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Media diversity and public deliberation in Egypt: the case study of Law 107 of year 2013 on organizing the right to public meetings, marches, and peaceful protests

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Media Diversity and Public Deliberation in Egypt

The Case Study of Law 107 of Year 2013 on Organizing the Right to Public Meetings,

Marches, and Peaceful Protests

A thesis submitted to the Public Policy and Administration Department in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Policy

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to identify the extent to which ownership, workforce, demography, and viewpoints in Egyptian private satellite stations are diverse and whether the existing levels of media diversity lead to efficient televised public deliberation. The research samples "Al-Hayat TV", "CBC Egypt", and "Al-Nahar TV", which are the television stations with the highest viewership in Egypt according to the weekly and monthly ratings produced in year 2014 by IPSOS, an international research company.

Egypt's law 107 of year 2013 on organizing the right to public meetings, marches, and peaceful protests is chosen as a case study of a policy issue that is tackled through televised deliberations. In-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis are used to answer the research's main question and sub-questions.

The results shows that Egyptian private stations are owned by multiple owners, but such multiplicity does not meet the complete criteria of ownership diversity. Demographic and viewpoint diversities are missing, while workforce in these stations is partially diverse. These levels of ownership, workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities hinder most of the components that shape televised public deliberation.

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CHAPTER I: Study Overview

Introduction

One of the main roles media is capable of playing in supporting democracy is to provide a platform for deliberations about public issues. For that role to be effective and sufficient, entire segments of society and their interests should be represented and all suggested public policies and their consequences should be discussed. In other words, media role as a platform for public deliberation is directly associated to the achieved levels of media diversity.

Therefore, identifying the levels of media diversity and analyzing public deliberations in media would partially assist in investigating whether media in Egypt contributed to democratic transition since the beginning of the 25th of January revolution in 2011 or not and what impact does the media have on the democratic process.

Taking into consideration the influence and capabilities of private television, this research tries to identify how diverse the ownership, workforce, and content of Egyptian private satellite stations are and explore the main characteristics of televised public deliberation. The research, consequently, investigates whether the currently existing levels of media diversity in private television promote public deliberation or not.

Egypt's law 107 of year 2013 on organizing the right to public meetings, marches, and peaceful protests that was approved by Egyptian interim president Adli Mansour [1] in November 2013 is chosen as a case study for a policy issue that was tackled through televised public deliberation.

[1] Adli Mahmoud Mansour is the head of the Egyptian Supreme Constitutional Court. He was appointed as Egypt's interim president after the removal of former president Mohammed Morsi following the 30th of June demonstrations in 2013.

The protest law is selected because of the controversy it created in the Egyptian society. Some considers the protest law a threat against freedom of assembly and the right to protest. On the other side, opposite groups support the law because it is expected to assist in preventing violence and restoring society's stability. The law, consequently, raises high level of controversy and has been the subject of debates between its supporters and those who oppose it, since it was passed and till the present time.

Law number 107 of year 2013 gives Egyptian citizens the right to organize public meetings, marches, and peaceful protests in accordance to the provisions and regulations stated in the law. The law prohibits the participants in public meetings, marches, or protests from disrupting public security, obstructing public interests, or harming citizens. It prohibits actions that could impact public services, or public transportation, and prohibits assaults on security forces, and on public or private possessions. The law also identifies the means and the proceedings that security forces are committed to follow when they are legally authorized to disperse public meetings, marches, or protests. Yet, the most controversial point is the article, which gives security authorities the power to permit, postpone, or prohibit public meetings, marches, or protests.

In-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis are used to answer research questions and sub-questions.

Statement of the research problem

Media diversity is a common characteristic of politically, socially, and/or economically efficient media systems. Achieving diversity in media allows it to play several roles in supporting democratization process during political transitional phases (Voltmer – 2013). One of these roles is through conducting public deliberations, which includes diverse viewpoints and represents the whole society. However, neither media diversity nor public deliberation in media or the relationships between them are sufficiently studied in Egypt.

Media diversity is commonly tackled in the literature worldwide as a target of its own and also as a mean for achieving other political, social, and economic goals, such as preserving democracy, representing society's different segments, and promoting a well-functioning media market (McQuail 1992; Randall 1998; Gunther and Mughan 2000). Despite of the positive impact, which media diversity is expected to have on media or society in general, the literature does not include any studies about media diversity in Egypt either as a cause or as a mean to achieve a certain cause.

Media diversity is not a single element as it includes several dimensions, components, and subcomponents [2]. Yet, ownership is the main diversity dimension attracting scholars and policy makers both inside and outside Egypt compared to the other diversity dimensions, which are neglected or at least receive less attention.

Concerning public deliberation, it is a democratic practice to publicly discuss public issues and policies with the inclusion of the entire society's segments and their preferences [3].

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[2] More details about diversity components and subcomponents will be discussed later from page 14 to page 18.
[3] More details about public deliberation will be discussed later from page 21 to page 24.

However, research about the quality and the role of public deliberation in Egypt is also missing in the literature.

We then lack accurate information about the levels of media diversity, the quality of public deliberation in media, and empirical evidences to support the relationship between the media diversity and public deliberation on one side and the two variables and democracy on the other side.

Therefore, the research aims to identify to what extent Egyptian private satellite stations are diverse by examining the levels of different dimensions of media diversity in private television in Egypt including; ownership, workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities. Televised discussions and debates are also analyzed within the research to investigate whether the identified levels of media diversity lead to conducting public deliberation in the Egyptian private television or not and, consequently, identifying one of the potential roles that these stations are expected to play to support democratization.

In light of the availability of hundreds of free-to-air television stations [4], private satellite stations currently play undeniable role in the Egyptian society. The absence of an elected parliament, the expected place for debates about public issues, increases the role private stations are currently playing as platforms for public deliberations. The research, consequently, focuses on the privately-owned television stations.

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[4] According to the Egyptian Satellite Company, in November 2013, Nile-sat broadcasted around 700 television stations. Almost 76% of these stations are free, but the remaining TV stations are encrypted.

The purpose of the research

- Identify the levels of ownership, workforce, and content (demographic and viewpoint) diversities in Egyptian private satellite stations.

- Analyze the content of the discussions presented in Egyptian private satellite TV stations about public issues and policies.

- Decide if the televised discussions and debates can be categorized as public deliberations.

- Find out whether ownership, workforce, demographic, and content diversities lead to conducting televised public deliberations or not.

Research question and sub-questions

Research main question is:

To what extent do the levels of media ownership, workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities in Egyptian private satellite stations promote public deliberation?

Research sub-questions are:

Q1 - How diverse is the ownership of Egyptian private satellite TV stations?

Q2 - How diverse is the workforce in Egyptian private satellite TV stations?

Q3 - How demographically diverse is the content of Egyptian private satellite TV stations?

Q4 - How diverse are the viewpoints in the content of Egyptian private satellite TV channels?

Q5 – What are the main characteristics of the discussions presented through Egyptian private satellite TV station as potential platforms for public deliberation?

Q6 - How fact-oriented is the discussions presented through Egyptian private satellite TV channels as potential platforms for public deliberation?

Q7 – To which extent Egyptian private satellite TV stations try to influence decision makers and the political decision making process or, on the contrary, promote the public policy preferences of decision makers?

Q8 – How do the components of media diversity influence the quality and effectiveness of public deliberations in Egyptian private satellite TV stations?

Significance of the research

This research helps media practitioners to identify some of the jobs and functions, which they can perform to contribute to promoting democracy among their targeted audiences. The research focuses on the importance of representing the multiple demographic segments of the society and the inclusion of diverse perspectives and viewpoints about public issues in media content. The positive impacts of conducting public deliberations are intensively highlighted. The research also provides media practitioners with a demonstration for the basic components of televised deliberation.

Concerning the significance of the research to policy makers, it investigates the present levels of ownership, workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities in the market of private television. Since there is an absence of clear public broadcasting policies for organizing the private television sector in Egypt, collecting information about diversity is essential to determine the most efficient regulations, which would lead to the necessary levels of media diversity either in the private sector or in media in general in countries going through democratic transition.

The research also presents the role, which media can play as a popular and effective platform that can be used to discuss controversial and important public issues or concerns. These televised

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discussions or deliberations can provide policy makers with different perspectives and better understanding of the opinions of different groups and segments of the society about both the problems and the suggested solutions for them.

CHAPTER II: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The literature review for the research focuses on what has been written about the research's main variables; media diversity and public deliberation and the relationship between each of these variables on one side and democracy on the other. The literature review examines the relationship between media diversity and public deliberation through their relationship with democracy.

The literature review is divided to three sections. The first section is dedicated to presenting the multiple components of media diversity and the commonly assumed relationships between these components.

The second section covers the definitions, the roles, and the impacts of public deliberation as well as presenting the most recognized characteristics of public deliberation.

The third section represents the theoretical framework of the research and discusses how democracy connects media diversity and public deliberation. That section starts with focusing on the relationship between media and democracy in general then leads to illustrating the link between media diversity and public deliberation and the roles, which they both can play to support democracy. There is also a distinction in that section between the expected functions of media in a country with a settled democracy compared to countries that go through transitional periods toward more democratic ruling systems.

1. Media diversity

Although achieving media diversity is among the key targets of media policies and regulations worldwide, media scholars and policymakers have not reached a consensus regarding

a definition for it. Yet, they almost agree that media diversity has many dimensions and it includes several components (Hoffman-Riem - 1987, McQuail – 1992, and Napoli – 1999).

Hoffman-Riem (1987) distinguishes between four "dimensions of diversity": (1) diversity of program formats and issues, (2) diversity of contents and opinions, (3) person and group diversity reflecting all parts of the community, (4) geographical diversity to include local, regional, national, and supranational content. According to Hoffman, these basic dimensions of diversity leave the space for developing programs that serve each community's own interests.

Denis McQuail (1992) defined diversity as "the variability of mass media (sources, channels, messages and audiences) in terms of relevant differences in society (political, geographical, social, cultural, etc.)". He presented three interrelated principles for media diversity; reflection of differences in society, group's access to media, and providing choice for audience. So, diversity can be assessed on the amount of representation of society's segments, people's access to media, and available choices to audiences. McQuail also distinguishes between two types of media diversity; external and internal. According to him, "externally diverse media system" refers to the representation of society's different segments through entire media channels targeting limited audience, but "internal media diversity" refers to offering different points of view by the same channel targeting large audience.

Philip Napoli (1999) identified the main components of diversity, the commonly assumed relationships between them, and more specific subcomponents under each of the large components.

Figure 1 – 1: Diversity Components, subcomponents, and assumed relationships
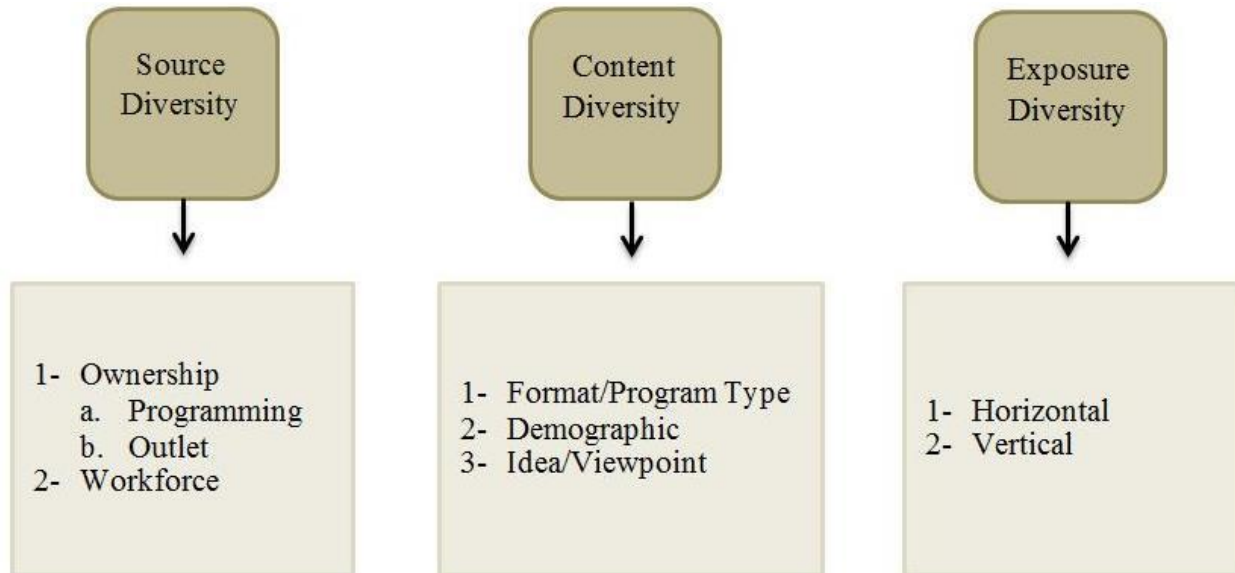
Source: Philip Napoli (1999).

