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

## **New Forms of Electronic Media and their Impact on Public Policy Making**

### **Three Cases from Egypt**

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A thesis submitted to the Public Policy and Administration Department in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

By

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Supervised by

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June 2010

## Abstract

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**University:** The American University in Cairo

**Thesis Title:** New Forms of Electronic Media and their Impact on Public Policy Making in Egypt: Three Cases from Egypt

**Student Name:** Doaa Alaa El Din Farag

**Advisor:** Laila El Baradei, PhD

There is an increasing rise in the popularity of electronic media, especially Facebook and YouTube in the Arab world, and in Egypt in particular. This reflects an important indication of the growing influence of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian society and on Egypt's political stream. The purpose of this study is to answer the main research question, which is to what extent does electronic media affect public policy making in Egypt, with regards to three cases studies. They include the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, as a result of a soccer match qualifying the winning team to the World Cup 2010, the face-veil controversy, banning women wearing the face-veil to enter public university examinations, and the Fair Access Policy limiting Internet download for DSL and ADSL subscribers. The objective is to determine whether electronic media has the power to mobilize public opinion towards a certain cause, which may then affect government action. This would allow us to realize first the power and influence of mainstream media, followed by electronic media, and the factors that affect Egypt's policy making decisions.

The methodology adopted in this study include a review of literature, a qualitative study, that includes interviews with media and political science experts, and a quantitative study surveying 238 students from The American University in Cairo and Cairo University. Respondents for the in-depth interviews were selected based on their professional expertise, and the respondents for the survey were based on a non-probability convenient sample from The American University in Cairo and Cairo University students, which represent a sample of Egyptian youth coming from different socio-economic backgrounds.

The study findings indicate that electronic media affects public policy making decisions to a certain extent and on a case by case basis. Although Egypt is a non-democratic country, whose policies do not get affected easily by public opinion, the mobilization of educated youth through online social networks, such as Facebook and YouTube, are growing in influence and are having an impact on Egypt's political stream. The findings of the study reveal that the government is paying attention to online social networks, which is indicated from the arrests of online political activists and bloggers, and its response to the public outcry on the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict. There is also evidence that the mobilization of Internet users through Facebook groups is linked to the government's decision to reverse the Fair Access Policy two weeks after it was announced. As for the face-veil controversy, online discussions are affecting public opinion and public debate, however, there is no direct link on the court decision to ban or allow women wearing the face-veil to enter public university examinations.

## Table of Contents

I. STUDY OVERVIEW	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	4
1.3 Research Question and Investigative Questions	6
1.4 Conceptual Framework	7
1.5 Background	10
1.5.1 Facebook	10
1.5.2 YouTube	13
1.5.3 Three Case Studies	15
II. Literature Review	25
2.1 Internet in Egypt	25
2.2 Electronic Media Functionality	29
2.3 Egypt's Blogosphere	39
2.4 Facebook and Politics	43
2.5 YouTube and Politics	48
2.6 Public Policy Making and Government Regulations	51
III. METHODOLOGY	58
3.1 Basic Aim of the Research	58
3.2 Sample Design and Justification	61
3.2.1 Qualitative Method	61
3.2.2 Justification	63
3.2.3 Quantitative Method	64
3.2.4 Sampling Method	64
3.2.5 Justification	65
3.2.6 Limitations	66
IV. QUALITATIVE DATA	68
4.1 Description of Qualitative Data Collected	68
4.2 Analysis	68

V. QUANTITATIVE DATA	84
5.1 Description of Quantitative Data Collected	84
5.2 Findings and Results	87
5.2.1 Examination of Facebook Users	94
5.2.2 Examination of YouTube Users	97
5.2.3 Examination of Correlation of the Respondents' Sex	103
5.2.4 Examination of Correlation of the Respondents' Age	104
5.2.5 Examination of Correlation of the Respondents' University	108
VI. STUDY FINDINGS	120
VII. IMPLICATIONS	125
VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	130
Bibliography	133
Appendix (A) List of Experts	140
Appendix (B) Interview Questions	146
Appendix (C) Questionnaire	149
Appendix (D) Tables	156

## List of Tables

Table 1: Internet and Facebook Demographics in Egypt	11
Table 2: Credibility Rank among Different Sources for News	156
Table 3: Ranking of the Most Used Methods to Share Information	156
Table 4: Methods of Getting Information on the Three Case Studies	156
Table 5: Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Three Case Studies	156
Table 6: Respondent's Believe Towards the Impact of Facebook and YouTube	157
Tables 7 – 32: Examination of Facebook Users	158-163
Tables 33 – 57: Examination of Facebook YouTube Users	163-168
Tables 58 – 63: Examination of the Correlation of the Respondents' Sex and Three Cases	169-171
Tables 64 – 68: Examination of the Correlation of the Respondents' Age	172-173
Tables 69 – 82: Examination of the Correlation of the Respondents' University	173-178
Tables 83-111: Examination the Respondents' University and Three Case	178-187

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Age Distribution of Facebook Users in Egypt	11
Figure 2: Language Usage on Facebook in Egypt	12
Figure 3: Gender Distribution of Facebook in Egypt	12
Figure 4: Distribution of Survey Respondents by Age	86
Figure 5: Distribution of Survey Respondents by Gender	86
Figure 6: Sources Used for Political News	87
Figure 7: Source of News Prior to Taking the Survey	88
Figure 8: Time Spent on Each Medium	89
Figure 9: Friends who Created a Group or Channel on Facebook and YouTube	90
Figure 10: Group Membership on Facebook	91
Figure 11: Frequency of Video Viewership on YouTube	91
Figure 12: Distribution of Survey Respondents Following the Three Case Studies	92
Figure 13: Impact of Facebook and YouTube on Public Policy Making	93
Figure 14: Distribution of Facebook Users Following the Three Case Studies	94
Figure 15: Distribution of Facebook Users Following the Egyptian/Algerian Case	95
Figure 16: Distribution of Facebook Users Following the Face-Veil Controversy	95
Figure 17: Distribution of Facebook Users Following the Fair Access Internet Policy	96
Figure 18: Distribution of YouTube Users Following the Three Case Studies	98
Figure 19: Distribution of YouTube Users Following the Egyptian/Algerian Case	99
Figure 20: Distribution of YouTube Users Following the Face-Veil Controversy	99
Figure 21: Distribution of YouTube Users Following the Fair Access Policy	100
Figure 22: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian/Algerian Football Conflict Among YouTube Users	101
Figure 23: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Face-Veil Controversy Among YouTube Users	101
Figure 24: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Fair Access Policy Among YouTube Users	102
Figure 25: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube on Government Action Among YouTube Users	103
Figure 26: Distribution of Respondents' Age and the Sources of Political News	105



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Figure 27: Distribution of the Respondents' Age and News Source Prior to Conducting the Survey	106
Figure 28: Distribution of Respondents' Age and Means of Following the Egyptian/Algerian Football Conflict	107
Figure 29: Distribution of Respondents' Age and Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian/Algerian Football Conflict	107
Figure 30: Distribution of Respondents' University and Sources for Political News	108
Figure 31: Distribution of Respondents' University and Source of Political News Prior to Conducting Survey	110
Figure 32: Distribution of Respondents' University and Time Spent on Different Sources of News	111
Figure 33: Distribution of Respondents' University in Following the Three Case Studies	113
Figure 34: Distribution of Respondents' Age and Perceived Impact on the Egyptian/Algerian Football Conflict	115
Figure 35: Distribution of Respondents' Age and Perceived Impact on the Face-Veil Controversy	115
Figure 36: Distribution of Respondents' Age and Perceived Impact on the Fair Access Policy	116
Figure 37: Distribution of Respondents' University and Perceived Impact of YouTube and Facebook on Government Action	117

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## List of Acronyms

The American University in Cairo	AUC
Cairo University	CU
National Telecom Regulatory Authority	NTRA
Egyptian Cabinet for Information and Decision Support Center	IDSC
National Democratic Party	NDP
Ministry of Communications and Information Technology	MCIT
Internet Governance Forum	IGF
Reporters Without Borders	RWB

# I. STUDY OVERVIEW

## 1.1 Introduction

This thesis was developed to address the question of whether electronic media has an impact on public policy making decisions, with regards to three case studies, namely: the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, the face-veil controversy and the Fair Access Policy. This specific research question emerged based on the rising popularity of social media, especially in Egypt, compared to other Arab countries. This rising popularity is supported by the general trend of youth and mainstream media, who are now directing their attention to the Internet, and specifically to electronic media and online social networks. It first started with the creation of blogs, which has had a huge effect on Egypt's political life. Egyptian bloggers exposed critical issues in the Egyptian society, such as police brutality and sexual harassment that were not once covered by the mainstream media. There were also several arrests on political bloggers that received international news coverage and public outrage, putting Egypt under the spotlight. Recently, Facebook and YouTube are gaining wide popularity among Egyptian youth, replacing blogs to a certain extent.

Several cases emerged on social media that gained wide attraction, including the April 6 strike, initiated by a young online political activist, and the online campaign for Mohamed El Baradei, former director of the International Atomic Energy Agency. These are indicators of the importance of Facebook and YouTube and the necessity to study their influence in the Egyptian society and Egypt's political stream. The three case studies were chosen due to their wide coverage in electronic media and the government's intervention in the case studies aforementioned. The Egyptian/Algerian football conflict is a current ongoing topic that gained

wide popularity among youth and wide coverage in both the electronic media and the traditional media. The conflict also had an effect on Egypt's foreign policy with Algeria and there was a directive intervention from the government to calm down the public, which was done through both the mainstream media and electronic media. The face-veil controversy was chosen for similar reasons, including its wide coverage in mainstream and electronic media. Also, the decision regarding the ban of women wearing face-veil to enter public university examinations has been going back and forth, which makes this case worthy of study. The third case studied in this research is on the Fair Access Policy. Although, there was limited coverage in the traditional media regarding this particular case, in relation to the other two cases, nevertheless, Internet users created many groups on Facebook asking for the abolition of the Fair Access Policy and went on a protest in the street, which forced the government to reverse its decision after two weeks of announcing the policy. The government's responsiveness to the will of the public, in this particular case the Internet users, also makes this case worthy of study.

If it proved that Facebook and YouTube do not have an influence on public policy making, then further studies regarding the factors that can influence public policy making decisions, government accountability and good governance and the mobilization of youth to make a difference are recommended. The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted at The American University in Cairo (AUC) and Cairo University (CU), as representatives of youth from different ideologies and socio-economic classes; media experts from both national and independent newspapers, as well as academics; political science experts from AUC, CU and representatives of the government; and active Facebook and YouTube users, chosen according to their interactivity on the three case studies. The uniqueness of this study lies in the scarcity of empirical work found on the direct effects of electronic media, especially Facebook and

YouTube, on public policy making in general, and in Egypt specifically. Although there is profound literature on electronic media and political participation of youth, yet their effect on government decisions still needs further studies. There is also profound literature on the Egyptian blogosphere and the role bloggers played in revealing the government of Egypt wrongdoings and discussing controversial issues in the Egyptian society.

This paper aims to answer the research question: To what extent does electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube, influence government public policy making in Egypt? The investigative questions will revolve around the emergence of electronic media in Egypt and how it affects traditional media; usability of electronic media by youth; and government's role in the rise of electronic media focusing on the three case studies. The methodology adopted in this study include a review of literature, a qualitative study that included interviews with media and political science experts, and a quantitative study surveying 238 students from AUC and CU. Respondents for the in-depth interviews were selected based on their professional expertise, and the respondents for the survey were based on a convenient sample on AUC and CU graduate and undergraduate students that represent a sample of Egyptian youth from different backgrounds.

The thesis begins with a discussion on the rising popularity of Facebook and YouTube in Egypt and a description of the three case studies – Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, the face-veil controversy and the Fair Access Policy – with background on what the mainstream media and electronic media published overtime. This will be followed by a review of literature on the rise of Internet in Egypt, with emphasis on electronic media, Facebook and YouTube, youth's online political participation, and a discussion on the public policy making process in Egypt. The literature review will also discuss Egypt's blogosphere and the arrests of several political bloggers, which is an indication of the effects of online political activists on public policy.

Following this introduction, the methodology adopted in the study is explained and the data collected is described and analyzed. Findings from the data are presented along with implications for future research. Finally, general conclusions are summed up with emphasis on broader implications on the field of study.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem and Why it is Worthy of Study**

The Internet is considered an information provider with the potential to reach millions of people around the world by a mere click of a button. New communication tools such as Facebook and YouTube generate new applications that are bringing people not only new ways to exchange ideas, to interact and to transfer information, but also to develop communities and allow for an Internet public sphere. For the case of Egypt, youth compose the highest percentage of Internet users and are perceived to be highly active.

Social media, in particular, has emerged rapidly over the past few years. It is not only being used for social networking purposes, but it is also used as the main source of information for many people. Traditional media has also diverted its attention to new electronic media channels to detect news stories and to disseminate their news to a wider audience. For example, the independent newspaper *Al Masry Al Youm*, the English daily newspaper *Daily News Egypt* and the state-owned newspaper *Al Ahram* all have fan pages on Facebook and some of them also post videos of their interviews and investigative reporting on YouTube. In addition, *Al Jazeera*, *CBS News* and other traditional media agencies, launched several channels on YouTube, posting videos of their news items and interviews. Online live streaming, which was implemented by *Al Jazeera*, has also enhanced the use of visuals and videos to disseminate stories in a speedy manner, depicting reality as it is.

Major press that shifted their venues to online social networks to increase their readership and viewership illustrate the power and influence of these sites. Recently, there have been several cases that demonstrate the effects of online social networks, and electronic media in general, on public opinion. This paper aims to answer the research question: **To what extent does electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube, influence government public policy making in Egypt?**

The cases that will be studied in this paper aim to reflect the importance of electronic media in Egypt and its power to influence public opinion and public policy. These cases include the recent tensions between Egypt and Algeria as a result of a soccer match qualifying the winning team for the World Cup 2010; the face-veil controversy, where numerous Facebook groups and campaigns on YouTube were created to influence the decision made by former Grand Sheikh of Al-Azhar Mohamed Tantawi to ban students wearing face-veil from entering public university examination halls; and the reversed government decision to limit Internet downloads for DSL and ADSL subscribers.

Traditionally, public outcry is usually caused by numerous news reports in the press or heated debates on television talk shows. Then several years back, blogging became a venue for political activists to voice their concerns on several political and social problems in Egypt and the Egyptian regime in general. Followed by the blogging trend, Facebook groups and videos on YouTube started to emerge as popular venues for discussion allowing youth and the public to vent their anger towards a certain issue in society and to voice their opinion out loud.

In the above cases, electronic media ran heavy coverage on the three case studies, creating Facebook groups and fan pages, in addition to uploading videos on YouTube, adding visuals, which has been an important element in social networking sites.

Coverage in electronic media was also complemented by coverage in traditional media, both in the national and the independent press. Coverage of the three case studies and public debate has some way or another urged the government to respond. Therefore, this paper aims to study these cases further, through exploration and extensive investigations to understand how and why the government took certain actions towards the Egyptian/Algerian tensions, the face-veil controversy and the limited Internet download. This paper aims to study the phenomena and to delve further into the influence and power of electronic media on public policy making in Egypt.

### **1.3 Major Research Question and Investigative Questions**

To achieve the study purpose, a main research question was formulated as such:

- To what extent does electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube, influence government public policy making in Egypt?

The main research question was translated into a number of investigative questions:

1. How does the emergence of electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube, affect traditional media and public opinion?
2. Where do people, especially youth, get their information and what are the most controversial/heated debates conducted on Facebook and YouTube? How much do they trust and depend on the rising trend of online social networks?
3. How does the Egyptian government monitor the Internet, in particular, online social networks such as Facebook and YouTube, and what are the rules and regulations imposed by the government?



4. How did the numerous groups on Facebook and YouTube increase or cause the tension between Egypt and Algeria following the problematic soccer match in 2009, and how did this tension affect government actions?
5. How did the awareness campaigns on Facebook and YouTube on personal and religious freedom affect the court decision to ban face-veil in public universities?
6. How effective were the online groups calling for the cancellation of the Fair Access Policy and what were the measures taken by the government to reverse its decision?

#### **1.4 Conceptual Framework**

The following is a list of definitions of the main terms used in this research paper and the way in which it will be used in this study.

##### **Public Policy**

##### **Literature Definition**

- Whatever governments choose to do or not to do (Birkland, 2005, p. 18)
- Public Policy consists of political decisions for implementing programs to achieve societal goals (Birkland, 2005, p. 18)
- Stated mostly simply, public policy is the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence of the life of citizens (Birkland, 2005, p. 18)

##### **Operational Definition**

- Public policy in this paper is identified by decisions government take towards certain issues. In this paper, it will focus on the government decision towards the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, the face-veil controversy and the Fair Access Policy.

## **Electronic Media**

### **Literature Definition**

- Electronic media has been identified as a pipe-line; a carrier of messages, that includes electronic text, voice and even visual channel components. (Griffith & Northcraft, 1994, p.272).

### **Operational Definition**

- Electronic media in this paper is defined as a new form of online newsroom, where people can get information on what is happening around the world through the Internet, create discussion groups and awareness campaigns through visual material that include videos and audio. Electronic media in this paper will focus on online social networks namely Facebook and YouTube.

## **Traditional Media**

### **Literature Definition**

- The reference traditional media invariably includes major newspapers and broadcast media (Vlahos, 2005).

### **Operational Definition**

- In this paper, traditional media is defined as the types of media that people are traditionally used to for getting information on what is happening in society and that reaches a large number of people. They include television, radio and print newspapers.

## Public Agenda

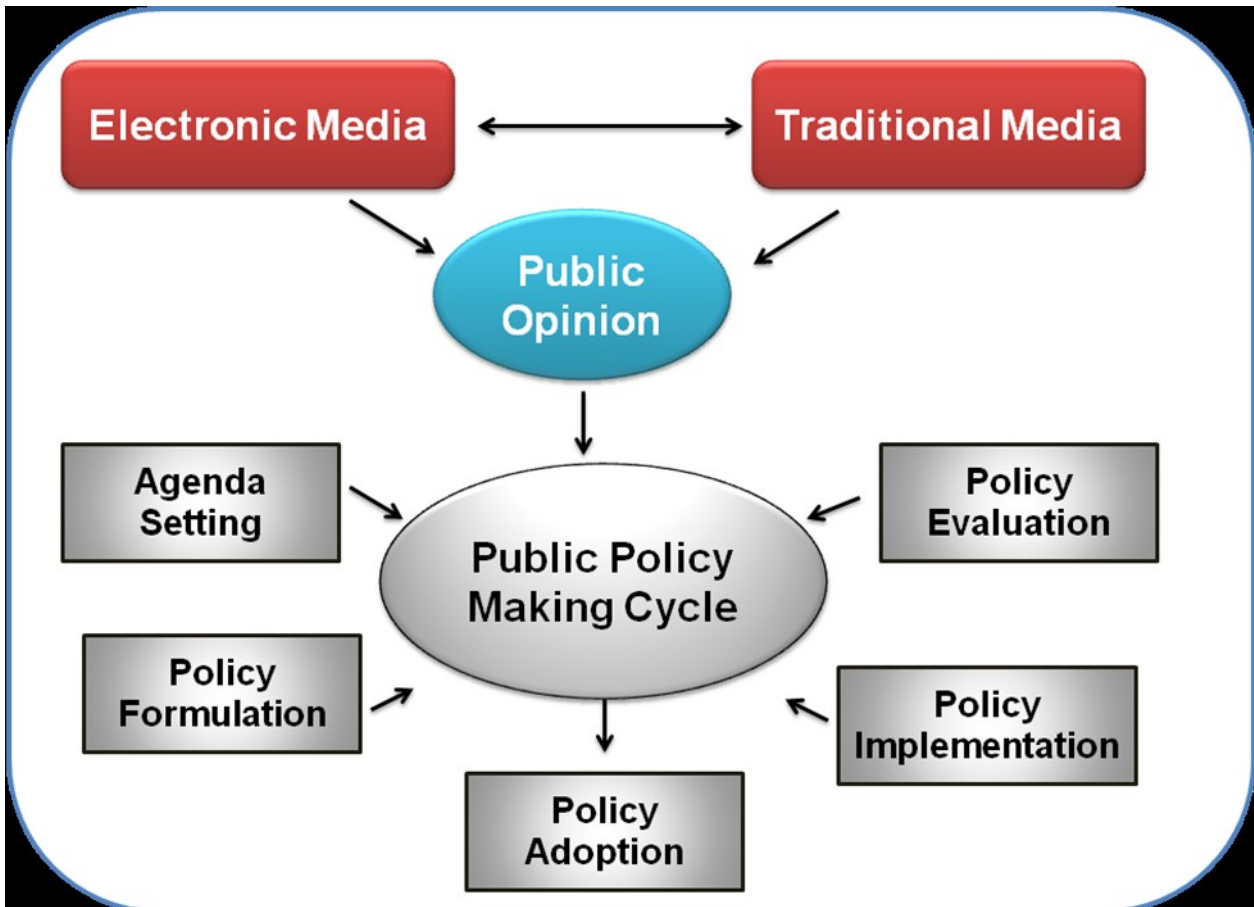
### Literature Definition

- The set of issues that people happen to have in their heads at any given time is when we can say that a "public agenda" exists. (Schuler, 2008, p. 207).

### Operational Definition

- Topics or issues that are concerning the public and are being discussed in both traditional media and electronic media.

Below is a perceived model of how electronic media affects public policy making and the different steps included in the policy making cycle.



## 1.5 Background

### 1.5.1 Facebook

Facebook is a relatively new online social network web site that was established in February 2004 by Harvard students. It allows users to create personal profiles and interact with one another by sharing information, posting photos and creating groups and fan pages of mutual interest. Facebook was originally established to serve university students, but in September 2006, it expanded allowing for global registration. Since then, Facebook grew rapidly becoming very popular among the young generation and university students in particular. According to the Egyptian Cabinet Information Decision Support Center (IDSC), until February 2010, there were around 400 million users worldwide, each with an average of 130 friends and an average of eight friends requests a month. Facebook users usually spend 55 minutes daily on Facebook and join an average of 13 groups and include around 35 million status updates daily. There are around 5.3 billion fan pages. On a monthly basis, Facebook users upload around 3 billion photos, announce around 3.5 million events and every Facebook user is invited to an average of three events. Statistics show that 70% of Facebook users are outside the United States and around 100 million users use their mobile phones to access Facebook (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and Challenges, IDSC, 2010).

In Egypt, Facebook is the second highest web site that is used after Google (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and Challenges, 2010). According to the report, Middle East and Africa Facebook Demographics, published by Spot On Public Relations, a Dubai-based marketing and communications agency, there are now more Facebook users in the Arab world than newspaper readers. According to the study, there are now 15 million subscribers on Facebook in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, which surpasses regional Arabic, English and French

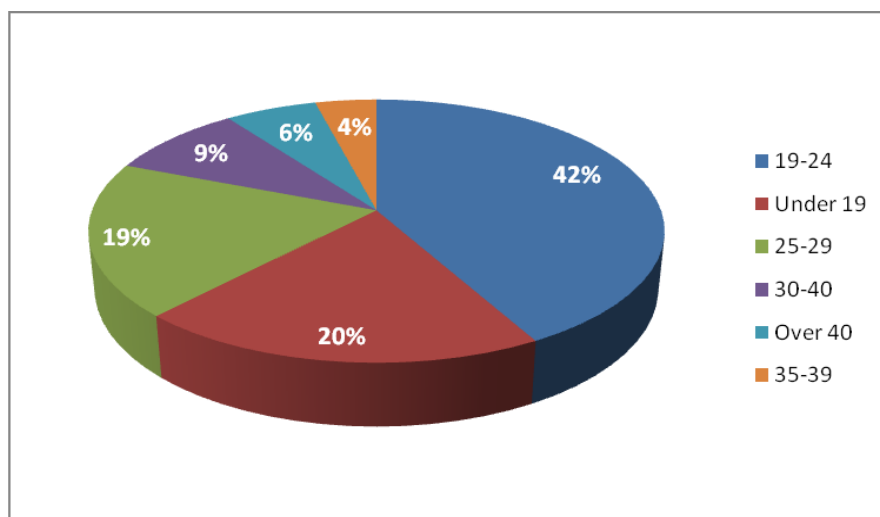
newspaper circulation stands, which fall under 14 million copies (Facebook Reach Beats Newspapers in Middle East and North Africa). “Egypt’s 3.5 million Facebook subscribers help to make North Africa the largest Facebook community in MENA accounting for 7.7 million out of a total of 15 million MENA users,” (Facebook Reach Beats Newspapers in Middle East and North Africa). According to Spot on Public Relations study, Egypt’s Facebook community is growing at a rate of more than 100% per year.

**Table 1: Internet and Facebook Demographics in Egypt**

Facebook users	3,359,660
Percent of Internet users	20%
Percent of population	4%
Site rank (Alexa.com)	2 <sup>nd</sup>
Total Internet users (Dec '09)	16,636,000
Total population (2009)	78,866,635

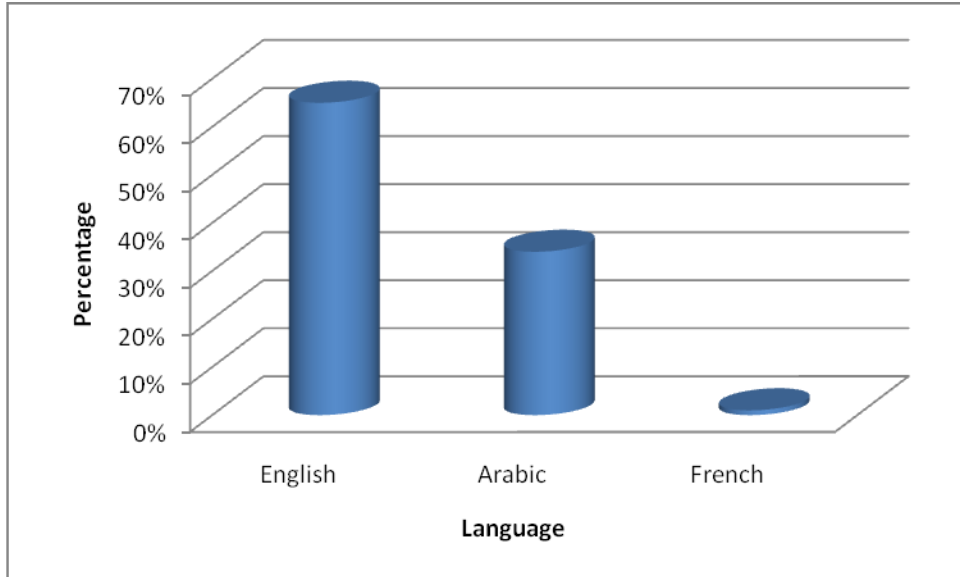
*Note: All above figures May '10 unless otherwise stated; Source: Spot On Public Relations*

**Figure 1: Age Distribution of Facebook Users in Egypt**



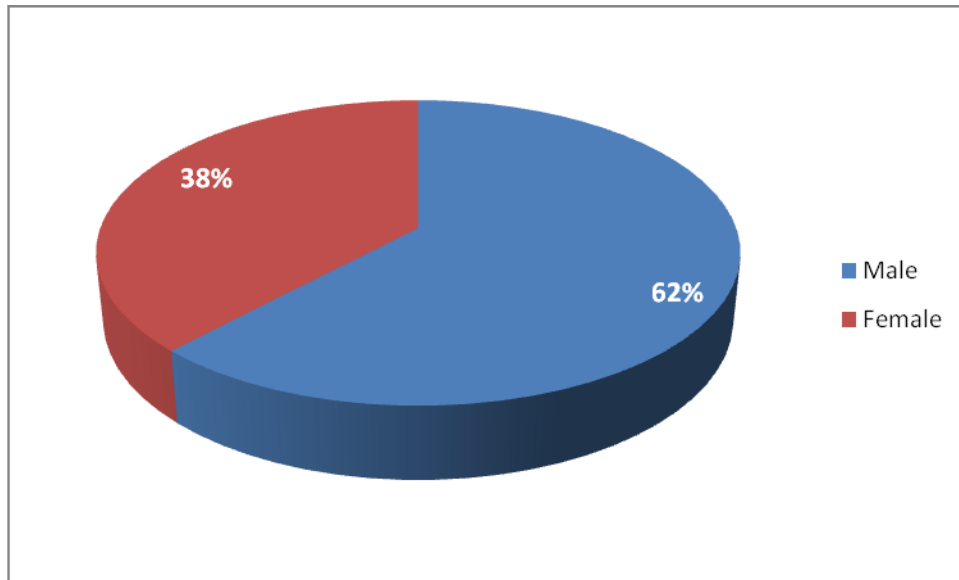
*Source: Spot On Public Relations*

**Figure 2: Language Usage on Facebook in Egypt**



*Source: Spot On Public Relations*

**Figure 3: Gender Distribution of Facebook in Egypt**



*Source: Spot On Public Relations*

By mid-January 2010, the age range for Facebook users was 65% for users between 19 and 30 years old; 19% between 13 and 19 years old; 14% between 30 and 50 years old; and 2% for 50 years old and more (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and Challenges, 2010). A lot of traditional media in Egypt has been using Facebook to distribute their news stories to a wider audience. This includes the main newspaper *Al Ahram* with around 3,409 fans, the opposition newspapers *Al Masry Al Youm* (Arabic edition) with 1,205 fans, *Al Masry Al Youm, English* with 1,321 and *Daily News Egypt* with 1,367 fans.

