both sides of the campaigns.
- Dr. Ahmed Khairy, a member in the constitution committee, and general coordinator of the workers for El-Sisi's campaign, against Nader El-Erian, Vice President for Karama Party, and a member of the central campaign for Sabahi. The total amount of speaking time recorded for each is 19 minutes 40 seconds for Dr.

Khairy, and 12 minutes for El-Erian. Referring to the amount of speaking time allotted to both sides of the campaigns, El-Sisi's campaign received more time.

In other episodes, the program hosted representatives/ supporters from either side:

- Khaled Habeeb also invited Nashwa El Houfy, a journalist who is a supporter of El-Sisi.
- Two representatives from Sabahi's campaign, Dr. Zakaria Haddad and Dr. Abdel Khaleq Farouk talking about the economic and nutrition aspects of his program.
- Hussain Abdel Ghani, Media Consultant on Sabahi's campaign, as well as Dr. Gamal Salama, Head of Political Science Department in Suez University; both present on the same episode of the interview with the candidate.
- Yehia Rakhway, Professor of Psychiatry in Cairo University, who gave his opinion on the current events as well as on both candidates, and through his words it was evident that he was a supporter of El-Sisi.
- He also hosted General Sameh Saif Al Yazal, a Security Specialist and Former Army General, supporting El-Sisi, and talking about the security situation in Egypt.
- Ahmed Aboul Gheit, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, discussing and analyzing foreign affairs with Egypt; also, a supporter of El-Sisi.
- Ambassador Ashraf Rashid, responsible for foreign affairs and El-Sisi's political advisor for his campaign.

Sabah El Khair Ya Masr: A very limited number of guests were present on this program.

Also, much of the information and opinions they presented were not related to either candidates or their programs:

- Mohamed Selim, the General coordinator of El-Sisi's campaign for Egyptians abroad was hosted, as well as Engineer Abdel Aziz El Hussein, the organizational secretary for the Nationalist Karama Party, representing institutional support for Sabahi.
- A researcher in Al Ahram Newspaper, Yousry Al Azalawy was invited on the program, and through his words, he was evidently a supporter of El-Sisi.
- Dr. Amani El Taweel, expert in Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, and Director of the Women's Program was interviewed to give her opinion on the current news, where she criticizes some of El-Sisi's policies and praises that of Sabahi.

Channel 1 presented more diversified material related to electoral matters through the guests invited on 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees'. Guests invited on 'Sabah El Khair Ya Masr' provided much less information on matters relevant to the elections. Guests invited on 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees' spoke on different matters relevant to the candidates' electoral programs such as economic development, energy issues, women's status, international relations, etc. Although the total numbers of guests representing the candidates were 10 from each side, analysis shows some partiality. Five episodes presented only El-Sisi's side, whereas two episodes were dedicated to Sabahi's representatives. This is because they came in pairs. The rest of the episodes represented both sides, and during these forums, guests representing El-Sisi received more speaking time, relative to the other side. Another form of partiality identified was that three of the guests invited from El-Sisi's side were members on his campaign. The others were supporters of his. While on the other side, nine of the guests representing Sabahi were members of his campaign, and only one was a supporter. This observation

is particularly interesting as it can be analyzed in two ways. First, having the majority of the guests as El-Sisi's supporters portrays a message that he is very popular and majority of the people/ public figures interviewed are supporting him. Second, it could be analyzed as Sabahi having a stronger campaign, with a higher number of representatives present to talk about his electoral program. The question here is why there was a lack of representatives working on El-Sisi's campaign to talk about his program.

6.1.4 Broadcasters' Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidates and Electoral Programs

CBC

Through analyzing the content under 'Hona Al Assema' during the campaigning period, the broadcaster Lamees El Hadidy presents her opinion very often. A lack of neutrality from the broadcaster's side was very evident throughout this program. For instance, on the 10th of May Hadidy briefs the audience on the interview that was conducted with El-Sisi by her and Ibrahim Essa on CBC and OnTV. She presents the candidate in an extremely positive manner, stating publicly that she will not abide by the conduct of neutrality. She presents him in a positive manner stating that he is trustworthy, straightforward, decisive, and very clear. She presents him as a 'moderately religious man'. Hadidy continues to reject any accusations directed by the public to this interview, claiming that no questions were eliminated; no editing was done after the interview, and that there wasn't enough time to ask the candidate specific question on his electoral program. On the 12th of May, Hadidy also presents him in a very positive manner, calling him "a state's man" who is well educated on the Arab States' files and their political situations. Hadidy also says that he is well aware of

the size and strength of “his” military, what weapons “he” has, and hence his military background serves him as an advantage. Some criticism was directed to Sabahi, stating that he does not have any managerial experience and that his economic development plans are over 5 years, whereas Sisi’s economic development plans are over 2 years.