According to Napoli (1999), content, source, and exposure are the most related components of diversity to policymakers.

Ownership diversity refers to what Baker (2008) describes as "a maximum dispersal of media power represented ultimately by ownership". According to McQuail (1992), ownership is among the structural components of any media market that includes; concentration of ownership which is "the extent to which activities belong to the same owner or fall under the same control", vertical integration that "applies when succeeding stages of the process are in the same hands", and horizontal integration that "occurs when competing media or media-related business are jointly owned" besides other factors that are not directly related to media ownership as being approached here. Yet, in other writings vertical and horizontal integrations are included under the concept of concentration as media ownership can be vertically or horizontally concentrated or sometimes media integration and concentration are used to express the same meaning and

refer to the case of monopoly (the control of one media organization) or oligopoly (the control of few media organizations) (Meier and Trappel – 1998).

Regarding workforce diversity, communicators and their main characteristics are categorized under the principle of diversity and its components (Napoli - 1999) because they are considered as a source of information and not just mediators (McQuail - 1992).

Among workforce-related factors, some scholars recommended paying close attention to ideologies and partisan affiliations of journalists because of the expected effect of these factors on media content (Hofstetter -1977, Hackett -1984). According to Hackett (1984), if we abandoned any preconception about objectivity, we consequently can avoid being distorted by seeking standards of balanced media. Instead of relying on objectivity and balance, we could focus on analyzing the more organized factors that build the news including "partisan favoritism" and/or "political prejudices". Hofstetter (1977) distinguishes between political bias resulting from the partisan preferences or ideological convictions of news persons, and structural biases due to the character of the medium or the imperatives of commercial news programming.

Content is the second main component of media diversity, and it includes several subcomponents. Format or program type diversity refers to the different functions of media such as; information, entertainment, education, etc. (Hoffman-Riem - 1987). Content diversity can be also tackled through focusing on the multiplicity of the people who are being featured in the content presented by media. The other subcomponent of content diversity is idea or viewpoint diversity, which refers to the different points of view and perspectives that are presented in media (Napoli - 1999).

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The last general component of diversity is exposure, which is related to the audience's usage of different media.

In light of the increasing reliance on the internet as a diverse medium or platform in addition to media convergences, some scholars began to question the validity of geographical and format criteria for media diversity (Horwitz – 2006).

The most tackled type of media diversity in both the literature and policies' arena are ownership and content diversities. Policy makers, precisely, assume that a causal relationship connects these two components or types of diversity. In USA for example, the Federal Communication Commission's policies and regulations of media organizations ownership were developed to primarily achieve diversity among other objectives. But more research and empirical evidences are still needed because the number of research studies that investigated the influence of source diversity - including ownership - on content diversity is relatively few compared to the studies that focused separately on issues related to either ownership or content. According to Horwitz (2006), most studies which investigate the effects of media ownership on the content are "inconclusive at best". Sandra Braman (2006) argues that, the diversity that matters most is the one that is related to the information and the language of communication besides ideas and not the diversity of the technologies that are being used and/or their owners.

Besides the scholarly debates, within the policymaking domain and jurisdictional context some voices raised questions on how changes in media ownership would influence the content (Spavins, Denison, Frenette, and Roberts, 2002). Kim McCann (2013) even argues that, the FCC (Federal Communication Commission) will not be able to constitutionalize its regulations

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without empirical evidences to support the assumed relationship between ownership diversity on one side and content or viewpoint diversities on the other side.

Another remarkable feature in the literature is using economy-oriented analyses or models, such as the SCP (Structure, Conduct, and Performance) model to study media diversity. Despite of the benefit of such methodology in exploring the media market and its components such as; the shares of each player in the media market, the level of ownership concentration, and the different barriers to enter the media market (McQuail -1992), investigating media diversity through economic analysis or viewing diversity as an outcome of multiplicity of owners, content producers, or program-types does not sufficiently assist in investigating the different roles of media, especially, in supporting democracy or related concepts. Therefore, more scientific inquiry is also needed to identify the expected political and social benefits of media diversity.

In case of Egyptian media, the literature shows a lack of studies on media diversity or media plurality in Egypt. The UNESCO media development report that was conducted in 2013 is almost the only study that referred to media diversity in Egypt. According to the UNESCO report; private TV stations' ownership is diverse as the Egyptian media market does not have one monopolizing owner of the main stations. As for media ownership in Egypt (one of the media diversity's components or dimensions) including private TV stations' ownership, it is commonly used as a marginal factor in research studies that tackled viewership's percentages of these channels compared to traditional television or other media, and in studies that differentiate between the news coverage and content of private channels compared to public or state-owned TV stations.

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Finally, the research adopts Philip Napoli's framework for "the primary components of diversity" as it refers to all the diversity dimensions and levels that are identified by other researchers and policymakers, thus, ownership, workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities are investigated.

The research mainly focuses on the ownership of television stations only as we do not need to sharply separate between programming (content) and outlet (cable systems, and/or individual channels) ownership. In Egypt, there is no cable television system similar to the American one for example. In addition to that, Egyptian television stations produce their own content, and they also have the final word when it comes to buying content produced by other sources, such as different TV stations or media production houses.

Workforce diversity is investigated as well to be able to fully examine media as a source.

Content is the second main component of media diversity, and it includes several subcomponents. Among these subcomponents, the research focuses basically on demographic and viewpoint diversities for several reasons. Investigating demographic diversity of the televised content complements investigating ownership and workforce diversities within these stations. But program type or program format diversity is excluded because certain television format is already chosen in the research.

Exposure diversity is also excluded because studying targeted audiences and other factors related to their exposure to media content are not relevant to the research focus on media-driven factors.

2. Public deliberation

The concept of public deliberation is drawn from the "Agora" public debates that were held in ancient Greece with the participations of citizens to discuss public issues (Peters - 2008, Voltmer - 2013).

"Public deliberation" is tackled in the literature under different, yet relatively close, concepts especially under the concept of "deliberative democracy". According to Chambers (2003), democracy that is centered on talks and discussions replaces voting-centered democracy, yet we do not replace representative democracy with deliberative democracy because the latter focuses on the "communicative processes of opinion", which precedes voting. Carpini, Cook, and Jacobs (2004) also suggested that public deliberation is capable of a "potential and valuable" role to fill the gaps that "traditional tools of electoral and legislative avenues" might leave behind.

Page (1996) defined political deliberation as "reasoning and discussion about the merits of public policy".

As Bernhard Peters considers debates and arguments as forms of public deliberation, he presents a more detailed definition; "argumentative debate is communication in which claims of particular states of affairs, explanations, practical suggestions, stated aims, evaluations, norms or normative judgments, interpretation of utterances, texts or actions are defended through the advancement of reason or proof against actual or anticipated objections or doubts" (Peters – 2002).

Blacksher, Diebel, Forest, Goold, and Abelson (2012) proposed another definition for public deliberation that includes the main objectives of it and the factors, which constitute public deliberation. According to them, public deliberation is "the provision of balanced, factual

information that improves participants' knowledge of the issue; the inclusion of diverse perspectives to counter the well-documented tendency of better educated and wealthier citizens to participate disproportionately in deliberative opportunities and to identify points of view and conflicting interests that might otherwise go untapped; and the opportunity to reflect on and discuss freely a wide spectrum of viewpoints and to challenge and test competing moral claims". Although achieving these elements is hard, managing to combine them resulted in the main goals of efficient public deliberation: "an informed citizenry, reciprocity and mutual respect, and public-spirited proposals that locate common ground (if not a common good)" (Blacksher, Diebel, Forest, Goold, and Abelson - 2012).

Peters, Schultz, and Wimmel (2004) argues that, deliberation is a tool used to create public understanding of a problem, to suggest resolutions to that problem, and consequently to rationalize public opinions and legitimize final decisions.

Other scholars refer to simpler forms of public deliberation such as; televised deliberative polls (Fishkin -1996), presidential debates, public forums, and talk shows even if they do not involve active participation of audience (Carpini, Cook, and Jacobs - 2004).

Vries, Stanczyk, Wall, Uhlmann , Damschroder, and Kim (2010) presents some dimensions of deliberation's quality; equal involvement by all participants, respect for different opinions, openness toward adopting a collective viewpoint on the tackled issue rather than a personal or individual-oriented perspective, and reasonable justification for each position.

In addition to the support, which many scholars show to the concept of public deliberation, others express a concern about public deliberation's influence and practicality as it sometimes can be manipulated, subjective, unrepresentative, occasional, isolated from the policy making process, and misleading (Carpini, Cook, and Jacobs - 2004). Such criticism does not decrease the

enthusiasm toward the theory of deliberative democracy because some of the theory's supporters lower their expectations. As public deliberation is supposed to be used in tackling controversial public issues, which closely affect people's lives or positions and suggested policies to deal with these issues, representativeness and impact are the most common concerns related to public deliberation in the literature. However, some scholars argue that weak impact on policy making process does not undermine public deliberation. Public deliberations or discussions are not permanently supposed to lead to consensus on suggested resolutions (Chambers - 2003). Yet, they at least can raise the awareness of the tackled problem, prevent poor arguments, and produce tolerance with or acceptance of opposing viewpoints (Gutmann and Thompson -1996, Peters - 2002, Price, Cappella, and Nir – 2002, Chambers – 2003).

Price, Cappella, and Nir (2002) found that "disagreement in political conversation" contributes to the ability to understand different viewpoints through either supportive or opposing arguments. Therefore, as Voltmer (2013) argues that, "the suppression of criticism and alternative views prevents decision-makers from identifying emerging problems at an early stage and consequently leads to frequent policy failures".

Concerning representativeness as the second basic component of public deliberations, demographic characteristics are not the only criteria for proper representation. Goold, Neblo, Kim, Vries, Rowe, and Muhlberger (2012) suggests additional criteria; such as political ideology and life experiences.

Regarding topics as the core of public deliberation, Stephanie Solomon and Julia Abelson (2012) identifies the main characteristics "policy issues that are well suited to public deliberation" should, totally or partially, have: "conflicting public values, high controversy,

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combined expert and real world knowledge, and low trust in government". Controversy is also a basic factor in Peters, Schultz, and Wimmel's (2004) description of "contemporary political debates involving decision or regulation".

Finally, the research adopts the "minimum definition" of public deliberation that is presented by Blacksher, Diebel, Forest, Goold, and Abelson because of its inclusion of the basic components that shape public deliberation.

3. Theoretical Framework: Media Diversity, Public Deliberation, and Democracy

The relationship between media and democracy is intensively investigated in the literature as media in general are basic components of any democratic political regime.

Concerning media and democracy, the impact of mass media messages during elections receives a big part of the attention of researchers and scholars because voting is the basic democratic mean for power transfer from one government or ruler to another.

Even if there is no consensus about the exact approach that media should adopt to support democracy (LaMay 2001; McCann 2013; Voltmer 2013), media diversity and public deliberation remain two of the main characteristics of democratic media in the literature (Curran -1991, page - 1996, Kuhn -1998, Randall -1998, Gunther and Mughan -2000, Voltmer -2013).