### **1.5.2 YouTube**

The emergence of YouTube has facilitated the new addition of visuals to news stories, which has become a very important element in covering news stories both in the mainstream media and electronic media. According to the IDSC report, YouTube is the number two web site used on a regional level, and it ranks 23<sup>rd</sup> on an international level, where Egyptians compose 1% of YouTube users worldwide (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and Challenges, 2010). Launched in February 2005, there are around 150 to 200 thousand videos posted daily on YouTube with an average of 2 minutes and 46 minutes and an average age group of 27 years old, according to March 2008 statistics provided by IDSC. The videos range according to the following criteria, music (20%); entertainment (19%); personal blogs and personal video entries (14%); comedy (13%); sports (7%); education (6%); cars (5%); movies (5%); news (3%); how to (3%); animals (2%); science (2%); and travel (1%). There are several languages used on YouTube including English, which accounts for 48%, Spanish with 14%, Dutch with 4%; German with 3%; and Portuguese with 3% (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and Challenges, 2010).

YouTube in Egypt is also very popular, where it ranks the fourth most visited web site, according to Alexa, after Google, Facebook and Yahoo. Traditional media use YouTube to post videos of their news stories. For instance, *Al Masry Al Youm* posted a video on YouTube showing the slaughter of pigs to avoid the H1N1 virus from entering Egypt, *Daily News Egypt* posted a video on the first H1N1 patients that were quarantined at AUC dormitory in Zamalek district in Egypt, Cairo, and *Al Jazeera* posted a video on the problems women wearing face-veil encounter.

Studies show that YouTube has great impact on Internet traffic nowadays, different from other video uploading web sites. “YouTube videos have noticeably different statistics compared to traditional streaming videos, ranging from length and access pattern, to their growth trend and active life span” (Cheng, Dale & Liu, 2008). Researchers argue that the social networking in YouTube videos is the key driving factor behind its success. YouTube’s huge success also lies in the combination of rich media, in addition to their social networks. These sites have created a video community on the web, where anyone can be a star ... With no doubt, they are reshaping popular culture and the way people surf the Internet” (Cheng, Dale & Liu, 2008). Although online videos existed for a long time, yet uploading, managing, sharing and watching videos has been the main characteristics of YouTube which made them so popular. Researchers argue that videos distributed by traditional media were “standalone units of content...not connected to other related videos” (Cheng, Dale & Liu, 2008), whereas, tagging relevant videos with similar title, description or tags can lead to the creation of hundred related videos. YouTube also allows its users to become participatory and creative, post comments, tag uploaded videos with keywords, create links to the videos uploaded or embed them in blogs, Facebook or other online social networks. All this allows for new social aspects to the videos uploaded on YouTube.



“Consequently, popular videos can rise to the top in a very organic fashion. The social network existing in YouTube further enables communities and groups, as videos are no longer independent from each other, and neither are users. This has substantially contributed to the success of YouTube and similar sites” (Cheng, Dale & Liu, 2008). The benefit of social networking is what scholars call *small-world* phenomenon, which refers to the belief that everyone is linked together by short chains of connections or links (Cheng, Dale & Liu, 2008).

### 1.5.3 Three Case Studies

The following section discusses the three case studies chosen for this research, including the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, the face-veil controversy and the Fair Access Policy. These cases were selected due to their unique coverage in the media and especially in social media. The *Egyptian/Algerian football conflict* was widely covered by the mainstream media, electronic media and social media. Facebook groups and YouTube videos on the problematic football game between Egypt and Algeria gained a lot of popularity among the public and the mainstream media. Posts on Facebook and YouTube and the calling for action by the Egyptian government shifted to the streets, where there was a protest by Egyptians in front of the Algerian embassy in Zamalek district, Cairo, and there was a lot of violence imposed on Egyptians living in Algeria. The *face-veil controversy* has been covered in the media for several years and there are numerous groups on Facebook and videos on YouTube commenting on the recent decision by former Grand Sheikh of al-Azhar Mohamed Tantawi to ban women wearing face-veil to enter university examination halls. The above two cases gained wide popularity in different forms of media, which makes the two former cases worthy of study. The third case focusing on the Fair Access Policy gained a lot of popularity among Internet users, where numerous groups were created on Facebook asking the government to reverse the decision to limit Internet download,

followed by street protests against the policy. This case was also selected to study the influence of Internet users on government decisions.

### **Case1: Egypt/Algeria Football Match**

The first case for this paper will discuss the recent Egyptian/Algerian tensions that arose due to a soccer match to qualify the winning team for the World Cup 2010. According to *The Los Angeles Times*, the soccer violence started on Saturday, November 14, 2009 when Egyptians threw stones at a bus carrying Algerian players from the Cairo airport to the city's stadium before an earlier qualifying match between the two teams. Three Algerian players were injured during this incident (*Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 19, 2009). Following this, there were several attacks by Algerian soccer fans on Egyptians living and working in Algeria. There were attacks on Orascom Telecom Holdings, Egyptian company owned by Egyptian businessman Naguib Sawiris, and Egypt's main airlines based in Algeria (*Reuters*, Nov. 16, 2009). According to *Reuters*, there were reported claims by the Algerian media that Algerian supporters died after the Egyptian attacks following the November 14 match. However, "Abdelkader Hadjar, Algerian ambassador to Egypt, was quoted as saying by Algeria's official news agency APS that he had found no evidence of fatalities, but that 50 travelling supporters were injured while in Cairo," (*Reuters*, Nov. 16, 2009). After Egypt's victory over Algeria 1-0, another match was played in Khartoum, Sudan, a neutral country, for the final draw on who would make it to the World Cup. Egyptian supporters were beaten up in Khartoum and Egyptian news reports published and broadcast numerous stories told by Egyptian soccer fans in Khartoum who were harassed by stone throwing and other inappropriate means. Egypt's foreign ministry spokesman Hossam Zaki informed Hadjar of "Egypt's extreme displeasure with the assaults on Egyptian citizens who went to Khartoum to support the Egyptian team ... Egypt also expressed its outrage and its

denunciation after continuing reports and many appeals from Egyptian citizens residing in Algeria over the assaults and intimidation they face," stated in the statement to Hadjar (quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, Nov.16, 2009). *The Los Angeles Times* reported that some Egyptian fans who went to Sudan to watch the match were forced to find shelter in homes and villas offered by Sudanese residents until the situation calmed down. "Egyptian Health Minister Hatem El Gabaly said that 21 Egyptians were injured as a result of the post-match assaults," (quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 16, 2009). After Egypt's loss in the qualifying match for the World Cup 2010 held in Sudan, Egypt protestors threw stones and firebombs at police near the Algerian embassy in Cairo on November 20, wounding 10 officers and 24 policemen (*Al Arabiya News Channel*, Nov. 20, 2009). Arab League chief Amr Moussa issued a statement calling Egyptians to calm down in this increased tension between Egypt and Algeria. "I call for a return to calm and reason on the Arab street. The affair must be restored to its true proportions, after all the Egyptians like the Algerians are Arabs," said Moussa in Dubai for a forum organized by the World Economic Conference (quoted in *Al Arabiya News Channel*, Nov. 20, 2009). This public outcry – both in the electronic media and traditional media - affected Egypt's foreign policy towards Algeria where Egypt's Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit summoned Algeria's ambassador in Cairo to express "extreme dismay" over the attacks in Khartoum and Egypt's ambassador in Algeria, Abdul-Aziz Seif al-Nasr, was instructed to return to Egypt for consultations, reported in *Ashark Al Awsat* (Egyptian Soccer Fans Riot against Algeria, Nov. 20, 2009). Also, President Hosni Mubarak delivered a speech in front of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council saying that the dignity of Egyptians is part of the dignity of Egypt and vowed that Egypt will not tolerate insults against its citizens abroad. However, he did not directly

mention Algeria (*Global Voices*, Egypt: President Mubarak and the Egyptian Dignity, Nov. 24, 2009).

Both Algeria and Egypt filed complaints to FIFA with regards to what happened to Algerians in Egypt and what happened to Egyptians in Sudan. Upon writing this thesis, FIFA banned Egypt from playing in Cairo for two World Cup qualifiers and that Egypt must stage its first two home matches in qualifying for the 2014 finals at least 100 kilometers from the capital, and fined the Egyptian federation \$88,000 (*Daily News Egypt*, May 19, 2010). FIFA's disciplinary panel said Egypt's federation "failed to take all the necessary security precautions to ensure the safety of the Algerian delegation" (*Daily News Egypt*, May 19, 2010). As quoted in *Daily News Egypt*, "The bus windows were smashed and four members of the Algerian delegation, including three players, were injured," FIFA said in a statement. It also added that security and order in Cairo International Stadium, which had a declared attendance of 75,000, "were not guaranteed," FIFA said. "An excessive number of spectators were granted access to the stadium, and the entrances and stairways were obstructed. Furthermore, at the end of the match, the bus of the Algerian delegation was detained for over 45 minutes," (quoted in *Daily News, Egypt*, May 19, 2010).

News reports on the incidents that took place prior and post the soccer matches between Egypt and Algeria were covered widely by all forms of media including national, independent, opposition newspapers, electronic media, Facebook and YouTube, as well as satellite and national television. Numerous articles and opinion pieces were published analyzing what happened between Egypt and Algeria, where some were flaming the situation even more, while others were denouncing the role of media in escalating the tension between both countries. Many

of the news reports were published in electronic media, such as *Al Ahram's* online news site, *Al Masry Al Youm*, *Daily News Egypt* and *Al Shorouk*. Also, Algerians and Egyptians uploaded videos on YouTube insulting the other party, creating songs mocking the other party, uploading photos and creating groups defaming each other. All incidents that occurred between Egyptians and Algerians were uploaded on both forms of media to reach a larger audience and many of the talk shows aired on both national television and Egyptian satellite channels that discussed this issue were also uploaded on YouTube and Facebook.

Egyptian papers ran front-page stories with pictures of injured fans and headlines announcing Algerian attacks on Egyptians in Sudan. Prominent talk shows, including *Al Mehwar's* 90 minutes show, *Al Kahira Al Youm* on *Orbit*, *Beit Beita* on Channel 1 and *Al Ashera Masa'an* on *Dream 2* discussed what happened in Sudan and invited intellectuals, soccer players and media officials to provide their analysis. Alaa Mubarak, son of Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak called on television host Khalid El-Gandour's live TV sports show on Dream TV1 to denounce what happened in Sudan. He was quoted as saying, "There is nothing called Arab nationalism or brotherhood, this is just talk, that doesn't mean anything in reality.... When Algerians learn how to speak Arabic they can then come and say that they are Arabs," (quoted in *The Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 25, 2009). The above talk shows were all uploaded on YouTube and Facebook receiving numerous comments from fans and subscribers. Also members of Facebook and YouTube created many groups on the issue some escalating the tension while only few were trying to calm down the tension between the two nations. Some groups managed to attract 40,000 members, while others attracted up to 2,000 members. Facebook users uploaded videos and wrote notes and created discussion boards on Facebook.

In the weeks following the matches, “Egyptian media waged an all-out verbal war against Algeria with Alaa Mubarak calling for the severance of diplomatic ties,” (*Al Masry Al Youm*, Jan. 28, 2010). Later on, the media changed its tone completely avoiding the aggressive violent tone and the severe criticism of Algeria. This was reported in *Al Masry Al Youm* clearly stating that the media was telling a different story “insisting that the sensational Sudan incident should be forgotten ... avoiding direct criticism of Algeria and its team and highlighting government efforts to guarantee the safety of Egyptians in Algeria and Algerians in Egypt” (*Al Masry Al Youm*, Jan. 28, 2010). In the print media, especially in the national state dailies *Al Ahram* and *Al Akhbar*, the hard work of the Egyptian team was highlighted and team coach Hassan Shehata was quoted in both newspapers saying that the match was "not a war," and that his main concern was to give a good impression of two Arab teams playing each other in a spirit of friendship (*Al Masry Al Youm*, Jan. 28, 2010).

Following up on these events, renowned writer Galal Fahmy and other public figures announced an initiative in a press conference at the Egyptian Journalists Syndicate accusing the media for escalating the tension between the Egyptian and Algeria relations (*Al Masry al Youm*, Nov. 24, 2009). “I’m deeply sorry for our media blackout on these Algerian statements. I hope this initiative can do something to correct this,” said Fareeda el-Shoubashy, a journalist and supporter of the initiative who spoke to *Al Masry Al Youm* condemning the media for "pouring oil on the fire” (*Al Masry al Youm*, Nov. 24, 2009).

## **Case 2: The Face-Veil Controversy**

The face-veil issue has been going on for quite some time in the Egyptian courts. A case was filed in 2001 by Eman Taha El-Zeiny, a member of the teaching staff at Al Azhar

University, a well-known Islamic university, who was denied entry to the AUC Library wearing the face-veil. The Supreme Constitutional Court ruled in favor of El-Zeiny and informed AUC to permit women to wear the face veil on campus. Then in October 2009, Sheikh Tantawi said that the face-veil is not required in Islam and issued the ban saying that females do not need to cover their faces in front of other females, since males and females are segregated in class (*Reuters*, Jan. 29, 2010). On January 3, 2010, after Tantawi made this statement, Egypt's Minister of Higher Education Hany Helal banned the face-veil in university examinations. The government agreed to the ban for security reasons saying that the aim of the face-veil ban is to prevent students, male and female, disguising themselves as other people. After an appeal from women wearing the face-veiled, on January 20, 2010, the Supreme Administrative Court ruled in favor of women wearing face-veil to enter university examinations after being checked by a woman security guard (*Reuters*, Jan. 29, 2010).

News reports about the face-veil controversy were spread in both the electronic media and traditional media. In the online news articles, there were many comments – some for and some against – the court decision to ban women wearing face-veil to enter public universities. For example, *Al Shorouk*, an independent newspaper, had around 18 comments, seven of which were against the court decision, while the rest were on agreement with the court's decision (*Al Shorouk*, Jan. 3, 2010). Another article was published in *Al Masry Al Youm* on May 24, 2010 saying that Al Azhar University has allowed women wearing face-veil to enter the examination halls wearing the face-veil after being checked by a female security guard. On this article, there were around 15 comments all complementing this decision by Al Azhar University President Abdallah El Hosseiny, who succeeded Ahmed Al Tayeb, the current Grand Sheikh of Al Azhar.

Facebook groups have been created either supporting face-veil or against face-veil, such as “God Take Revenge from Sheikh Al Azhar, Mofty and Minister of Awkaf for Battling Face-Veil,” which has attracted more than 600 members. Other similar groups condemning the war on the face-veil also emerged. If one searches on Google for the face-veil policy in Egypt, the first entry will be a video posted on YouTube by *Al Jazeera* channel discussing the policy issued by Sheikh Tantawi. The video earned 5,148 views and 77 ratings (the comment feature has been disabled for this particular video). During two to three weeks after Sheikh Tantawi announced his decision, around 20 videos were created on YouTube discussing face-veil. Television talk shows also discussed this decision by Sheikh Tantawi and their episodes were uploaded on YouTube. Talk shows include the show by well-known television host Amr Adeeb on *Cairo Today* on *Orbit* channel, which received 3,106 views along with 27 comments and 27 ratings; television host Moataz Al Demerdash on *90 Minutes* on *Al Mehwar* channel with 14,762 views and 46 comments; and television host Mona Al Shazly’s interview with Sheikh Tantawi on *Al Ashera Masa’an* on *Dream 2*, which received 7,906 views, 12 ratings and 25 comments.

### **Case 3: Fair Access Policy**

The Minister of Communication and Information Technology (MCIT) Tarek Kamel issued a policy in August 2008 to limit Internet downloads for DSL and ADSL subscribers. The new Fair Access Policy was adopted by the National Telecom Regulatory Authority (NTRA) to “protect subscribers from the abuse of some users which leads to congestions and the deterioration of the service,” (*Daily New Egypt*, Aug. 14, 2008). The decision was followed by a public outcry on Facebook combating the policy. Then two weeks later, Kamel reversed the decision to limit Internet downloads. “The decision comes after a campaign, led by Internet users and cyber cafés owners, rallied online support and organized street protests against the Fair Access Policy,”



(*Daily News, Egypt*, Aug. 14, 2008). Organizers and members of Facebook groups protested in front of Internet companies' branches and planned a mass demonstration in front of the ministry. "Instead of enhancing the service and developing the servers which will cost a lot of money, Internet companies chose to limit usage so that costs remain the same while revenues increase," said Mohamed Ramadan, creator of a Facebook group that attracted more than 23,000 members, (*Daily News, Egypt*, Aug. 14, 2008). Under the reversed decision, Internet service providers had offered an unlimited download subscription for LE 2,000 per month.

IDSC conducted a survey in 2009 on the Fair Access Policy on 1,273 Egyptians between 18 and 35 years old and found that 28% of the respondents heard of the policy, where 63% do not agree with the policy and 19% agree with the policy, which they believe is a way to govern bad usage of the Internet. Out of the 63% who do not agree with the policy, 55% of them are against the whole concept of limiting Internet download usage, while the rest agree with the concept but believe that the limit set by the policy is not enough (Poll on Youth's Use of the Internet, IDSC, 2009).

The Fair Access Policy was not covered heavily in the media, nevertheless, many Facebook groups on the issue have been created including, "National Campaign Against Limit Internet Download in Egypt - No to Passivity," which managed to attract around 9,000 members and is active until now posting news articles on Internet related issues and political issues. Another group, "Don't Limit our Download," has attracted more than 7,600 members and is also active until now, posting topics on other unrelated matters. Others groups including "Fair Use Policy ... Steal Policy," "Remove Fair Use Policy on the Internet Connections in Egypt," "No to Limited Internet Access in Egypt," "Campaign to Boycott Limited Internet Access in Egypt" have memberships ranging from 1,000 to 40 members. Also on YouTube, there are numerous videos

discussing this issue, such as a video by television host Moataz El Demerdash discussing the policy on his talk show 90 Minutes, which received 3,211 views and another talk show on Dream TV discussed the Facebook campaign on the policy which received 4,619 views.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review for the proposed paper "New Forms of Electronic Media and their Impact on Public Policy Making in Egypt: Three Cases from Egypt" will focus on academic journals and news reports in the local and international press that discuss the ongoing rise in electronic media users around the world, and in Egypt in particular, with special emphasis on Facebook and YouTube; the functionality, advantages and disadvantages of electronic media; and case studies on the effects of electronic media on politics.

The literature review is divided into five sections. The first section deals with the development of the Internet society in Egypt, including statistics from IDSC, the World Bank, the Egypt Human Development Report 2010 and Internet World Statistics, with a focus on its terms of usage by youth and the government's role in the rising phenomenon of new technologies. Section two covers the role of electronic media, including its advantages and disadvantages, and its role in politics. This section also describes the profile of youth who are using online social networks to create good governance and create change. There is also a focus on Egypt's blogosphere, citing several case studies of bloggers' arrests, which reveal the effect of the Internet and the new forms of electronic media on government action. Although Facebook and YouTube are now the ongoing trend regarding online social networks, however, bloggers at one point had a huge impact on Egypt's political life, from revealing police brutality to revealing the harassments Egyptian women face in the Egyptian streets.

The third and fourth sections discuss the rise of Facebook and YouTube in Egypt, including statistics from IDSC and case studies of their influence on youth's political participation. The fifth section covers the public policy making process in Egypt, focusing on the

division of political groups, the role of media and public opinion in shaping public policy and government regulations on online content.

## **2.1 Internet in Egypt**

With the Internet becoming a global hub for many countries around the world, the Egyptian government find it hard to disregard the importance of this new evolution, fully recognizing the power of the Internet in affecting all aspects of any nation's economy, ranging from education and health to trade and legislation (The Internet, The Growing World!, 2008). "Therefore, the Internet has become on the top priorities of the Egyptian government agenda and to this end, the government has involved all stakeholders and sought the approach of multilateral partnerships between government bodies, private sector and civil society to develop the Internet," (The Internet, The Growing World!, 2008).

According to Egypt's minister of communications and information technology in his speech "Engaging in the Internet Governance Forum: An Opportunity and Responsibility for Developing Countries," delivered in Sharm El Sheikh at the Internet Governance Forum (IGF), Tarek Kamel discussed the role of IGF and the benefits of a global Internet community (The World Online, 2009). With the development of the Internet society in Egypt, Internet users are becoming the "primary authors of content, sources for information and drivers for innovation," adding that they are no longer at the receiving end. Nevertheless, he added that there are challenges facing Internet penetration in developing countries like Egypt and this includes providing affordable Internet access to the under-developed areas of Egypt and stimulating the creation of local content (The World Online, 2009).

There are around 13 million Internet users in Egypt, according to 2009 statistics, and it is expected to increase by 50% in the coming ten years (Egypt Human Development Report, 2010). According to the 2008 statistics provided by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), the number of computer users among youth was over six million, of which 57% were male and 43% were female. There are also around 2.4 million young people using the Internet, of which 61% were male and 39% are female. As for the Internet usage for academic purposes by youth, CAPMAS reports that it sums up to one fourth of total youth users (1,398 million), of which 55.4% were male compared to 44.6% female. Also, the number of Internet users with a university degree reached 356,000, of whom 61% were male and 39% were female; and the number of Internet users who are employed reached 443,000, of whom 75.25% were male (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 115).

In 2009, IDSC conducted a poll on 1,273 Egyptians between the ages of 18 and 35 to study youth's use of the Internet (Poll on Youth's Use of the Internet, 2009). The poll showed a marked increase in the rate of Internet usage over a one year period from 2008 to 2009. The findings were as follows: In 2008, there was around 58% of youth using computers, whereas in 2009, it reached 62%; in 2008, around 36% of people have computers compared to 48% in 2009; in 2008, 52% of people use the Internet, while in 2009, it reached 60%. Further findings showed that in 2009, 49% of those who use the Internet use it for at least 10 hours weekly, 82% use it for news, while 79% use it to download songs, movies, games, programs, etc... Ninety-eight percent of the respondents agreed that that Internet provides easy access to information, while 95% agreed that it saves time, 81% agreed that it builds untrustworthy relationships and 90% believe that there should be a law governing the Internet (Poll on Youth's Use of the Internet, 2009).

These findings reveal the increased usage of Internet by youth not only for entertainment purposes but for news and easy access to information.

Other statistics show that Internet usage in Egypt showed a gradual increase from 2000 to 2008. Out of 100 people, Internet usage in Egypt in 2000 was 6.8, followed by 15.8 in 2005, then up to 20.7 in 2007 and then 23.9 in 2008 (The World Bank Group, 2010). Also, according to the Internet World Stats, there are around 16,636,000 Internet users as of December 2009, which amounts to 21.1% of the population (Internet World Stats, Usage and Population Statistics, 2010).

Various scholars argue that the Internet has the potential to shape the Arab world in an extraordinary way (Ghareeb, 2000), where there is currently a very high number of Internet cafés even in the most rural and poorest areas throughout Egypt (Abdualla, 2007). The easy and speedy accessibility of the Internet and the privilege of anonymity, if desired, lead to an increasing number of Egyptians surfing the Internet to gain more information and engage in various types of debates, including political discussions. “This new e-public sphere in Egypt is not completely virtual, nor is it completely real” (Mehanna, 2008).

Other scholars suggest that the Egyptian government should “accept and embrace new technology like the Internet and use it as a source of constructive dialogue that will advance discussion on topics of importance to the Egyptian people” (Palmer and Kamal, 2007). The Egyptian government has actually put the power and influence of the Internet into consideration and this is evident by the online forum called Sharek created by Gamal Mubarak in Summer 2009 answering questions by young Egyptians (National Democratic Party, 2009). In addition, a Facebook group was created for the initiative as well, with over 7,000 supporters as of October

2009. Although it is an attempt by the government to find new ways of communicating with the public, nevertheless, it did not gain much popularity with a limited number of supporters on Facebook.

## **2.2 Electronic Media Functionality**

The high-speed connectivity, whether in the form of desktop PCs, laptops or most recently mobile phones, which actually turned into pocket computers, has facilitated the emergence of electronic media and their availability using one instrument (Roberts & Foehr, 2008). New forms of electronic media often serve as the gateway to traditional media, which play an important role in changing people from being traditional media consumers into media critics (Roberts & Foehr, 2008). The Internet's flexibility in time and place "allows users to access information on demand, receive news in a timely manner, learn about diverse viewpoints, customize content to suit their interests and go into greater depth about issues of importance" (Shah, Eveland & Kwak, 2005, p. 532). Internet users who use new forms of electronic media do so to communicate with others about politics, increase opportunities to debate on certain issues, express their views to a wider audience and recruit people into civic life or political participation. "In less than a decade, the expressive potential of the average citizens has been transformed; individuals are now in a position to post, at minimal cost, messages and images that can be viewed instantly by global audiences" (Shah, Eveland & Kwak, 2005, p. 536).

## **Electronic Media and Globalization**

In a research study by Jeffrey S. Juris, postdoctoral fellow at the University of Southern California Annenberg School for Communication, on the new digital media and its influence on anti-corporate globalization, he argues that by enhancing the speed, flexibility and global reach

of information flow, allowing for distance communication, new forms of electronic media has changed the nature of communities both on the social and interpersonal level (Juris, 2005). This allowed the Internet to be incorporated into the daily aspects of the social, political and cultural life and activists to become increasingly integrated with new social networks. Juris (2005) also argues that online social networks not only operate locally, but they have the ability to reach regional and global levels providing effective ways of organizing social movements and creating alternative forms of political, social and economic organizations. He added that the Internet has not replaced face-to-face coordination and interaction; instead, it has complemented and facilitated them by uniting people together over a cause. “The Internet has proven absolutely crucial, allowing key "activist-hackers" to carry out relay and exchange operations, receiving, interpreting, and distributing information out to diverse network hubs and nodes” (Juris, 2005).

### **Advantages of Electronic Media**

Technological advancements usually come with many advantages for the public and for society as a whole. With electronic media and the increase usage of online social networks, one can clearly see how people utilize these social networks for an abundance of reasons.

### **Social Purposes**

Some use online social networks for social purposes, connecting with friends, while others use it for business, popularity or for political reasons. The accessibility of the Internet and the use of mailing lists, interactive web sites and chat rooms have facilitated new patterns of social engagement, which Juris (2005) calls “computer-supported social movements.”



## **Interactivity**

Interactivity is another very important and crucial characteristic of the new forms of electronic media. The level of interactivity allows Internet users to become involved in the communication process regardless of distance and time and have more control over the information exchange process (Sicilia, Ruiz & Munuera, 2005). “New, albeit intangible, venues unrestrained by geography will enable diversified discussion groups and a more engaged citizenry ... online messaging will lead to more civic participation. The Internet exists as an emporium of diverse information and facilitator of low-cost discussion where people can communicate freely, without the restriction of time and space,” (Conroy, Feezell & Guerrero, 2009). This also includes communicating and interacting with people from different cultures and backgrounds and the ability to provide vast information on a variety of topics (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and Challenges, IDSC, 2010).

## **More Choices and More Freedom**

Electronic media also allows readers or viewers the right to choose whichever news they think is important. From massive headlines to front page stories, electronic media allows users to decide on the main story that is of interest to them and even research it further by browsing the net. It provides individuals and societies the chance to have their own media to express their opinions and react to the daily events, which the IDSC report calls the "media initiative." Another benefit of electronic media is that it supports freedom of expression. The IDSC report calls it the “fight authority” threatening traditional media, as it interacts immediately with events happening in society with no set policies by publishers or editors, and it provides new space to

express oneself without any economical constraints or censorship (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and Challenges, IDSC, 2010).

### **Social-Capital-Building Technology**

Several scholars also see the Internet as a “social-capital-building technology” (Mohamed, 2008 p. 166). They argue that people may use online social networks to become more effective and connected communicators. For instance, a researcher points out that the connections caused by the Internet have proved very useful in developing communication for underdeveloped communities or underserved groups of people in society. “Online media complement traditional media to foster political discussion and civic messaging which in turn influence civic participation,” (Mohamed, 2008 p. 170). Other studies show that the interactivity of electronic media and online social networks enhance civic engagement, trust and life satisfaction in younger generations (Shah, Eveland & Kwak,, p. 535 2005).

Electronic media is also essential in building social capital as it leads to an interactive community of interest, either in the form of chatting with one another or creating a group. This interactive community leads to a “multi-stranded” dialogue around a particular topic between different members of society, particularly youth, who are the main users of Internet in Egypt. Some scholars argue that electronic media leads to more and better social relationships by freeing people from the barriers of geography or isolation. In other words, the Internet unites people who have common interests rather than convenience (Hopkins & Thomas, 2001). A research study conducted by Hopkins and Thomas (2001) examining the elements that make up communities and assessing the potential for new electronic media to contribute to the well-being of social groups, their findings reveal that the participation caused by online social networking,

leads to off-line participation, which will leading to built communities and the outcome is described as “social-capital” (Hopkins & Thomas, 2001).

### **Disadvantages of Electronic Media**

Electronic media comes with a disadvantage, which is the credibility of the Internet news sites. The free access to the Internet will allow anyone to create a domain name, a web site, a blog or create accounts on Facebook and YouTube and disseminate any kind of news and facts they want to the public. This can include defaming a public figure for either political reasons or for inaccurate information received, to wanting to gain popularity by raising a controversial issue in society. Therefore, although freedom of the Internet can be considered very beneficial to the public, however, liability and accuracy are key points that should be considered (Roberts & Foehr, 2008).

### **Electronic Media and Politics**

In the IGF forum of November 2009 held in Sharm El Sheikh, Rebecca MacKinnon, Open Society Institute fellow and global Network Initiative founding member, discussed the role of social networking sites and its influence on government actions. Social networking sites are “spaces that help to make government and other institutions more accountable to individuals,” (Emerging Issues – Impact of Social Networks, IGF 2009). Across a range of political systems, governments all over the world are responding positively and using social networks to have better dialogue with their citizens. In the forum, MacKinnon provided several examples of governments that block social networking sites because they are not happy with some of the content posted. She added that in some governments, political speech is also considered against

the law which then leads to censorship or banning the social networking site. In several countries, political activists had their Facebook accounts frozen because of their activity (Emerging Issues – Impact of Social Networks, 2009).