Khairy Ramadan, the host of this program presents both candidates in a slightly more balanced manner than Lamees El Hadidy. He praises and criticizes both programs. He presents his opinion on both candidates arguing that El-Sisi is more dependent on his military experience in his campaign while Sabahi is more dependent on revolutionary dreams and ideas. On the 7th of May, he compliments El-Sisi’s program saying that he was more practical in showing statistics, studies, and information when referring to his plan of dividing provinces. He also says that implementation would be difficult. He praises Sabahi’s program in talking about social and transitional justice, and on his first decision to reduce expenses of the presidential institution. On the 18th of May he criticizes Sabahi’s program claiming that his economic plans are too elastic.

Under ‘Misr Tantakheb Al Ra’ees’, it was difficult to identify any broadcaster’s opinion since it only took the form of interviewing both candidates.

Broadcaster opinion was very evident under CBC. This portrayed a lack of professionalism, and favoritism towards one candidate. Broadcaster Lamees El Hadidy was keen on presenting El-Sisi in a positive light. This was particularly displayed through her words. Also, when interviewing guests on the program representing both candidates, the right to respond and comment was more privileged to El-Sisi’s representative than the other. Opinion-based comments were not presented on Sabahi in any manner under this program. Khairy Ramadan, the host of ‘Momken’ was more

critical of both candidates. The role of the private media in shaping public opinion is very important, and majority of the people depend on their source of information through such television programs. Being unfair towards one candidate reflects a great lack of professionalism, as mentioned above. Such opinion-based comments should be more regulated in the private media sector in Egypt.

Channel 1

Under Channel 1's coverage of the campaigning period, no broadcaster opinion was identified in most of the episodes. All broadcaster's presented news coverage, hosted guests and discussed electoral matters without presenting their own opinion. The only form of an opinion based argument was found on the 12th of May in 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees' where the host Khaled Habeeb argued that El-Sisi was a little more precise in saying that after 2 years people will begin to feel a change. He is a leader in ousting the Muslim Brotherhood and he is a charismatic person. While on the other side Sabahi promised to create 10 million job opportunities, which is in his opinion, is too far-fetched. Channel 1, as a representative of the public media sector in Egypt demonstrated a higher degree in respecting rules and regulations by abiding by the standards of broadcasting media in this matter. It is important as part of the transition to a more democratic nation to avoid broadcaster bias on the characters and programs of the candidates in times of elections. It is important to be critical of all parties in an election; however, presenting one candidate in a positive light compared to the other demonstrates direct acts of partiality and unfairness.

6.1.5 Guests' Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidates and Electoral Programs

CBC

Through the guests interviewed on CBC, the positive traits identified on El- Sisi were pleasant, organized, and emotional with the poor as well as caring for the people's wishes and supporting the poor. Statements were that he is smart politically and strategically; and is well aware of the tensions in the Middle East. He was also portrayed as similar to Abdel Nasser, very popular, the most suitable one now, with strong experiences, and that he represents the nation. No negative personality traits were identified through any of the guests on CBC. Comments on his electoral program were that he is straightforward about his stance against the Muslim Brotherhood, he was more transparent about figures of unemployment, and that he has a wider vision. No weaknesses were identified about his electoral program.

Positive traits identified on Sabahi were that he is reliable, has a lot previous experiences with the peasants, and always fought for the struggles of the poor. Negative traits identified were that he is acting like a foreigner who knows of Egypt but does not know Egypt. Claims on his electoral program were that he was very clear about securing resources such as when it comes to distributing agricultural land; he is the closest to the visions of the revolutions; and he is against the protest law that limits freedom of expression, and against privatization. Negative statements on his program were that he limited himself to freedoms; his program is too ambitious and he gave unrealistic promises.

Under CBC, the guests present on the program only spoke of El-Sisi in a positive manner. Positive aspects on his personality were highlighted, as well as strengths of his electoral program. Negative traits or weaknesses were not identified through guests representing El-Sisi or the other candidate. On the other side, the guests offered a more

critical evaluation of Sabahi. Both positive and negative traits of his personality were highlighted, as well as strengths and weaknesses of his electoral program. CBC failed to offer equal criticism to both candidates through the guests that were hosted.

Channel 1

Through the guests interviewed on Channel 1, opinion based arguments on candidates were mostly evident on 'Misr Tantazer Al Ra'ees'. Some were also present on 'Sabah El Khair Ya Masr'. The positive traits identified on El-Sisi were that he has good leadership experience; he is popular; he knows everything about the country; he respects the law and the constitution; he is honest, moderate, clear, responsible, decisive, smart, a strong leader, and "knows God"; he does not need a campaign to win; he directs his words to Egypt as a whole country; when he promises he keeps his word; and he will definitely take any step that is for the benefit of Egypt. Negative traits identified on El-Sisi were that he comes from the same old school of administration; he did not abide by the laws and regulations; he did not speak much in interviews; since he was holding a very important position in the military he did not have time to make any good connections in areas such as agriculture, health, economics, etc.; he did not pay attention to widening his activities and he is not expressive enough with attention to certain issues. Strengths identified on his electoral program were that his program is aimed towards the citizens and their revolutionary demands and slogans; he states his resources very clearly; he does not need a party since he is dependent on the military in the first period. Weaknesses identified were that he still did not have a solid electoral program; his policies lack a clear direction and there is a need to understand

the overview of his program; he focused on short term solutions for energy-saving and omitted long term ones.