Gunther and Mughan (2000) describe a democratic media system as the one that should be free to ensure diversity of political viewpoints and to allow citizens to publicly discuss different issues with their government. Randall (1998) directly connects media diversity to public deliberation as she argues that, the media should represent a mean to express all political interests and viewpoints and a forum for public debate. Voltmer (2013) explains media duties

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when it provides a forum for public debates or deliberations to monitor government's performance and its use of power, to inform citizens to complement their political participation, and to act as a platform for different voices. While the informing function of media focuses on the need of citizens for information, the forum function relies on the need of political actors to communicate with the public. Page (1996) also refers to providing the public with **"good** information" besides "high quality political deliberation".

Curran (1991), Kuhn (1998), Gunther and Mughan (2000) refer to the requirements for achieving an inclusive public debates and for providing the guarantees for expressing alternative viewpoints. While Kuhn (1998) argues that, "an institutional framework and set of practices" is what matters most, Curran (1991) pays more attention to the organization of media systems. Gunther and Mughan (2000) focus on establishing legal frameworks to achieve and protect media diversity. Meier and Trappel (1998) focus on a single component of the media diversity and media market structure, which is ownership. They consider horizontal and vertical types of ownership concentration in media (among other types of concentration) and the influence of media on public opinion as reasons behind the lack of public deliberation. They also refer to governments' ignorance of the potential threats of ownership concentration to democracy. However, some scholars argue that ownership concentration may have some benefits such as; presenting diverse media formats/programs besides covering more topics (George – 2007).

The roles, which journalists could do for democracy to function, are tackled be many scholars as well. Page (1996) suggests accepting "division of labor", which means delegating the task of studying policy and addressing the public to deliberators or representatives including communicators and policy experts. That consists with what McQuail (1992) said about how

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media can act as communicators. Peters (2002) also argues that, journalists significantly contribute to public discourse through their diverse media products.

Peters, Schultz, and Wimmel (2004) described how different media formats would contribute to public deliberation. According to them, as news is a fact-oriented type of media content, it is not considered a deliberation and it can be a source for deliberation. However, as long as news get affected by lack of press freedom, poor access to information, institutional obstruction, poor journalistic research, censorship, or propaganda and biased reporting, the quality of public deliberation then can be negatively affected as well. Braman (2006) also argues that, for studying "public conversation about public issues" attention should be paid to factors related to access to information, which is an essential component of any media story. Concerning additional program or content format, reportage is also supposed to deliver facts without arguments which, but it still can support discussions with "illustrations or concrete examples". As for interviews and discussion, "they provide politicians, economic leaders or representatives of organizations with a platform where they can state their case".

In addition to what has been written in the literature on journalists' possible roles to promote democracy, some scholars and media practitioners criticized some of these roles or functions. According to Albert Dzur (2002), some journalists believe that they have to play a role in a democracy, so they developed their traditional journalistic practices to be able to fulfill their duty by "advocating public listening in newsgathering, by producing purposeful news, and by encouraging public debate" which, consequently, raises concerns about "journalistic independence and fairness". Thus, Dzur (2002) argues that, presenting accurate information and

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avoiding manipulation would reduce the possibility of legitimating deliberators' positions because it is not necessary that these perspectives are representing the whole society.

We still should not neglect that the roles that media could play in countries with non-democratic ruling regimes are expected to be slightly different compared to countries with settled democracies. The literature distinguishes between the different phases, which transitional countries go through toward achieving a more democratic political system. Preparations for a democratic change, the first stages of democratization, and consolidation or following stages to complete democratization process are different phases (Randall 1993; Nam 2007). Despite of the bluer boundaries between these successive stages, that division should be taken into consideration while tackling the roles of media as they are supposed to be different in each stage (Gunther and Mughan 2000). But as Randall (1993) argues that, the connection between media and democratization has been relatively neglected in the literature. In a more recent book, Voltmer focuses on this relationship in transitional countries and the roles media can play as well as the influence of the state. According to Voltmer (2013), one of the main factors behind the complexity of a country's democratic transition in its different institution, including media organizations, is that the transition process is led by state institutions with non-democratic structures and practices. She also raises the diversity issue because one of the several questions, which policymakers and stakeholders who are involved in "transforming the media from an instrument of authoritarian power into a democratic political institution" should find an answer to is how media can adequately represent diverse interests and identities.

The influence of market's power on media diversity and/or media as a platform for public deliberation is commonly demonstrated in the literature as well. According to Horwitz (2006) Media could restrain its own freedom through applying the market module. Market forces result

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in limiting the ownership of media organizations among individuals (owners) who most probably have similar values and perspectives (Baker – 2008). Market forces also are not necessarily the means to produce public debates (Voltmer – 2013) because the ownership concentration of media leads to the reduction in diversity which, consequently, block democratic deliberation (Horwitz -2006). As Napoli (1999) argues that, television stations and networks have the final word in deciding which types of content will be distributed or broadcasted. Thus, owners of media organizations are gatekeepers who may decide to block some media content for several reasons including the market module's reliance on advertising.

According to Bagdikian (2000), the increasing reliance on advertising in media decreased targeting each of the society's multiple segments. McQuail (1992) also refers to "external principle of structure" where differences in a society are represented through separated media channels as each of them exclusively serves one of the society's groups. He additionally argues that, "commercially motivated expansion is not likely to produce this kind of diversity, however technically feasible" (McQuail – 1992).

The literature is also full of studies analyzing how media content tackled different public issues, and how balanced was the coverage of several events and cases. However, the reasons behind adopting certain directions in the coverage or the factors influencing the content need more investigation. The possible influence of media diversity components on the quality and directions of public deliberation, therefore, needs more scrutiny.

CHAPTER III: Methodology

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section presents the conceptualization and the operationalization measures of the main variables in the research.

The second section presents the three television stations, which are sampled in the research. As this section shows that in-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis are used, the section also explains the reasons behind the selection of talk-shows instead of other programs formats to be studied and the applied sampling process for choosing research participants. The section, finally, tackles the procedures of conducting the content analysis.

The third section justifies the exclusion of publicly-owned television stations in the research.

The fourth section presents the criteria used in the selection of law 107 of year 2013 on organizing the rights to public meetings, marches, and peaceful studies as the case study of the research.

Measurement

1- Ownership diversity

Ownership diversity refers to what Baker (2008) describes as "a maximum dispersal of media power represented ultimately by ownership".

Thus, in the research ownership diversity is measured through investigating (1) concentration of ownership that is "the extent to which activities belong to the same owner or fall under the same control", (2) vertical integration that "applies when succeeding stages of the process are in the same hands", and (3) horizontal integration that "occurs when competing media or media-related business are jointly owned" (McQuail – 1992).

2- Workforce diversity

As Napoli (1999) argues that, workforce diversity in a media outlet refers to the personal main characteristics of staff/crews members that reflect the diversity of the market area where that media outlet operates.

Workforce diversity, consequently, is measured by focusing on the age, religion/religious beliefs, ideology, partisan affiliation, governorate of residency, social class, privileges obtained because of certain position, and personal political views of members of the crews who are responsible for producing the analyzed content within the research.

3- Demographic diversity

According to Napoli (1999), demographic diversity is the multiplicity of segments, groups, and people featured within media.

Therefore, the same criteria used to investigate workforce diversity of media as a source are used to investigate demographic diversity of media content. The research focuses on age groups, religions/religious beliefs, ideologies, partisan affiliations, social class, governorates and/or areas that are presented in the analyzed content.

4- Idea/Viewpoint diversity

It refers to "the diversity of viewpoints and of social, political, and cultural perspectives represented within the media" (Napoli -1999).

Viewpoint diversity is measured in the research through investigating the main elements/components that constitutes public deliberation.

5- Public deliberation

According to the adopted definition within the research, public deliberation is "the provision of balanced, factual information that improves participants' knowledge of the issue; the inclusion of diverse perspectives to counter the well-documented tendency of better educated and wealthier citizens to participate disproportionately in deliberative opportunities and to identify points of view and conflicting interests that might otherwise go untapped; and the opportunity to reflect on and discuss freely a wide spectrum of viewpoints and to challenge and test competing moral claims" (Blacksher, Diebel, Forest, Goold, and Abelson - 2012).

Public deliberation is measured through the amount of multiplicity of guests/interviewees hosted in the analyzed content and their positions, reliance on information/facts, inclusion of diverse perspectives, presenting conflicting interests of society's different groups, free discussions of wide spectrum of viewpoints, testing competing moral claims and values, and balance between these elements.

In-depth interviews and content analysis

In-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis are used to answer research's main question and sub-questions.

Interviews are conducted with the crews' members of the main night talk-shows in the three most watched Egyptian satellite TV stations in Egypt according to the weekly and monthly viewership ratings that were produced in year 2014 by Egypt's office of IPSOS international research company.

The selected stations and programs are:

1. "Al-Hayat Al-Youm" on Al-Hayat TV station

2. "Hona Al-Asema " on CBC Egypt TV station

3. "Akheir Al-Nahar" on Al-Nahar TV station

The research uses non-random purposive sample by position to include the most involved members in the production process of the media content.

The senior producer, the assistant producer, the senior editor, two editors (the most involved members in the production process), one presenter (in case of having more than one presenter), and two reporters (the most involved members in the production process) of each talk-show/program were targeted.

The reason behind focusing on these positions is that senior producers and senior editors generally decide on the topics that will be tackled, the order of the topics on air, perspectives and viewpoints that will be highlighted, and guests or speakers who will be hosted in the program. On the other side, assistant producers, editors, and reporters are in charge of creating the content. Program presenters usually play the two roles of deciding on what to be said on air besides creating the content.

The research also targets the main general/program managers of the chosen TV stations. Their positions inside their stations, knowledge, and expertise allow them to basically answer questions covering ownership diversity component since the legal documents with such essential information are not available for the public. The answers of general/program managers also assist in identifying whether these stations aim to influence decision making process, or they promote decision makers' public policy preferences instead.

20 out of 24 targeted interviews are conducted. That number shall allow validating the answers of the research participants.

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Secondly, the selected content for the qualitative analysis in the research is the most viewed talk-shows drawn from the three most watched Egyptian satellite TV stations in Egypt; "Al-Hayat TV", "CBC Egypt", and "Al-Nahar TV" stations as previously mentioned. The viewership ratings of these stations were measured including the different program formats presented through each station such as drama, entertainment programs, reality shows, religious programs, social magazines, etc.

Talk-shows are chosen in the research because they are supposed to represent the format which provides the space for televised deliberation and discussions about different public issues. Therefore, the research excludes other program formats even if they receive higher viewership ratings.

Content is collected starting from the beginning of October, 2013 (prior to passing Egypt's protest law) to the end of December, 2013 (following passing the law).

Analysis is comprehensive including the whole segments that tackled the protest law in each program during the suggested time frame of the research.

However, content analysis is conducted on two out of the three targeted programs. The required episodes of "Al-Hayat Al-Youm" TV program during the suggested timeframe for the research were not available online and the researcher could not get copies of the episodes from the station itself.

During watching the programs for conducting content analysis, attention was paid to searching for the elements that would result in categorizing the televised discussions as public deliberations. Each single time any element/factor (that is included in the operationalization measures of public deliberation in the research) was found in the content, it was counted. If the televised segments included more than one speaker/guest, watching the segments was repeated

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for a double check. The same procedures were also applied for measuring demographic diversity searching for all the groups and/or segments that were represented in the analyzed content.

The researcher also tried to identify if there is a disparity in the coverage and the content based on the phases that the protest law (the selected case study) went through prior to or following passing it.

Reasons for excluding public television

Private ownership started to be legally allowed in the television market in Egypt when the government decided to establish a free zone area in the Egyptian media city in year 2000 to authorize private television stations. Thus, the majority of these stations currently operate out of the media city free zone, which is controlled by the General Authority for Investment (GAFI) [5]. Yet, the rules and criteria for obtaining a broadcast license for a private satellite station in Egypt are unknown leaving the private television under undefined power of the state represented by (GAFI).