Existing research shows that online group memberships encourage trust, democratic values and the development of important political skills (Conroy, Feezell & Guerrero, 2009). It also provides an incentive and motivation to be politically informed of what is happening around the world. It is evident that the rise of new forms of electronic media and online social networks has changed the way in which people communicate, socialize and organize political parties. “The Internet revolution has brought about the inception of online groups that appear to resemble groups in function, if not in form,” (Conroy, Feezell & Guerrero, 2009).

Activists who want to send a certain message or create a social, political or cultural movement to thousands of people around the world can do so by either creating their own web site or blog, fan page or group on Facebook, or create an account on YouTube allowing them to post videos of whatever message they are trying to deliver to the public. It was what some scholars call a “new way of doing politics” (Juris, 2005). During mass actions, many media activists get out their cameras and notebook and record video footage, digital photos and talk to several people on site to upload on their online web site, whether on social networks, blogs or online media web pages. “Everyone is filming everyone else,” said Juris (2005). New forms of social movements are self-reflexive as activists circulate their own texts and images through global networks in no time. In addition to this, activists also use new forms of electronic media to help plan and organize mass actions themselves (Juris, 2005).

Shah, Kwah and Holbert (2001) examine the role of the Internet as a source of political information and a sphere for public expression. Their findings show that online communication about politics allows citizens to gain knowledge about certain issues, in addition to coordinating certain actions to address joint concerns. “Newspaper reading and broadcast news viewing have repeatedly been linked with civic engagement; likewise, online information seeking appears to influence participation” (Shah, Eveland & Kwak, 2005, p. 537). Shah, Eveland and Kwak’s research study concludes that online information seeking, such as the use of web sites as a resource and a forum, strongly influence civic engagement more than traditional print or broadcast media. “The Internet, by permitting the exchange of views across long distances, or to many people, can reduce organizational costs, increase noticeability and make ineffective communication networks effective” (Shah, Eveland & Kwak, 2005, p. 554).

According to Lupia and Philpot (2008) in their research study “Views from Inside the Net: How Websites Affect Young Adults’ Political Interest,” they argue that the increasing number of people with Internet access allow for a reasonable venue for increased political interest. Their study reflects the following: “The Internet affects the political interest of young adults; when Internet users recognize a site that provides quick, accurate and easy information, they are more likely to view the site more often, which increases their political interest” (Lupia & Philpot, 2008).

### **Electronic Media in Egypt**

The most active social network usage in Egypt is Facebook, YouTube and blogging, where they play an active role in shaping public opinion, in addition to communicating and sharing a wide range of issues and social events (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and

Challenges, IDSC, 2010). Online social networking web sites are an interactive medium opening the doors to all participants to express their opinion in a serious way, exchanging opinion and information and expressing oneself using different media. Online social networks turned into a new media tool and source of information for many different sectors in society. There are other social networking tools in Egypt such as MySpace, hi5 and Arab Friends, but they are less popular in Egypt, compared to Facebook and YouTube and blogging (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and Challenges, IDSC, 2010).

Electronic media is the future of media in Egypt, as a large number of traditional print newspapers, radio and television turned to the Internet to reach a larger audience. “The past few years proved that electronic media is more efficient than traditional media where it provides one hub for all print, television and radio consumers,” (Electronic Media in Egypt ... Facts and Challenges, IDSC, 2010). The main characteristic of the social networking sites such as Facebook, YouTube and blogging that is not present in traditional media is the ability to interact with the audience.

In Egypt, social networking sites and new media are also playing a major role in the political arena. Where at one point blogging was the most popular form of social media with a huge effect on public opinion and public policy, Facebook has to some extent replaced Egyptian blogs. “If you ask many observers – journalists, bloggers themselves, ordinary people, what they think of Egyptian blogs, they will tell you that their time has passed,” (Faris, 2008). Nevertheless, it is worthy to mention the effects of blogging on public opinion and public policy so as to reflect the power and influence of the Internet on Egypt’s political stream.

## **Egyptian Youth and Electronic Media**

According to “Egypt Human Development Report 2010, Youth in Egypt: Building our Future,” a large number of Egyptian youth are using the Internet as a source of information as they consider it a fast and cheap way to send and receive information. “Online activists and bloggers, as well as participation in ‘Facebook’ and ‘YouTube’ are now behind political action in many parts of the world, and it appears that the extent of success of so called ‘electronic democracy’ now rests largely on young people,” (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 113). Although the report notes that the success of ‘electronic democracy’ is linked to government’s laws and legislation, which it described as “inadequately developed” in Egypt, the Internet however, contributed to intensifying freedom of expression and it has broken the traditional channels of communication (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 114).

The profile of Internet users in Egypt represent the young educated youth who are “fully representative of the population at large, let alone of all young people,” (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 114). The report added that the Internet has become the only means of that can actually measure youth’s political participation. A study conducted by Ali Sawi and Zein Abdel Hady, authors in Egypt Human Development Report (2010), on 195 sites including blogs, group electronic magazines and personal pages on Facebook, showed that political loyalty came on top of the list when measuring the degree of allegiance to Egypt or to a political party or group (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 115). The same study concludes that the increased usage of colloquial Arabic on the Internet by youth is simplifying communication of political concepts and discussions among the community. In addition, the study findings revealed that 95% of youth made their comments and e-mails available to create discussions. Also through measuring the youth’s views on state-related topics, it founded that

most of the discussions are on state corruption, which the author claims the government has ignored, and youth's calling for the creation of new political parties, which indicates a lack of trust in the current political parties. "It appears that the State has, to date, not had the political will to counter this perception. Government has a very poor presence on the Internet, and its presence is not interactive (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 119). The report also provided a list of proposals for reform that is provided by youth online. They include: different forms of democracy; promoting multi-party system; raising the presence of the country and its organizations on the Internet; using YouTube to present stories of success; highlighting the State's moral and material achievements and investments; strengthening the role of legislative and judicial institutions; proper implementation of the law; disseminating religious, political and sex education; improve State role in training youth; providing job opportunities for youth; showcasing successful examples of youth as role models; arranging visits by youth and their leadership to civilization sites; promoting Egypt and its civilizations on every Internet site owned; and turning villages into small towns with facilities and resources.

Youth can also play a role in achieving good governance by holding the government accountable through mainstream media and electronic media (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 124). In addition, there are also several initiatives by youth aiming to make a difference in the Egyptian society through the use of the Internet, namely Facebook and blogging. These include the April 6 movement, which will be discussed in detail later in the chapter; *Shayfenkom* movement (we can see you), which reported violations of the 2005 presidential elections on their Web site; and the Wael Abbas blog, which will also be discussed in detail in the following section, (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 128-129).



### 2.3 Egypt's Blogosphere

In an article titled "Web of Influence," the authors argue that the "blogosphere acts as a barometer for whether a story would or should receive greater coverage by the mainstream media. The more blogs that discuss a particular issue, the more likely that the blogosphere will set the agenda for future news coverage, (Drenzer & Farrell, 2004 p. 37). Bloggers have become very involved into politics and politicians have started to play close attention to what is written in blogs as they have been affecting the public opinion. "...they (bloggers) have become more directly integrated into politics," (Drenzer & Farrell, 2004 p. 37). In countries where there isn't much political expression or freedom of speech, blogs started to emerge to help people voice their concerns and share ideas and vent their anger with one another. "Under many circumstances, blogs can affect politics in regimes where there is no thriving independent media sector," (Drenzer & Farrell, 2004 p. 38).

This is also true for the effect of blogs in the Egyptian political and social sphere. On October 2006, Egyptian blogger Malek Mostafa published a post on his blog *malek-x.net* titled Downtown's Sexual Rabies. His post has attracted a lot of attention both from the independent media and the political sphere. Mostafa's post broke a story that Egypt state-run media was not allowed to report on, which was the sexual harassment of women that took place in Downtown Cairo during the Islamic feast in October 2006. The post elicited around 750 comments and around 8,000 visitors a day (Al Malky, 2007). From Mostafa's blog post, the story then migrated to the independent press with columns appearing in the daily *Al Masry Al Youm*, *Al Dustour*, *El Karama*, *El Fagr* and also on Orbit's top show *Al Qahira Al Youm*. "The story shows the extent to which bloggers and independent media may be increasingly challenging the narrative provided

by Egypt's state-run media. It also calls into question whether blogs alone can drive the push for political reform in Egypt and the wider Middle East (Al Malky, 2007).

Besides this event, in January 2007, more attention was also brought to bloggers when campaigns against torture in Egypt propelled the issue to the forefront of the public agenda. Bloggers across the political spectrum began publicizing torture inflicted by Egyptian police by posting videos and photos on their blogs. The most famous example of the effect of blogs in Egypt came when online activist and Egyptian blogger Wael Abbas published a video of policemen beating and torturing a bus driver, garnering worldwide recognition for his journalism, which resulted in the conviction of the two policemen (Radsch, 2008). "Initially, the government of Egypt did not pay much attention to the activists of youth blogs in Egypt on the assumption that they had little impact. Beginning in 2006, when the international media started reporting on Egyptian blogs, the situation changed. Since then, most blogs (including that by Wael Abbas) became the target of repetitive hacking by government authorities," (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 130).

It is apparent through the above cases that bloggers have an impact on the agenda on the mainstream media. Abbas comments, "Many independent newspapers depend on them (blogs), and while at the beginning there was talk of competition for audiences between e-news and print, now there is convergence. "Blogs are so influential to the point that they elicit responses from the highest state officials," (Al Malky, 2007). According to Al Malky, "the power to influence the news agenda inevitably implies a power to reach the regime (Al Malky, 2007).

Bloggers' arrests have also become a common act by government officials, recognizing the threat bloggers place on political stability. The arrest of 24-year-old Kareem Amer on November 6, 2006 was the first time a blogger was explicitly arrested for content of online

writing rather than street activism. Hundreds of bloggers mobilized and came to his defense. In February 2007, Amer was convicted of insulting Islam and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak on his blog and was sentenced to four years in prison. The campaign for his release continues, both in the Egyptian blogosphere and by local and international human rights organizations (Radsch, 2008). Amer's case caught a lot of attention both locally and internationally. "All bloggers argued that by courting the regime's wrath so wantonly, Amer had given the authorities a perfect excuse to set a dangerous precedent, one that could see many of the sawyer, more politically engaged activist bloggers ending up in jail," (Weymen, 2007). An Egyptian blogger who became well known when he blogged from prison is Alaa Abdel El Fattah, appeared on *ABC News* highlighting the threats faced by Egyptian bloggers in light of Amer's sentence. The Western media described Abdel El Fattah as a "young Egyptian willing to risk everything to bring real democracy," (Weyman, 2007). "Clearly Amer's case had touched a nerve. How could Egyptians be getting freer in the age of the Internet – as government officials in the West assert that they are – when citizens are being thrown into jail on charges so contrary to international human rights norms?" (Weyman, 2007). There have also been several other cases where bloggers have been arrested due to the information they have been publishing on their blog. This includes the recent case of blogger Mohamed Adel, who runs the blog *Maeit* (Already Dead), who has been arrested on November 25, 2008 for criticizing the government and expressing support for the Islamist Palestinian group Hamas, (*Reuters*, 2008).

Also, the catalyst that propelled the Egyptian blogosphere into an active realm of controversy, making activists into bloggers and bloggers into activists, were demonstrations in spring 2005 against the proposed constitutional referendum and in support of judicial independence. According to Hamdy, on May 25, 2005, when Egyptians were asked to vote on

the amendment of Article 76 of the constitution, this is when President Hosni Mubarak spurred cyber activism. When people went off to the streets to demonstrate, the media overlooked any details of the demonstration, including human rights violations that took place, and instead people resorted to Internet's blogs to know what happened on that day. "Alaa the author of one of the currently most popular blogs "Alaa and Manal's bit Bucket" told the pan-Arab satellite channel Al Jazeera that blogs gave a better in-depth coverage and analysis of Egypt's referendum story than any traditional Egyptian or International news medium," (Hamdy 2006). Therefore, in a region where the press is often tightly controlled and censored, and other opportunities for public communication is usually silenced resulting in the exclusion of most non-mainstream voices, then blogging may represent an idealize space for democratic debate.

In November 2006, Reporters without Borders (RWB) listed Egypt as one of the 13 countries labeled as "enemies of the Internet." They claimed that the inclusion of Egypt was because "President Hosni Mubarak is displaying an authoritarianism towards the Internet that is particularly worrying," noting the imprisonment of three bloggers (Al Malky, 2007). This gave bloggers a sense of victory knowing that the issue is on the international civil rights map, so "it would be an international embarrassment for the regime to attempt any form of Internet censorship," (Al Malky, 2007).

According to Isherwood, who has an MPhil from Oxford in Modern Middle Eastern Studies, where he wrote his thesis on blogging in Egypt, he states that "blogging has indeed changed the way politics is conducted in Egypt. However, in most cases, it has done so not by dramatically altering or revolutionizing politics, but rather by intensifying and speeding up trends that had already begun with satellite media and the opposition press, (Isherwood, 2008).

According to an article published in *Bikya Masr*, new online local news site recently launched, “While by no means a primary factor in Egyptian politics, social networking and new media are substantially changing the dissemination of information and subsequently public opinion and politics in Egypt,” (Pisch, 2010). The article quotes Mirette Mabrouk, former publisher of *The Daily News Egypt*, arguing that the new forms of electronic media gave youth a new forum for “dissent and questioning,” which is something that was not present before in Egypt. Mabrouk added that the impact of the new forms of electronic media does not have to be a direct impact. She notes that usually the posts on Facebook or on blogs are usually picked up by the traditional media – namely print newspapers and satellite television. From 2006 to 2008, “a number of demonstrations and expressions of real political protest were associated in one way or another with cyber-protests on the Internet, tapping into the massive public mobilization of youth on political blogs,” (Pisch, 2010). The study conducted by IDSC estimated that as of 2008, there were approximately 162,200 Egyptian blogs, 19% are political in nature, (Mabrouk, 2010).

## **2.4 Facebook and Politics**

Bode (2008) classified Facebook as a virtual social network which operates in the same way as traditional, face-to-face social networks in terms of its effects on political participation. “Social interaction produces conversation, which in turn facilitates the exchange of information. This exchange of information has the potential to affect political preferences as well as one’s tendency to participate politically” (Bode, 2008). People tend to discuss politics with people with similar characteristics and Facebook facilitates that to happen. However, interacting with one another provides the opportunity to be exposed to different political ideologies, which may produce different consequences. Bode’s (2008) study which was conducted on 151 graduate and

undergraduate students in the United States concluded that “various types of Facebook behavior have clear and significant effects on several types of positive offline political participation.”

Also, group membership on Facebook helps encourage political engagement through a number of applications. For example, group membership allows for open channels of discussion. “Discussion is thought to be integral to learning and to encourage efficacy among citizens, leading to more informed decision-making and higher rates of political activity (Conroy, Feezell & Guerrero, 2009). It also encourages learning amongst citizens by allowing the expression of different views and forcing more thoughtful consideration of viewpoints (Conroy, Feezell & Guerrero, 2009).

Conroy, Feezell and Guerrero (2009) conducted a sampling survey of 455 participants to study the effects of Facebook on political participation and political knowledge and they concluded that online political group membership leads to increased levels of offline political participation while it does not lead to increased levels of political knowledge. For instance, people become members of certain groups or promote certain ideologies without actually understanding what they are for or the ideologies behind these people or organizations. Therefore, although Facebook has allowed the interaction of youth into politics, it did not however, for some people, increase people’s knowledge of politics.

Facebook allows for the creation of online political groups that provide many of the benefits of face-to-face groups. Online political groups have the ability to link to other related web sites, view photos or videos and post on the wall or discussion board; “all of these actions are interactive and participatory” (Conroy, Feezell & Guerrero, 2009). According to their findings, 82% of the pages they studied posted additional web site links in the designated “links”

space. As well as this, a large number of groups posted news links, photos and discussion topics for the visitors to engage in online dialogue, and 20% of the groups studied provided information about events. Regarding the quality of information provided on the groups and discussion boards, the study shows that only 16% of the information posted can be classified as thoughtful information providing a new perspective. Also, 67% of the posts offered low or high opinion strengths, which shows that the general discussion on Facebook is highly opinionated. As for the accuracy of the information posted, the study found that only 4% of the posts provided accurate and coherent information. Scholars argue that, “As a forum for people to easily engage and share their opinions, online (Facebook) groups are beneficial; however as a forum to learn new political information online groups are ineffective due in part to low quality wall discussion” (Conroy, Feezell & Guerrero, 2009).

In some Arab countries with a strict governmental control of the media, Facebook is viewed as a threat. It has been banned in Syria (*The Economist*, 2008) and only in July 2000, it allowed public access to the Internet (Abdulla, 2007). Also, in Saudi Arabia, a man shot his daughter for talking online with a man she met on Facebook. Due to this incident, Sheikh Ali al-Maliki, well-known Islamic preacher, denounced Facebook saying that it is a Western means to corrupt the youth and called the Saudi government to block the web site (Arab Media and Society, 2008). These incidents further illustrate the power and influence of the Internet, and more precisely Facebook, to reach and mobilize people to enhance the voice of communities. It “creates opportunities but it does not determine outcomes and has allowed users to organize online and support political movements in ways that were not possible in the past” (Rotenberg, 2009).

## Facebook Activists in Egypt

Eltahawy (2008) argues that Facebook activists are becoming both the “oxygen and blood of Egypt’s civil society.” She adds that the Internet, the usage of blogs and online social networks give voices to certain groups in society, such as women and youth, which represent a big percentage of the Egyptian society. In 2007, 51% of the Egyptian population was below the age of 24 years old (PriceWaterHouseCoopers, 2009). Through creating online groups, this generation of youth is adding the “much needed middle ground that countries like Egypt desperately require” (Eltahawy, 2008).

Various scholars suggest that Egyptians are usually drawn to Facebook because of the more freedom of expression it provides and the ability to use “street language” while discussing Egyptian political issues. Some of the popular groups is Amr Khaled, dedicated to the famous preacher and televangelist, followed by Sheikh Tantawi (Gharib & Adel, 2009). In a study conducted in El Minya University on a sample of 400 students, it was found that 84% use Facebook. A surprising 72% signed up using false names, while 51% use Facebook for “political purposes” (Abdel Kawy, 2009).

One example to demonstrate the power of Facebook was when Esraa Abdel Fattah, a young Egyptian political activist and a 27-year-old human resources coordinator, was arrested and imprisoned for more than two weeks for organizing a group on Facebook in March 2008 devoted to a strike in sympathy with textile workers in Mahalla al-Kobra in the Delta, Egypt. The chosen day for the strike was April 6, 2008. The group asked all members, which reached 60,000 in two weeks, to stay at home on the day of the strike. The strike was very successful where there was a high level of absenteeism from work and empty streets, as well as abandoned shops. “As



strong as the Egyptian state might be, it cannot go around arresting 70,000 people, many of them wealthy and connected elites, particularly if all they've done is stay at home, (Faris, 2008). After this incident, "the state itself recognized the power of these social tools and the threat that they represent to the state's control of information," (Faris, 2008). After the strike, the Egyptian regime implemented a campaign against the legality of Facebook and other Internet sites that pose a threat to the Egyptian authority. However, despite this campaign, the state could not convince the public that Facebook is illegitimate, especially when *Al Ahram* columnist Fahmy Howaidy described Facebook organizers as "hopes for the future in Egypt," (quoted in Faris, 2008). The Facebook group also got wide attention from the international press and Abdel Fatah was viewed as a celebrity and a victim of the authoritarian regime.

Another example that demonstrates the power of Facebook in Egypt's political activity is shown in a study conducted by AUC student Aisha El Haddad who found that Mohamed El Baradei's campaign on Facebook managed to attract around 237,000 members and is considered the biggest political group on Facebook, with members from the Muslim Brotherhood and even the National Democratic Party (*Addestour*, May 24, 2010). The report found that 25% of the members of the group did not participate in any prior political activities and 75% do not participate in political activities in the real world, due to fears from the police force. The report also found that 85% showed interest in participating in the upcoming presidential elections if El Baradei was to nominate himself. The report concluded that Facebook is an assistive tool in the political life of Egypt, using El Baradei as an example, and it proved to be an alternative for political participation where it manages to connect people and youth with the community avoiding confrontation with the police force (*Addestour*, May 24, 2010).

Mansour (2008) argues that Facebook challenges the ideology that there is no vision for independent, secular opposition in the country. “The majority of Egyptians are under 30 and have known no other ruler than Mubarak. They have not seen real political parties because the government has long restricted opposition parties and free media. The Facebook movement engaged large numbers of youth for the first time,” (Mansour, 2008). Facebook offers “a safe political space” for youth to communicate, build relationships and express their opinions freely. Also, communicating and interacting with Egypt’s youth is on the agenda of Hosni Mubarak’s son, Gamal. According to Mansour, Belal Diab, a 20-year-old college student, interrupted one of the Egyptian prime minister's speeches in mid-2008 to protest the arrests of Facebook activists shouting: "Look who are you fighting; it is us, the younger generation who stood with you and supported you!" (Mansour, 2008).

## **2.5 YouTube and Politics**

Through creating a CNN/YouTube debate regarding the U.S. presidential elections, candidates started to take a close look at the power of YouTube. *The Economist* called it the “YouTube election,” and CNN reported that “YouTube is empowering average Americans to impact the political process like never before. Candidates don't have total control of their message, and that's forcing them to change the way they campaign,” (YouTube Effect Fell Beyond Debates, 2007). There were around 7,916 video questions broadcast on CNN from YouTube (Ricke, 2008). “The CNN-YouTube presidential candidate debates opened a new channel through which national political conversation could occur” (Ricke, 2008). Ricke’s study (2008) showed that the younger generation submitted more videos, where 18-25 years old represented over 27% of online participants. In addition to that, 14% of submitters were under

the age of 18, indicating that individuals not yet eligible to vote may have also seen these debates as an opportunity to engage politically.

U.S. President Barack Obama has used YouTube to send a message to all Iranians. He recorded a video message to the Iranian people marking the Iranian New Year Nowruz and distributed it online using YouTube. Trita Parsi, president of the National Iranian American Council, said it appears to be working - "This has been spreading like wildfire on the Internet," he told *Agence France Press* (Obama launches 'YouTube diplomacy', 2009). "It's just amazing the number of e-mails I've received from people both in the U.S. and in Iran wishing each other a happy new year and then there's a link at the bottom to the president's message," he added. The video has attracted nearly 150,000 views on YouTube after 18 hours of its release and generated a stream of more than 1,300 mostly favorable comments (Obama launches 'YouTube Diplomacy', 2009).

### **YouTube in Egypt**

There is limited literature review on the YouTube and political participation in Egypt, however, the use of visuals facilitated by YouTube has helped paint a clearer picture of what is happening in the real world. For example, the visuals presented by Wael Abbas on police brutality has helped prove his case and force the government to act and prison the two police officers shown on the video undergoing police brutality. The Egypt Human Development Report argues that bloggers continue posting information about Egypt supported by photos and video clips, which reveal the wrongdoings of the government and critical problems in Egypt, such as police brutality, sexual harassment and elections rigging, which fall under the concept that a picture speaks a hundred words (Egypt Human Development Report 2010, page 130). Another

case that caused an “outrage” both locally and internationally was the slaughter of pigs posted on YouTube during the H1N1 epidemic. “A YouTube video clip showing pigs being culled in Egypt as part of swine flu measures has caused outrage at the apparent barbarity of the methods of slaughtering the animals,” according to ABC News article, (ABC News, May 18, 2009). The news article added that since the video clip was posted on YouTube by the independent newspaper *Al Masry Al Youm*, it caused “horrified reactions from Muslims and from the Christian Copt community,” (ABC News, May 18, 2009).

Another case showcasing the use of YouTube in political matters in Egypt is the death of Marwa Sherbini, an Egyptian woman who was stabbed to death in a courtroom in Germany as she was about to testify against a German man of Russian descent whom she had sued for insult and abuse. There were “various videos circulated on YouTube calling on Egypt to take action and urging Germany to address what their makers saw as a new wave of hatred against Arabs and Muslims in its community,” (CNN, July 2009). CNN reports on one particular video showing pictures of Sherbini and saying: “The woman stood up for her rights and she was killed. May God bless her ... when will Egypt care for its citizens' rights inside Egypt and abroad,” (CNN, July 2009).

In addition to this, the live streaming feature added by *Al Jazeera* channel, followed by *Al Arabiya* news channel has facilitated the use of technology and the visuals on YouTube to disseminate news in a speedy manner depicting reality as it is. According to Nasser Alsarami, head of media at *Al Arabiya*, the live streaming feature on the Internet is “extremely helpful as it enables us to provide the best picture quality to high speed Internet users around the world, and in parallel helps Al Arabiya to overcome problems caused by limited broadband Internet access,

which is still a common issue for the MENA region. The high number of unique users clearly shows the success of our high quality- and user-friendly concept," (quoted in AMEinfo.com, April 2010). *Al Jazeera* news channel also launched a new citizen journalism platform called *Sharek* (contribute), where users can upload videos they have created, reporting news stories happening around them. "This project expands on the successful results of previous trials by *Al Jazeera* with soliciting and collecting user submitted content on YouTube, and hopes to make it even easier for anyone to pass their content directly to the *Al Jazeera* team, (startuparabia, November 2008).

## **2.6 Public Policy Making in Egypt**

Egypt's political system is regulated by Egypt's constitution (issued in September 1971 and later amended on May 22, 1980 and 2003). The Egyptian political system is composed of three main authorities: legislative, executive, judiciary, along other informal authorities including the press, political parties, local administration and civil society organizations.

The legislative authority is divided into the People's Assembly (Parliament) and the Shura Council (Consultative Assembly). The People's Assembly exercises legislative power and approves the State's general policy. It consists of 454 members, 10 of whom are appointed by President Hosni Mubarak. The elected members to the People's Assembly must be at least 350 members and at least half of the assembly's members must be workers or peasants. The People's Assembly carries out its legislative and supervisory missions through 18 committees which are: constitutional and legislative; planning and budgeting; economic affairs; foreign affairs; Arab affairs; defense and national security; suggestions and complaint; manpower; industry and energy; agriculture and irrigation; education and scientific research; religious; social and

endowments; culture; media and tourism; health and environment affairs; transport and communication; housing; public utilities and construction; local government and public organization and youth committees. The Shura Council studies and proposes whatever it sees can maintain the national unity and social peace of the community. It is composed of 264 members.

The executive authority is composed of the president and the government. The president ensures the sovereignty of the Egyptian people, respects the law and constitution as well as the protection of national unity. The public-policy making process is supervised by the president with the cabinet of ministers. The president is also the supreme commander of the armed forces and head of both the supreme police council and the national defense council. The Egyptian government, represented by cabinet of ministers, is the highest administrative and executive body managing the state's affairs. The local administration is part of the executive branch and it is divided into 26 governorates, each of which comprises a number of administrative units, cities and villages, in addition to the city of Luxor with its special status.

The judicial authority is an independent body that governs the courts judges, who are also independent and issue verdicts based on the law. No authority is allowed to interfere in judicial affairs. The judicial authority is composed of a diversity of courts (partial, primary, courts of appeal, economy and cassation), administrative judiciary (state-council) and the supreme constitutional court.

Besides the three formal branches of government, the fourth informal authority in Egypt is the press, administered by the supreme press council, which is headed by the Shura Council speaker. The Egyptian press comprises state-owned papers published by national press institutions and independent papers published by political parties and nominal public or private

persons. Political parties represent the fifth informal authority in Egypt. The number of Egyptian political parties increased from five parties in 1977 to 24 parties. (*Information collected from The Cabinet of Ministers web site*)

Despite the numerous parties available, Egypt's still follows a one-party system. "Over the years, the furthest the regime has been willing to reform the system was to transform it from a one-party (Arab Socialist Union) to a hegemonic one, where NDP remains dominant in a multi-party system. Political parties are non-influential and docile as the regime permits them to play no more than a merely cosmetic role (Mustafa, 2006). According to Mustafa (2006), the two main political forces in Egypt that have so far remained outside the party system are the Islamists and the liberal reformers. Islamists are allowed to enter legislative elections, either as an official political party or as independents. In the elections held in November 2005, Islamists gained 88 seats in parliament out of a total of 454 members. Despite how many seats political parties gain, the head of the syndicate is always reserved for NDP (Mustafa, 2006). Besides the relationship between Islamists and the regime, there is a more rigid relationship between the regime and liberal reformers (Mustafa, 2006). "Liberal reformers ... and the liberal school of thought, remain politically isolated. They are intentionally excluded from political life because they reflect the views of the pre-revolution elite," (Mustafa, 2006). Mustafa (2006) added that there are no liberal elements accepted into the regime's political elite, apart from a small group of businessmen from whom the regime benefits from through economic privatization. As for the opposition parties, they also play no role in Egypt's political regime. Two examples of liberal parties include *Al Wafd*, which is subjected to a certain degree of control by the regime and *Al-Ghad*, which was granted a license in October 2004, but then months later, the regime restricted

its influence. Also, independent liberal writers and intellectuals face regular restrictions on their freedom of expression, especially in the media (Mustafa, 2006).