Positive traits identified on Sabahi were that he is representative of the revolutionary dream; he values the youth; he has good leadership experience; he is a state's man who is well aware of the security of the state and the legislative; he knows the budget and all administration aspects; and he is very nationalistic. Negative traits on Sabahi were that he did not abide by the law and presented aspects of his electoral program before the official campaigning period starts; he tries hard to be charismatic and emotional. Strengths identified on Sabahi's program were that his program cares for the people and the lower classes; he will provide a new administration other than the one existing for a long time; he respects the youth, knows their problems and his program tackles these needs; his program intends to adopt a number of small businesses; he has a clear strategic vision to solve issues; he does not talk about aspirations without referring to resources; he is relying on the ability of Egypt not on foreign investment and foreign aid; he is clearer in his policies since he focused on three main sectors which are poverty, illiteracy, and sickness, which are very important and he has clearer directions in addressing the poor. Weaknesses identified on his program were that he promises a lot but does not state his resources clearly; he targets each group by looking at their problems and giving them promises to solve these problems without saying how and from where; he used the term 'restructuring' which is associated with the Muslim Brotherhood; he did not offer a strategic plan on how he will not allow foreigners ownership inside Egypt; he exaggerated in his campaign, aiming at attracting votes of the poor and making use of their bad economic conditions.

‘9:00 pm News Bulletin’ did not offer any opinion-based arguments through guests since it takes the form of a detailed news bulletin only.

In comparison to CBC, Channel 1 offered a more balanced criticism towards the candidates, reflecting positive and negative personality traits on both, as well as strengths and weaknesses of both. This may be reflected as a result of the higher diversity of guests hosted on Channel 1 to speak on electoral matters related to the candidates. At the same time, it is also a result of broadcaster unfairness, which was highly evident in CBC through the host Lamees El Hadidy, where she interrupted guests speaking on behalf of Sabahi, as well as through her attitude of agreeing to the other party without criticizing any of the information being said.

6.2 Opinion Polls and Election Projections

The only poll information presented on CBC was on the 4th of May on ‘Hona Al Assema’ where poll data indicated that there was an increase by 13% in El-Sisi’s supporters, from 71% to 84%, and a drop by 9% in Sabahi’s supporters, from 25% to 16%. The source of the information was identified as the Ibn Khaldun Centre for Development Studies. The time the poll was conducted was also identified as the period between mid April to the beginning of May. Other information such as the statistical margin of error and the number of people polled were not provided.

Under Channel 1, on the 9th of May, ‘Sabah El Khair Ya Masr’ presented data on an opinion poll stating that 87% of the people polled were supporting El- Sisi, whereas 13% were supporting Sabahi. The source of the information was provided as Al Sharq Al Awsat News Agency, however, no information was provided on the statistical margin of error, time the poll was conducted, or the number of people polled.

To ensure balance, fairness and objectivity, broadcast coverage of opinion polls should be given special attention to, since they may impact voter direction (Merloe, 1994). Information such as the number of people polled is highly important when presenting poll data, as the number of people could range from a very small population (not representing the entire population), or a larger sample of the population. This kind of information was absent in both instances where CBC and Channel 1 displayed results of an opinion poll.

Chapter 7: Results and Discussion III

7.1 Compliance with Egyptian Guidelines

Research Question (2) asked: To what extent did Channel 1 and CBC adhere to the rules and regulations set forth by the general committee responsible for establishing the guidelines for the media coverage by Egyptian Television during the 2014 presidential elections? As mentioned in the conceptual framework of this study, guidelines 1, 2, and 9 are used for assessment because they overlap the general guidelines for broadcasting used as the basis for this study.

The results of this study measured the extent to which the media coverage of the elections met international standards for broadcasting. Relating the results to the guidelines issued by the general committee for establishing the guidelines in Egypt for the media coverage during the presidential elections, public channels show a higher level of abiding by the rules and regulations.

The first guideline compiles Egyptian television to fairly and equally raise awareness about candidates and their electoral programs in a neutral manner. Neutrality in raising awareness about both candidates and their electoral programs was portrayed at a much higher level in Channel 1 compared to CBC. Although fairness and equality were established in presenting both candidates and their electoral programs, the results of the study show that more information should be presented to the public; meaning more airtime should be devoted to election coverage. CBC as a representative of the private media sector in Egypt did not display neutrality while presenting both candidates and their programs. The results of the study show partiality and favoritism

to one candidate over the other. The second guideline states that channels are required to actively raise political and electoral awareness that will lead to positive participation in the elections. Raising political and electoral awareness was also more comprehensive in Channel 1 compared to CBC. Information presented on Channel 1 was more comprehensive in terms of raising awareness on electoral matters such as the electoral programs of the different candidates. CBC lacked such inclusive coverage, as most of their attempts to raise awareness were focused on coverage of the voting procedures outside Egypt, and on encouraging people not to sell their votes. Guideline 9 requires disclosing all relevant information when broadcasting opinion polls, surveys, and statistics including but not limited to: the source of the material and its ultimate source of funds, the questions that were included in surveying, sample size and demographics, methods used in conducting the survey and collecting the data, and date of the report and its statistical margin of error. In both instances where Channel 1 and CBC presented the results of an opinion poll, information such as the sample size and demographics, source of funds, questions included in the survey, methods used in conducting the survey and collecting data as well as statistical margins of error were not included.