While the rules that organize private television in Egypt are vague, public television has its own clear and announced regulations. Law number 13 of year 1979 and its ratification by law number 223 of year 1989 limit the right to establish and own television or radio stations in Egypt except for the ERTU (Egyptian Radio and Television Union), which falls under the supervision of the minister of communication according to the articles of these laws.

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[5] Assessment of Media Development in Egypt in year 2013 based on the UNESCO's media development indicators.

Therefore, the research does not include the publicly-owned television stations because they already have their own announced rules (even if they are not the best in the present time) that clearly allow state's control over public television.

The research focuses only on private television to decide whether the present unclear legal situation of private television in Egypt promotes diversity dimensions within it or not and also to explore the different aspects of control that the state may have over these stations, which are supposed to be independent of the government by nature.

Case study selection criteria

Solomon and Abelson's identification of the main characteristics "policy issues that are well suited to public deliberation" should, totally or partially, have were the criteria for choosing Egypt's law 107 of year 2013 on organizing the right to public meetings, marches, and peaceful protests to be the case study in this research.

According to Solomon and Abelson's criteria, Egypt's protest law that was approved by Egyptian interim president Adli Mansour in November 2013 is a policy issue, which has "conflicting public values, high controversy, combined expert and real world knowledge, and low trust in government" (Solomon and Abelson -2012).

Passing the protest law caused a public debate between conflicting values "about what is good for individuals, a community, country, or society" (Solomon and Abelson -2012). The conflicting values here are freedom of assembly and right to protest on one side, and stability and social peace on the other side.

The law also raised a "high controversy" in Egypt between supporters and opponents since the interim regime announced the willingness to pass the law until the present time.

The protest law as a case study, additionally, combines the need for expert and real world knowledge. "Consultation with experts" from different fields are needed especially concerning the worldwide applied technics and the limitations for using force to achieve order in the society such as "the basic principles of the use of force and firearms by law enforcement officials" (Adopted by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in 1990). "Real world knowledge" is also needed to predict the impacts of passing such a law as it gives the government the power to permit, postpone, or prohibit a protest in a transitional country that still lacks stable and clear mechanisms for expression, especially in the absence of an elected parliament.

Finally, concerning the "low trust in government" element, there is no specific statistics indicating Egyptians' trust in their government. However, the assessment of the risk of social unrest in 150 countries around the world that was conducted in the end of the year 2013 by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) can be used as an indicator for the low trust in government. The EIU "places a heavy emphasis on institutional and political weaknesses" as the main reasons behind social unrest and according to the assessment; Egypt was categorized as a "very high risk" country.

CHAPTER IV: Findings

Findings are divided into eight sections. The first four sections present the findings related to the first four research sub-questions about the present levels of ownership, workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities in Egyptian private satellite TV stations.

The fifth section distinguishes between the televised discussions that were presented during each of the different phases that law 107 of year 2013 on organizing the right to public meetings, marches, and peaceful protests went through.

The sixth section discusses the different prohibitions and limits that were revealed by the research's participants and negatively affect the media content of Egyptian private satellite stations.

Section number seven examines the balance between presenting information/facts and opinions in the televised discussions about the protest law.

Finally, section number eight identifies whether Egyptian private television stations attempt to influence political decision making process in Egypt versus promoting state's decisions and policy preferences.

1. Ownership diversity of Egyptian private satellite TV channels:

Ownership of Egyptian satellite TV stations is not concentrated under the same control at the present time and the different activities in the satellite television sector in Egypt do not belong to the same owner. Mohamed Al-Amien is the owner and chief executive officer (CEO) of Future

group which includes CBC TV stations and according to research participants, Al-Amien owns 80% of CBC TV stations and the other 20 % are owned by partners form the United Arab of Emirates. Alaa Al-Kahki is the chief executive officer (CEO) and the owner of Al-Nahar Network. Al-Haiah Television Network is owned by Sigma Media Company whose owner and chief executive officer (CEO) is Sayed Al-Badwai.

However, the answers of most of the research participants concerning the ownership of the TV stations are inconclusive and some participants, especially those who are not in the top managerial positions, believe that ownership of these stations is unclear and vague. "Usually, there is not careful scrutiny to ownership. There is a main person in the station and there are hidden partners who do not want to appear either because they own small percentages or because they do not want their names to be linked to that business as they have another one" one of the research participants said. Another research participant also said that "I do not trust anything relate to the ownership because there are many entities involved in the funding issue. It is not simple. Security agencies give its approval to certain people, so the case is more complicated than just the ownership of one person".

On the other side, some research participants are not concerned at all with who owns the stations as long as that does not negatively influence the editorial policies and performance.

Although the ownership is not concentrated, there are empirical evidences of both vertical and horizontal integrations in the Egyptian media market that includes private television stations.

Vertical integration refers to the ownership of companies or organizations that perform "succeeding stages of a process" (McQuail – 1992). In terms of applying the market/commercial module and its reliance on advertising for survival, advertising now has an indispensable role in the business of private television and it also complements it.

Alaa Al-Kahki, the owner of Al-Nahar Television stations, owns Media Line Advertising Company. Mohamed Al-Amien, the owner and CEO of Future group that includes CBC television stations, also owns Future Advertising Company as part of the Future group. But Al-Haiah Television Network contracts with external advertising agencies. Consequently, the ownership of the Egyptian satellite television stations in the time being is partially vertically integrated. Yet, according to the research participants, the editorial staffs of these stations are totally separated from the advertising agencies.

As for content production, the three stations produce their own political content including the analyzed talk-shows within this research and they do not own separate media production houses for producing such content. They may purchase nonpolitical content from outside producers.

Concerning the horizontal integration, it refers to "competing media or media-related businesses that are jointly owned" (McQuail – 1992). According to that, the ownership of two of these stations is horizontally integrated as their owners also possess other media organizations, which by nature compete with television. Future media group that includes CBC stations, as mentioned above, also includes Al-Watan Newspaper. Alaa Al-Kahki, the owner of Al-Nahar Network, partially owns the Egyptian Company for Journalism and Publishing, which owns Al-Youm Al-Sabea website and daily newspaper. But Sigma Media Company that owns Al-Haiah Television Network does not include any media organizations of any type. Sayed Al-Badawi, the owner of the company, is also the president of Al-Wafd political party that owns a newspaper.

2. Workforce diversity in Egyptian private satellite TV channels

In terms of some factors such as age and personal political views, workforce in Egyptian private satellite TV channels is diverse. But while taking other criterion in consideration such as religion, governorates of residency, and social class, workforce is not diverse at all.

Research participants belong to different age groups. Correspondents and editors are the youngest, while presenters, main producers, editors in chief, and stations' general managers are the oldest. Age did not cause any significant difference in the answers of the research participants because their personal opinions of the main events that took place in Egypt since the beginning of the 25th of January revolution vary among participants who belong to the same age group.

Almost all research participants belong to the same religion and their personal views vary, as what has been just mentioned, so they were not affected by their religious beliefs.

Some of the participants are not originally from Cairo and they come from different governorates, but they all are residents in the Greater Cairo (including Giza) to be able to work in media organizations located in the capital city.

Few participants in the research are current or previous members in political parties or groups, but the majority does not adopt certain ideologies or have partisan affiliations. According to some of them, "the political life is farcical and political parties are false" and "Egypt does not have a real political life and what some people support is tendencies based on emotions and not on deep principles or ideologies". However, other participants support or sympathize with certain political opinions. They basically support human rights and freedoms. "It is normal to support and sympathize with any person or movement or party that fights for a basic right, which has nothing to do with ideology. The affiliations now are not ideological. It is either you belong to the revolution or the state with all what it represents including the old regime" one participant said. Yet, almost all the research participants said that they try to remain professional and keep their personal beliefs aside away from their editorial tasks.

Almost all research participants originally belong to the middle class and some of them managed to move to a higher rank within it or even moved to higher classes because working in private television stations is economically more profitable in Egypt compared to working for printed newspapers or public television. Taking into consideration the economic privileges that can be obtained through working in private television, the effect of that factor in particular could not be ignored as it pushes journalists to work in TV stations even if they have different political opinions and viewpoints.

However, economic profits are not the only gains. According to some research participants, other privileges that can be obtained through working in private television include higher social statues and stronger connections. Concerning such privileges, workers in media also vary. Some may use that to facilitate paper work and routine procedures in governmental institutions. "I may in some institutions use my power as an editor to force the person in front of me to do his job properly as I work in a place that can expose them. They should work for all citizens, but i have to use my job in media to finish regular issues" one participants said. Yet, some completely refuse to use their positions to gain any kind of privileges. "I do not try to use my statues to get something that is not mine. Some people offer to do things for me, but I refuse. Some of my family's members ask me for something and I tell them that I will not ask an official because he may ask me later for something that i could not do in return" another participant said. One of the participants was concerned about his ability to perform his role in monitoring state's officials and criticizing the government in case he asked for special treatment for himself. According to him, "I have learned in that career that whoever gets something from a source will never be able to face him and express a criticism against him".

The personal political views of the members of the talk-shows' crews and the top managers of the television stations are diverse including their personal points of views about law 107 of Year 2013 on organizing the right to public meetings, marches, and peaceful protests. The opinions vary between refusing the whole law, refusing some articles only of the law, questioning the necessity of the law, criticizing using the law against peaceful protests, supporting organizing peaceful protests without stating imprisonment as a punishment for not obtaining official permit, objections because the law contradicts with the constitution, and supporting the law to regain society's stability and end chaos.

3. Demographic diversity of Egyptian private satellite TV channels' content

Although interviewing the members of the talk-shows prevailed diverse positions regarding several characteristics of the workforce in Egyptian private satellite TV channels, content analysis shows that the content is not demographically diverse. The opinions and preferences of society's different segments based on their age, religions, ideologies, partisan affiliations, social classes, and governorates of residency are not sufficiently taken into consideration during tackling the protest law and related topics. The talk-shows conducted several live, recorded, and phone interviews with several guests who had multiple occupations and not diverse demographic characteristics.

Television programs consider demographic characteristics in the process of choosing the topics they tackle in two different ways. They either focus on the problems that certain groups or segments in the society suffer from or they cover news that are related to these segments and/or take place in different geographical areas to diversify the topics they present in general. Yet, as mentioned above, the opinions and preferences of each segment in the society based on their demographic characteristics are not sufficiently taken into consideration in tackling any topic.

Research participants gave several reasons for that; the geographical remoteness of some governorates, limited financial resources, centralization and concentration of the political events in Cairo, the expected financial profits from presenting each content, and the weak viewership rates of some age groups in the society. However, some stations succeeded than others in giving greater space for more groups and segments especially in terms of the geographical factor. "The financial resources are not what helped us in this. During the last three years there were events taking place all over Egypt, so the culture of the live coverage from different places inside Cairo and from other governorates exists now. The local capabilities and attention to local correspondents were created, and consequently you now have a basic structure to help you if you want to present a special service to governorates" one participant said.

4. Viewpoints diversity in Egyptian private satellite TV channels

Viewpoint diversity is not only one of the main components of the concept of media diversity, but it is also one of the main criteria for public deliberation. To provide a platform for televised public deliberation, TV stations should present multiple viewpoints, perspectives, and policies suggestion for public issues.

Experts, politicians, and public figures were the most interviewed guests followed by public universities' professors and students within covering protests in public universities. Government or state officials and decision makers were the third category of interviewees. Very few members of the committee for amending the constitution (legislators) were interviewed, while protesters were roughly given any opportunities within the programs.