### **Role of New Media on Public Policy Making**

Back in 1968 during the U.S. presidential election, a link was created showing the effect of media in the formation of public policy. Then later in the 2004 U.S. presidential election, a similar link was created with political blogs, having the same influence as that of the mainstream media (Fahmy, 2010). In 2009, during U.S. President Barack Obama's campaign, a link was created with online social networks, such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. For the Egyptian case, according to Lawrence Pintak, founding dean of the Edward R. Murrow College of Communication at Washington State University, media in Egypt is starting to create "broad political change" and its impact on policy is beginning to become apparent, where one can cite several examples showcasing the link (Pintak, 2008). Examples include the deaths of two young Egyptian girls who died after undergoing circumcision, which was covered by Arab satellite television and print media leading to an exceptional debate that led to a national campaign against the practice by Egypt's first lady Suzanne Mubarak (Pintak, 2008). Another example presented by Pintak was on the April 2008 bread riots in Egypt, where thousands of protestors clashed with government troops in violence that left several dead, hundreds injured and a high number of arrests. Although, Al Jazeera and other pan-Arab channels featured graphic footage of the violence, Pintak was told by news managers of other pan-Arab broadcasters like *Orbit*, *Dream* and *Al Mehwar* that "they had been warned by the Mubarak regime to tone down their coverage and to make sure their talk shows included a heavy representation of the government's viewpoint," (Pintak, 2008). Pintak added that during that time, Egypt blocked a London-based



channel that was highly critical of the regime, which has been distributed to the Egyptian-owned satellite (Pintak, 2008). This event was followed by the adoption of the Arab League Satellite Charter, warning against risking “social peace, national unity, public order and general propriety” in addition to “offending moral, social and cultural values” and “threatening national unity, spreading propaganda and harming the overarching interests of the country,” (Pintak, 2008). These reasons were also used by the government to close newspapers, block Internet sites and arrest reporters (Pintak, 2008). Despite the numerous talks about freedom of press in the Arab world, Pintak argues that media is powerful, however, by “controlling the messenger while fostering some perception of media independence, Arab governments can at least attempt to control the nature and pace of change,” (Pintak, 2008).

With regards to new media and public policy, Mabrouk (2010) argues that new media has become increasingly important in terms of political development, and this is also shown in the case of bloggers, their influence on Egypt’s political life and their continuous arrests. “Despite vigorous and determined suppression in the form of new legislation designed to curb the press, it has become increasingly difficult to stem the growing tide of free speech,” (Mabrouk, 2010). Therefore, Egypt’s political stream is witnessing a new liberal political dialogue, which is mainly caused by access to information and its distribution (Mabrouk, 2010). For instance, Mabrouk mentioned that now citizens are asking for accountability of their political officials in front of the whole nation and on air, which is a clear example of political development in Egypt (Mabrouk, 2010). Although she does believe that at some point the government disregards public opinion, but in some cases the government is obliged to listen to the public’s opinion (Mabrouk, 2010).

## **Public Opinion and Public Policy**

As with the suggested model and the above literature, there is an indication that new media, such as Facebook, YouTube and blogging, reveal stories that are not covered by the traditional media and they have the power to divert people's opinions towards a certain cause. This was apparent in the demonstrations in the streets caused by Facebook groups and blogging. "New media will allow the common man in Arab countries to actively participate in live discussions and debate issues that concern his daily life, therefore, breaking all traditional political taboos," (Fahmy, 2010). With regards to how public opinion influences public policy making, there are many cases showcasing the influence of public opinion on public policy. Labor strikes is one example that illustrates this link, where the government gave textile workers in Mahalla al Kobra in the Delta a month bonus and announced an increase of 30% wage increase before a planned strike on May 4, 2008 (Faris, 2009). Yet, World Public Opinion on Governance and Democracy rated Egypt as one of the countries where the government does not respond to the will of the people rating Egypt 3.2 on a 10-point scale (World Opinion on Governance and Democracy, 2008). According to a study conducted by the Economic Commission for Africa, the mainstream political culture in Egypt considers "public affairs to be government affairs, under the sole authority of central administrators who decide without being accountable to public demands," (Governance Profile of Egypt, 2004).

## **Government Regulations on Online Content**

With regards to rules and regulations on the content posted online, the Egyptian constitution states "no crime and no penalty may be awarded out of law, and no penalty may be awarded to the violations committed before affecting the respective law" (Article 66, Chapter 4,

quoted in Mehanna, 2008). “But in reality there has been criminalization of some online activities without there are no legal stipulations that outlaw them” (Mehanna, 2008). In February 2003, Egypt issued law no. 10 of 2003 known as "Telecommunications Regulation Act" where NTRA was established to administer the telecommunications utilities. Some of the articles of the law criminalize some of the ways of using telecommunication facilities, but not online publishing issue. The Egyptian government does not fully block the Internet, like it does with traditional media, such as opposition newspapers; hence, the Internet is relatively free. “The vast majority of Internet users in Egypt can realize that the authorities are controlling the Internet in an undeclared and intangible way. Blocking web sites, although limited, is an ordinary procedure in Egypt. Blocking is implemented without declaring the legal reasons for it. Blocking web sites in Egypt is practiced without any legal procedures or clarification of the reason for the blocking. That is why blocked web sites owners cannot legally react to the authorities when their web sites are blocked” (Mehanna, 2008).

### III: METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Basic Aim of the Research

After reviewing the literature on Facebook and YouTube and the general usage of online social networks in the political life of the Egyptian society, the following section of the research will discuss the different methodologies used and the intended findings. An empirical study has been conducted aiming to find the linkages between the different factors involved, as in the model illustrated in the beginning of the research, and to answer the research question on the extent of which Facebook and YouTube can influence public policy making, focusing on the three case studies.

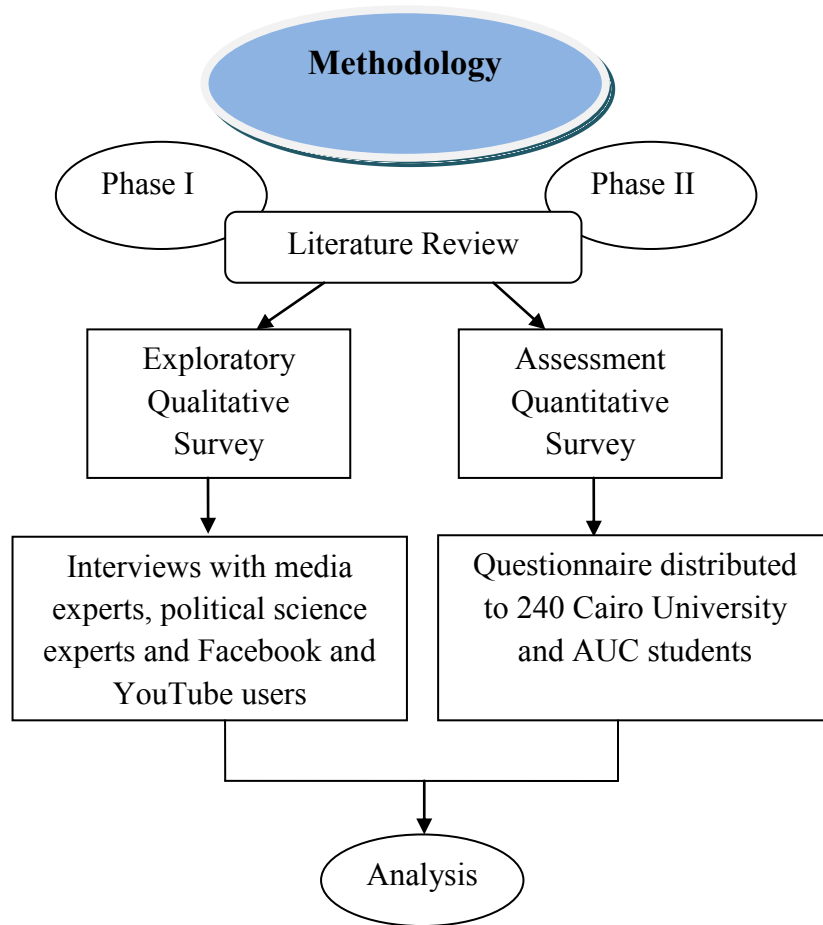
The basic aim of the empirical study is to clarify the relationship between new forms of electronic media and public policy making in Egypt, using the three case studies namely the Egyptian-Algerian football conflict, the face-veil controversy and the Fair Access Policy, and how they were discussed and tackled on the new forms of electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube. This presents an extension of existing research reviewed on the rising trend of electronic media and its effect on public policy making.

The first aim is addressed by considering the relationship between electronic media and public opinion, which hence affects public policy making in Egypt. Clarifying the relationship between electronic media and public opinion is viewed as a prerequisite to influencing public policy making, according to the study proposed model.

The second aim of this empirical study is to extend research on the relationship between public opinion and public policy making. Although this relationship has been researched previously, research has focused on public opinion that is not caused by new media.

The third aim of this empirical study is to obtain a more complete image of the influence and power of electronic media on public policy making. As the literature review has shown, there isn't a comprehensive model that shows the direct effects of electronic media on policy making in Egypt, therefore, the most important aim of this empirical study is to contribute to the development of such a model by bringing together ideas spread across the literature on the effects of electronic media on public policy with the three case studies shown.

In order to get accurate information and viewpoints on the topic researched, empirical research is required, where the researcher will need to go to the field and start gathering information, statistics, opinions and viewpoints on the three case studies presented and how electronic media tackled these issues, followed by how the government dealt with them. The researcher will also look for statistics showing the number of people joining certain groups and discussion boards or viewing videos that discussed the above case studies, studying how influential they were and how they formulated public opinion. This will help analyze whether the government's actions were influenced by what has been posted on Facebook and YouTube. This can be done through two phases as illustrated in the diagram below.



The first phase, as illustrated in the model above, will be an exploratory study through in-depth interviews with media experts and politicians. The results of the exploratory study will be used to develop a more structured survey to assess the impact in Egypt and specifically the cases of Egyptian-Algerian football conflict, face-veil controversy and Fair Access Policy.

In the exploratory study, scholars and academics who have studied the issue will be of help in order to go deep on the effects of electronic media on public policy. The categories of experts include both media and political science experts. Media experts include academics, as well as editors-in-chief of both national and independent newspapers, and political science experts include both academics and politicians. These interviews will help generate information

on how much mainstream media depends on electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube, to gather stories, and to what extent they use electronic media to disseminate their stories to the wider audience. It will also help determine whether electronic media has an influence on public policy making and government decisions. Besides media officials, scholars and policy makers, it will also be essential to talk to influential Facebook and YouTube users, and creators of groups on the three case studies. This will be done through e-mails, Facebook and YouTube messages.

As for the second phase of the empirical research, which will be the assessment phase as illustrated in the model above, a questionnaire will be distributed to Egyptian university students on how much they depend on Facebook and YouTube to gather information and their viewpoints regarding the new forms of electronic media and how much it influences their participation in politics.

Through investigative study and interviewing the above potential participants, it will provide the researcher with more detailed insight on the current situation of new forms of electronic media and their influence on the political agenda and government public policy in general.

## **3.2 Sample Design and Justifications**

### **3.2.1 Phase I – Qualitative Methodology**

In order to get accurate information and view points from various experts and policy makers, I used qualitative method of research to be able to answer the questions “How” and “Why.” I asked policy makers how electronic media affects politics in Egypt. How do they affect public opinion and how does their role affect the agenda of the policy making process? I also asked them

why people resorted to online media, rather than print or TV journalism to gather information and discuss important social, political and public issues of high importance.

For this study, I used purposive sampling, which is characterized under the non-probability sample. Purposive sample includes elements selected for certain characteristics or qualities and eliminated those who fail to meet these criteria. I chose purposive sampling so I can talk to the people that will help enrich my research and provide me with more insight on the topic. The people were chosen according to their expertise on the topic and their background.

**In-Depth Interviews:** I used in-depth interviews for my purposive sampling, so that I have the chance to ask follow up questions, and dig deep into the topic, asking for certain experiences, choices, biographies, etc... Also, this could be a sensitive topic for some and it may provoke anxiety, so an individual face-to-face interview will be the most feasible. Also, most of the participants will be quite busy and may not have the time to answer surveys or questionnaires. The experts were chosen from different categories to avoid generalization. Media experts interviewed belonged to three different groups with different backgrounds, including academics, journalists opposing the government and journalists working in state-owned newspapers. As for political science experts, they included politicians who represent the government and political science experts with different ideologies and schools of thoughts. This is to avoid bias and to guarantee a fair knowledge of the issue. Besides media officials, scholars and policy makers, it was also essential to talk to influential Facebook and YouTube users. This sample represents youth from different backgrounds and ideologies. This is to understand the different perceptions of youth in using online social networks and how their online activities may have an effect on public policy making. Interviewing experts from the different categories,



including media, political science and Facebook and YouTube users, helped me gather more knowledge on my research drawing a clearer picture on the links between the different factors presented in my model, and helped answer some of my investigative questions and narrow down my scope of work.

### 3.2.2 Justification

The above selection of people helped me gather more insight on the situation of electronic media in Egypt and its impact on government public policy. Each of the experts' biographies indicates that they have a great deal of insight on electronic media and Egyptian politics. I used the **snowball technique** once I got through to the above candidates, where they recommended other people who helped enrich my research and my data collection.

Through these initial interviews, I identified other interesting and significant cases where electronic media had an impact on the public policy making process and they helped refine my knowledge on media and public policy making. One of the cases identified by nearly all the interviewees included the Facebook group created for Mohamed El Baradei, former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Through the interviews, I recognized the importance of television in affecting public opinion, especially through the rise of satellite television and talk shows, which helped refine my questionnaire. Also, many of the experts talked about Egypt's digital divide and the lack of democracy, which hinders the complete affect of electronic media on public opinion and government decisions. In addition, the interviews of active Facebook and YouTube made me acknowledge the main purpose for using online social networks, which is mainly to voice their opinions freely and not with the intention to influence government decisions.

### 3.2.3 Phase II – Quantitative Methodology

Besides the in-depth interviews, I used the quantitative method to get information from a variety of people on their knowledge on electronic media, how much they depend on electronic media for information and whether it has an effect on public agenda and the political sphere. I distributed a questionnaire to two different universities in Cairo. The type of questions included simple category (yes or no questions); multiple choice-single response scale; multiple choice-multiple response scale and a likert scale. These type of questions were the most feasible and most applicable to the type of responses that the research is looking for.

### 3.2.4 Sampling Method

#### Non-Probability Sampling – Convenient Sampling

Convenient sampling refers to the collection of information from members of the population who are conveniently available to provide it.

**Population:** Undergraduate and graduate students from The American University in Cairo (AUC) and Cairo University (CU).

**Method:** The first step before I distributed the survey was to get the authorization from the Institutional Review Board at AUC. I distributed the survey through e-mail and face-to-face. For AUC, I got access to the e-mails of the students from the Office of Institutional Research, and for CU, I translated the survey into Arabic and went to CU campus and distributed the survey myself.

**Sample Size:** There are around 6,208 graduate and undergraduate students at AUC, compared to more than 155,000 students at CU. I chose a sample of 120 surveys from each university according to feasibility and access to the respondents.

### **3.2.5 Justification**

I chose convenient sampling due to the time and cost limits. The two universities I chose were easy to approach and are all located in Cairo, which makes it feasible for sampling. Convenient sampling is useful when testing ideas, which is the purpose of the questionnaire. The aim of the questionnaire is to test the ideas of the population sample on their thoughts of electronic media in Egypt and its impact on public policy making.

I chose the above two universities in Egypt because due to their differences, they provided me with a variety of information and different insights and ideologies that helped me gather enough data on my research topic. AUC is a non-profit educational institution with high tuition fees offering a high quality education, and CU is a public free educational institution. So, the assumption is that they will have a different variety of students with different beliefs, ideologies and socio-economic backgrounds.

I distributed the survey among undergraduate and graduate students, since it was more feasible and accurate, than having the entire staff and faculty, which will be in large numbers and may include participants that may not be accessible or relevant to the survey. I chose non-probability, convenient sampling because they were not all available during the time I distributed the survey on campus.

### 3.2.6 Limitations

Despite the insights developed, the study has a number of limitations both from the literature review, and the quantitative and the qualitative methodologies. They include:

- Limited peer reviewed journals on the direct impact of Facebook and YouTube on public policy making. Although, there is extensive research on the effects of Facebook and YouTube on youth's political participation, yet literature on the amount of influence it has on policy makers is limited.
- Since all three cases are recent, there are no academic articles on the cases. It depended on field research and review of media reports covering the three cases.
- The concept of the public policy making in Egypt differed in the review of literature and in the interviews with various experts. Experts who work in state-owned newspapers and experts who represent the government had opposing views from independent media experts and political science professors. This made it hard to generalize.
- Accessibility to the policy makers was also a very challenging task, where I was aiming to interview both the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology and the Ministry of Information; however, it was not feasible.
- Accessibility to politicians and political science experts was also very challenging, as they were either too busy to respond or will reschedule their appointments, followed by a cancellation.
- Access to Facebook and YouTube users was also a challenging task, where extensive research was required on both Facebook and YouTube to identify the most active ones, and numerous e-mails and requests were sent with minimal feedback.

- Timing was another limitation, especially with the Fair Access Policy, where many were unaware of or do not recall the policy.
- The definition of public policy was not understood by all experts, where some viewed it as a law or regulation, rather than a government action towards a certain issue.
- The lack of a surveying culture in Egypt was also another challenge, since people, both at AUC and CU, are not accustomed to filling out surveys and cooperating in data collection processes. Many complained the survey was long. So, the lack of willingness and contribution might affect the accuracy of the results, where a large number of the surveys were terminated due to incomplete answers.
- Although I obtained a random sample from the Office of Institutional Research at AUC, but since the response rate was very low, I had to revert to a sample based on convenience. For the context of this study, the sampling might not necessarily have affected the results since it was not biased; respondents were not targeted specifically.
- The quantitative study conducted at CU and AUC was not a random sample, which is another limitation that does not allow for generalization.
- It was planned that all qualitative interviews be completed prior to the approval and distribution of the survey to allow for any new thoughts or topics to focus on in the questionnaire, however, that was not feasible due to time constraints.

## IV. QUALITATIVE DATA

### 4.1 Description of Qualitative Data Collected

There was a total of ten media experts interviewed for this study, eight political science experts, one Internet policy expert from MCIT and 12 active Facebook and YouTube users. The in-depth interviews were conducted via e-mail, face-to-face and phone interviews. I used the purposive sample, where I chose the media experts characterized under the non-probability sample. The experts were selected according to their qualifications and expertise on the subject matter. (See Appendix A)

The questions varied among the various experts, where media experts' questions revolved around their viewpoints on the power and influence of media in the Egyptian society, with a special emphasis on the new forms of electronic media, and their knowledge and opinion regarding the three case studies, and how they were tackled in the media and whether it had an effect on policy making. The questions for political science experts focused on the policy making cycle and the factors that have an affect on the decision makers. Also, questions on the three cases from the government's standpoint were also discussed. As for the Facebook and YouTube users, questions revolving around their usage of Facebook and YouTube, and their knowledge and contribution to the Facebook and YouTube discussions on the three case studies (See Appendix B).

### 4.2 Analysis

Media and political science experts had similar and opposing views regarding the effects of media in the Egyptian society. The views differed according to the experts' backgrounds and affiliations. Elwi, representative of NDP, and Saraya and Hegazy from *Al Ahrām*, had different

views from other experts who came from the independent press such as Salah from *Al Youm Al Sabe'* or Al Malky from *Daily News Egypt*. The former experts were pro-government believing that the government responds to people's will and that the public policy making process follows a democratic cycle, putting public's opinion into consideration. While the latter believe the government is a one-man show serving only a small portion of society, and therefore, they perceive electronic media as having minimal effect on the decision makers. Nevertheless, they all cited specific cases where government responded to public opinion and public debate. This includes sexual harassment, police brutality and real-estate taxes. The section below provides a detailed analysis of the different views provided by the experts.

### **Examining the Policy Making Process in Egypt**

Views differed slightly as regards how responsive the government is towards public opinion from the academics to the politicians. For instance, Elwi said that the policy making process in Egypt goes through a rigorous process and is open for amendments by the Shura Council and the People's Assembly until it is agreed upon by all parties. On the same note, Al Sayyid, political science professor, described two approaches to policy making, including the reactive policy process and the more general type of policy process, which is initiated by the government. However, academic scholars from AUC see that the public policy making process is dictated through the power coalition since Egypt is an authoritarian government and the space to oppose or create change to what the policy makers say is very minimal. They added that most bureaucrats and decision makers are not representatives of the population and the decisions are made in order to guarantee political succession and to ensure the longevity of the incumbent regime. Having said that, this shows that experts' views lied at different ends of the spectrum, where one end believes in the democratic process of decision making, while the other end from

AUC, a non-profit university, believed otherwise. However, it is worth noting that whether the government adopts or cancels a policy that is in favor of the public, the government does acknowledge the public will and puts it on its agenda, which is an important step in the public policy making process.

### **Examining the Role of Media on Public Opinion**

Media and political science experts acknowledged the role of media on public opinion. Although some viewed its influence greater than others, nevertheless, there is mutual agreement that media does play a role in the Egyptian society. Many of the experts highlighted the role of television over electronic media, which they believed reaches every home. Many of the experts also believed that electronic media is mainly used by a certain a portion of society, which they called the educated youth. Some believed that this portion of society can make a difference and create change, while others believed that electronic media is driving them in the wrong direction. Similar to the differences conveyed in explaining the public policy making process, the views expressed in the section below is also divided between media experts with more liberalized viewpoints and media experts who speak and write on behalf of the government.

There was mutual agreement among media experts on the advancement of media in the Egyptian society, where now there is an apparent increase of independent and opposition newspapers, satellite television channels and electronic media providing more room for freedom of expression. There was also an agreement among experts on the impact of media on public opinion; nevertheless, many agreed that it is done mostly through television rather than electronic media. Saraya and Hegazy from *Al Ahram* devalued the role of electronic media on public opinion, and Elwi does not perceive this role as being very effective in the present time, although he is optimistic about it for the near future. This is opposed to Abdel Ghany's views



from *Al Jazeera* who believed that the power of Facebook and YouTube is characterized by the courageous and enthusiastic youth working to make a difference, providing the example of El Baradei's nomination for presidency created by young online activists.

Following on the above viewpoints, Kamel, political science professor, said that the rise of electronic media in line with the numerous political groups created on Facebook and YouTube profiles allows newly formed political groups and the new generation of youth a chance to participate in the political process through mobilization beyond government control. "However, if meaningful political change is to happen, political empowerment has to extend to the masses across the country and not just reach out to the Internet-educated, mostly urbanized, members of the population," he said. Elwi noted that the government follows the discussions on electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube, and the comments published on online news articles to detect the stance of the public opinion on certain topics. From an international perspective, Leach believes that closed-governments like Egypt prefer a closed system and will feel threatened by the development of the Internet and will want to keep information away from the public.

The above viewpoints describing the impact of electronic media on public opinion show that there is a perceived agreement on the influential role media plays in society. Although, experts from the state-owned papers devalued the role of electronic media, nevertheless, from the cases presented, it will be hard to completely disregard the role electronic media plays in society. If it is an invisible player in society that has not impact on public opinion, the government will not view it as a "threat" as some experts described it, and will not find it necessary to monitor the content published on electronic media or block controversial web sites.

### **Examining the Effect of Media on Public Policy**

Regarding the effect of media on public policy, media experts from the independent press perceived the media as having limited influence on policy makers' decision. In spite of the many strong statements clearing saying that electronic media does not influence public policy; nevertheless, experts cited cases where the government responded to issues covered in electronic media. Also, the blocking of web sites critical of the government, as mentioned by some of the experts, is another example of the impact of electronic media on public policy.

Surprisingly enough, Saraya admits that the media in Egypt is not powerful enough to encourage the government to act in a certain way; however, he believes the media has the power to set the agenda for the parliament. Other media experts, such as El Alfy from *Ehna* magazine and Salah from *Al Youm Al Sabe'* devalued the role of media in the Egyptian society, repeating what other experts said that "it is still a one-man show."

The notion that Egypt is a non-democratic country with a lack of transparency and government responsiveness to the will of the people drives experts to disregard the role media plays in the public policy making process. However, a simple act by the government, whether by issuing a press statement, postponing the adoption of a certain law or by taking firm actions against certain individuals, like the numerous arrests on bloggers discussed in the literature review, is an indication that electronic media in one way or another influences government actions, putting certain topics on their agenda.

### **Examining the Effects of Facebook and YouTube on Public Policy**

As an employee at NTRA, Victor recounted the large number of newspapers and TV talk shows that now have their own accounts on Facebook and YouTube. Besides being used by the media to disseminate their news to a wider audience, Victor said that the Internet is now used as

a source of protest and activism in Egypt, using the example of Iran that used Twitter during the Iranian presidential elections. Victor added that MCIT does not monitor content on Facebook, YouTube, blogs or any other web site, however, there is a unit in the interior minister that is responsible for Internet crimes and they may consult MCIT for technical support, if needed.

Victor also believes that social networks do not pose a threat to political stability however, it is considered to be a powerful tool that can easily direct public opinion. “I can imagine that Facebook, YouTube and Twitter can be used as information gathering tools by the intelligence agencies” he said. “There are positives and negatives of social networking sites, and if we used it in a positive way, we will certainly win, just like the NDP’s campaign on Facebook that is used to engage youth in an open dialogue to create awareness on the party’s ideas and goals.” Victor further explained that social media is a more powerful tool than newspapers and television to mobilize the youth category, which differed from what other experts thought. Victor discussed the example of the campaign on Facebook that was used to encourage youth to issue a voting card, which he believed was a very successful campaign to reach the youth.

From a different perspective, media experts agreed that Facebook and YouTube have minimal effects due to the high illiteracy rate and the high digital divide and it will only come into play and will threaten policy makers when social classes come together, and when it is used by the mainstream media. Abdel Ghany argued that the government is responding to this phenomenon by creating defensive measures, polls, web sites, and forums on the Internet. The role of bloggers did not go unnoticed by scholars, especially in how they managed to discuss topics that were once taboo.

Salah further explained the target audience of online social networks such as YouTube and Facebook, calling them a “distinguished audience,” who include the intellectuals, the

educated youth and the academics with a voice. Expectedly, Saraya from the different end of the spectrum believes youth are not affecting public opinion nor public policy and the “political groups created on Facebook and Twitter create imaginary effects and have no solid base,” he said.

In spite of the variance in the viewpoints expressed, many of the experts perceive and acknowledge the role of Facebook and YouTube in the Egyptian society. Whether it is a positive or negative role, it is perceived to be playing an influential role in the political life of Egypt. Whether it is an “imaginary” role as Saraya puts it or whether it causes aggressiveness among youth, it cannot go unnoticed. Despite the fact that Facebook and YouTube target a specific audience, as some experts put it, yet they are still being monitored by the mainstream media and thus, news items and discussions on Facebook and Youtube have the chance to reach the public at large, hence affecting public opinion adding it to the government’s agenda.

### **Examining the Role of Electronic Media on the Three Case Studies**

Experts also expressed similar and opposing viewpoints regarding the three case studies researched in this paper.

Regarding the *Egyptian/Algerian football conflict*, most of the media experts put the blame on both the government and the media for escalating the tension between both parties. Some said that the media did not do its job right in covering the events following and preceding the soccer matches, while others said that this was all an intentional scenario created by the government to distract people from Egypt’s internal problems. Al Mirazi argued that Facebook and YouTube facilitated this tension through allowing the feasibility of posting videos and comments condemning the other party, as well as posting the videos of the online talk shows, which escalated the matter. As for the government actions regarding this case, Al Mirazi believes

that both governments were keen on keeping a lid on events so that things do not get out of control. The sudden summon of the Egyptian ambassador and the instructions from the government to the media to stop publishing news on the issue are examples of government intervention. "They simply switched overnight and there was a sudden shift in the news that appeared like government talk shows praising Sudan for the role they played," Al Mirazi said, describing it as "a directive government action intervention." Experts also agreed that Alaa Mubarak added to the flame by his remarks to Algerians and President Mubarak's speech at the parliament talking about the dignity of Egyptians as being part of Egypt's dignity.

From the standpoint of political science experts, several political scholars agreed with media experts that the conflict between both countries is a product of both governments. El Nur explained that the government treated football as a national project, as if it will fill the future of the country, whereas Leach believed that media's emphasis on the soccer match was not government policy, but officials join these things because it is a "national prestige." From the standpoint of the government, Elwi blamed the Algerian government for intimidating the Egyptian audience through the waving of the knives and the insults. He added that airing these incidents on television and on electronic media helped add to the tension and frustration in both nations, however, it was not the main factor. He also noted that the government action was rational and it did not overreact or end the relationship with Algeria. He added that Egypt tried to cool down the situation, but Algeria was not responding. He refuted the argument made by media experts on Alaa Mubarak's intervention on television claiming that it is an individual act, and he is not part of the government.

Victor said that the problem was because there was no crises management strategy and the problem got more complicated because of the negative and unprofessional way the talk show

programs dealt with the issue. A Facebook page titled “Was not Soccer” was created by the government to correct the misconceptions people have towards the soccer match and what happened between Egypt and Algeria, “and this is a sign of positive action towards what happened online, however, it was too late and it was not well publicized,” explained Victor. “Was not Soccer” has around 855 members on Facebook and its goal is to “preserve the spirit of sportsmanship around the world, while revealing the barbarity of those who seek to destroy the moral fiber of team spirit and spectator sports,” stated on their fan page on Facebook. “Was not Soccer” also owns a web site, which includes latest news on the case, a place to upload videos that shows evidence of illegal actions that took place by Algerians, in addition to commentaries published in the press.

The views presented on the *Egyptian/Algerian football conflict* reflect the important role the media played in this conflict. Whether the government was behind it, or whether it was due to the exaggeration of journalists and television presenters, in this particular case, the role of media was very influential, especially electronic media, to the extent that it was used by the government to calm down the public.