7.2 Policy Implications

Research Question (3) asked: What policy changes can be undertaken to ensure better regulation of the coverage of information related to presidential elections? After analyzing the data above the researcher formulated the following set of recommended policy changes:

Private Channels:

- 1- Based on the results described earlier, CBC, which was chosen to represent the private media sector in Egypt, showed a lack of fairness to both candidates. Instances of such biasness were very evident. For example, 17% of the episodes analyzed during the period under study, covered news related to only one candidate. Coverage of topics related to El-Sisi was a lot more comprehensive than that of the other candidate. Also, the nature of guests invited on the programs showed a lack of fairness, as well as in terms of the amounts of time allotted for each of the guests representing different sides. Hence, content in the private media sector should be independently regulated through non-governmental bodies that establish certain guidelines to offer more comprehensive and unbiased information and represent all parties in an election in an equal manner, relative to their importance during the elections.
- 2- Through analyzing content under CBC's programs, broadcaster opinion was very prominent. For example, Broadcaster Lamees El Hadidy continued in many instances to portray El-Sisi in a very positive manner. Such opinion-based comments were not present on the other candidate. Broadcaster standards should be regulated, not allowing broadcasters to state their opinions more often during electoral times in favor of one party over the other. If opinion-based comments are to be made, they should be equal to all candidates present in an election.
- 3- Under the entire period of study, 28% of the episodes did not cover news related to the presidential elections. News coverage was thus very selective.

Such news coverage in times of elections should be more comprehensive and diversified, on the basis of balance and impartiality.

These recommendations can be achieved through different propositions such as:

- a. Establishing a clearer and stricter Code of Ethics for broadcasting information during election times.
- b. Requiring broadcasters to attend certain hours of seminars and workshops that raise awareness on the acceptable International Standards of Broadcasting.
- c. Requiring the licenses of broadcasters to be renewed annually according to tests that measure their awareness of acceptable International Standards of Broadcasting.
- d. Implementing stricter policies and penalties against violation of the rules and duties contemplated in the Code of Ethics.
- e. Establishing a non-governmental body, comprising of scholars, media specialists, researchers and policy makers, that monitor broadcasting in the private sector and raises public awareness of neutrality in the private channels and how to develop it. Such a combination of specialists would ensure the establishment of applicable guidelines, and enhance communication between policy makers and media professionals.

Public Channels:

- 1- Through analyzing content under Channel 1, many instances displayed a lack of quality. As mentioned above, minor errors like displaying incorrect numbers of voting and incorrect names of guests on-air portray a negative image on the

credibility of the channel. Lack of quality was also evident in terms of picture and sound, as pointed out earlier. Hence, quality of production should be invested in, especially in areas such as picture, sound, backgrounds, and on-air phone call quality.

- 2- The content analyzed displayed less-trained broadcasters in terms of creativity and skills. It is highly recommended that quality of broadcasters should be raised, in terms of their broadcasting skills, as well as their attire, to be more appealing.
- 3- Although coverage during the presidential elections showed more neutrality and fairness than the private media sector, many of the episodes devoted only small amounts of time to material related to election coverage. Hence, more airtime should be allowed for election coverage, in terms of news coverage as well presenting electoral matters.

This can be achieved through different propositions such as:

- a. Implementing Public Private Partnerships (PPP) in newly established public channels. This would allow for more equity investment to be raised from the private sector, and accordingly better quality of production, without jeopardizing the independence and social nature of public channels.
- b. Establishing a public body in the form of public scholars that monitor the performance of public channels and addresses quality issues.
- c. Ensure further training of staff and implementing special bonus schemes in order to raise the quality of broadcasters.

- d. Rules and regulation regarding broadcasting during election periods should require more time to be dedicated for news coverage. This can be achieved through establishing temporarily specialized channels that operate only during the periods of elections to ensure more comprehensive coverage and increase public access to such information.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

Research Question (1) asked: By using Channel 1 and CBC as case studies, to what extent was their coverage of the presidential elections comprehensive, subjective, balanced and impartial? The results shown above demonstrated that Channel 1 offered a more comprehensive, subjective, balanced, and impartial coverage in comparison to CBC.