Figure 2 - 1: Hosted guests/interviewees

Figure 2 - 2: Hosted guests/interviewees
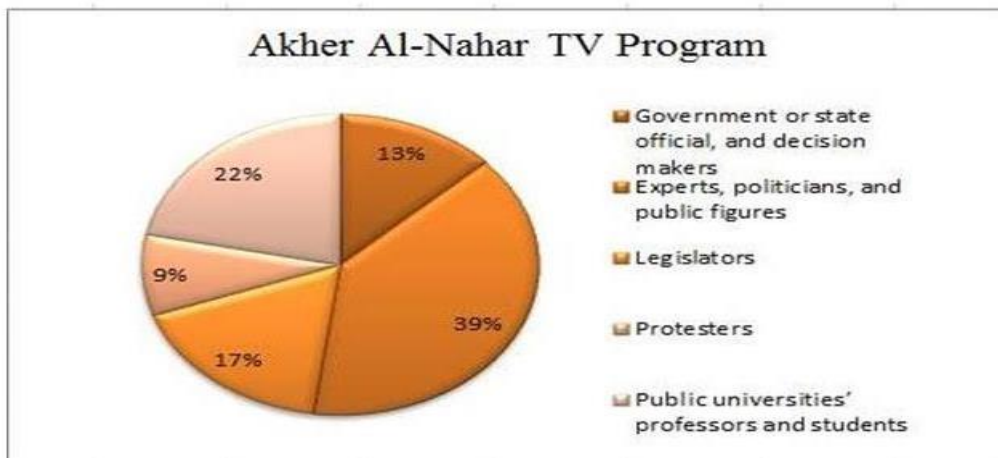
According to the members of the talk-shows', they always try to choose the individuals who are most related to the covered topics including experts and decision makers. There are other considerations they take into account in choosing the guests such as; public trust in the hosted expert or public figure, the programs' audiences refusal of some figures, and avoiding repeated guests who are previously hosted in many programs, extremists, and individuals who are charged with crimes.

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Regarding multiplicity of viewpoints, content analysis shows that the majority of televised segments that was presented about the protest law and the coverage of news related to the law were dominated by single viewpoints either with or against the law compared to the number of times when these programs discussed the law through conducting debates that include diverse viewpoints. These results partially contradict with some of the research participants' answers. They talked about their effort to include conflicting viewpoints and present diverse perspectives, but practical wise they did not achieve that in tackling the protest law. When the two programs hosted public figures to analyze and talk about different topics including the protest law, these guests were given the whole space to express their own opinions without strong interventions from speakers with counter opinions, which leaded to the domination of single viewpoints.

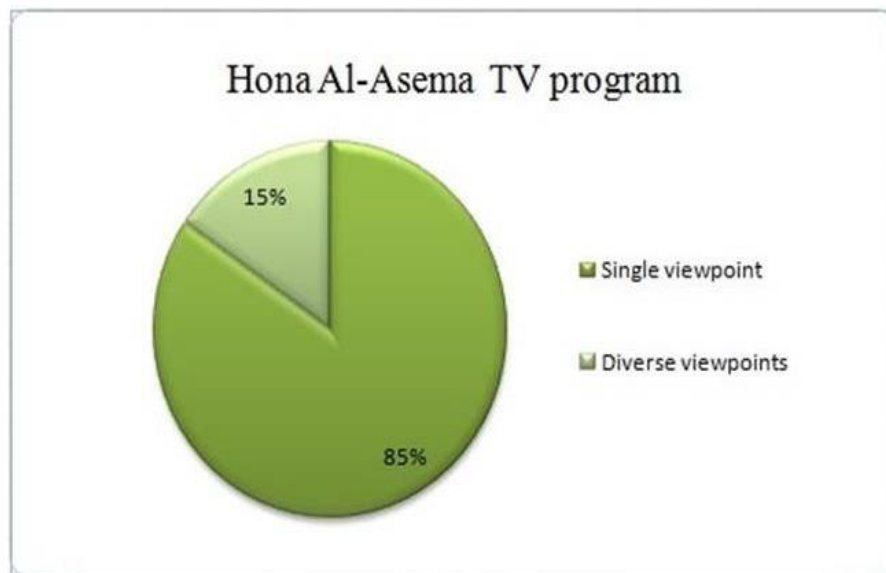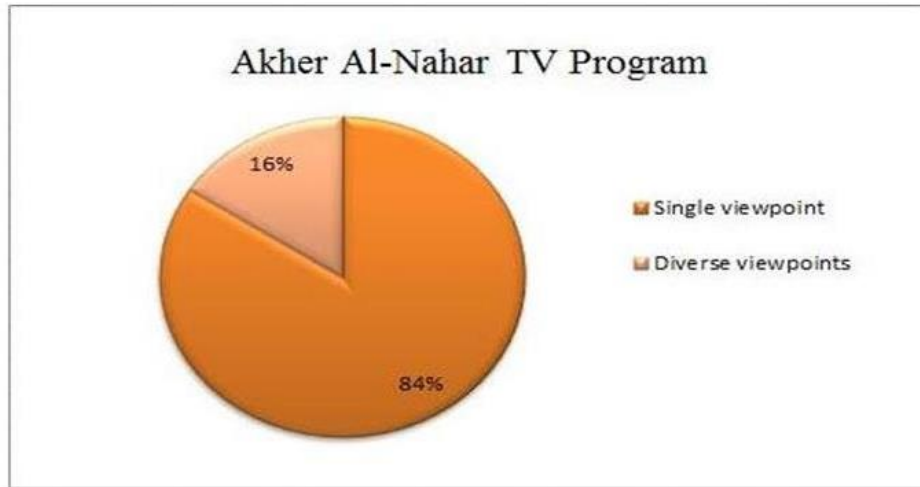**Figure 3 - 1: Multiplicity of viewpoints**

Figure 3 - 2: Multiplicity of viewpoints

One the other side, some research participants admitted that they do not try to achieve any balance between the different directions and perspectives as they are more concerned with expressing the viewpoints of the majority of audiences. "The more media get closer to the public majority the more it becomes objective. What is more important than expressing all perspectives and viewpoints? It is their real size in society. So the real effort in media in my point of view should be made to have accurate indicator for the biases and the needs of the public majority" one participant said.

One of the reasons behind the domination of single viewpoints is the programs policies regarding hosting representatives of the Muslim brotherhood group. As previously mentioned, the timeframe of this research is prior to banning the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt and declaring it as a terrorist group. So they could have hosted representatives of them, but one of the two programs decided not to host any of the Muslim brotherhood members or supporters, meanwhile Muslim brotherhood officials themselves refused to deal with the other program because of the program's permanent criticism and attack against them. Programs also have concerns toward upsetting their targeted audiences. "Even if I hosted a member in the Muslim brotherhood group,

the people refuse. People are prepared to refuse any word about the Muslim brotherhood. Both the people and the authorities refuse, so I'm trapped here. Do I present the media content to myself? At the end you are presenting a product and if there are no advertisements, you will close" one participant said.

Regardless of the domination of some single opinions on coverage and discussions related to the protest law in both programs, the two programs differed in the number of times concerns about supporting or refusing the law in general were expressed. In "Hona Al-Asema" TV program, concerns regarding society's stability and social peace were expressed by the presenter and the guests versus concerns regarding the negative effect, which the protest law may have on rights and freedoms. "Akheir Al-Nahar" TV program's presenter and guests were more concerned about rights and freedoms, however, "Akheir Al-Nahar" showed more balance compared to "Hona Al-Asema".

Figure 4 - 1: Conflicting values

Hona Al-Asema TV program

22% — Concerns regarding rights and freedoms

78% — Concerns regarding society's stability and social peace
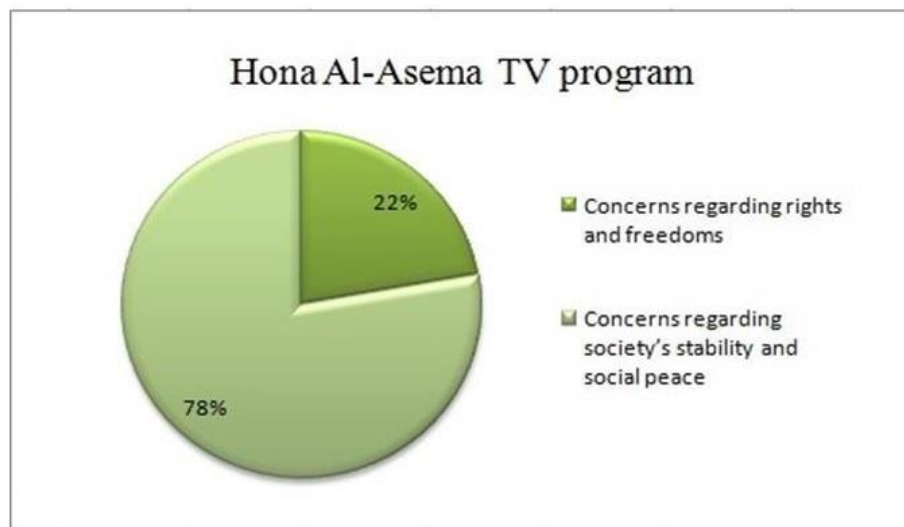
Figure 4 - 2: Conflicting values
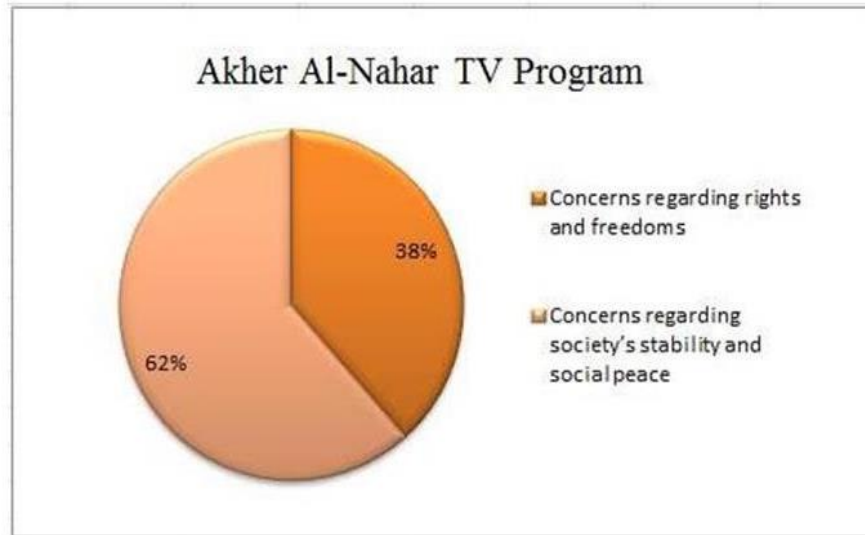
5. Disparity of coverage based on the phases of passing the protest law

Programs' coverage and discussions prior to passing the protest law

The talk-shows covered, in almost a daily basis, students' protests in governmental universities. One program (Akher Al-Nahar) covered these protests without mentioning the suggested protest law back then or tackling the effects of the continuation of protesting in general on the society and the different aspects of people's lives. Meanwhile, the other talk-show (Hona Al-Asema) directly addressed the government and public universities' leaders to make laws and regulations to deal with protests of Muslim brotherhood members and university students as an angry reaction on their violence without talking directly about the suggested protest law.

The protests coverage in the two programs did not include presenting information only as programs' presenters expressed their opinions in their comments on the news and also through their questions to programs' guests. According to the videos that were presented in the programs,

many students were involved in violent actions against other students and/or universities' staff. Yet, one presenter's comments on the news of the protests were more intense than other presenters describing participants in the protests as "bunch of thugs" and requested imposing every possible strict sanction against them.

Programs' coverage of student's protests did not present diverse perspectives and students or participants in the protests did not have any space to express their points of view through the programs.

One program (Akher Al-Nahar) directly tackled the law prior to passing it in a separate segment through receiving phone calls from random viewers. The other program (Hona Al-Asema) mentioned the law more than once through recorded, live, and phone interviews with different guests to discuss different issues besides the suggested protest law. That program's presenter discussed with the guests whether the country is in need for the protest law, whether the law allows preventing protests and violence of Muslim brotherhood members, the influence of the law on the unity of the society's different segments against Muslim brotherhood members and supporters, the preparation process for drafting the law, the possibility of modifying its suggested articles, and the expected date to pass it. But they did not discuss the articles of the law, and how the law may negatively affect the right to protest or freedom of assembly.