On the *face-veil issue*, the role of media was different than in the above cases. Salama stated that the face-veil controversy has been discussed on television, in the electronic media and in print newspapers as well, and it is due to the social and economic status the country is facing. Other experts believe that the face-veil issue is more related to freedom of privacy, than it is related to the effect of media on it, as the case was raised to a higher level and went to court. They also argued that with religious topics, traditional media likes to cover all angles of the story, because in every home, one will find different ideologies regarding the face-veil. However, with electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube, the content generators do not

worry much about the audience as much as they worry about releasing their thoughts and beliefs. Experts also believe that the government accepted to broadcast this issue on television because the Internet has brought it to the surface.

Political science experts including Elwi and El Nur believe that the media exaggerated what happened with Sheikh Tantawi. Sadek however believes that the government has a negative position on the face-veil to serve external foreign governments, such as France, for security considerations, and a push by first lady Suzanne Mubarak to modernize women. In short, experts perceive the role of electronic media in the *face-veil controversy* as having a minimal role. The government did not act in a specific way regarding the face-veil and it was all left to the court to make the final decision. It is however worth noting that due to the freedom electronic media possess, it paved the way for mainstream media to discuss the issue more openly both in print newspapers and on television.

Some of the experts were not quite aware of the *Fair Access Policy*. As for those who recalled the policy, they agreed that the power and influence of the media had little to do with it, but it is the economic factor that played the major role in reversing the policy. Experts said that the policy affected consumers of the Internet directly because it is their job and it would have affected their income directly, so it was a very sensitive topic for them and they had to stand up against it. From an Internet expert point of view, Victor argued that people got heated up without studying the issue. Whether it was for the benefit of the government to reverse the policy for economic reasons, this also shows the power and influence of Internet users when they come together for a cause.

## **Examining the Viewpoints of Facebook and YouTube Users**

Some of the creators of groups or fan pages on Facebook and electronic media users who upload and create videos on YouTube do not do so with the intention to affect government action. From the people interviewed, all of them create these groups or upload these videos as means to express their opinion, clarify facts to the public and to unite people towards a certain cause. According to the results of the interviews, none of them created a group aiming to reach the policy makers. This also brings us to back to the same dilemma, where Egypt's non-democratic policy making process does not give much hope to youth or to experts in creating change by voicing their opinions. In a democratic society, by affecting public opinion, they should eventually affect public policy. However, this notion is not grasped in the same way in Egypt, as many of the people interviewed do not see their opinions expressed online will be taken into consideration. It is also important to note that Facebook and YouTube users were also not clear on the definition of public policy, assuming that it is a rule, law or regulation adopted by the government.

### **Facebook and YouTube Users on the Egyptian/Algerian Case**

Regarding the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, Ahmed Osman created the Facebook fan page titled "Campaign Egyptian People's demanding Fifa to re match Egypt and Algeria." The group managed to attract around 2,500 members. The group includes five links, all from YouTube videos. One of the videos was of Egypt's president Alaa Mubarak's phone intervention on a sport's show, another was of an interview with Egyptian singer Mohamed Fouad describing what happened to him in Sudan and the third was of TV host Amr Adeeb's talk show on *Orbit*. On Adeeb's YouTube video, there were around 618, 688 views with more than 1,000 comments, some supporting and some critical of Adeeb. On the video interviewing Fouad in Sudan, there



were around 176,844 views on the video but the comments have been disabled. Alaa Mubarak's video attracted around 19,063 views with around 500 comments, mostly positive comments commending Alaa Mubarak's view points. There were also three videos uploaded directly on YouTube. Two of them created by young Egyptian men explaining the facts and showcasing what happened to Egyptians in Algeria and showing what they did it to Orascom Telecom in Egypt. Another video was taken from *Al Mehwar* television on two Algerians beating an Egyptian in Algeria. The interactions on the videos were also very high, between 40 and 160 comments. The group was very active during the time of the soccer matches, but the last wall post was on November 29, 2009. According to Osman, "the most active time of the group was directly after the match and most of the active members were supporting the war between Egypt and Algeria," he said. Although Osman himself was very active and posted many comments and videos on the fan page, however, he does not believe that this initiative was going to have an impact on public opinion or government action.

Noran AlKashef, administrator on the group "Speak Up to International News Networks ... Force Them to Hear Us," believes that Facebook groups and YouTube helps shape public opinion but not the government action in general. At the beginning, the group was very active, especially after the soccer match in Sudan where there were around 60 posted links from administrators and members, which included news reports and videos about the issue, in addition to a link to the government's web site, "Was not Soccer." Al Kashef added that some members of the group were so active that they were trying to find a way to translate the videos posted to make them heard and understood by the international press. Al Kashef got most of her information for the group from YouTube videos.

Salah El-Deen Adel is the creator of the group “Algeria is a Pride for Egypt and Egypt is a Pride for Algeria,” which has around 1,860 members. The group is still active (last checked May 16, 2010), with around 69 photos, 4 videos uploaded from YouTube, 69 photos with 130 comments on them, and 40 discussion posts. One of the videos uploaded was of a documentary created by *Nile Sport*, discussing the past relationship between Egypt and Algeria. Adel noted that some of the members were active enough in posting links to videos and links to articles related to the topic, while others were merely posting comments on the videos and links posted. When Adel first created the group with the aim to calm down the situation, not a lot of members joined. However, after a while, when the tension decreased, more members started to join the group. “I am sure my group will not have an effect on the government, however, I tried to change a lot in the public opinion and at least we gathered all the friendly voices from both sides,” said Adel. Khaled Khalil is an active Facebook and YouTube user who is a member of several groups denouncing the Egyptian/Algerian hatred campaign, member of one group against the Fair Access Policy; and a member of another group against social pressure towards non-veiled women. “I joined these groups to express my opinion and spread awareness on a specific subject” said Khalil, adding that he is “pretty sure the government tries to keep track of what is posted online and they sometimes overrate some activities.”

The above viewpoints reflect the high interactivity of Facebook and YouTube users regarding the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, but again, it reflects the hopelessness youth feel towards their government.

### **Facebook and YouTube Users on the Face-Veil Controversy**

Ahmed Alafasy, owner of the Facebook group “*Niqab*” (face-veil) attracted more than 7,100 fan members. The group includes posts of news articles published in *Al Masry Al Youm*, *Al*

*Jazeera* and *Al Akhbar*, as well as videos of interviews with the former Sheikh Tantawi, which was posted on January 17, 2010 on *Al Jazeera* channel, as well as interviews with the current of Sheikh of Al Azhar Ahmed Al Tayeb on *Misr Enaharda* TV show on Channel 2. All in all, there is a total of 308 links, 29 videos, four photos albums containing photos of women wearing face-veiled and flyers promoting the face-veil. The group is quite active where it is updated on a regular basis and there is a lot of interactivity on the group, where there is an average of 30 comments on the photos or links posted and sometimes they reached 60 comments and 30 likes. The comments are either opposing or supporting the news stories posted, but they are all done in a respectable manner. There is another group on the face-veil created by Phars Alnmr, which attracted around 50 fans only. According to Alnmr, he didn't care much about attracting a large number of people, instead he cared more about attracting those who will add knowledge to the page and provide influential information. Alnmr also posted news items from traditional media on the group, in addition to forwarded e-mails sent around. Alnmr did not intend to create this group to change the public policy making, but he merely created this group to create awareness on the importance of face-veil. In addition, there was a channel on YouTube by Isam (refused to give out last name) on the face-veil. Isam, 31, shared the video from another channel and posted it on YouTube. There were many comments on the video divided between opponents and supporters of the face-veil. "Any legible method to spread good knowledge of religion or science or other useful information must be used by those who want to spread such data," said Isam. "YouTube for Islamic media in particular is such a grand opportunity because it gathers a global community with many functions and zero cost. These days, youth hardly read so you can simply provide them with a lot of information in a five to a 10-minute video that might change their life," he said. As for Mazen Al Keissy, who also uploaded many videos on YouTube on the face-

veil, said that most of the videos he uploaded were commentaries by preachers. “I got a lot of comments on these videos from people who were either supporters of the videos or highly critical of what the preachers said and even criticized me,” he said, adding that the use of Facebook and YouTube helps him reach a wider audience, especially the youth that want to create change.

The above viewpoints show that Facebook and YouTube users who focused on the face-veil controversy did so for religious purposes hoping to raise awareness on the importance of face-veil and to get people closer to God. It did not seem from the interviews conducted that they were targeting the policy makers.

### **Facebook and YouTube Users on the Fair Access Policy**

Anas Mohamed Ahmed, who created of a Facebook group on the Fair Access Policy, believes that the most important goal of creating a group is to raise awareness among the youth. Although his group attracted only 200 members, there were around 10 very active members on the group posting links to articles published in the traditional media and posting facts from TEDData web site. Although Ahmed does not feel he created the effect that he was hoping for, however, he was satisfied that it was able to create awareness and correct any rumors regarding that policy. Ahmed also believed that the boycott movement did have an effect on the government reversing its decision. Mohammed Al Taher was also one of the creators of the group opposing the Fair Access Policy. His group only managed to attract few hundred members, however, it gained publicity and Al Taher was approached by several newspapers for his viewpoints regarding the policy and regarding the group he created. Nevertheless, he does not think that this group or the media interviews will affect government actions. “After the problem

of the girl who got jailed because of the group she created against the government, everyone started to keep the tone down and no one wants to get into trouble,” said Al Taher.

Haitham El Tabei is another active Facebook user and the creator of a group against the Fair Access Policy, which proved a success as the creator and administrators of the group were invited on Al Ashera Masa’an talk show on *Dream 2 TV*. El Tabei believed that the government postponed its plans when it found that all youth were opposing the Fair Access policy, calling it an “unfair plan.” According to El Tabei, “I think the group was active as we reached 1,000 members in fortnight and about 1,000 wall posts in the same period and proved that Internet policies in Egypt are unjust and unfair. We posted information and data about the Internet policy from all over the world, including newspapers magazines, the Internet and quotes by public figures.”

In contrast with the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict and the face-veil controversy, Facebook and YouTube users involved in the Fair Access Policy did so with the aim to reverse the government decision. Although some believed that no matter what they do, the government will not pay attention to them, however, when they shifted their words into actions, through the boycott and by reaching out to the mainstream media, they were able to make a difference.

The online activity on the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict received the highest interactivity among youth. From the interviews conducted, one can conclude that youth are actively involved in online social networks and they are using the different means possible, either by uploading videos, creating discussion boards or creating fan pages, to voice their opinion and to connect with one another. Some of them are aware that the government is paying attention to what is being posted on Facebook and YouTube, regardless of whether the government will act on it or not.

## V. QUANTITATIVE DATA

### 5.1 Description of Quantitative Data Collected

An overall number of 238 questionnaires were collected from AUC and CU; of those 120 were used from AUC and 118 were used from CU. The questionnaire was distributed using two methods, including Survey Monkey and self-administered. The e-mails of graduate and undergraduate AUC students were obtained from the Office of Institutional Research from the Students Information System, which contains a database of all students enrolled at AUC. They provided me with 180 e-mail addresses of undergraduate students enrolled at AUC and 100 e-mails of graduate students. The e-mails of graduate and undergraduate CU students were obtained through friends. The self-administered questionnaire distributed to CU students was translated into Arabic to guarantee a high response rate. Respondents were told that this was an academic study focusing on the effects of electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube, on public policy, as in the introduction letter of the questionnaire in Appendix C. The questionnaire used was composed of 17 questions, excluding data on the respondent's age, job, university degree, major, gender and nationality. Questions regarding respondents' use of Facebook and YouTube and their knowledge of the three case studies, namely the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, the face-veil controversy and the Fair Access Policy, were seen as necessary to attempt to group the sample within a specific category.

A pretesting of the questionnaire was done on 13 students at AUC who fit the parameters of interest. The changes included:

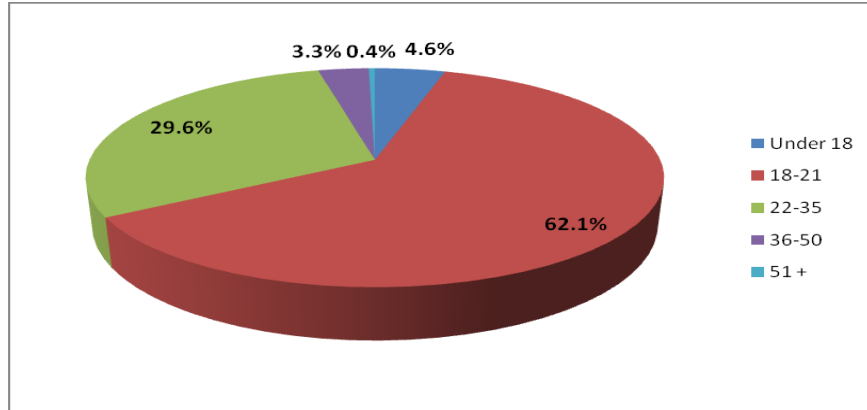
1. Adding online and print newspapers to question 1

2. Changing the wording of question 2 and 3 asking the respondents to rank from 1 to 7 or from 1 to 4 with one being the lowest, to avoid confusion
3. Changing question 4 and question 5 to become a multiple choice question, instead of an open answer

The survey was approved by the Institutional Research Board at AUC and it took around two weeks to collect the data required. The purpose of the questionnaire was to identify the effect of Facebook and YouTube on public policy making through youth's participation, behavior and knowledge on the three case studies. The questionnaire tried to assess the degree of usability of youth on Facebook and YouTube as a source of political news, and the extent of which youth actively followed the three case studies. It also tried to study the perception of youth on the impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian society, mainstream media and public policy making. The answers were later re-coded using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

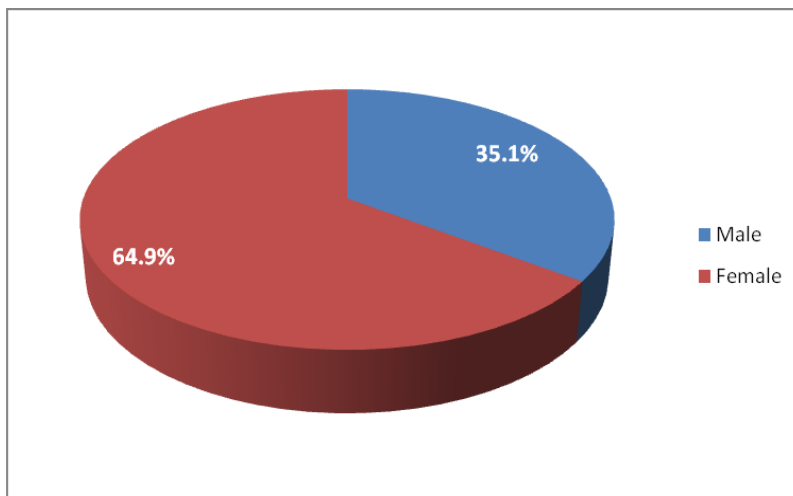
The sample obtained was composed of different age groups, including those under 18, between the ages of 18-21, 22-35, 36-50 and above 51. The age groups used for analysis as they were the target audience and got the highest response rate, as shown in Figure 4, were between 18-21 and 22-35. There were 149 responses between the age of 18-21; 49% of which were from AUC and 75% were from CU; and there were 70 respondents between the age of 22-35, 43% of which were from AUC and 17% were from Cairo University.

**Figure 4: Distribution of Respondents by Age**



The sample was also composed of 154 females and 84 males as shown in Figure 5, where 68% of the females were from AUC and 61% were from CU, and 32% of the males were from AUC compared to 40% were from CU. Restricting the response rate between males and females to be equal in numbers was not feasible as it was distributed using Survey Monkey and on one-on-one according to convenience. A deeper look will be taken in the next chapter to determine whether there is a significant difference among the different groups in regards to their responses.

**Figure 5: Distribution of Respondents by Gender**





## 5.2 Findings and Results

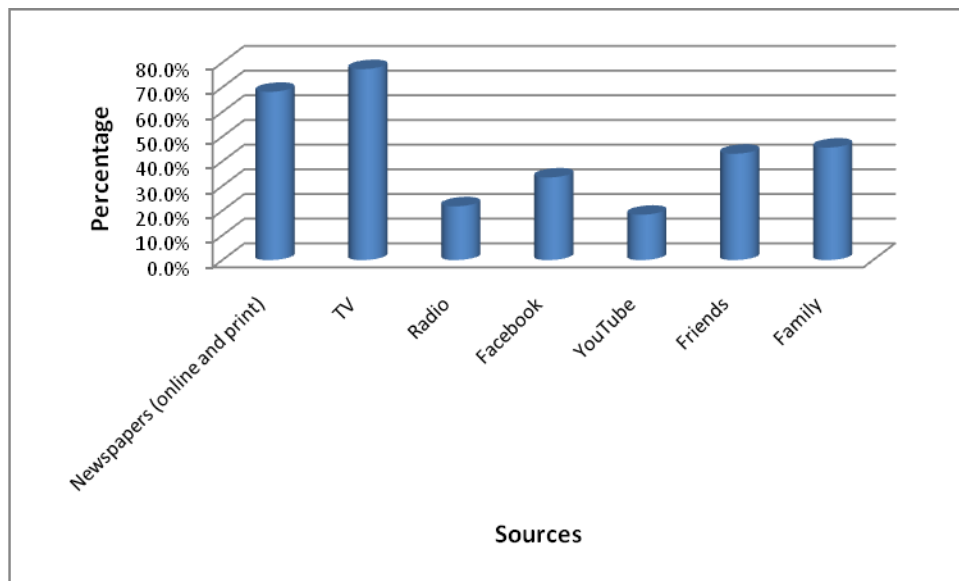
The data was analyzed using the 16<sup>th</sup> version of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Variables were described in terms of frequency and percentage. The test conducted included Chi-square (two tailed test). The significant level was measured according to P value (probability), where  $P > 0.05$  is insignificant and  $P < 0.05$  is significant. NS stands for non-significant and S stands for significance.

This section provides an examination of all response rates, including AUC and Cairo University and other classifications, including age, gender and university degree without examining the significant differences between them, which will follow in the next section.

### Sources of Political Views:

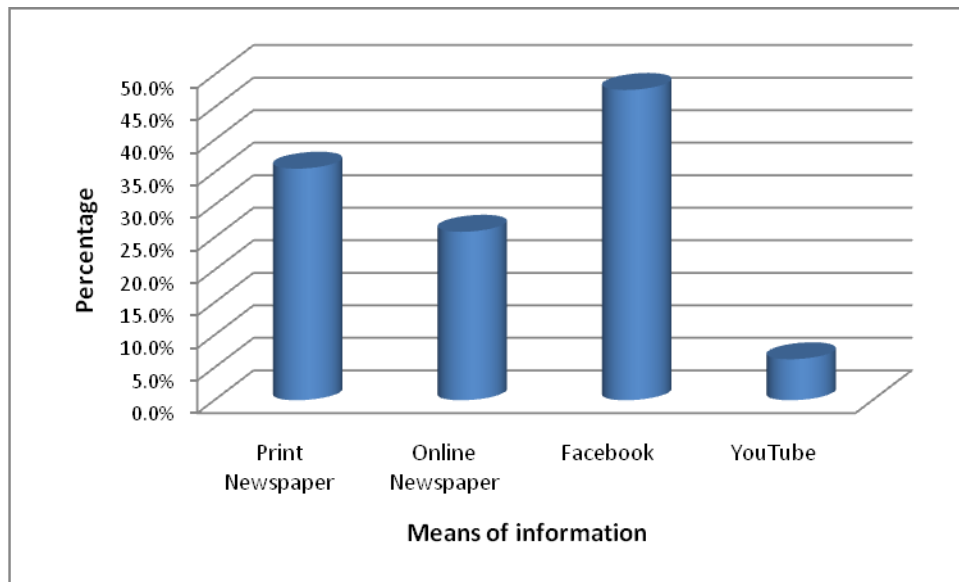
Out of all the responses, 77% of the respondents used television for political news, followed by online and print newspapers, which accounted for 68%, followed by family and then friends with minimal difference. Facebook ranked fifth with 34% who used it for political news and YouTube came in last with 18% (Figure 6).

**Figure 6: Sources Used for Political News by Survey Respondents**



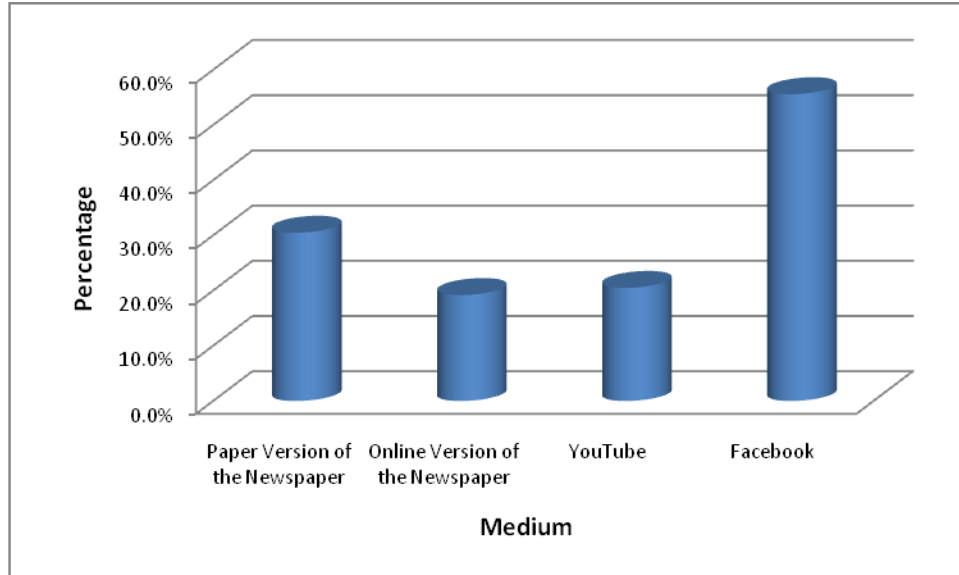
Television ranked the most credible source of news with the highest mean of 4.87, followed by newspapers with a mean of 4.62. YouTube and Facebook came in last with the least credibility, with 3.44 and 3.35 respectively, as shown in Table 2 (all tables illustrated in appendix D). Out of the four used ways of sharing information, which included e-mail, Facebook, YouTube and blogs, Facebook ranked the highest with a 3.04 mean, followed by e-mail with a 2.97 mean, followed by YouTube and blogs, accounting for 2.26 and 1.74 respectively, as shown in Table 3. When the respondents were asked how they got their news the day prior of taking the survey, as shown in Figure 7, Facebook got the highest response rate with 48%, followed by print newspapers with 36%, followed by online newspapers with 26%.

**Figure 7: Source of News Prior to Taking the Survey**



Following up on that, according to Figure 8, Facebook also got the highest percentage for the longest time spent on it compared to print newspaper, online newspaper and YouTube, where 56% said they spend more time on Facebook, while 31% said they spend more time reading the print newspaper, while 19% said they spend more time reading online newspapers and 21% said they spend more time on YouTube.

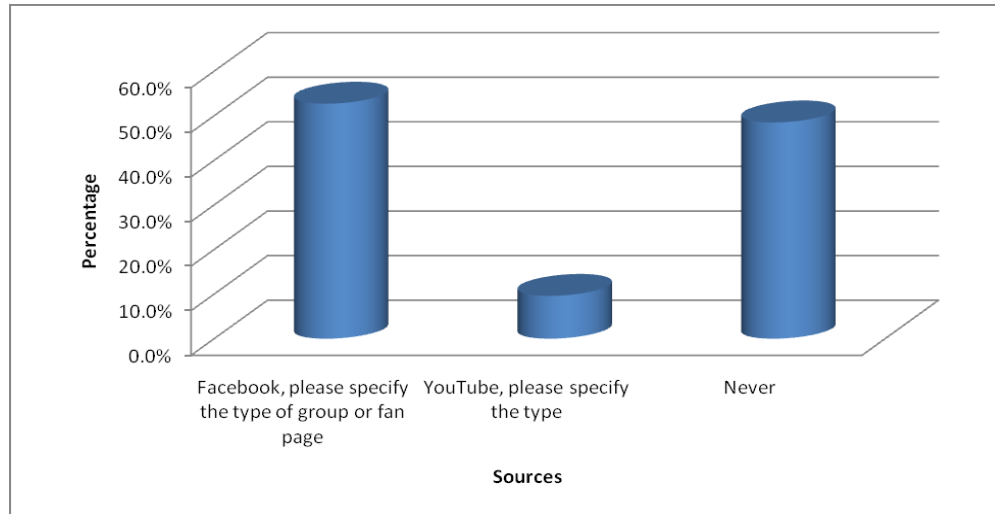
**Figure 8: Time Spent on Each Medium**



**Facebook and YouTube Usability by Youth:**

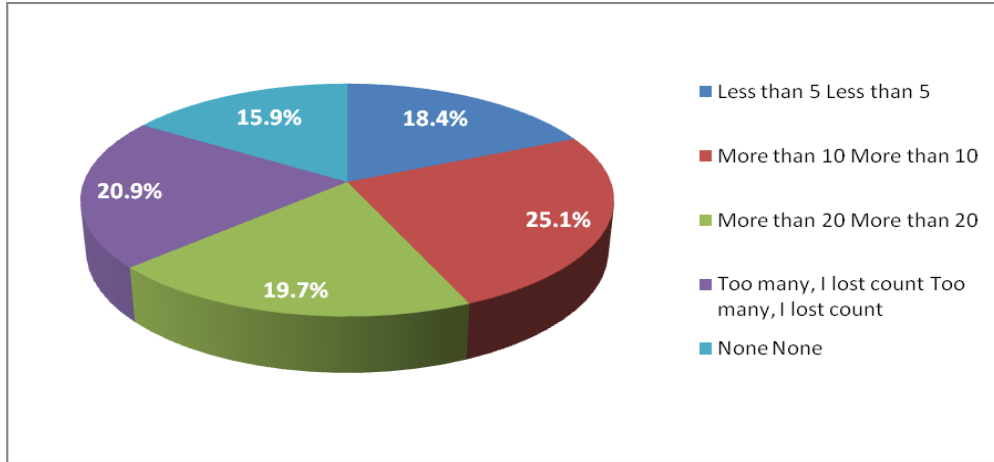
Out of the 238 respondents, 53% had friends who created a group on Facebook, while only 10% had friends who created a channel on YouTube, as shown in Figure 9. According to the open-ended questions asking the respondents to state the type of groups or channels created, there were only 65 responses, most of which reported their friends creating groups related to politics, three of which had friends create a group on the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict and the rest of the groups created on Facebook revolved around entertainment groups, school reunions or social issues. With regards to YouTube, there were around 12 responses only and the type of channels revolved around music, entertainment, soccer, cultural and social issues.

**Figure 9: Friends who Created a Group or Channel on Facebook and YouTube**

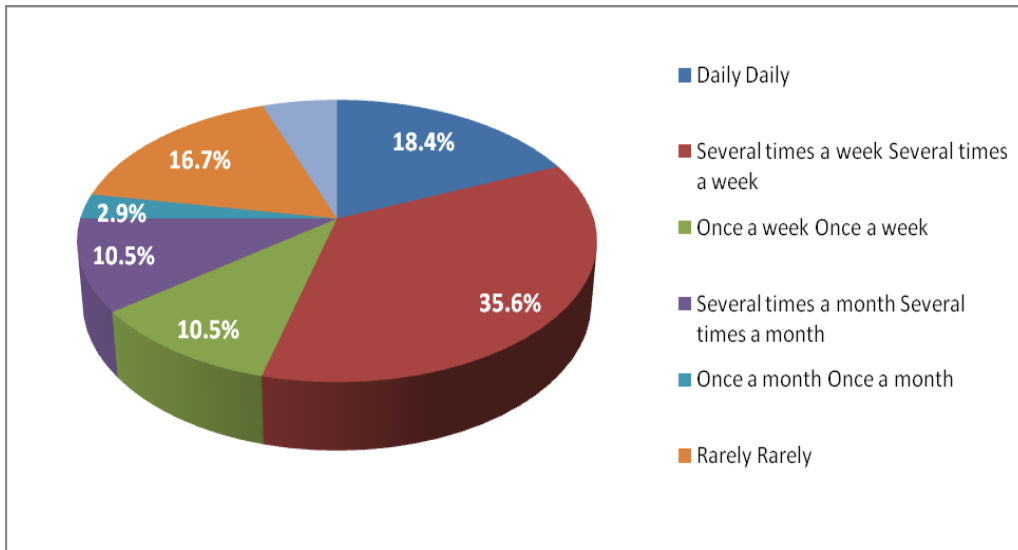


As for how many groups the respondents are a member of on Facebook, Figure 10 shows that 25% are at least members of more than 10 groups on Facebook, while 21% are members of too many groups on Facebook that they lost count. As in Figure 11, it also shows that 36% view videos on YouTube several times a week, 18% said they watch it daily, while 17% said they rarely watch videos on YouTube. According to these figures, Facebook is used more often than YouTube, however, with regards to credibility and usability as a source for political news, newspapers and television ranked higher. This is an indicator that the usability of Facebook as social networking site, connecting with friends and sharing photos, is more applicable to the respondents of this questionnaire. Nevertheless, the high membership of political groups is an indicator of the behavior of Facebook users, where they may join political groups as a support for a cause, but not necessarily to be politically active or use it for political news.