Research Question (2) asked: To what extent did Channel 1 and CBC adhere to the rules and regulations set forth by the general committee responsible for establishing the guidelines for the media coverage by Egyptian Television during the 2014 presidential elections? For the purpose of this study, guidelines 2, 3 and 9 were assessed. The results also show that Channel 1 demonstrated a higher degree of abiding by some of the rules and regulations set by the Presidential Elections Committee. It is also important to note that although Channel 1's coverage was relatively neutral, the results above show that some areas need major development measures.

Throughout the period under study, very interesting observations were raised. Previous literature claims that private media channels gained popularity following the 25th of January revolution in Egypt, at a time where public media was very subjective to the state. This shift in public interest comes with an odd observation. The results of this study show that the private media sector significantly lacks neutrality. Whereas on the other side, public media were relatively more neutral and balanced through their coverage of both candidates. The question here is, why is it the case that the less neutral media have a higher viewership rate than the other.

According to previous literature, public media channels were heavily subjective to the state during election times, and have failed to follow rules and regulations during their coverage of previous elections. The results of this study show that this trend has changed, and that the public sector is more adhering to neutrality and objectivity in their coverage compared to the private sector. Channel 1, although is relatively more neutral in its coverage, still lacked critical analysis of both candidates and also showed indirect bias in certain areas according to the results mentioned in this study. At the same time, the quality of production as noticed during the period under examination is extremely poor. For instance, when portraying the results of expatriates voting outside Egypt, the numbers were stated incorrectly in their news bulletin, after which they were corrected. On one of the episodes where guests were invited, the name of the guest was incorrect on the screen, after which it was also corrected. On-air phone calls displayed very poor quality, where most of the time was wasted on trying to hear the guest on the other line. Also, the hotline numbers present on the screen were sometimes unclear. Lack of quality was evident through the colors of the screen, as well as the quality of the broadcasters. Such poor quality should be invested in, as proposed earlier in the study.

On the other side, under the period of examination, a much higher quality of production was reflected through private media channels. However, through analyzing CBC, broadcaster opinion, as well as a lack of neutrality was very prominent, which demonstrated a lack of professionalism and regulation. This confirms the existing literature on the private media sector in Egypt. The nature of talk shows on CBC sometimes takes the form of raising voices and interrupting speakers. This may raise interesting points of view; however, it lacks credibility. This poses an important

problem because public opinion may be shaped based on false and subjective information coming from the hosts of the programs as well as the nature of the guests. Hence, content needs to be highly regulated in this respect, based on the policy implications mentioned above.

Research Question (3) asked: What policy changes can be undertaken to ensure better regulation of the coverage of information related to presidential elections? The policy implications suggested earlier are based on the outcome of this research. Areas for development in the private media sector are needed mainly in regulating content, avoiding broadcaster bias, avoiding partiality when displaying information relevant to candidates and electoral matters, as well as offering comprehensive information when informing the public on electoral matters. The main areas needed for development in the public sector are centered on enhancing the quality of production and quality of broadcasters. At the same time, more airtime should be devoted to covering matters relevant to an election.

According to research conducted by the Carter Center on the political context in which the presidential elections took place in Egypt, a genuinely competitive campaign environment was not provided. A substantial part of the population in Egypt appeared to support the military-backed transition. With the rapid changes after the revolution and the 2012 presidential elections in Egypt, political conflicts and extreme polarization in the country continued to upsurge. At the same, freedom of expression became limited. The suppression of the Muslim Brotherhood followed by the military intervention, created opposing political views, between those for the movement and those who sympathized for them or supported them. It was within this context that the

“war on terrorism” was declared and supported by all media channels, including public and private ones, and limitations on freedoms were justified. Alongside this political context, research states that the making process of the constitution right before the elections was not transparent. Hence, an open political space allowing the Egyptian public to participate in politics was not present (Carter Center, 2014).

The political context in which the elections took place should not be omitted when analyzing the media coverage of the elections, as this may have had an influence on the coverage. An open political space allowing for proper and free political dialogue is essential for fair and free elections, so as not to have an influence on voters’ decisions.

8.1 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Due to time limitation the study was restricted to assessing only one channel from each sector. The study was also restricted to three programs from each channel as a result of limited time and the size of the research. This research being a qualitative analysis, may involve some researcher bias. Hence, future research should be further implemented in this area of study to confirm the results. Although these channels provide a trend of the coverage by both sectors, future research should be directed to include a more diverse set of channels for study to gain a better understanding of the kind of coverage provided on such issues of high importance to the public. Future research should also be directed to assessing the quality of programming in terms of production, broadcasters, and content regulation, and in terms of what can be done to improve quality in this respect. Furthermore, research should also be conducted in analyzing, political contexts during election times, audience behavior and in studying

levels of trust towards media channels as well as reasons for any shift in trust between media sectors/channels.