In general the law itself was not tackled through discussion or debates to include diverse perspectives and opinions of officials, experts, stakeholders, and society's different segments and groups especially the segments that are most expected to be affected by the law such as the youth and workers.

<u>Programs' coverage and discussions following passing the protest law</u>

Once the protest law was approved by the interim president Adli Mansour in November 2013, TV programs started to tackle the law in more details as they almost have not done that before enacting the law. The coverage was a reaction toward passing the law and not a prerequisite deliberation for passing it, and delivering opinions took the bigger space versus information.

In the coverage of the protest that took place right after passing the protest law against it as well as against the military trials to civilians, programs' presenters announced directly and indirectly their personal positions. The presenter of one of the two analyzed programs (Akher Al-Nahar) declared his refusal of the law in his on-air comments and questions to government's officials. He also showed concerns toward the great power, which the minster of interior has according to the law to prohibit protests and toward the procedures that security forces should follow to disperse protests. He, consequently, addressed the government requesting the adjustment of the law. The other program (Hona Al-Asema) did not support the law but talked about accepting applying it, supporting the state, and respecting state's sovereignty to protect the society's unity against the Muslim brotherhood.

One talk-show (Hona Al-Asema) made several phone calls with many politicians with different views, and that was almost the only time to give an opportunity to voices that refused the law in that program. But the other program (Akher Al-Nahar) did not conduct balanced debates including different perspectives as the program hosted one guest against the law in one episode and hosted a second one who fully supported the law in another episode. So such balance could have been reached only if the viewer watched these separate interviews, which we

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could not make sure of. However, both programs, in general, did not present an adequate live or recorded debates to discuss either the law will manage to restore society's stability and security or otherwise it will threat the right to peaceful protest and freedom of assembly in Egypt.

Opinions of society's different segments and groups, especially the segments that are most expected to be affected by the law, were almost neglected for the second time by the talk-shows.

Programs' coverage and discussions more days after passing the law

During December, (Akher Al-Nahar) TV program covered the protests, which the Muslim brotherhood members and supporters organized every weekend. The coverage basically focused on presenting news and information about the protests avoiding expressing personal opinions and almost without mentioning applying the protest law. Besides protests that took place in Cairo and Alexandria, the program paid attention to protests in other governorates such as Suez, Ismalia, Menia, and Qena. The other talk-show (Hona Al-Asema) nearly neglected the Muslim brotherhood weekly protests and mentioned them only while tackling the imprisonment sentence against some political and human rights activists for protesting without permission as the presenter condemned using the protest law against them and not against Muslim brotherhoods.

On the other side, both programs tackled student protests in public universities to support Muslim brotherhood, and the media coverage contained presenting information as well as opinions. Universities professors and students who were against protesting inside campuses were allowed to express their opinions, while protesters did not have the same chance.

With the escalation of violence from some students and the increasing confrontations between students and security forces, programs' presenters started to describe students' protests

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as violence acts and chaos especially in describing the protest of Al-Azhar university's students. Some presenters and their hosted guests talked about applying the protest law on the students inside and/or outside universities campuses. One of the two talk-shows presenters (Hona Al-Asema) even expressed refusal of showing mercy to female protesters concerning imposing strict sanctions against them as long as they were involved in violence actions. The presenter also demanded public universities to refuse students strikes inside campuses as most universities do worldwide.

During December one of the two programs (Hona Al-Asema) - through recorded and live interviews with number of guests - also continued to discuss the protest law and the amendments some politicians and activists called for. The interviews were conducted to address the law among other topics and they were with one interviewee adopting one opinion at a time despite the presenters' questions to the guests that sometimes expressed a kind of counter opinions. While supporting the law and its assumed role in achieving stability, and discipline in the society were the dominant viewpoints, young political and human rights activists who are the primarily opponents to the law were not given a chance in the program to express their viewpoints.

6. Prohibitions and limits on content in Egyptian private satellite stations

One of the basic factors that reduce the ability to conduct public deliberations in private television is the limits, which stations could not cross concerning what to be tackled and/or avoided.

Each program has its own editorial policy, which is identified through discussions between the members of the editorial crew of each program taking into consideration the current political atmosphere in the country; consequently, programs leave some topics un-tackled. "Our personal

preferences are not the determining factor here. The influential factor is the available freedom. At a certain time we become aware of the fact that tackling a particular topic may threaten the program with suspension" one research participant said.

Some research participants agreed that most of the prohibitions are basically related to state's institutions. According to one of the answers, "It's totally forbidden to offend the army. It's totally forbidden to talk about the intelligence. It's totally forbidden to offend the presidency. Limits are also related to judiciary and the public prosecutor". Crews' members recognize these prohibitions through their daily practice.

The continuation of programs is, to a certain degree, determined by the state's acceptance to their content and programs may receive instructions from outside regarding what should be presented. "There are things that come from the top; the state, the government, or the station itself. But this does not happen every day" one participant said.

Yet some programs decide to avoid certain topics or speakers without any direct or indirect influence from the state/regime. One of the programs decided, several months prior to announcing the Muslim brotherhood as a terrorism group, not to host any of the group members and avoid their protests as much as possible. They also decided not to host any of the figures of Mubarak's regime or give them the opportunity to "polish" themselves.

An additional determining factor is the public opinion that refuses focusing on some topics or hosting certain guests. "Some of our viewers are against the Muslim brotherhood and supporting the current regime. The following day after hosting A.Menam Abu Al-Fetouh, the ex-member in the Muslim brotherhood group, we received several phone calls from viewers expressing their refusal to host him. So, we should take our audience into consideration" one participant said.

Another research participants paid attention to the role that the station's owner play. According to him, "you can't get close to the owner. You can't criticize the owner or his interests".

7. Balance between presenting information/facts and opinions

Analyzing the content of the programs showed that information was primarily presented followed by presenters' and guests' opinions during tackling the protest law and related topics.

Figure 5 - 1: The balance and reliance on information/facts versus opinions
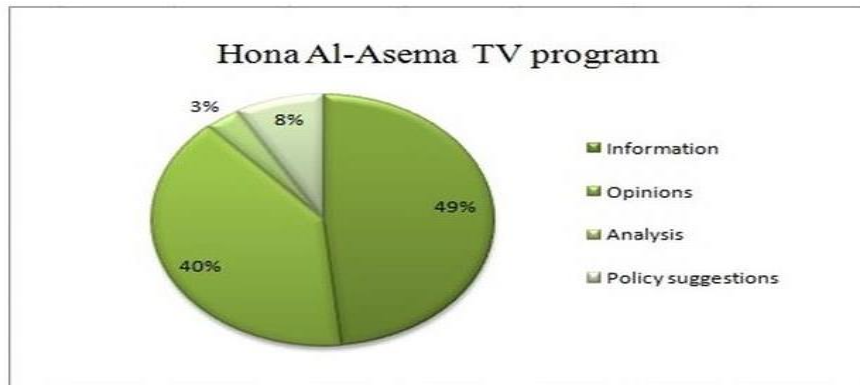
Figure 5 - 2: The balance and reliance on information/facts versus opinions
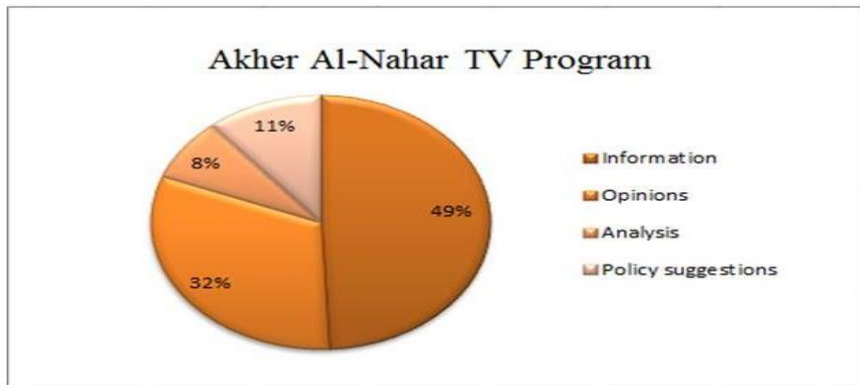
The major size that opinions had in the programs' coverage of the protest law contradicts with the crews' members claimed general focus on information. According to most of the research participants, collecting and presenting information in both news segments and

interviews has the priority as they provide the base on which analysis and opinions can be presented. Yet, other participants still pay more attention to news verification in addition to analyzing it because of the multiplicity of information sources that may exceed night talk-shows in delivering the news.

8. **Affecting political decision making process versus promoting state's decisions and policy preferences**

While one of the two programs never promoted government's decisions and policy preferences and the other one did that twice, content analysis for two of the Egyptian talk-shows prevailed that the programs' presenters directly addressed state's officials and decision makers several times,.

Figure 6 - 1: Affecting political decision making process versus promoting state's decisions and policy preferences
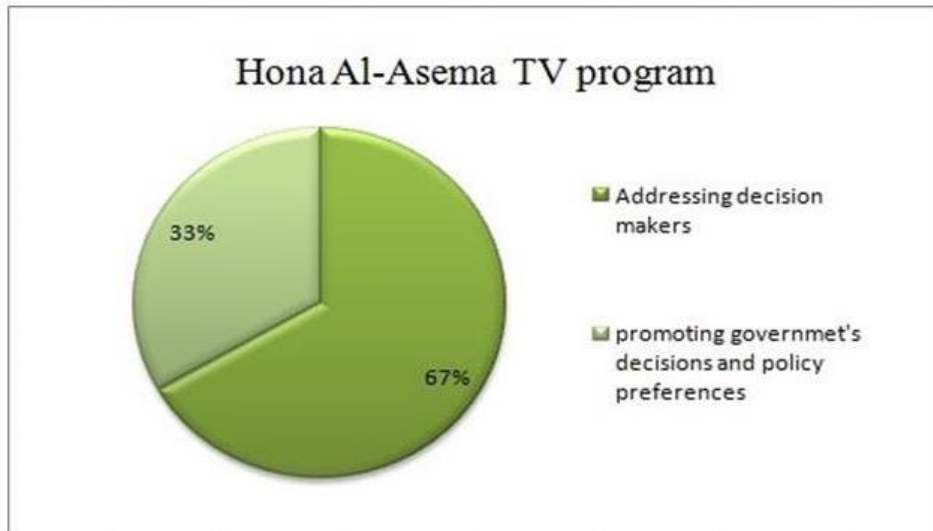
Figure 6 - 2: Affecting political decision making process versus promoting state's decisions and policy preferences

Akher Al-Nahar TV Program

0%

100%

- Addressing decision makers
- promoting governmet's decisions and policy preferences
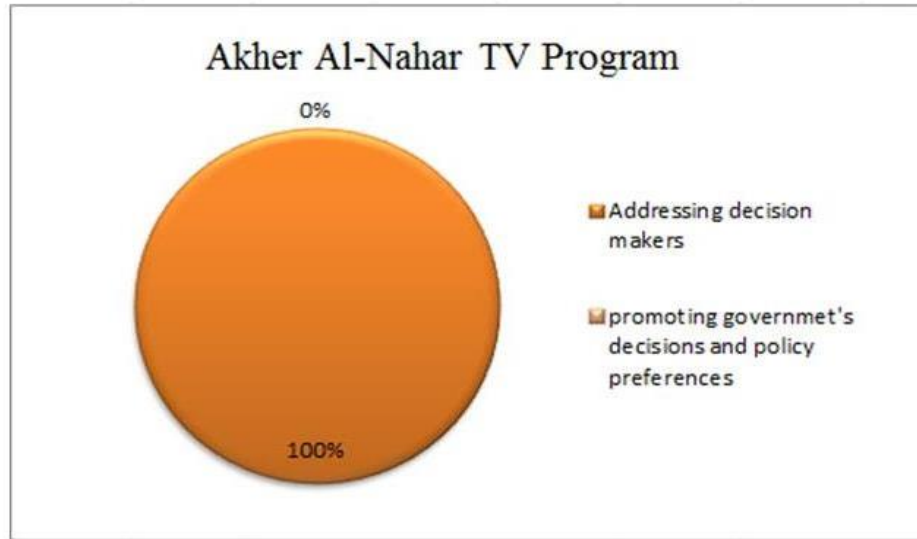
Most of the answers agreed that programs primarily target their own audiences while influencing decision makers is categorized as the second goal for some programs basically to inform them with people's needs. Some answers combined the two tasks "without interfering, decorating, or promoting decision makers' decisions".