**Figure 10: Group Membership on Facebook**



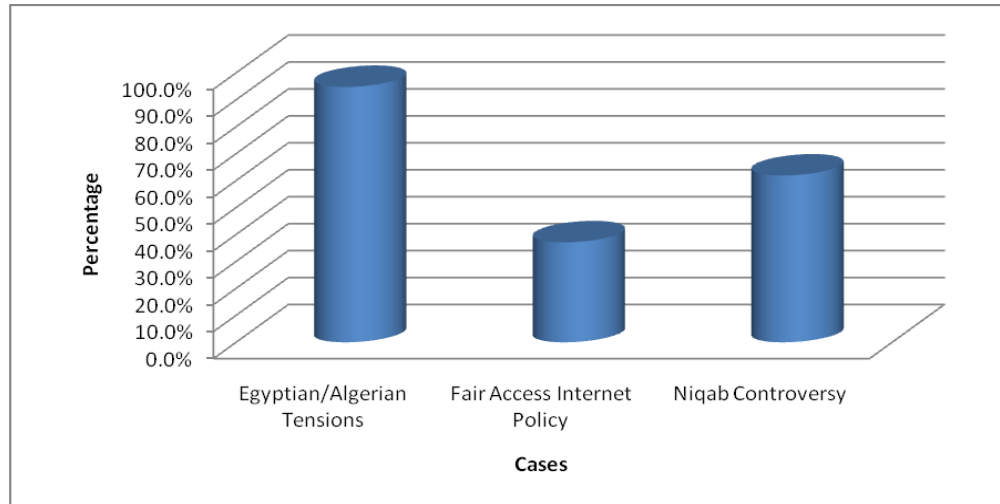
**Figure 11: Frequency of Video Viewership on YouTube**



**Examination of the Three Case Studies**

With regards to the three cases, as shown in Figure 12, the highest response rate was for the Egyptian/Algerian case where 95% of the respondents said they followed it; 62% said they followed the face-veil controversy; and 37% said they followed the Fair Access Policy.

**Figure 12: Distribution of Survey Respondents Following the Three Case Studies**



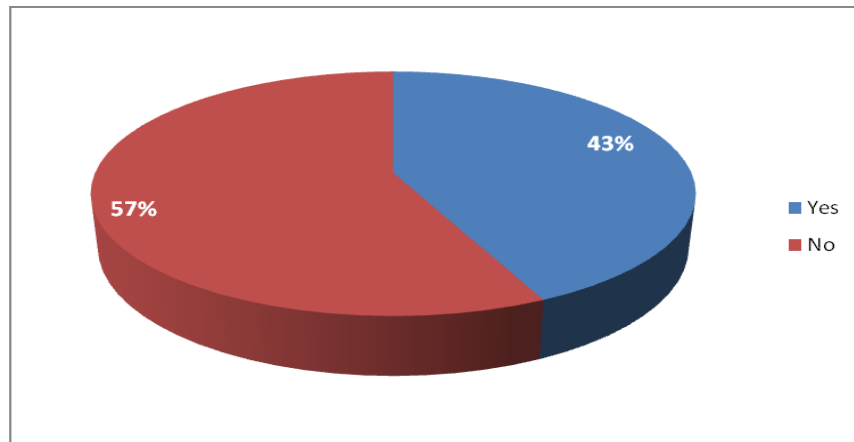
Out of these respondents, as shown in Table 4, with regards to the Egyptian and Algerian football conflict, 137 of the respondents got their news from satellite television, followed by Facebook with 126 responses and YouTube with 81 responses. For the Fair Access Policy, out of the respondents who followed the case, Facebook got the highest rank accounting for 44 responses, followed by online newspaper, which were 29. As for the face-veil controversy, the highest number of people got their news from satellite television, which amounted for 93 responses, followed by online newspaper with 64 responses, national television with 53 responses and Facebook with 48 responses. YouTube came with only 17 responses with regards the face-veil controversy. This shows that the case that was followed by all the respondents from AUC and CU was the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, and it also supports the above indication that satellite television is used more often by the respondents of this questionnaire. The other two cases are not as popular as the aforementioned case. It is also worthy to note, that the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict is the most recent case, and it is still ongoing.

As shown in Table 5, out of those who followed the Egyptian and Algerian football conflict, 78 out of the 207 respondents believed Facebook and YouTube had a strong impact on

government action, while 54 believed it had a very strong impact, 34 believed there was no impact at all, 27 saw the impact as weak, while 14 saw the impact as very weak. For the Fair Access Policy, out of the 131 respondents who followed the case, 37 believed it had no impact at all, while 36 believed it had a weak impact, and 24 believed it had a strong impact. For the face-veil controversy, out of the 157 respondents, 43 saw there was no impact, 42 saw the impact as weak, while 33 believed there was a strong impact. Again, this also shows the popularity and effect of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, not only among youth, but according to the respondents of this survey, among policy makers.

The responses of those who believe Facebook and YouTube have an effect on public policy making, 57% saw that it does not have an impact on public policy making, while 43% saw that it does have an impact on public policy making. Figure 13 shows that the general youth are divided on their thoughts on whether Facebook and YouTube can create change.

**Figure 13: Impact of Facebook and YouTube on Public Policy Making**



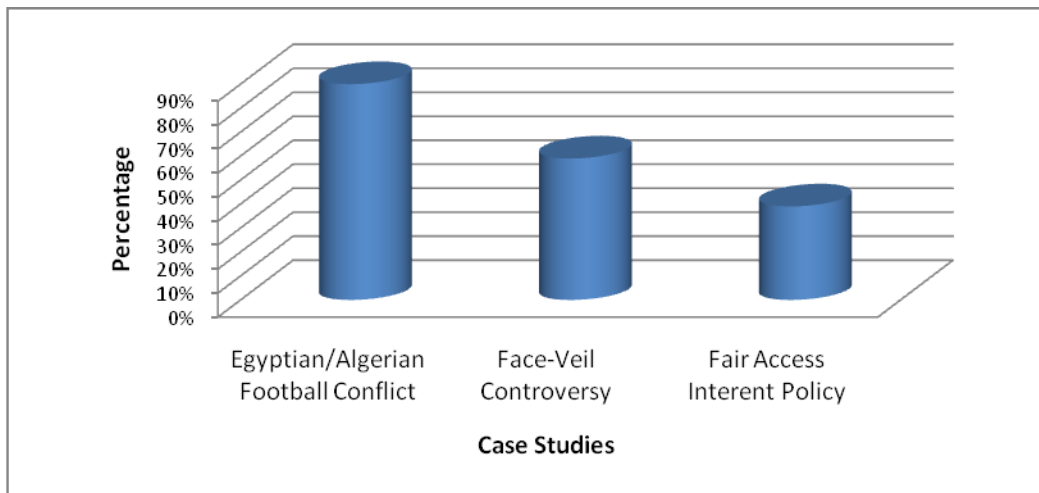
As for the rating scale of the respondents' beliefs on the power and influence of Facebook and YouTube, the answers shown in Table 6 reveal that the most of the respondents believe that Facebook and YouTube are growing in influence and do have an impact on the

mainstream media and society as a whole, and that the government is aware of the power of Facebook and YouTube. Although the highest response rate believed that Facebook and YouTube had no impact on public policy making, nevertheless, they still acknowledge their power and influence in the Egyptian society.

### 5.2.1 Examination of Facebook Users

An examination of whether there was a correlation between respondents' use of Facebook and their views regarding the three case studies was conducted using the Chi-Square test. As shown in Figure 14, out of the people who chose Facebook as their source of political news, which accounted for 80 respondents, 90% followed the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, while 59% followed the face-veil controversy and 39% followed the Fair Access Policy.

**Figure 14: Distribution of Facebook Users Following the Three Case Studies**

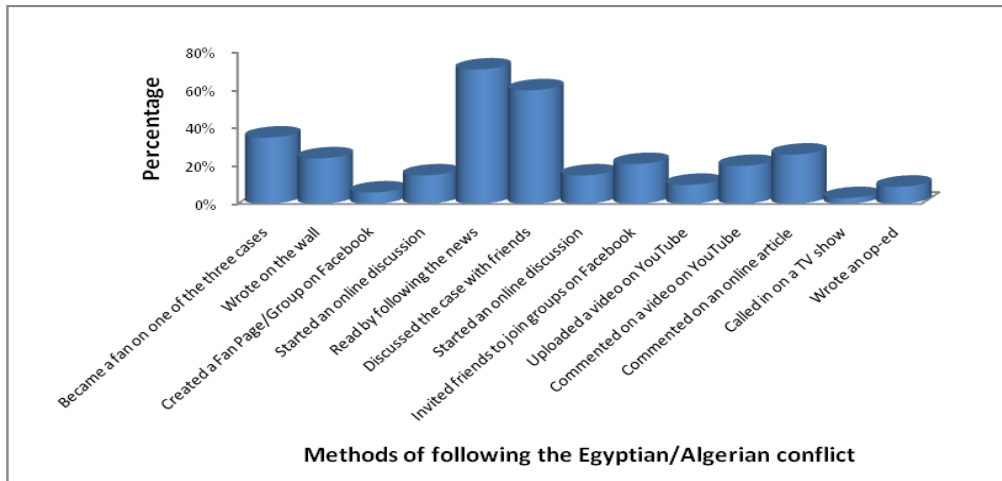


Tables 7-19 illustrate how Facebook users have followed the three case studies. The highest response rate for the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict was 71%, where the highest number of respondents followed the case by reading the news, followed by 60%, which discussed the case with their friends, followed by 35%, whom reported became a fan on Facebook and 24% actually wrote on the wall of the pages on the Egyptian/Algerian football

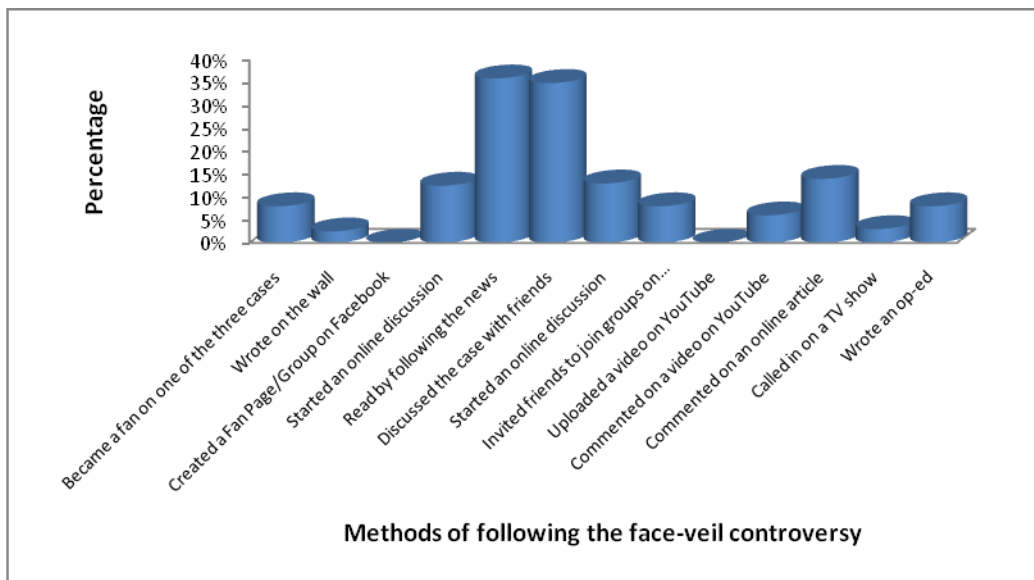


conflict. Tables 7-19 also show that the respondents were actively following the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict more than the other two cases, which shows the high popularity of that particular case among Facebook users. Similar to the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, the highest number of people followed the face-veil controversy by the reading the news, which accounted for 36% and the Fair Access Policy by 19%. (Figures 15 – 17)

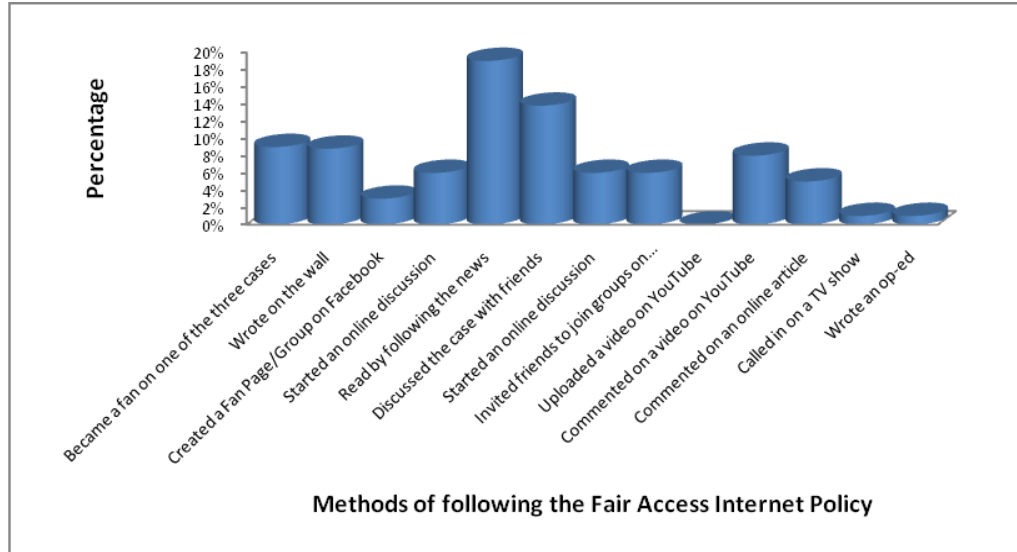
**Figure 15: Distribution of Facebook Users Following the Egyptian/Algerian Case**



**Figure 16: Distribution of Facebook Users Following the Face-Veil Controversy**



**Figure 17: Distribution of Facebook Users Following the Fair Access Policy**



Out of the 80 responses who use Facebook for political news, Tables 20-22 show the perceived impact of Facebook and YouTube on the three cases, where 75% believed that Facebook did have an impact on government action regarding the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, 35% of which believed it had a strong impact and 30% believed that it had a very strong impact. Out of the 80 responses that use Facebook for political news, of which 59% followed the face-veil controversy, the answers also varied where 21% of them believed that Facebook and YouTube had no impact on the face-veil controversy, while 16% believed that it had a strong impact and 15% believed it had a weak impact. In comparison to the Fair Access Policy, the answers varied where 20% of which believed Facebook and YouTube had no impact on government decisions and 15% believed it had a strong impact. Having said that, it shows that the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict not only that it had the highest response rate, but it was the highest in terms of its effect on government action. Nevertheless, as shown in Table 23, 56% of Facebook users for this questionnaire believe that their participation in Facebook and YouTube cannot affect public policy making, compared to 43%, which is not a huge difference.

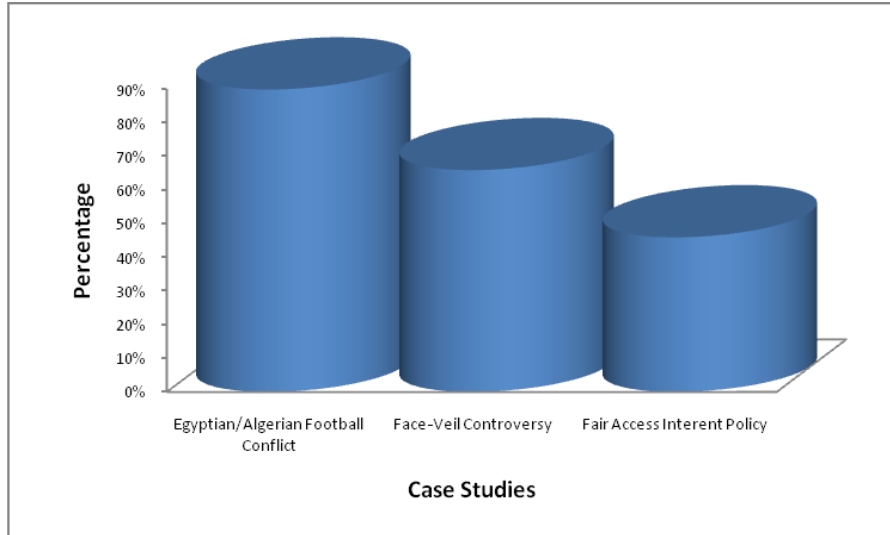
This shows that although a high percentage believed it had an impact on the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, nevertheless, in the other cases and in general, Facebook and YouTube do not affect government actions.

Responding to their beliefs on how strongly they perceive the power and influence of Facebook and YouTube in the Egyptian society in relation to public policy and government action, the responses in Tables 24-32 show that the highest percentage of Facebook users (N=80) acknowledge the power and influence of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian society and on government action. So although, it may not affect government decisions as indicated by the above responses, nevertheless, they do believe that Facebook and YouTube are growing in power and are being acknowledged by the government. Another indicator that shows that although Facebook and YouTube are growing in power, yet they do not affect government decisions, is shown in the belief that 29%, which is the highest response rate, felt neutral towards the fact that Facebook and YouTube encourages political leaders to do their job. These numbers show that there is a misunderstanding among Facebook users on the meaning of public policy and government action according to the operational definition of this study. Since the government acknowledges the power of Facebook and YouTube and puts them on its agenda, then this is an indication on their impact on public policy making process.

### **5.2.2 Examinations of YouTube Users**

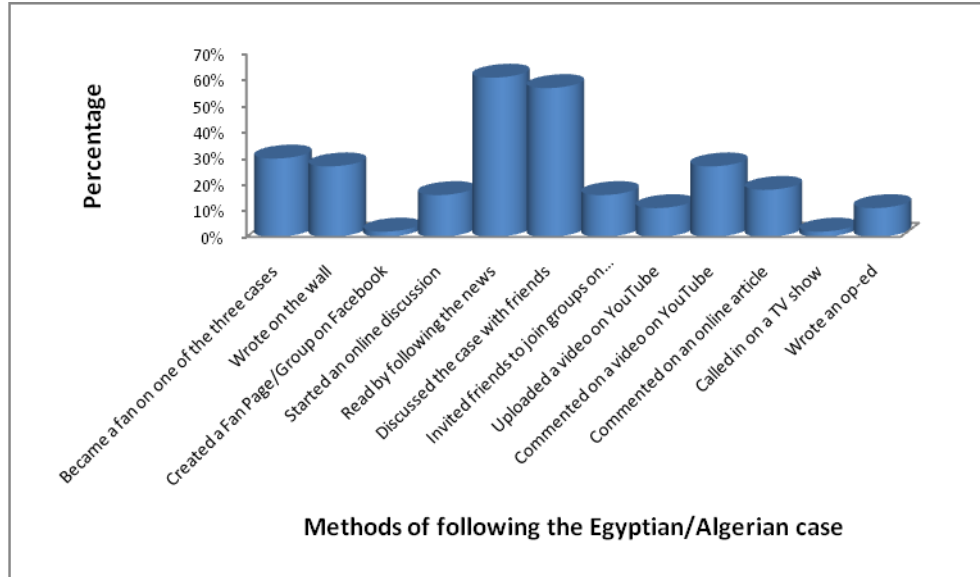
Out of the people who chose YouTube (N=44) as their source of political news, 90% followed the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, while 66% followed the face-veil controversy and 46% followed the Fair Access policy. This shows that the respondents of the survey used Facebook more often YouTube.

**Figure 18: Distribution of YouTube Users Following the Three Case Studies**

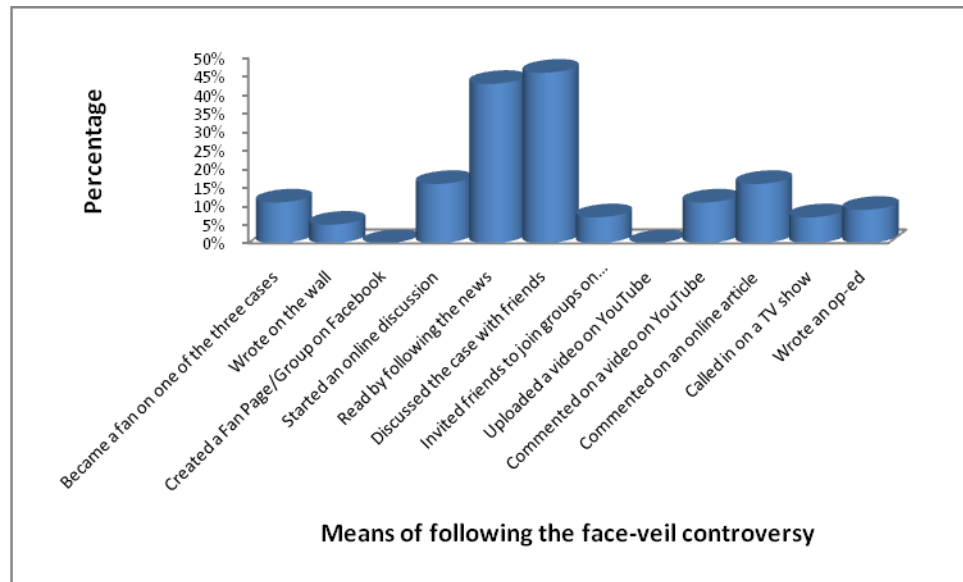


Tables 33-44 illustrate how YouTube users have followed the three case studies, which shows that the highest number of respondents followed the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict by following the news, which accounts to 61% and a total of 27% commented on a video on YouTube, as well as 11% actually uploaded a video on YouTube regarding the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, which is not a small percentage, especially, compared to two other case studies. For instance, with regards to the Fair Access Policy, the highest percentage after discussing the issue with friends, which accounted for 23%, was following the issue by reading the news, which accounted for 21%. Surprisingly, none of the respondents reported uploading a video on YouTube and 11% reported commenting on a video on YouTube. As for the face-veil controversy, similar to the other two cases, the highest response rate was for those who followed the case by reading the news, which accounted for 43% and 16% reported starting an online discussion and commenting on an online article. Similar to the Fair Access Policy, none of the respondents uploaded a video on YouTube on the face-veil issue, whereas, 11% reported commenting on a video uploaded on YouTube.

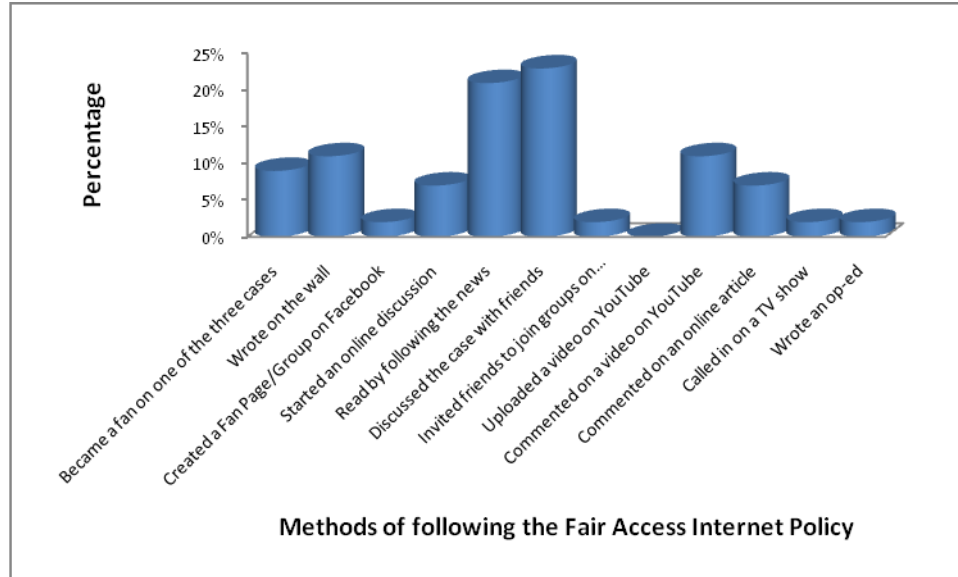
**Figure 19: Distribution of YouTube Users Following the Egyptian/Algerian Case**



**Figure 20: Distribution of YouTube Users Following the Face-Veil Controversy**



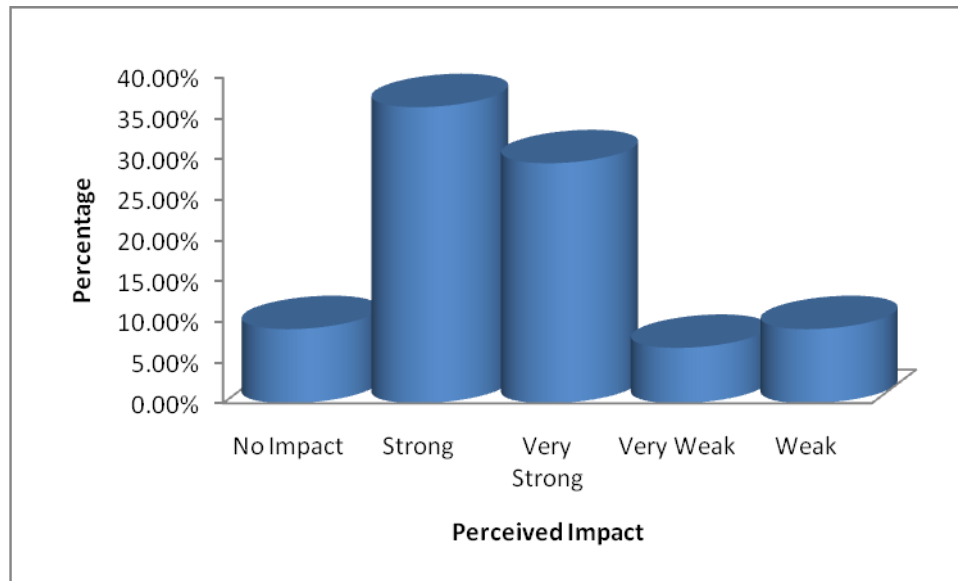
**Figure 21: Distribution of YouTube Users Following the Fair Access Policy**



Out of the 90% of YouTube users who followed the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, 36% believed that it had a strong impact on government actions, as shown in Table 45, followed by 30% who believed it had a very strong impact. This is compared to the Fair Access Policy case, where out of the 46% of the respondents who followed the case. The answers varied where 16% believed Facebook and YouTube had a strong impact on government action and another 16% believed it had a weak impact (Table 46). In addition, out of the 66% who followed the face-veil controversy, the highest percentage was among those who believed it had a very weak to no impact at all on the government decisions, of which 16% and 23% respectively (Table 47).

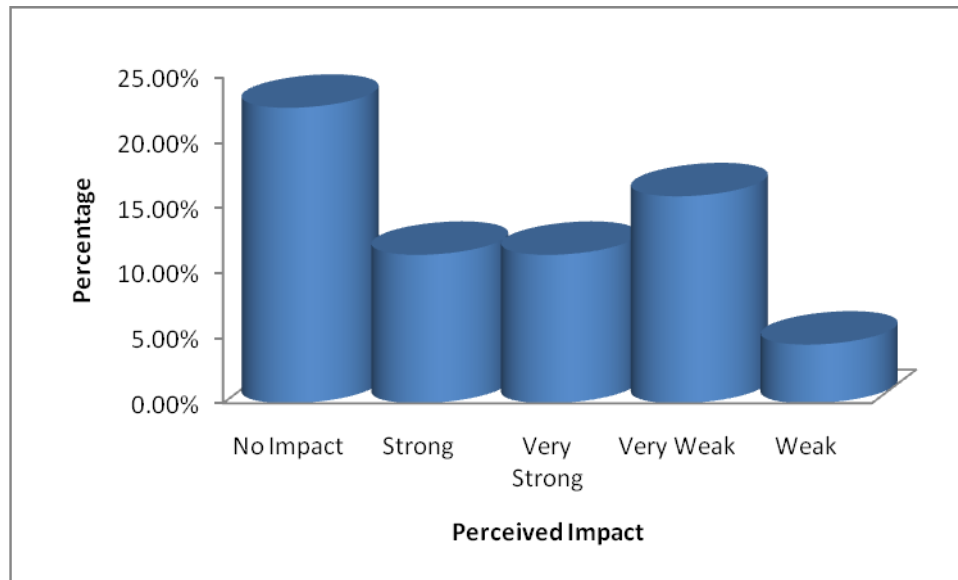
**Figure 22: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian/Algerian Case**

**Among YouTube Users**



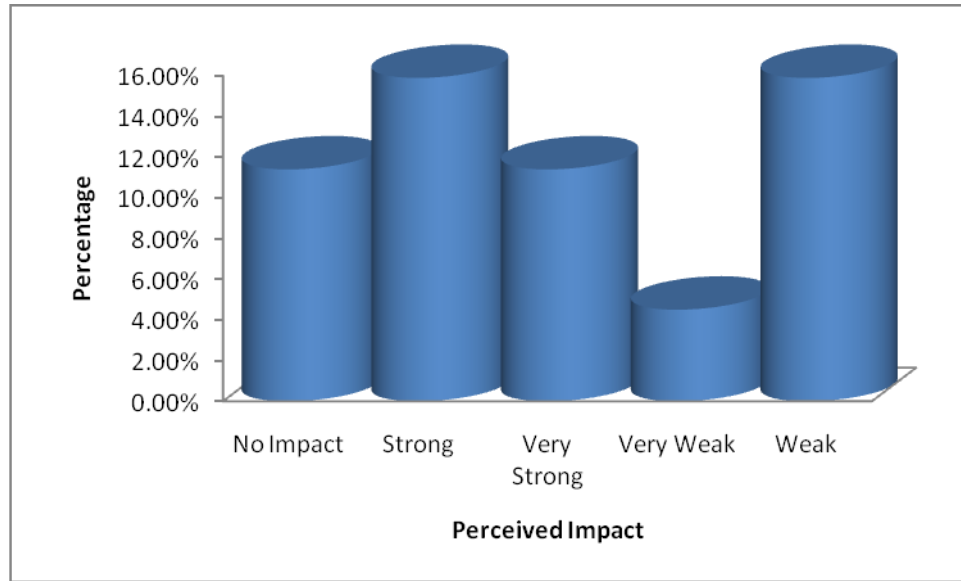
**Figure 23: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Face-Veil Controversy Among YouTube Users**

**Controversy Among YouTube Users**



**Figure 24: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Fair Access Policy**

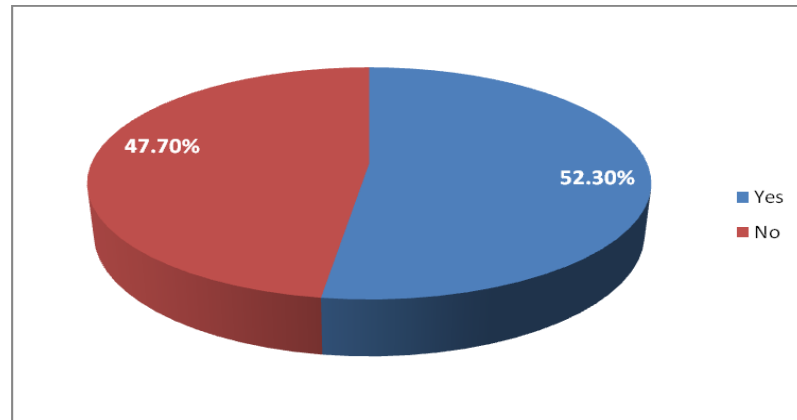
**Among YouTube Users**



This also brings back to the indication that the Egyptian/Algerian case had the most effect on the government action, according to the response rate of Facebook and YouTube users, which also shows that it had the most popularity among both users. Nevertheless, opposed to the response rate of Facebook users, who believed that Facebook and YouTube do not affect government actions, accounting to 58% compared to 43%, YouTube users believed that it does have an impact on government actions accounting for 52% compared to 48%, which is also not a big difference, as shown in Table 48.