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Appendix

List of Programs used for Content Analysis

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 3). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d2DqtSCRwpU>

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 4). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HKi1985y-pk>

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 10). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PNY3WuU3hCk>

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 11). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zmhwxHqe86k>

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 12). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NdXSg2iDv5c>

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 13). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j3TkplChCmg>

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 17). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sgVMeofzYTM>

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 18). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FHi7zwIK-el>

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 19). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wq2f6QNad94>

Hona al assema [Here Is the capital]. (2014, May 20). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BRqVK6knR-I>

Misr Tantakheb al ra'ees [Egypt elects its president]. (2014, May 7). (Television

broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eotGq0j9LzM&list=PLjch3pBsESVTBa7UofR5W9tjrABWamUmw>

Misr tantakheb al ra'ees [Egypt elects its president]. (2014, May 9). (Television

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZgqKFakIHQ&list=PLjch3pBsESVTBa7UofR5W9tjrABWamUmw>

Misr tantazer al ra'ees [Egypt waits for its president]. (2014, May 3). (Television

broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFFHmnW8xhc>

Misr tantazer al ra'ees [Egypt waits for its president]. (2014, May 4). (Television

broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a-GkpXt4LYk>

Misr tantazer al ra'ees [Egypt waits for its president]. (2014, May 5). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IEb1valAomI>

Misr tantazer al ra'ees [Egypt waits for its president]. (2014, May 6). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xi3pQEqRoMo>

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Misr tantazer al ra'ees [Egypt waits for its president]. (2014, May 10). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rkl6kh7qYxw>

Misr tantazer al ra'ees [Egypt waits for its president]. (2014, May 11). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8leUYocgf_w

Misr tantazer al ra'ees [Egypt waits for its president]. (2014, May 12). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rOE0EK3V0Uw>

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Misr tantazer al ra'ees [Egypt waits for its president]. (2014, May 19). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pGX7PfJ5nbl>

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Momken [It is possible]. (2014, May 9). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yz3kdGoaBFw>

Momken [It is possible]. (2014, May 14). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-CF2lxYiOqY>

Momken [It is possible]. (2014, May 15). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DM5d5lWMt8w>

Momken [It is possible]. (2014, May 16). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.).

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OesHku5ok1s&list=PLjch3pBsESVRkICy0B0mr2VPmrDzJT5gX&index=162>

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=un3NTtN4MWE>

Nashret akhbar al tase'a masa'an [9:00 P.M. news bulletin]. (2014, May 5). (Television

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VTjT5JadH8w>

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Nashret akhbar al tase'a masa'an [9:00 P.M. news bulletin]. (2014, May 9). (Television broadcast). (J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KPIHZxUavkU>

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-YxaWcz-CBk>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 7). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RWMmVpys4_U

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 8). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tGFSy26kUml>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 9). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v0YBbVwOhC0>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 10). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8n7w3tyAXZ4>

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WcVCBbYj8Qc>

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(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bpXFxVg1POM>

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(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AtAYPj2UEmE>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 14). (Television broadcast).

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fjLP4lvU-og>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 15). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3uKOLnIZszc>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 16). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uCqPxvP4l9Q>

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Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 18). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1N_tnqoe53U

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 19). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DBrKUlpkWr0>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 20). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1giS-mZnhXI>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 21). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOHbid42Nzo>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 22). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2q4v4QjtvDE>

Sabah el khair ya masr [Good morning Egypt]. (2014, May 23). (Television broadcast).

(J.Barsoum, Trans.). Cairo: CBC. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6S75P9iZ6fM>

Coding Sheet

I. TECHNICAL DATA

A. *Title of Program:*

B. *Airing Date:* given in full (Day. Month. Year).

C. *Channel:* (The source of the program).

1. CBC
2. Channel 1

D. *Host:* (The main host of the program).

E. *Guests:* (Guests invited on the program).

F. *Format:*

1. News Bulletin (Program taking the format of a news report).
2. Talk Show (Program taking the format of a current affairs talk show as well as a news report).

II. DUTY TO INFORM

Special Information Programs:

G. *Program offering special information in the form of:*

1. Interview with candidate
If present, please specify the amount of time allotted to the interview.....
2. Interview with representatives of candidate
3. Candidate forums and debates
4. N/A

Voter Education:

H. *Civic Voter Education (where, when and how to vote):*

1. Present, please specify.....
2. Absent

Electoral Programs:

I. *Aspects of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi's Program discussed/ presented (circle all that applies):*

1. National Security
2. Economic Development
3. Social Justice and Equality
4. Unemployment
5. Energy Issues
6. International Affairs
7. Women's Rights/ Status
8. Democratization and Human Rights
9. Role of the Military in Governance
10. Education
11. Other, please specify.....
12. Absent

Aspects of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi's Program discussed/ presented (circle all that applies):

1. National Security
2. Economic Development
3. Social Justice and Equality
4. Unemployment

5. Energy Issues
6. International Affairs
7. Women's Rights/ Status
8. Democratization and Human Rights
9. Role of the Military in Governance
10. Education
11. Other, please specify.....
12. Absent