"Sometimes the presenter decides to address decision makers most probably in humanitarian issues" one participant said. Yet there were political and security-related messages as well.

Answers varied regarding the influence the 30th of June events in Egypt had on the role of media in affecting political decision making process versus promoting official decisions and policy preferences. "Before the 30th of June we basically were playing the role of the parliament. After the dismissal of people's assembly, media became the public parliament. We were, back then, connecting the people to the regime. After the 30th of June, a radical change happened. Media started to connect the regime to the people and clarify its decisions, justify, explain, and analyze them" one research participant said. However, among the answers there was a counter

perspective. "The current regime in Egypt came upon people's request and they almost participated in making the system. So, it is not just to oppose the regime or attack the regime and if you said anything but that at any moment, you are supporting the state. I'm close to the decision maker as long as he is close to the people" another participant said.

CHAPTER V: Analysis

Exploring how media diversity in Egyptian private satellite stations could promote public deliberation is not possible by investigating a single dimension of the media diversity principle. To be able to fulfill that job in the research, we needed the sum of both main and sub-components of diversity especially because of the connection and interaction, which exist between them.

While investigating the multiple dimensions of media diversity within the research, additional factors were found to be influential because of their impact on shaping the quality and the effectiveness of televised public deliberations in Egypt.

The analysis is divided to seven sections tackling the diversity components as well as the other factors that determine the ability of Egyptian media to produce public deliberation and also influence it.

1. Ownership diversity

As mentioned in the findings' section, this research found that the ownership of Egyptian private satellite television stations is not concentrated in the hand of one single entity or businessman and there are empirical evidences of both vertical and horizontal integrations in the Egyptian private television market. However, if we use media concentration and media integration as exchangeable concepts referring to the same meaning as some scholars suggests (Meier and Trappel – 1998), the vertical and the horizontal integrations which exist in the private media market in Egypt can be used as empirical evidences of ownership concentration. Taking

such perspective in consideration, even if the Egyptian media market does not have a single monopolist, the control over private media outlets by few businessmen reflects an oligopoly, which is the power of few owners that also may refer to ownership concentration.

Despite of the focus in the literature on ownership diversity because of the ability of policymakers to contribute in shaping it (Napoli – 1999), the present characteristics of media ownership in Egypt are not basically determined by interventions from policymakers. The Egyptian legal framework lacks clear regulations that organize the structural components of private television market (UNESCO – 2013). We then should pay attention to other factors.

Market forces are the main players who cause the present vertical and horizontal integrations in the private television especially that the present integrations in the Egyptian media market basically combine TV stations and advertising agencies, which is driven mainly by television's dependence on advertising as a main source of funding.

In addition to the economic factor, political factors should be taken into consideration. Some of the research participants talked about the influence that state institutions directly or indirectly still has on them after the 25th of January revolution, which corresponds with the literature about political transitional phases. Voltmer (2013) mentions the complexity of a country's democratic transition because of the role state institutions with non-democratic "structures and practices" have in the process of democratizing or reforming different institutions including media organizations. While Egypt is, supposedly, going through similar transitional process, state's non-democratic structures and practices still exist and influence the media market structure - including the ownership of private television stations - and media practices - including presenting diverse perspectives and opinions that constitute televised deliberations. It seems that

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in light of the state's control over the licensing process of private television, political programs in privately-owned stations either receive orders and/or warnings from the state or self-censorship as the members of the programs' crews are aware of the actual power that the state has on them and their stations are among the main reasons behind tackling certain topics and ignoring others.

The results of the research also consist with the literature's distinction between the expected impacts of media structure on the content and the influence of the individuals who work in media. In that regard, Hofstetter (1977) distinguishes between political bias resulting from the "structural biases" due to the character/nature of the medium or the requirements of commercial news programming on one side, and partisan preferences or ideological convictions of news persons on the other side. Political bias resulting from "structural biases" that are connected to the commercial nature of media are partially found to be true after investigating the diversity of ownership in Egyptian private television. The commercial nature of private television stations, their efforts to raise advertising revenues, and consequently the fear of losing audiences are additional reasons that push these stations towards avoiding some perspectives and viewpoints during tackling certain public issues. While some programs maneuver through tacking long breaks after presenting undesirable subjects or speakers/faces until people calm down or forget so that they can tackle these topics again later, other programs take the easy way and stay away for good.

Concerning the second part, "the partisan preferences or ideological convictions of news persons", they were investigated in the research by focusing on the personal political views, ideologies, and partisan affiliations of the members of crews working for the researched TV stations as a part of studying workforce diversity. Partisan favoritism and political prejudices of crews' members affect the quality of televised deliberation as discussed in the next section.

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2. Workforce diversity

The research found that workforce in Egyptian private satellite television stations is relatively diverse. Stations and members of programs' crews belong to different age groups and come from several governorates around Egypt, yet they originally belong to the same social class (middle class) and almost have the same religion. However, age, religion, social class, and original or current governorates of residency do not cause significant differences especially in the personal political views of the workers.

Concerning the social and/or economic privileges that can be obtained through working in private television, crews' members vary, but the commercial privileges are assumed to have the strongest effect. As the financial profits gained through working in private television are significantly higher compared to salaries in newspapers, some journalists show different degrees of flexibility with presenting perspectives that may contradict with their values or beliefs.

Nevertheless, the findings that need the greatest attention here are those related to workers' political opinions. Research findings support several scholars' recommendation for studying the effects that personal ideologies or beliefs most probably have on media content.

Hackett (1984) suggests abandoning any preconception about media objectivity and focusing on analyzing the more organized factors that build the news including "partisan favoritism" and/or "political prejudices". In terms of what Hackett suggests, the majority of workers in Egyptian private television channels does not adopt certain ideologies or have partisan affiliations, but they have "partisan favoritism" or sympathy toward political parties and/or groups that support certain "political prejudices" and they also have their own political opinions, which widely vary among them. Adopting similar, or at least close, political opinions, favoritism,

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or prejudices is a common feature between each program's/station's crew members in comparison with other programs/stations. For example, journalists who participated in the 25th of January revolution and still believe in it most probably will not work in a program or a station where the majority considers January revolution a conspiracy. Criticizing or attacking the Muslim brotherhood seems to become a common feature among the crews of some TV programs even if that causes a diversion from journalistic professionalism in some cases. Last but not least, a reporter who refuses Egypt's protest law because he believes it threats the right to protest is unlikely to describe a peaceful protest as a sign for chaos as long as his direct manager/producer does not have opposing viewpoints.

However the political opinions and personal viewpoints of programs' presenters nearly remain the most influential factors that determine the final content, which is presented on the TV screen. This is found to be among the factors that negatively affect programs' ability to produce televised public deliberation because the televised discussions in Egypt are colored mainly by the political preferences and opinions of the presenters. How famous and popular the presenter is in the media market determines the extent to which TV stations are flexible with his choices regarding what to be tackled or ignored. This part of the findings is supported by the previously mentioned concern in the literature about the influence of the commercial-based model, which is adopted by most of the privately owned television stations. Usually in Egypt the more a program and his presenter achieve commercial success, the more power they have over the content. Yet, political reasons are assumed to be behind all the exceptions for that role in Egypt. A television program and/or his presenter might be suspended if the country's officials could not tolerate criticism.

3. Demographic diversity

Another additional influential factor in determining the type of televised public deliberation is demographic diversity.

Media should enable the inclusion of the whole society's interests and viewpoints (Curran – 1991, Randall – 1998, Gunther and Mughan – 2000, and Voltmer – 2013), but sometimes it's not only about political ideology as it also can include other factors such as religious beliefs, health conditions, or even life experiences of society's different groups (Goold, Neblo, Y.H. Kim, de Vries, Rowe, and Muhlberger – 2012). But analysis shows that the content that was presented in the Egyptian private television stations during the timeframe of the research was not demographically diverse. The opinions and preferences of society's different segments based on their age, religions, ideologies, partisan affiliations, social classes, and governorates of residency were not sufficiently taken into consideration during tackling the protest law and related topics.

Logistics are among the most expected and also accepted justifications for these findings. However one of the factors, which we could not ignore and might explain such findings as well is neglecting some segments of the society by some journalists or media practitioners because these groups are minorities. This, consequently, leads to paying the greater attention of media to the majority and their interests even if that contradicts with the principle of diversity.

Therefore, in terms of considering representativeness of the society as one of the main criteria in the literature for public deliberation, televised discussions in Egyptian private stations are not categorized as public deliberations.

4. Viewpoint diversity

As Egyptian private television stations failed to be demographically diverse during the timeframe of the research, they also lacked viewpoint diversity. Regarding multiplicity of viewpoints, the majority of televised segments that were presented about the protest law and the coverage of news related to it were dominated by single viewpoints either with or against the law.

Viewpoint diversity is not only one of the basic dimensions of the media diversity concept. If we want to examine whether media present public deliberation or not, in the literature the multiplicity of viewpoints is an indispensable requirement for that. According to the definition of public deliberation, which is introduced by Blacksher, Diebel, Forest, Goold, and Abelson (2012), one of the factors that constitute an adequate deliberation is "the opportunity to reflect on and discuss freely a wide spectrum of viewpoints". Gunther and Mughan (2000) identify wide viewpoints as one of the characteristics that a "democratic media system" should ensure. Therefore, the lack of diverse viewpoints is another factor that reduces televised public deliberation in Egyptian private stations.

Hosting state's officials especially those in higher positions might cause the domination of single viewpoints. This type of interviewees most probably asks to be hosted alone without the participation of other speakers or external interventions, so opposing viewpoints will not be included or presented through such interviews.

Regardless of the domination of certain single opinions on coverage and discussions related to the protest law, Egyptian stations managed to express different concerns about supporting or refusing the law and, consequently, reflected conflicting public values which, according to

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Solomon and Abelson (2012), among other elements constitute "policy issues that are well suited to public deliberation".

5. The provision of facts and information

Besides diverse viewpoints, information is also considered in the literature as an essential element of public deliberation. Sandra Braman (2006) argues that, what really matters is the diversity of information and Blacksher, Diebel, Forest, Goold, and Abelson (2012) identify "the provision of balanced, factual information" as the first factor, which contributes in constituting an adequate deliberation. In terms of the literature focuses on the importance of information, Egyptian private media is relatively successful as information was primarily presented followed by opinions of presenters and guests during tackling the protest law and related topics. Most of the members of programs' crews believe that information remains the base on which opinions and analysis can be presented to the audience.

6. Targets and objectives of public deliberation

In the literature the ultimate goal of public deliberations is to directly and/or indirectly influence final public decisions compared to nondemocratic countries where media could be used to promote official viewpoints and, consequently, public deliberation is less expected as media are usually viewed in non-democratic political regimes as a tool in the hands of authoritarian powers. Content analysis in this regard revealed that presenters of Egyptian programs directly addressed state's officials and decision makers several times compared to the limited number of times when they directly promoted government's decisions and policy preferences. However, government's decisions still can be promoted through indirect media messages.

While members of programs' crews consider targeting their audiences as their main goal, influencing decision makers is categorized the second goal for some programs as media play a basic role in delivering people's voice to the government/regime because of the lack of political institutions/channels, which should play such role in Egypt. The research additionally shows that targeting decision makers is more likely to be a personal decision or reaction of the presenters, which also corresponds with the literature as several scholars argue that media can play the role of communicators "rather than just mediators" (McQuail – 1992).