**Figure 25: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube on Government Action  
Among YouTube Users**



Responding to their beliefs on how strongly they perceive the power and influence of Facebook and YouTube in the Egyptian society in relation to public policy and government action, most of the YouTube users (N=44) acknowledged the popularity of Facebook and YouTube, where 50% of the respondents agreed that it is growing in influence and 36% agree that the government is aware of the influence of Facebook and YouTube. The results also show that 48% of the respondents believe that Facebook and YouTube have a positive impact on the Egyptian society. In addition, 34% disagree on the fact that criticizing political leaders hinders them from doing their job, while the same percentage agrees that it encourages them to do their job. This percentage also explains the results explained above, which shows that YouTube users believe that Facebook and YouTube can have an impact on public policy making, more than those of Facebook users (Tables 49- 57).

### **5.2.3 Examination of the Correlation of the Respondents' Sex**

An examination of whether there was a correlation between respondents' sex and their usability of Facebook and YouTube and their knowledge on the three case studies, was also conducted using the Chi-Square test to determine whether there is a significant difference or not.

It is worth noting that there were 154 female respondents to the questionnaire compared to 84 male respondents. As shown in Tables 58-63, there was no significant difference between males and females with regards to their usability of Facebook and YouTube. There was only a significant difference of 0.025 in the use of television and their belief on the credibility of television with a significant different of 0.01. There was also significant difference between females and males in regards to their viewership frequency on YouTube with 0.001 significant difference where males watch more videos than females, as shown in Table 64.

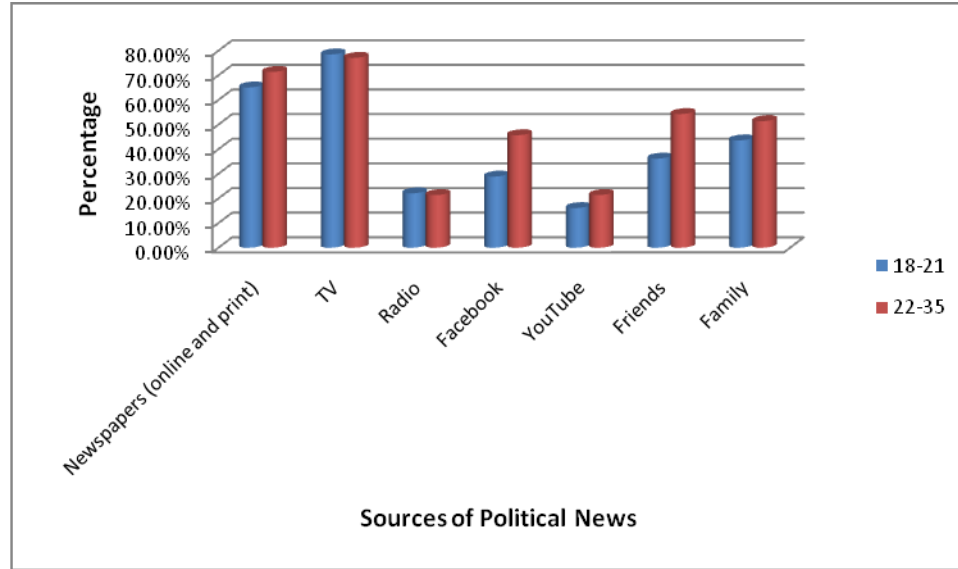
### **Examination of the Correlation of Respondents' Sex and Three Case Studies**

There wasn't any significant difference between males and females in following the three cases; however, there was significant difference in how they followed the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, where more females followed it on national television than males with a significance of 0.023. As for the Fair Access Policy, there was a significant different of 0.017 in following the case on the online version on the newspapers, which amounted to 19% of males compared to only 8% of females. As for their perceived impact of Facebook and YouTube with the regards to the Fair Access Policy, there was a significant of 0.02. All in all, this refutes the null hypothesis that there is a significant difference in general between males and females with regards to their usability and their viewpoints on the impact of Facebook and YouTube.

#### **5.2.4 Examination of the Correlation of the Respondents' Age**

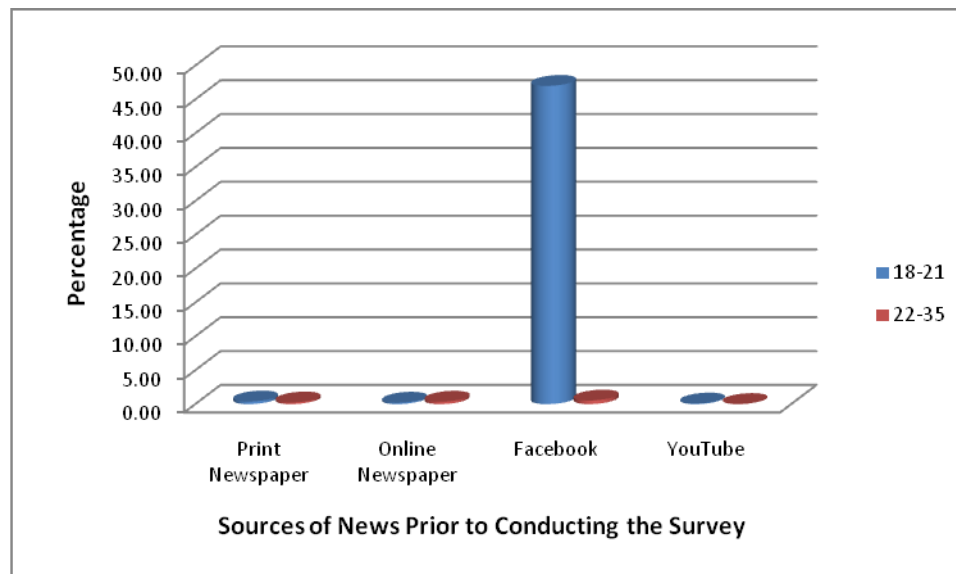
I analyzed the two main age groups derived from the questionnaire, which were between 18-21 years old, composed of 149 respondents, and 22-35, composed of 70 respondents. There was a significant difference between the younger and the older age group to the means they used for political news, where 29% of the younger age group said they used Facebook, compared to 46% of the older age group, concluding with the parameters of 0.014 (Table 65).

**Figure 26: Distribution of Respondents' Age and the Sources of Political News**



When asked what they read the day before they conducted the questionnaire, there was a significant difference in how many read the newspaper online, where the younger age group had a percentage of 31% compared to 25% of the older age group, which concluded with the parameters of 0.018. There was also significant difference with regards to who got the news from YouTube where the younger age group amounted to 13% compared to 1%, creating the parameters of 0.040. This indicates that the younger generation is more prone to use the Internet and get their news online, as shown in Table 66.

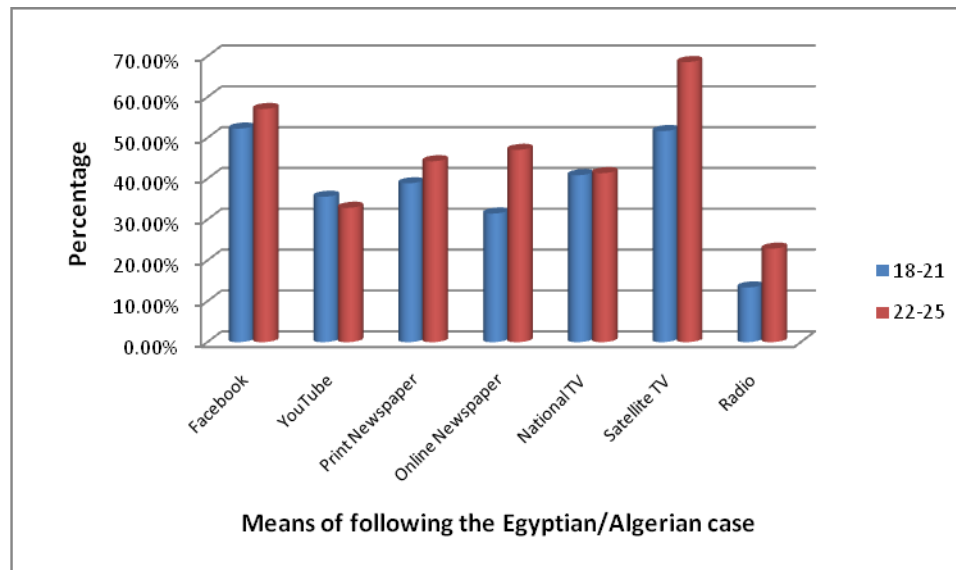
**Figure 27: Distribution of the Respondents' Age and their Source of News Prior to Conducting the Survey**



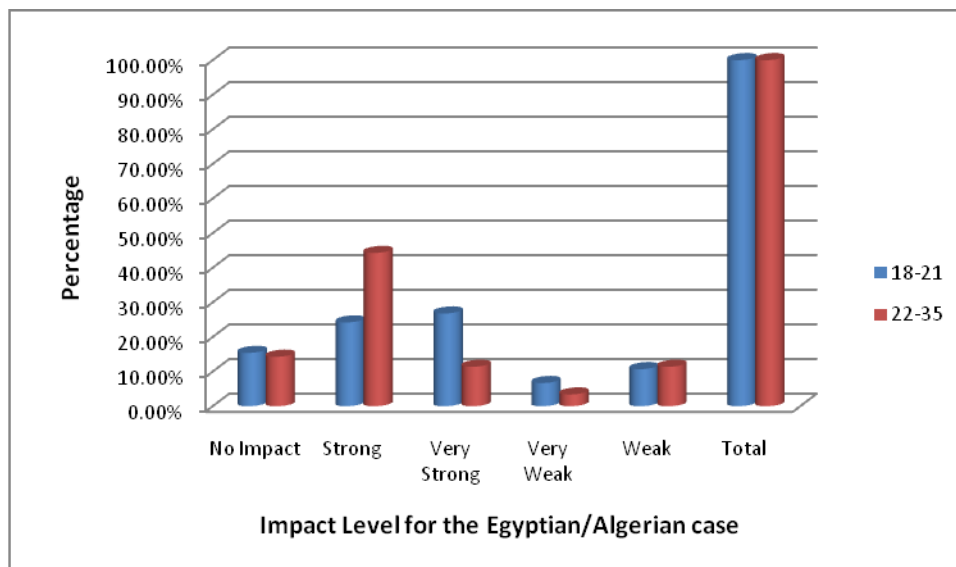
### **Examination of the Correlation of Respondents' Age and Three Case Studies**

There wasn't any significant difference with regards to age and following the three cases, however, there was significant different on how they were following them. For the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, the age group of 18-21 followed online articles and television more than the age group of 22-35. There is a significant difference of 0.025 for online articles and a significant difference of 0.019 for satellite television. This is also an indication that the age group of 18-21 are more active on the Internet. Regarding their perceived impact of Facebook and YouTube on the three case studies as shown in Figure 29, there was a significant difference in the Egyptian/Algerian case with parameters amounting to 0.04, where 24% of the 18-21 believed Facebook and YouTube had a strong impact on the Egyptian/Algerian tensions, compared to 44% of the 22-35 age group, and 26% of the younger age group perceived it had a very strong impact compared to 11% of the older age group. This shows that both age groups acknowledged the role electronic media played in the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict.

**Figure 28: Distribution of Respondents' Age and the Means of Following the Egyptian/Algerian Case**



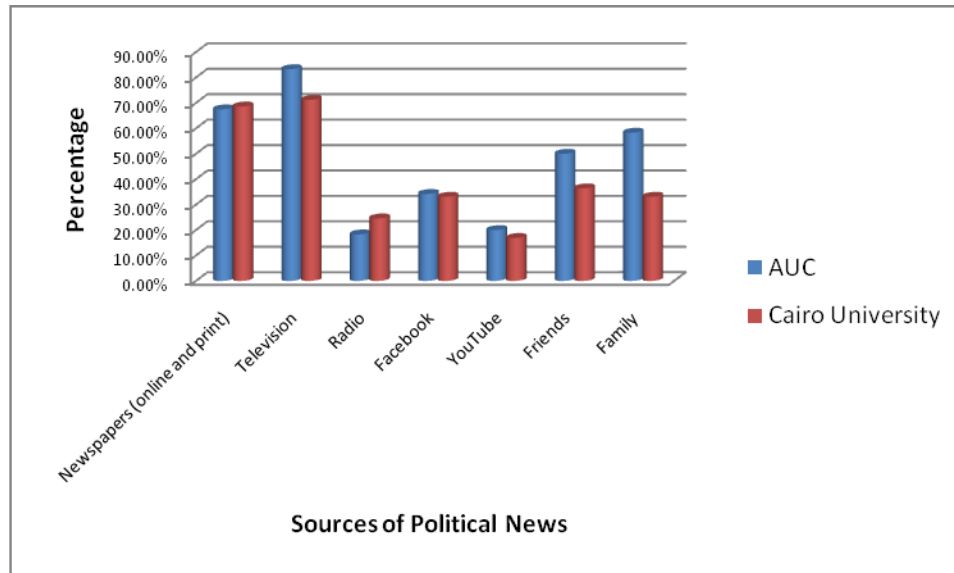
**Figure 29: Distribution of Respondents' Age and the Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian/Algerian Football Conflict**



### 5.2.4 Examination of the Correlation of the Respondents' University

With regards to the correlation between AUC and CU, there was a 0.025 level of significance for those who used television for political news, where 83% of them were AUC students and 71% were from CU. There was no significant difference for those who used Facebook and YouTube for political news (Table 69).

**Figure 30: Distribution of Respondents' University and Sources for Political News**

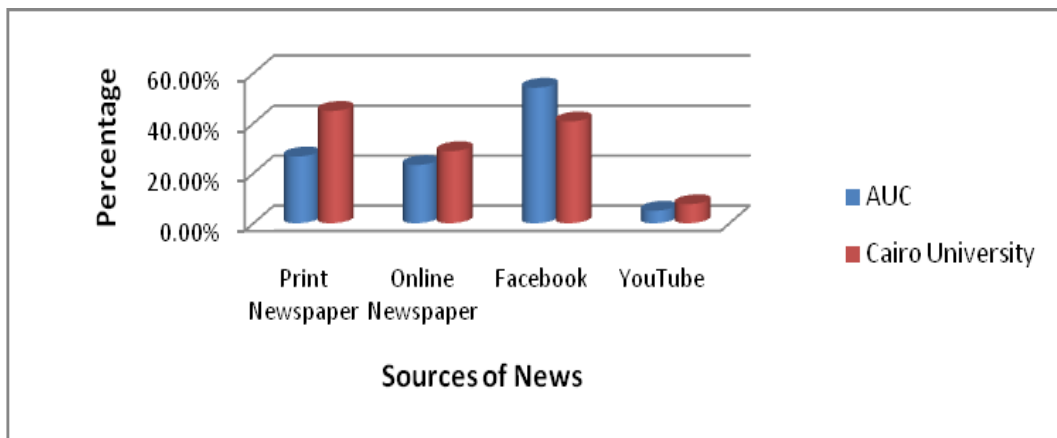


There was a significant difference between CU and AUC on how they perceived the level of credibility for the different sources for news (Tables 71-76). For instance, for newspapers, there was a level of significance of 0.01, where 43% of AUC students ranked newspapers the highest level of credibility, compared to 18% of CU students. As for television, there was a perceived level of significance of 0.01, where 41% of AUC students gave television the second highest level of credibility, compared to 17% of CU students. It is worth noting that 23% of CU students ranked television the first highest level of credibility. The third highest level of credibility that was chosen by AUC students was given to radio, where there was a 0.003 level of significance, in which AUC students accounted for 40% and CU students accounted for 18%.

For radio, 25% of CU students marked three for its level of credibility. As for Family, 38% of AUC students gave it a rank of 4 in terms of its credibility with one being the lowest, and 23% of CU students gave it a rank of 7 in terms of credibility, where there was a level of significance of 0.019. The highest percentage of AUC students, accounting for 31%, ranked 3 in terms of credibility for friends where the highest number of CU, accounting for 23% gave it a rank of 6, causing a level of significance of 0.01 between AUC and CU. Facebook and YouTube came in last in terms of perceived credibility where Facebook ranked second lowest credible source of news and YouTube marked the lowest credible source. There was a 0.038 level of significance with regards to Facebook, where AUC students accounted for 24% and CU accounted for 21%. For YouTube, there was significant difference of 0.02, where AUC students accounted for 23% and CU for 17%. In terms of the most the most method used to share information, the highest percentage of CU students ranked e-mail the highest that is used to share information. Around 36% of CU gave e-mail the fourth level of usability, with one being the lowest, while 41% of AUC students gave it a rank of three, where there was a level of significance of 0.026. Facebook also ranked very high in terms of usability among AUC and CU students, where both AUC and CU students gave it the highest rank of four with 49% and 37% respectively with a level of significance of 0.026. YouTube marked the second highest method used with a 0.008 significant difference between AUC, which accounted for 61% and CU, accounted for 42%. Blogging came in last with a 0.037 level of significance between AUC, which accounted for 71% and Cairo University, which accounted for 54% (Tables 77-80). These figures aforementioned clearly indicate that there is a significant difference between AUC and CU in what they prefer to rely on for news and how they prefer to share information online.

When asked how the participants of the survey got their news the day prior to receiving this survey, as shown in Table 81, there was significant difference between the responses from AUC and CU. For AUC, the highest responses were for Facebook, with a 0.037 significant difference from CU. As for CU, the highest response rate was for print newspaper, which had a significant difference of 0.003 with AUC, which also supports the above figures and indicates that AUC students rely more on Facebook.

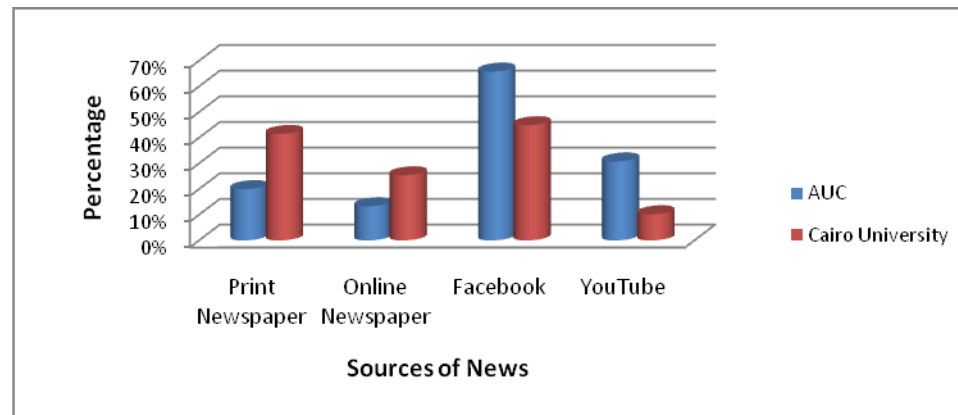
**Figure 31: Distribution of Respondents' University and Sources of News Prior to Conducting the Survey**



With regards to the amount of time spent on print newspapers, online newspapers, Facebook and YouTube, as shown in Table 82, there was also a level of significance between the two categories, where Facebook received the highest rates among both AUC and CU followed by YouTube, with a level of significance of 0.001 and 0.000 respectively.



**Figure 32: Distribution of Respondents' University and Time Spent on Different Sources of News**



For group memberships on Facebook, there was a significant difference of 0.01 between AUC and CU, where 37% of AUC students had more than 10 groups, compared to 14% of CU students. The highest response rate by CU students reported having too many groups that they lost count, which accounted for 28%. With regards to the viewing frequency of YouTube between AUC and CU, the highest level was several times a week with 38% and 33% respectively with a 0.002 level of significance.

For the open-ended questions, there were around 120 respondents who had friends create a Facebook group, 64 of which were from AUC and 56 were from CU. Also, around 16 of the respondents reported having their friends create their own YouTube channel, equally divided between AUC and CU. With regards to AUC, most of the Facebook groups created revolved around entertainment groups, school reunions or social issues. There were three who reported having friends create a group on the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict and there were around 12 who notified had friends create groups related to politics on Facebook. With regards to YouTube, the channels revolved around music, entertainment, soccer, cultural and social channels. As for CU, the responses were very similar to those of AUC, where most of the groups

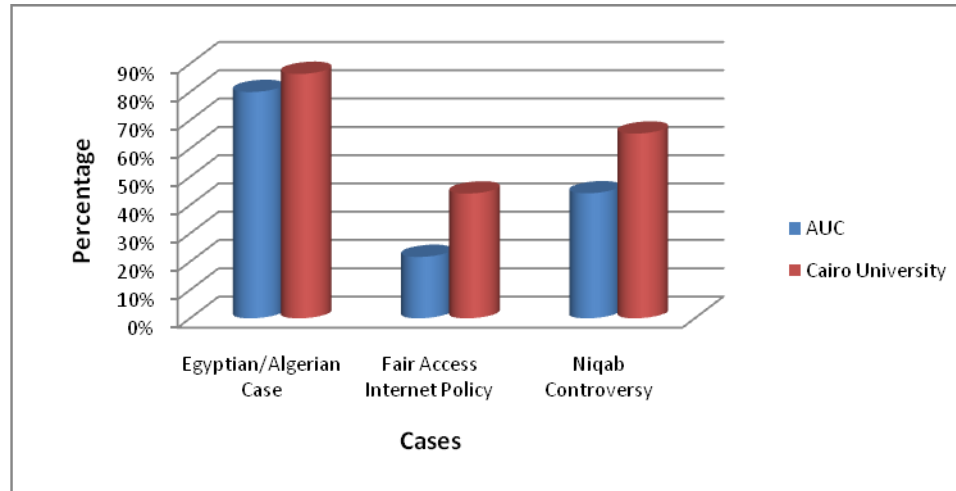
revolved around entertainment, political, social and religious groups. There were also a couple on sports, on one Palestine and another on women's rights. There were eight who responded having friends own YouTube channels, but they all focused on entertainment and music.

AUC and CU responses regarding other political groups they followed were very similar, where the main groups followed revolved around the Palestinian-Israeli crisis, Egypt's 2010 presidential elections and Mohamed El Baradei's campaign on Facebook and the murder of the Egyptian man in Lebanon. Other groups revolved around recession, inflation, the Nile Basin feud, the Iranian nuclear program and Obama's policy, and few mentioned corruption and the labor strikes in Egypt.

### **Examination of the Correlation of Respondents' University and Three Cases**

Both AUC and Cairo University students followed the Egyptian/Algerian case more than the other two cases with 80% and 86% respectively with no level of significance. Nevertheless, there was a perceived level of significance with regards to the face-veil controversy and the Fair Access Policy and with a 0.001 and 0.000 respectively (Table 83). AUC and CU followed the Fair Access Policy using Facebook with 9% and 28% respectively with a 0.000 level of significance (Tables 84-86), which shows that Cairo University students were more concerned on the limiting Internet download policy and the face-veil controversy more than AUC students.

**Figure 33: Distribution of Respondents' University in Following the Three Cases**



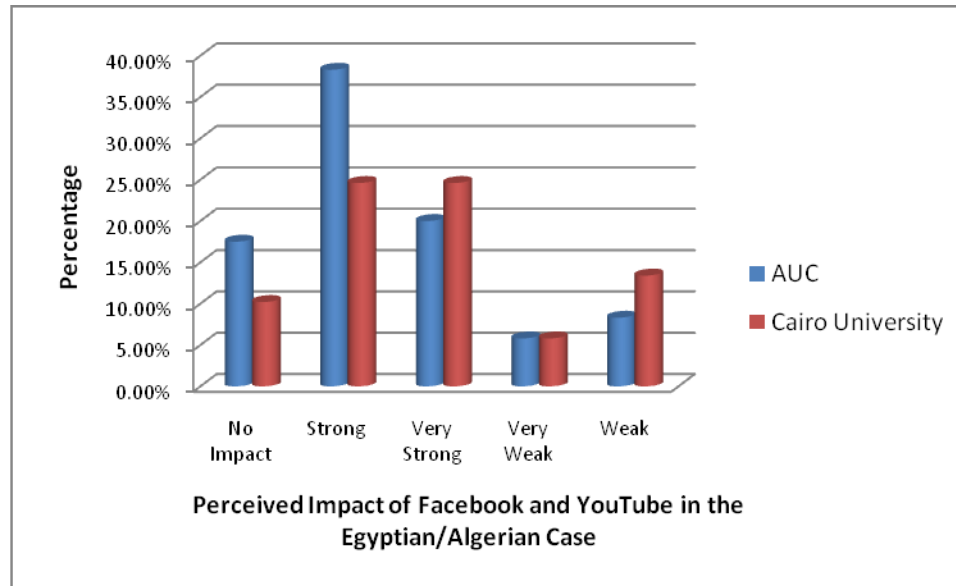
In terms of how active both AUC and CU students followed the three cases, both categories actively followed the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict more than any of the other two cases as shown in Tables 87-98. There was a level of significance of 0.005 between AUC and CU for those who became fans of pages/groups on the Fair Access Policy, which accounted for 1% and 9% respectively. There was also a level of significance of 0.000 with regards to both the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict and the face-veil controversy for starting an online discussion. AUC students accounted 7%, while CU accounted for 23% with regards to the Egyptian/Algerian case; and 2% and 17% with regards to the face-veil controversy respectively. For those who invited friends to join, there was also a level of significance between AUC and CU among the three cases. In the Egyptian/Algerian case, there was a level of significance of 0.039 where 10% of AUC students invited friends to join groups on Facebook, compared to 20% of CU students. For the face-veil controversy and Fair Access Policy, there was a level of significance of 0.002 between AUC and Cairo University with 8% and 0% respectively. As for uploading a video on YouTube, there was also a level of significance for the Egyptian/Algerian

case with a 0.001 with 2% and 14% for AUC and Cairo University respectively; and for the Fair Access Policy of 0.029 with 0% and 4% for AUC and Cairo University respectively. For those who commented on a YouTube video, there was a level of significance of 0.003 and 0.005 for the Egyptian/Algerian case and the face-veil controversy respectively, with a 7% of AUC students and 20% for CU students for the Egyptian/Algerian case, and 1% and 9% for the face-veil controversy. Commenting on an online article was also higher among CU students with a level of significance of 0.001, 0.001 and 0.005 for the Egyptian/Algerian case, face-veil controversy and Fair Access Policy and the respectively. Writing an op-ed was also higher among Cairo University students with regards to the Egyptian/Algerian case with a level of significance of 0.043, where AUC amounted to 3% and CU for 9%. There wasn't any level of significance among the three case studies with regards to those who called in on a TV show or wrote an op-ed; nevertheless, 5% of CU students called in on a television show compared to 1% of AUC students, and 9% of CU students wrote an op-ed compared to 3% of AUC students. All the figures above show that CU students are more active than AUC students. Although, AUC students showed higher usage and credibility of Facebook and YouTube, nevertheless, when it comes to acting and contributing to the three cases, CU students showed more interest. In my belief, this also shows the enthusiasm of CU students, which is higher than AUC students.