III. ELECTION COVERAGE

Balance and Impartiality

J. News coverage of candidates:

1. Abdel Fattah El-Sisi
2. Hamdeen Sabahi
3. Both Candidates
4. Absent

K. News coverage of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi's Activities (circle all that applies):

1. Conferences
2. Interviews
3. Public Speech
4. Meetings/ Visits
5. Other, please specify.....
6. Absent

News coverage of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi's Activities (circle all that applies):

1. Conferences
2. Interviews
3. Public Speech
4. Meetings/ Visits
5. Other, please specify.....
6. Absent

L. *Guests present on the program, representing individual support for candidates:*

1. Representative/ Supporter of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi
If present, please indicate guest's name, title, evidence of support, and amount of speaking time.....
2. Representative/ Supporter of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi
If present, please indicate guest's name, title, evidence of support, and amount of speaking time.....
3. Neutral Guest
4. N/A

M. *Guests present on the program, representing institutional support for candidates:*

1. Representative of a Party Supporting Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi
If present, please indicate guest's name, title, evidence of support, and amount of speaking time.....
2. Representative of a Party Supporting Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi
If present, please indicate guest's name, title, evidence of support, and amount of speaking time.....
3. N/A

N. *Broadcaster's Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidates:*

Personal Characteristics of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi:

1. Positive, please specify.....
2. Negative, please specify.....
3. Absent

Personal Characteristics of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi:

1. Positive, please specify.....
2. Negative, please specify.....
3. Absent

O. Broadcaster's Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidate's Electoral Program:

Strengths and Weaknesses of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi's Electoral Program discussed:

1. Strengths, please specify.....
2. Weaknesses, please specify.....
3. Absent

Strengths and Weaknesses of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi's Electoral Program discussed:

1. Strengths, please specify.....
2. Weaknesses, please specify.....
3. Absent

P. Guest's Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidates:

Personal Characteristics of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi:

1. Positive, please specify.....
2. Negative, please specify.....
3. Absent

Personal Characteristics of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi:

1. Positive, please specify.....
2. Negative, please specify.....
3. Absent

Q. Guest's Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidate's Electoral Program:

Strengths and Weaknesses of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi's Electoral Program discussed:

1. Strengths, please specify.....
2. Weaknesses, please specify.....
3. Absent

Strengths and Weaknesses of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi's Electoral Program discussed:

1. Strengths, please specify.....
2. Weaknesses, please specify.....
3. Absent

Opinion Polls and Election Projection

R. Poll Information on Candidates:

1. Present, please specify the following if provided:
 - i. Poll data.....
 - ii. Source of the information.....
 - iii. Statistical margin of error.....
 - iv. Time the poll was conducted.....
 - v. Number of people polled.....

2. Absent

Coding Book

I. TECHNICAL DATA

A. Title of Program:

B. Airing Date: given in full (Day. Month. Year).

C. Channel: (The source of the program).

1. CBC
2. Channel 1

D. Host: (The main host of the program).

E. Guests: (Guests invited on the program).

F. Format:

1. News Bulletin (Program taking the format of a news report).
2. Talk Show (Program taking the format of a current affairs talk show as well as a news report).

II. DUTY TO INFORM

Special Information Programs:

G. Program offering special information in the form of:

1. Interview with candidate (Interview with either candidate).
If present, please specify the amount of time allotted to the interview.....
2. Interview with representatives of candidate (Interview with any representative of either campaigns).
3. Candidate forums and debates (Forums or debates between both candidates, or representatives of both campaigns).
4. N/A

Voter Education:

H. Civic Voter Education (where, when and how to vote): (Information on necessary documents to be eligible to vote, any registration processes required, encouraging voter participation; information on the nature of the issues, platforms and programs of the two parties, as well as the character of the candidates).

1. Present, please specify.....
2. Absent

Electoral Programs:

I. Aspects of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi's Program discussed/ presented (circle all that applies): (aspects of the program highlighted through the form of news coverage, or guests present on the program).

1. National Security
2. Economic Development
3. Social Justice and Equality
4. Unemployment
5. Energy Issues
6. International Affairs
7. Women's Rights/ Status
8. Democratization and Human Rights
9. Role of the Military in Governance
10. Education
11. Other, please specify.....
12. Absent

Aspects of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi's Program discussed/ presented (circle all that applies): (aspects of the program highlighted through the form of news coverage, or guests present on the program).

1. National Security
2. Economic Development
3. Social Justice and Equality
4. Unemployment
5. Energy Issues
6. International Affairs
7. Women's Rights/ Status
8. Democratization and Human Rights
9. Role of the Military in Governance
10. Education
11. Other, please specify.....
12. Absent

III. ELECTION COVERAGE

Balance and Impartiality

J. *News coverage of candidates:*

1. Abdel Fattah El-Sisi (News coverage of only Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi).
2. Hamdeen Sabahi (News coverage of only Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi).
3. Both Candidates (News coverage of both candidates).
4. Absent (No news coverage of any candidate).

K. *News coverage of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi's Activities (circle all that applies):*

1. Conferences (Press conferences, public conferences, and any other kind of conferences).
2. Interviews (Interviews on television stations, news papers, and any other kind of interviews).
3. Public Speech (Public speech/statement).
4. Meetings/ Visits (Any kind of meetings or visits).
5. Other, please specify.....
6. Absent (No activities were mentioned).