Regarding the role of public deliberation as a tool for creating public understanding of a problem, suggesting resolutions to it, and legitimizing final decisions (Peters, Schultz, and Wimmel - 2004), these levels or stages of impact were not fulfilled by the Egyptian television programs in their discussion of the protest law. Coverage and discussions did not reflect the different phases the protest law went through. Prior to and following passing the law public televised deliberations that include diverse political, social, economic, etc. viewpoints and the preferences of society's different segments and groups were not properly conducted. Adequate explanation of how the law may assist toward achieving society's stability and/or limit freedom of assembly and right to protest was also missing. However, TV programs started to tackle the law in a more detailed manner as a reaction toward passing it and not a prerequisite public deliberation.

7. Political and social atmosphere as a limitation of public deliberation

As the research explored the prohibitions and limits that could be imposed on the media content in Egypt, their expected effect on the role that Egyptian private satellite stations play as

platforms for public deliberation should be taken into consideration. These limits are related to the present political, economic, and social atmosphere in Egypt.

Each TV program has its own editorial policy that, as previously mentioned in the findings section, is identified through discussions between the members of the editorial crew of each program taking into consideration the current political atmosphere in the country. Programs, consequently, leave some topics un-tackled and some society's segments un-represented. Therefore, if private television is not directly used by the political regime to promote state's decisions or in other words as "an instrument of authoritarian power" (Voltmer – 2013), the current media system, the media market structure, and the legal framework in Egypt through what they create of concerns allow the state to push private television stations away from tackling certain issues and/or criticizing some political figures. As a result, TV stations are not able to conduct televised deliberation about them.

Other limits are related to the public opinion and the lack of acceptance of and tolerance with different perspectives and opinions. The research found that Egyptian private stations usually abandon unpopular issues or viewpoints to please their targeted audiences because losing their audience shall negatively affect their shares of advertisements due to the nature of these stations' ownership. That is also supported by the literature, which does not consider market forces as the necessary means to "bring about the desired public debate of different views" (Voltmer – 2013).

What McQuail (1992) defined as "externally diverse media system" that refers to the representation of society's different segments through entire media channels targeting limited audience and/or " internal diversity" that refers to offering different points of view by the same channel targeting large audience are to a certain extent missing in Egypt. The cause of the

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absence of external and internal diversity exists in the Egyptian context. McQuail (1992) argues that, the reason behind lacking "externally diverse TV system" is "the absence of necessary social and political conditions. Commercially motivated expansion is not likely to produce this kind of diversity, however technically feasible". On the other side, "internal media diversity" is associated with concentration of ownership and/or dependence on advertising revenues.

Therefore, research findings contradict with what some scholars refer to as advantages of ownership concentration in media markets (Meier and Trappel – 1998). If large concentrated and competed media organizations may have the power to protect their independence from external political, economic, and cultural influences, such ability of protecting the autonomy of media organizations is absent in the Egyptian case as some of the state's institutions seems to have strong power/influence over private television stations to the extent of suspending a TV program.

CHAPTER VI: Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Research

To investigate the role that Egyptian private satellite television stations paly as platforms for public deliberations, there are several factors that need to be examined primarily. Studying media diversity in private television in Egypt provides the chance to discover the main factors that determine whether televised public deliberation as ownership, workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities directly and indirectly influence the content.

Private television's ownership in Egypt is not concentrated under the power of a single monopolist for the time being, yet it is concentrated in the hand of few businessmen integrating these stations with their business in the advertising arena besides additional horizontal integrations with other media outlets. In light of lacking an independent regulatory body to manage the practices of private television and to guarantee its independence from the political regime, such limited multiplicity of owners do not achieve the original goals of ownership diversity, which is also revealed by investigating the other components of media diversity; workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities.

Workforce is partially diverse, yet this level of diversity has a relatively limited effect on the final political content/viewpoints that are presented on the screens of these stations because programs' presenters always have the final say besides the correspondence with general editorial lines of TV stations.

Regardless of the limited multiplicity of owners and the partial workforce diversity, Egyptian private satellite stations are not demographically diverse. The opinions and preferences of society's different segments based on their age, religions, ideologies, partisan affiliations, social

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classes, and governorates of residency are not adequately taken into consideration while tackling different public issues.

Besides lacking demographic diversity, viewpoint diversity is also missing in television programs as single political perspectives control the majority of discussions within each program. The main factors behind the absence of viewpoint diversity are market-related factors due to the market model that private television is adopting, the direct and indirect power that the state has over private television stations, the lack of the culture of acceptance and tolerance with differences among private television's audience, and the personal political preferences and prejudices especially those of programs' presenters.

These levels of ownership, workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities in Egyptian private satellite stations eventually hinder most of the basic components, which constitute public deliberation. Televised public deliberation in Egypt lacks the provision of diverse perspectives, the inclusion of conflicting interests, free discussions of wide spectrum of viewpoints, testing competing moral claims, representation of society's groups and segments, and balance between these elements. However, the provision of factual information was to a certain point achieved and programs rarely promoted government's decisions and policy preferences directly.

Therefore, the present level of media diversity in Egyptian private satellite stations does not promote the democratic nature of public deliberation.

To reinforce the role that media in Egypt can play to promote political transition, there are several requirements that should be met and functions to be performed. Conducting comparative analysis to media content before and after the 25th of January revolution and the 30th of June

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protests is suggested to reveal the roles media played and still can play as platforms for public deliberations, in particular, and to support democratic transition, in general.

Some of the significant and effective roles, which media can play during a transitional period that a country might go through to achieve a democratic ruling system are through building a diverse media system. Media diversity should not be dealt with as a single concept. Policymakers in Egypt should be aware of the fact that there are several dimensions of diversity and each one can be treated separately.

Developing transparent media licensing policies for private television stations, introducing the applied criteria to the public, developing a legal framework to prevent ownership concentration and monopolization would eliminate state's and security institutions' unlimited power over the licensing procedures of private television stations. Yet, research is needed to be conducted to identify all the other aspects of control or influence of political regimes and governments over the private media (including private television stations). That would assist stakeholders and policy makers in figuring solutions out for each aspect of the problem.

In the absence of well-identified media policies, media regulations, and editorial policies there is a continuous change in satellite TV stations' editorial lines as a response to changes on the political level in Egypt. Thus, research is also needed to decide whether it is more efficient to preserve an amount of flexibility in media systems to cope with crises, or sticking to previously well-identified regulations shall facilitate dealing with such crises.

Workforce, demographic, and viewpoint diversities are more oriented by professional practices rather than public policies or regulations. However, eliminating the power of the state over the private media in general will positively affect journalistic practices, which will

contribute to a gradual achievement of theses dimensions of media diversity. The negative influence of applying the commercial model in private television will continue, but at least we will be then avoiding the state's pressure.

Conducting qualitative and quantitative audience research and surveys on permanent basis is a missing practice in the Egyptian media market (except for advertising agencies). Therefore, more attention should be paid to audience research and the usage of reliable and scientific tools to collect information about their preferences and opinions especially as private media try to take these factors into consideration in deciding which content to be presented. That would result in higher levels of viewpoint diversity and, consequently, better public deliberation.

Investigating how the absence of transparency and the lack of access to information in Egypt affect media and news production is essential to identify one of the basic factors that shape the quality of public discourse. As presenting information and facts is a base on which public deliberation can be produced, developing regulations and laws to guarantee access to information and public records is expected to push forward the process of presenting televised public deliberation.

Finally, future research is suggested to investigate the role played by media in delivering people's voice to the political regime during the absence of the political institutions/channels that should play that role or in case of inefficiency.

Table 1 - 1: Hosted guests/interviewees:

Hona Al-Asema TV program.	Number of occurrences:
Government or state officials and decision makers:	11
Experts, politicians, and public figures:	15
Legislators: (members of the committee for amending the Constitution)	1
Protesters:	0
Individuals related to or affected by the events:	12

Table 1 - 2: Hosted guests/interviewees:

Akheir Al-Nahar TV program.	Number of occurrences:
Government or state officials and decision makers:	3
Experts, politicians, and public figures:	9
Legislators: (members of the committee for amending the Constitution)	4
Protesters:	2
Individuals related to or affected by the events:	5

Table 2 - 1: Multiplicity of viewpoints:

Hona Al-Asema TV program.	Number of occurrences:
Single viewpoint:	22

Diverse viewpoints:	4

Table 2 - 2: Multiplicity of viewpoints:

Akheir Al-Nahar TV program.	Number of occurrences:
Single viewpoint:	16
Diverse viewpoints:	3

Table 3 - 1: Conflicting values:

Hona Al-Asema TV program.	Number of occurrences:
Concerns regarding rights and freedoms:	4
Concerns regarding society's stability and social peace:	14

Table 3 - 2: Conflicting values:

Akheir Al-Nahar TV program.	Number of occurrences:
Concerns regarding rights and freedoms:	5
Concerns regarding society's stability and social peace:	8

Table 4 - 1: The balance and reliance on information/facts versus opinions:

Hona Al-Asema TV program.	Number of occurrences:
Information:	29
Opinions:	24
Analysis:	2
Policy suggestions:	5

Table 4 - 2: The balance and reliance on information/facts versus opinions:

Akheir Al-Nahar TV program.	Number of

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	occurrences:
Information:	31
Opinions:	20
Analysis:	5
Policy suggestions:	7

Table 5 - 1: Affecting political decision making process versus promoting official decisions and

policy preferences:

Hona Al-Asema TV program.	Number of occurrences:
Addressing decision makers:	4
Promoting government's decisions and policy preferences:	2

Table 5 - 2: Affecting political decision making process versus promoting official decisions and

policy preferences:

Akheir Al-Nahar TV program.	Number of occurrences:
Addressing decision makers:	6
Promoting government's decisions and policy preferences:	0

Appendix [2] Interviews' list of questions

1. Who owns the station/stations or have shares in its ownership?

2. Who is responsible for these activities inside the station/stations:

    ▪ Content production.

    ▪ Content distribution to other TV stations.

    ▪ Programs/content marketing.

    ▪ Deals with advertisers.

3. What are the other responsible entities or institutions for the previously mentioned activities?

4. Do the owners of the station/stations own other/competing TV stations or other mass media outlets? If the answer is yes, then what are these stations or outlets?

5. What is your job title, and what are the tasks that you carry out within your position at the station?

6. How old are you?

7. What is your religion?

8. Which governorate are you from? And what is your current governorate of residency?

9. Which neighborhood you used to live in before? And which neighborhood you currently own a house in (live in)?

10. How do you think working in media and your current position socially and economically changed your life until the time being?

11. Are you a member in any political party or group?

12. Is there any specific political party or group that you support or sympathize with?

13. Do the crew members have specific political, partisan, or ideological affiliations as far as you know?

14. What was your opinion of the Egyptian 25th of January revolution?

15. What was your opinion of the Egyptian military council before the first presidential elections after the revolution?

16. What was your opinion of the 30th of June protests against former president Mohamed Morsi?

17. What do you think of the protest law that was declared by the interim president Adli Mansour in November, 2013?

18. How do you choose which news and issues to be tackled?

19. How do you choose the guests for the station's programs either at the studio or through on-air phone calls?

20. What are the topics/issues which the program/station doesn't tackle/cover?

21. What are reasons behind tackling/ignoring the protest law and issues related to it by the program/station?

22. Explain whether the program's crew members pay more attention to collecting information and facts, or opinions and points of views during the preparation process of the program's episodes?

23. How do the program's crew members deal with experts' and stakeholders' viewpoints, perspectives, and suggested public policies for public issues?

24. How do the program's crew members deal with different viewpoints and conflicting interests of society's segments during the preparation process of the program's episodes?

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25. Do you think that your station/program try to influence decision makers through your televised public deliberations and, consequently, the political decision making process or, on the contrary, do you promote decision makers' public policy preferences? And why?

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