News coverage of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi's Activities (circle all that applies):

1. Conferences (Press conferences, public conferences, and any other kind of conferences).
2. Interviews (Interviews on television stations, news papers, and any other kind of interviews).
3. Public Speech (Public speech/statement).
4. Meetings/ Visits (Any kind of meetings or visits).
5. Other, please specify.....
6. Absent (No activities were mentioned).

L. Guests present on the program, representing individual support for candidates:

1. Representative/ Supporter of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi (Any guest present on the program, who is a representative on his campaign or is a supporter of his).

If present, please indicate guest's name, title, evidence of support, and amount of speaking time.....

2. Representative/ Supporter of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi (Any guest present on the program, who is a representative on his campaign or is a supporter of his).

If present, please indicate guest's name, title, evidence of support, and amount of speaking time.....

3. Neutral Guest (Guest present on the program showing no affiliations to either candidate).
4. N/A

M. Guests present on the program, representing institutional support for candidates:

1. Representative of a Party Supporting Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi (Guest present on the program belonging to a party, and showing institutional support to candidate).

If present, please indicate guest's name, title, evidence of support, and amount of speaking time.....

2. Representative of a Party Supporting Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi (Guest present on the program belonging to a party, and showing institutional support to candidate).

If present, please indicate guest's name, title, evidence of support, and amount of speaking time.....

3. N/A

N. Broadcaster's Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidates:

Personal Characteristics of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi: (Personal characteristics claimed by any of the broadcasters).

1. Positive (Charismatic, ethical, pragmatic, hero, nationalist, leader, revolutionary, trustworthy, decisive, or attributes of the above-mentioned lines), please specify.....
2. Negative, (Unethical, lacks leadership skills, irrational, unpopular, or attributes of the above-mentioned lines) please specify.....
3. Absent (No personal characteristics identified).

Personal Characteristics of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi: (Personal characteristics claimed by any of the broadcasters).

1. Positive, (Charismatic, ethical, pragmatic, hero, nationalist, leader, revolutionary, trustworthy, decisive, or attributes of the above-mentioned lines) please specify.....
2. Negative, (Unethical, lacks leadership skills, irrational, unpopular, or attributes of the above-mentioned lines) please specify.....
3. Absent (No personal characteristics identified).

O. *Broadcaster's Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidate's Electoral Program:*

Strengths and Weaknesses of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi's Electoral Program

discussed: (Strengths or weaknesses of electoral program claimed by any of the broadcasters).

1. Strengths, please specify.....
2. Weaknesses, please specify.....
3. Absent (No strengths or weaknesses of electoral program identified).

Strengths and Weaknesses of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi's Electoral Program

discussed: (Strengths or weaknesses of electoral program claimed by any of the broadcasters).

1. Strengths, please specify.....
2. Weaknesses, please specify.....
3. Absent (No strengths or weaknesses of electoral program identified).

P. Guest's Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidates:

Personal Characteristics of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi: (Personal characteristics claimed by any of the guests).

1. Positive, (Charismatic, ethical, pragmatic, hero, nationalist, leader, revolutionary, trustworthy, decisive, or attributes of the above mentioned lines) please specify.....
2. Negative, (Unethical, lacks leadership skills, irrational, unpopular, or attributes of the above-mentioned lines) please specify.....
3. Absent (No personal characteristics identified).

Personal Characteristics of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi: (Personal characteristics claimed by any of the guests).

1. Positive, (Charismatic, ethical, pragmatic, hero, nationalist, leader, revolutionary, trustworthy, decisive, or attributes of the above mentioned lines) please specify.....
2. Negative, (Unethical, lacks leadership skills, irrational, unpopular, or attributes of the above-mentioned lines) please specify.....
3. Absent (No personal characteristics identified).

Q. Guest's Opinion Vis-à-vis Candidate's Electoral Program:

Strengths and Weaknesses of Candidate Abdel Fatah El-Sisi's Electoral Program

discussed: (Strengths or weaknesses of electoral program claimed by any of the guests).

1. Strengths, please specify.....
2. Weaknesses, please specify.....
3. Absent (No strengths or weaknesses of electoral program identified).

Strengths and Weaknesses of Candidate Hamdeen Sabahi's Electoral Program

discussed: (Strengths or weaknesses of electoral program claimed by any of the guests).

1. Strengths, please specify.....
2. Weaknesses, please specify.....
3. Absent (No strengths or weaknesses of electoral program identified).

Opinion Polls and Election Projection

R. *Poll Information on Candidates:* (Poll information presented on the episode, such as the results of an assessment of public opinion, used as forecasting the results of the elections).

1. Present, please specify the following if provided:
 - i. Poll data.....
 - ii. Source of the information.....
 - iii. Statistical margin of error.....
 - iv. Time the poll was conducted.....
 - v. Number of people polled.....
2. Absent (No poll information was identified).