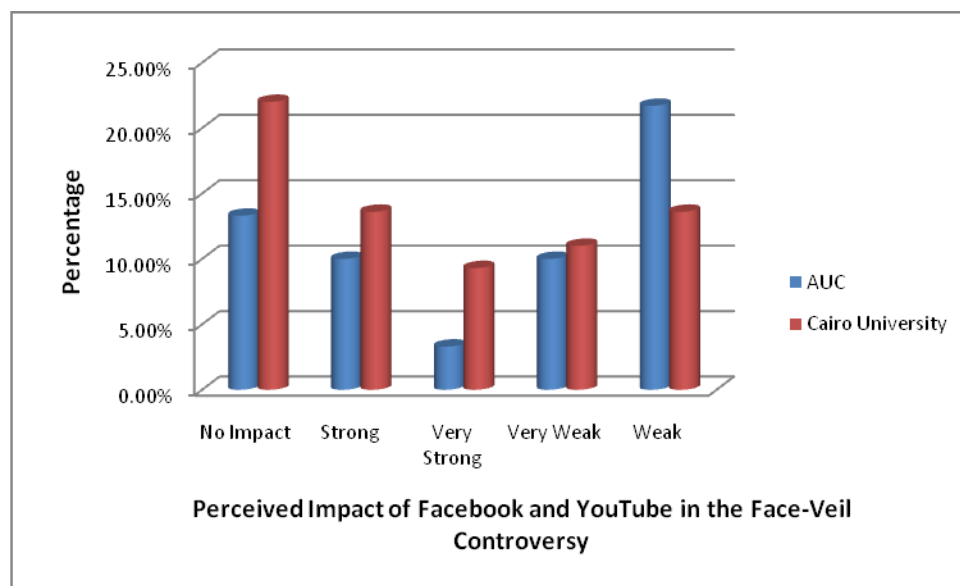
Surprisingly enough, despite the fact that CU students appeared more active than AUC students, the former did not have strong faith in the power of Facebook and YouTube to affect government actions, as the latter did. In the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, there was a level of significance of 0.029, where the largest number of AUC student accounting for 38% marked strong impact and 20% marked a very strong impact; compared to an equal of 25% of CU students who marked both strong and a very strong impact. There was also a level of significance

of 0.013 regarding the impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Fair Access Policy, where the largest number of students of AUC students, accounting for 20% thought it had no impact and 17% of CU students believed it had a weak impact (Tables 99-101).

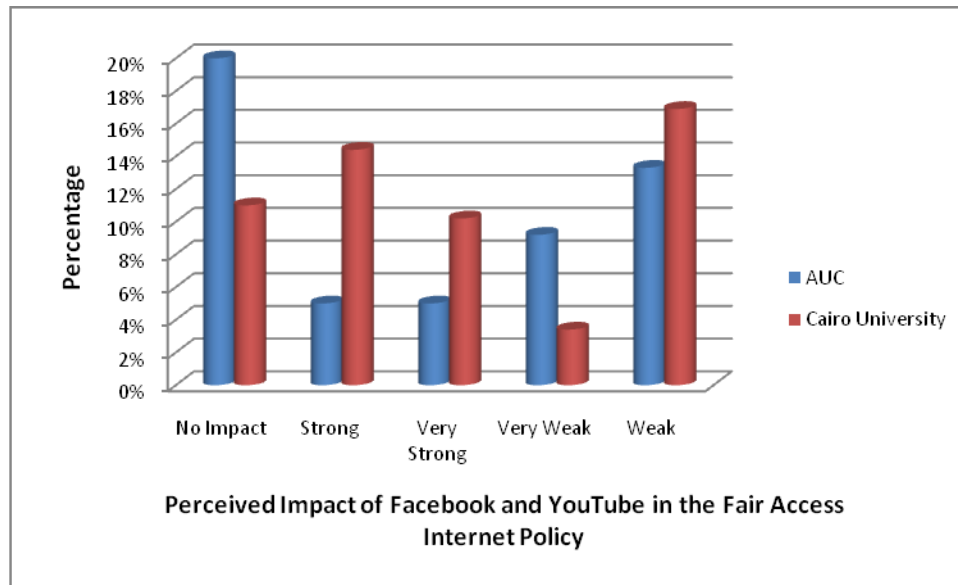
**Figure 34: Distribution of Respondents' University and their Perceived Impact on the Egyptian/Algerian Football Conflict**



**Figure 35: Distribution of Respondents' University and Perceived Impact on Face-Veil Controversy**



**Figure 36: Distribution of Respondents' University and Perceived Impact on Fair Access Policy**



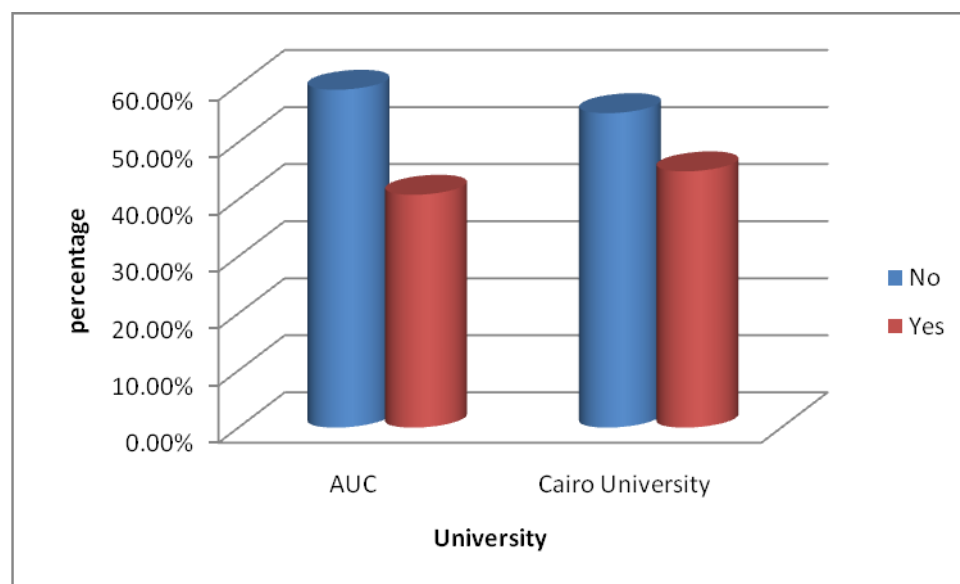
In response to the open-ended question asking the respondents to describe the impact on government action, there were around 30 replies from AUC and 28 replies from CU, and mostly on the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict. AUC respondents focused on the speech made by President Hosni Mubarak on Egyptian dignity and some mentioned Alaa Mubarak's intervention on television programs. There were around three that mentioned the summoning of the Egyptian ambassador to Algeria, which they provided as an example of government action towards the case. Others were not relevant but worth mentioning for the purpose of this study, included anger on television programs, statements and discussions between both countries, violations issued by parliament for what happened in Sudan and the protest that took place in front of the Algerian embassy in Zamalek district. Regarding the Fair Access Policy, an AUC student said that the protests forced the policy makers to reverse the policy regarding limiting Internet download.

Most of the CU students' responses mentioned the government's role in trying to calm down the

tension between both countries, but they did not mention the means in which the government attempted to do that. Another comment made by a CU student said that nationalism increased among Egyptians and it would not have happened if it weren't for Facebook and YouTube. Unlike the commentaries by AUC students, CU students commented on their perceived impact of government action on the face-veil issue and the Fair Access Policy. All of the respondents that commented on these two cases reported the government's decision to reverse the Fair Access Policy where there is no longer limitation on Internet download, and the comments on the face-veil controversy stated that the government first adhered to Sheikh Tantawi's decision to ban women wearing face-veil to enter public universities and then the court reversed the government's decision.

Responding to their beliefs on how strongly they perceive the power and influence of Facebook and YouTube in the Egyptian society in relation to public policy and government action, AUC students and CU students did not vary much as shown in Tables 102-111.

**Figure 37: Distribution of Respondents' University and Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube on Government Action**



There was only a significant difference of 0.046 between AUC and CU for those who believe that Facebook and YouTube are politically biased, where 35% of AUC students disagree and 35% of CU students are neutral towards the issue. There is a significant difference of 0.025 between AUC and CU with regards to those who believe that Facebook and YouTube are growing in influence where 43% of AUC students agree compared 48% of CU students who also agreed. There is a significant different of 0.01 for those who believe Facebook and YouTube are highly professional, where the highest percentage of AUC students accounting for 37% disagree and the highest percentage of CU students accounting for 28% agree. There is also a significant difference of 0.005 between AUC and CU in regards to their belief of whether criticizing political leaders hinders them from doing their job, with the highest percentage of AUC students, accounting for 33% strong disagreeing and the highest percentage of CU students, accounting for 28% disagreeing. These figures indicate that AUC and CU generally have the same beliefs with regards to the power and influence of Facebook and YouTube, with minor differences on their functionality and effect on policy makers.

Regarding the open-ended question on the impact of Facebook and YouTube on public policy making, there were 29 replies out of the 120 AUC students that took the survey, and 37 replies out of the 118 of CU students who took the survey. Seven of the comments made by AUC students that said they do not have an impact on public policy noted that they do have an impact on public opinion, however, not on the government, claiming that the government does not listen to people's needs. There were around 11 comments from the respondents who believed that Facebook and YouTube do have an impact on public policy saying that they allow room for discussion and they reach the whole world without any censorship or interference from the government. There was also one comment that mentioned that news from Facebook and



YouTube are used by the traditional media, which then has a big effect on public opinion followed by public policy. As for CU students, most of the comments were made by those who believed that there was no impact and if there was an impact, it would be a negative one. Only 6 out of the respondents said that it will have an effect on public policy, where one mentioned the April 6 movement, and others mentioned that it is attracting a large number of people, which will then affect public opinion followed by public policy.

## VI. STUDY FINDINGS

The results from the quantitative and qualitative data show that Facebook and YouTube are perceived to be growing in influence and are attracting government attention. Many of the findings of this study imply that media in general plays a role in setting the government agenda, which is an important step in the public policy making process as illustrated in the model presented at the beginning of this research. Also, the growing influence of Facebook and YouTube among youth and the feasibility of electronic media in covering stories that were not once covered in the mainstream media, gave power to Facebook and YouTube that is recognized by the government. This is apparent by the arrests of bloggers and online political activities covered in the literature review, the government action to the public outcry of the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict and the method used by the government to reach the youth, such as the Facebook fan page “Was not Soccer” and the NDP initiative *Sharek* that was also discussed in the literature review and by several scholars.

The findings also show that there is a misconception of the definition of public policy by both scholars, and Facebook and YouTube users. This affected their response to the direct question of whether they perceive Facebook and YouTube as having an impact on public policy making. The respondents to the survey and the scholars believe that Egypt is a non-democratic country run by a “one-man show” as some of experts put it, and therefore, the will of the public towards certain issues is unrecognized by the government. The study findings also reveal a variance between the viewpoints expressed by representatives of the government and media experts in national newspapers compared to journalists from the independent press and political

science professors at AUC. The former acknowledge government's responsiveness to the will of the people; while the latter perceive the government as operating according to its own agenda.

There was a mutual agreement among different categories of experts on the fact that electronic media reaches a certain portion of society, due to the digital divide and the high illiteracy rate. Results from the quantitative data show that that the majority of the public get their news from television, especially satellite television, which proved to be gaining a lot of popularity, even among CU and AUC students, where 77% of the respondents used television for political news, compared to only 34% who used Facebook and 18% used YouTube. It was also considered the most credible source for news, where Facebook and YouTube came in last. Media experts' beliefs coincided with these findings where many highlighted the role of television. Nevertheless, as discussed in the literature review, Internet users in Egypt are increasing and statistics show a high percentage of Egyptians who are on Facebook, ranking one of the highest countries in MENA. In addition, the IDSC report discussed in the literature review indicates that electronic media is becoming more efficient than traditional media, which has become the focal point for all print, television and radio consumers. An important function of electronic media that is not present in the traditional media is the ability to interact with the audience. This has been backed up by political science and media experts and the results from the survey show that 52 of the respondents commented on a YouTube video related to the three case studies and 73 responded commenting on an online article.

It has been discussed extensively in the literature review that Facebook and YouTube are used as arenas for public discussions and political participation, (Bode, 2008), nevertheless, many of the Facebook and YouTube users, whom were interviewed, noted that they do not use Facebook and YouTube to affect public policy, instead, they use it mainly to express themselves

and create awareness on certain issues. There was also a mutual agreement among the different sources used in this study that perceive the discussions on Facebook and YouTube as having an influence on public opinion. Some viewed these discussions as posing a threat to political stability in Egypt, which the government should be wary of, while others perceived it as having no influence.

Regarding the three cases investigated in this study, most of the media, political science experts, as well as CU and AUC students were more aware of the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, compared to the two other cases, namely the face-veil controversy and the Fair Access Policy. In the *Egyptian/Algerian football conflict*, most the findings from the qualitative study indicated that the government played a role in escalating the tension between both countries, in which the media had facilitated the fulfillment of the government's objective. Apart from a couple, mainly representatives of the government, who solely blamed electronic media, television and independent newspapers for the negativity created between Egyptians and Algerians, the majority believed it was a government orchestration. Also, as was discussed in the media and by experts interviewed for this research, there was a directive from the government to change the tone of the coverage of the Egyptian/Algerian conflict to calm people down and to create stability rather than to entice more anger between both nations. This shows a directive government intervention, as some experts explained. The quantitative findings of this case study revealed that many of CU students and AUC students actively followed the Egyptian/Algerian case, either by becoming members of groups on Facebook or writing on a wall or inviting friends to join. All in all, 80% of AUC students followed the case, 38% of which believed it had a strong impact on government action; compared to 86% from CU; 50% of which believed it had both strong and a very strong impact. The government's decision to summon the Egyptian

ambassador to Algeria, the Facebook page created by the government titled “Was not Soccer,” the speech by President Hosni Mubarak talking about the dignity of Egyptians as part of the dignity of Egypt, and the directive from the government to change the tone of media coverage of this particular case are all considered government responses.

For the *face-veil controversy*, the answers varied, where some talked about the religious trend in Egypt and the power and influence of the Muslim Brotherhood, while others talked about personal freedom. Also, many of the experts recognized the freedom electronic media possess, which allowed for more daring and controversial discussions on religion and the face-veil on Facebook and YouTube. The quantitative findings revealed that 44% of AUC students followed the face-veil issue compared to 65% from CU, which is not a low figure, however, both AUC and CU students did not see the discussions on Facebook and YouTube as having an impact on government action towards the face-veil, where 22% from CU felt it had no impact at all, and 22% from AUC felt it had a weak impact. The qualitative study revealed different beliefs regarding this issue where some argued that the media played a role in heating up the debate; however, others argued that there are many other factors that increased the tendency of political Islam, adding that the face-veil issue is a never ending topic. It is also worth noting that during the final write-up of the thesis, the Administrative Court at the State Council supported the decision of three universities, Ain Shams University, Cairo University and Banha University, to ban female students wearing the face-veil from sitting for their final exam. This shows that the controversy is still ongoing and the government has not yet taken a stance regarding the banning of the face-veil in university examinations. This is perceived to be the result of the ongoing debates in the media regarding the issue and the continuous discussions on electronic media regarding the face-veil and freedom of privacy in general.

As for the *Fair Access Policy*, since it was not recognized by some of the scholars, it will be hard to generalize the findings. There was a perceived agreement that the government reversed its policy due to economic factors, since they are targeting the Internet users themselves, which also shows the power of Internet users when they come together supporting a certain cause.

## VII. IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study show that there are variations in opinions regarding the impact of Facebook and YouTube on public policy making in Egypt. Experts representing the government express different views from those who either belong to the independent press or academics. Also, the definition of public policy is not quite understood by many of the sources used for the qualitative and quantitative data collection. Nevertheless results from the in-depth interviews and the investigative study of the three cases perceive that there is a significance of the power of electronic media on the public policy making process. Therefore, the same study can be replicated in the near future on a different sample and different case studies to see if the findings will differ, especially with the increased usage of the Internet and social networks and the advancements in information and communications technology in Egypt.

Upon the completion of this survey, several cases emerged that can be studied to further examine the effects of online social networks on public policy making. One of the cases include the death of Khaled Saeed, who was beaten to death by the police in Alexandria. The story was first revealed on Facebook with photos of Saeed and videos of other cases showing police brutality. Other political issues that can be addressed to further reveal the government's responses towards issues raised on Facebook and YouTube include Mohamed El Baradei's campaign, National Association for Change; the lynching of Mohammad Moslem, murder suspect in the Mount Lebanon village of Ketermaya that took place end of April 2009; and the labor strikes initiated on Facebook. It is also worthy to study cases that are initiated primarily on Facebook and YouTube, rather than covered by all forms of media, to be able to accurately analyze which of the medium had a significant impact on government action. This also leads to

further studies on the use of live streaming videos on YouTube, such as that used by *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya* news channels. Live streaming videos are beneficial in showcasing what is happening on the ground void of any censorship or manipulation. How they are effective, how will they be used to bring certain issues to the surface, how will the government respond to live streaming videos, and how will it hold the government accountable will all be questions that needs further studies and investigations that will show another link between the use of the Internet, in all its forms, and government actions.

It is also recommended to study an ongoing case to be able to study the developments of the case over time, in terms of coverage in mainstream and electronic media, followed by the actions of the government. A follow up on the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict and the face-veil controversy is also recommended as both cases are still in the news up to the completion of this paper. The Administrative Court at the State Council supported the decision of three universities, Ain Shams University, Cairo University and Banha University, to ban female students wearing the face-veil from sitting for their final exam; and during the Africa-France Summit, President Mubarak and Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika met for the first time after the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict. How these news items were perceived on Facebook and YouTube can be further discussed and a deeper insight on the Egyptian/Algerian relations over time should also be examined.

Another online social network that is gaining a lot of popularity lately and should be studies is Twitter, which has been growing at a rate of more than 20% per month and showing an annual growth of 1,460% from June 2008 to June 2009. In the Middle East and North Africa region, there is an increasing rate of 17% per month, with an overall increase of 300% of MENA



Twitter subscribers over the first six months of 2009. Egypt has around 1,888 Twitter subscribers, which increased by 8% from July to August 2009 and it is 13% of the total of the MENA Twitter community (Middle East & North Africa Twitter Demographics ..., August 2009, Spot on Public Relations).

Since the results of this study and the review of literature reveal the importance of Facebook and YouTube in the Egyptian society, it is an indication that this area of research is crucial and important for practices in the field of electronic media, social media and public policy. The study showed that mainstream media, social media and electronic media are complementing one another; therefore it is essential for policy makers to acknowledge the tools used by youth aiming to create change, and it is also essential for media experts to acknowledge the importance of electronic media and social media to reach a specific audience, which in that case are the “well-educated youth.” This study also builds the foundation of the involvement of youth in politics, which also needs to be further addressed. With that being said, more in-depth interviews with online youth political activists will be required for future research to understand their upcoming plans, their target and the perception of their actions and activities in the political life of Egypt. A further look also needs to be taken as to why youth do not trust the government and do not believe that the government will listen to their needs and concerns, which can be followed up by recommendations and set objectives on what can be done to create real solid and concrete change.

Also, government accountability in Egypt is a very important area for research in Egypt. How do youth hold the government accountable for their actions through their discussions and usage of online social networks? Achieving good governance was discussed in the Egypt Human

Development Report published in 2010 titled “Youth in Egypt: Building our Future,” which proposes several recommendations on how youth can use the Internet and online social networks to achieve good governance. Further studies on this particular aspect are essential, to highlight the obligations by youth to make a difference and create real change through their online activities and to put the Egyptian government wrongdoings under the spotlight.

This paper gives rise to important research questions that can be asked in future studies including: What is the government’s standpoint on the rise of social media? How do existing policies, rules and procedures limit the influence and power of Facebook and YouTube and what facilitators exist to help Facebook and YouTube users make real effect in the real world? Other important questions that need to be addressed: How far Facebook and YouTube users need to go to make a difference in society and create change without being put in danger? How can mainstream media, especially satellite and independent media, work together with electronic and social media to influence government decisions? How can electronic media affect democratic attitude? How does Facebook and YouTube increase government accountability? Other sets of questions can relate to the future of social media in Egypt, as to what extent can it make a difference and what are other new practices used by Facebook and YouTube users?

In addition to the aforementioned research questions, some of the implications of this study also indicate that a future study can be done adopting a larger sample. This would better allow for generalization on a larger scale. In addition, a more accurate sample equally dividing the respondents between males and females is vital so as to conclude accurate differences between gender in the use of Facebook and YouTube. The scope of this study could also be either expanded to include other university students in public and private universities to

determine whether a general systematic trend exists among the youth. Another alternative would be to use a questionnaire already developed by a specialized institution that would be more articulate and shorter to allow for a higher response rate. As for the qualitative interviews, more interviews could be conducted with Facebook and YouTube users, as well as reporters from state-owned and independent journalists, in addition to more politicians from the government. This would have helped in analyzing the data in a more generalized and objective manner.

## VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This thesis was prompted by a general trend of increasing usability of Facebook and YouTube by Egyptian youth, especially with regards to political matters. This is evident by several cases, such as the April 6 movement that was initially initiated on Facebook and the recent campaign for Mohamed El Baradei. One of the reasons behind this phenomenon is the need for a free space for youth to express their opinion, mobilize other youth with the same interests, and create change for a better Egypt. The other case that prompted this study is the Egyptian/Algerian football conflict, which created a lot of heated debates on all forms of electronic media and by politicians as well. Therefore, the need for a study to examine the impact of electronic media on public policy making was evident. The study was conducted at the American University in Cairo and Cairo University, as they represent a large portion of Egyptian youth who come from different backgrounds and ideologies, in addition to in-depth interviews with media, political science experts and active users on Facebook and YouTube. The main research question for the study was: To what extent does electronic media, such as Facebook and YouTube, influence government public policy making?

The relevant literature on electronic media and public policy shows this growing trend of electronic media, with special emphasis on political participation of youth. There were discussions on the rising trend of online political activists and the government attitude towards this phenomenon, which in many of the cases the government had turned down, either through blocking certain web sites or detaining its creators. There were also discussions on the new trend of electronic media versus mainstream media, which was divided by several schools of thoughts. One school of thought does not believe that electronic media will replace traditional media;

instead, they will complement one another. Another school of thought suggests that over time, electronic media will replace mainstream media. In Egypt, Facebook users are increasing at a very fast rate, and reports show that they are over passing newspaper circulation. With regards to the effects on public policy, there were several case studies discussed in the literature review that illustrate how electronic media affect government actions. These cases include U.S. President Barack Obama's online presidential campaign and the YouTube-CNN effect.

The methodology adopted in this study included both qualitative and quantitative data analysis, surveying 238 graduate and undergraduate students at AUC and CU. The survey examined their degree of usability of Facebook and YouTube and how actively they followed the three case studies using the different mediums, in addition to their perceived perception on the impact of Facebook and YouTube on public policy. There were also in-depth interviews conducted with ten media experts, eight political science experts, one Internet policy analyst and 11 active Facebook and YouTube users. The in-depth interviews revealed the viewpoints from both spectrums on the public policy making process, including factors affecting it, the rising trend of electronic media and their growing influence and impact on policy makers. The results of this study reveal that there is a perceived agreement that since Egypt follows an authoritarian government, the media plays a minimal role. Nevertheless, there was a mutual agreement on the growing rise of electronic media and its influence in mobilizing people, acknowledging the government's awareness on this rising power, monitoring it and taking action when required, especially when online discussions are transferred into reality and taken to the street. In examining the significant differences between the different classifications in the survey using SPSS, there were no significant difference between genders; however, there were significant differences between the different age groups, namely 18-25 years old and 26-35, where 18-25

appeared to be more active online than the latter age group. Upon examining the correlation using the Chi-Square test between AUC and CU students, the findings showed that there are significant differences between them, where AUC students depended more on Facebook and YouTube for news more than the other mediums, such as newspapers, television and radio, nevertheless, CU students were more actively involved in following the three case studies. Surprisingly enough, despite the fact that CU students appeared more active than AUC students in following the three case studies, the former did not have strong faith in the power of Facebook and YouTube to affect government actions, as the latter did, where there were significant differences. There was no significant difference between AUC and CU students in how they perceived electronic media affect public policy making, where the highest percentage of AUC and CU students believed it had no effect with 59% and 55% respectively.

Therefore, the answer to the main research question is that the government is aware of the rising power and influence of electronic media, especially in attracting young political activists and acting as a source of news for the mainstream media. Although the sample selected for this study does not perceive electronic media as having a strong influence on government decisions, since they perceive Egypt as an authoritarian government, nevertheless, some acknowledge the fact that government monitors the discussion and news posted online, adding it to their agenda. Due to these findings, one of the implications of this study includes the need to conduct a probability sampling method to allow for generalization and to ensure accuracy of results and degree of representation. Finally, additional future studies that can be done with different case studies, which should be mostly discussed in electronic media only rather than being discussed in the traditional media as well. This could be indicative of the effect of electronic media on government action.

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## APPENDIX (A) LIST OF EXPERTS

1. Hafez Al Mirazi, director of the Kamal Adham Center for Journalism Training and Research at AUC, has around 30 years of electronic media, where he first started at Radio's Cairo Voice of Arabs in 1980 and later with Voice of America, and BBC. He was also the founding general director of Al Hayat private satellite television station in Egypt and he was the former Washington bureau chief of Al Jazeera and host of the Arabic weekly show, From Washington, from 2000 to 2007 (AUC Web site). Interview conducted on March 1, 2010 at 2:00 pm at Al Mirazi's office at AUC.
2. Hani Shukrallah is the former editor of *Al Ahram Weekly* and the executive director of the Heikal Foundation for Arab Journalism. During his years at *Al Ahram Weekly*, he had written a column, Reflections, where he discussed Egypt's political society and political Islam, among other issues. Interview conducted by phone on February 17, 2010 at 1:00 pm.
3. Hussein Abdel Ghany is the Cairo bureau chief of TV channel al-Jazeera, which has several active channels on YouTube. Interview conducted on February 28, 2010 at 2:30 pm at AUC New Cairo.
4. Ibrahim Hegazy is a well-known football commentator who writes for the state-owned national newspaper *Al Ahram* and hosts a TV show Daerat al-Doa, or Circle of Light show on Nile Sport.
5. Rania Al Malky is the editor-in-chief of *The Daily News, Egypt*, the only local independent daily in English. She holds a master's degree in Journalism from London's University of Westminster, with a special focus on online journalism. Her graduation project was a Web site dedicated to Egyptian political blogs. Interview conducted via e-mail on February 23, 2010.

6. Khaled Salah is the editor in chief of *Al Youm Al Sabe'*, an electronic newspaper that later issued a print version that is published weekly, every Tuesday. Interview conducted on February 28, 2010 at Salah's office in *Al Youm Al Sabe'* newspaper based in Mohandesin.
7. Osama Saraya is the editor in chief of the state-owned newspaper *Al Ahram*, one of the largest newspaper circulations. Interview conducted by phone on March 5, 2010 at 4:45 pm.
8. Rasha El Ibiary is an adjunct faculty at the journalism and mass communications department at AUC. She is specialized in political communications, media and conflicts, public opinion and propaganda and cultural geopolitics. Interview conducted by phone on February 25, 2010 at 10:00 pm.
9. Salama Ahmed Salama is one of Egypt's most respected columnists and he is currently the editor-in-chief of *Al Shorouk* newspaper, privately-owned Egyptian newspaper owned by Ibrahim Al-Moalem. Interview conducted by phone on February 27, 2010 at 2:00 pm.
10. Sherif El Alfy is the editor in chief of *Ehna* magazine, which is published under Core Publications and is a sister publication of *Campus* magazine targeting youth. Interview conducted by phone on February 18, 2010 at 9:00 pm in El Alfy's Core Publications Office in Mohandessein.

The political science experts consulted for this study are as follows:

1. Bahgat Korany is political science professor at AUC and the director of the AUC Forum. He is also an honorary professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Montreal. He is the founder and first director of the Interdisciplinary Program of Arab Studies at the University of Montreal (1979-1993), and co-founder and first Director of the Inter-University Consortium of Arab and Middle East Studies, (Canada 1987-1999). He is a regular columnist to *El-Ettihad's* special week-end edition since 2001 and giving radio and

TV interviews in North America, Europe and the Middle East. Interview conducted on May 19, 2010 at 12:30 pm Korany's office at AUC New Cairo.

2. Ibrahim El Nur is an associate professor of political science at AUC and his current research and teaching interests includes development, international political economy, international finance and institutions, population dynamics and public policy. Interview conducted on May 19, 2010 at Korany's office at AUC New Cairo. Interview conducted on March 16, 2010 at 2:00 pm at El Nur's office at AUC New Cairo.
3. Jerry Leach is a professor and director of the American Studies Center at AUC and has held a number of positions in government and in the private sector. He is the former National President of the World Affairs Councils of America. He has also been the Peace Corps Regional Director for Eastern Europe, the Soviet Republics, Middle East, Asia, and the Pacific. Interview conducted on May 18, 2010 at 11:00 am at Leach's office at AUC New Cairo.
4. Kareem Mahmoud Kamel is a political science lecturer at AUC and he has worked as a researcher in the UNDP Millennium Development Goals and has published more than sixty opinion pieces, rebuttals, and analytical articles on current affairs in the Middle East and the Islamic world. His research interests focus on international politics in the Middle East, politics of Islam and Islamic movements and theories of international relations and comparative foreign policy. Interview conducted via e-mail on May 5, 2010.
5. Rabab El Madhi is an assistant professor of political science at AUC and her research interests focus on state-civil society relations, social movements and resistance, as well as the political economy of social policy. Interview conducted on May 5, 2010 at 3:15 pm at Mahdy's office at AUC New Cairo.



6. Said Sadek is an affiliate professor of sociology at AUC and he is a freelance writer for many local, regional media and an international consultant on development, urbanization, media and politics in the Arab World to several international organizations. Interview conducted on May 18, 2010 at 4:30 pm at Coffee Bean café in Zamalek.
7. Mustapha Kamel Al Sayyid is a professor of political science and former director of the Center for the Study of Developing Countries at Cairo University, and he also teaches at AUC. He previously taught at Harvard University and was a visiting scholar at the University of California Los Angeles. His areas of specialization include the politics of development, foreign aid, human rights, and civil society. He has published extensively on civil society, political change, and ideology. Interview conducted on May 19, 2010 at 2:30 pm at Al Sayyid's office in AUC New Cairo.
8. Mostafa Elwi is a political science professor at Cairo University, a politician representing the National Democratic Party and a Member of Shura Council. Interview conducted by phone on two consecutive days. The first on May 13, 2010 at 9:30 pm and the second on May 16 at 3:00 pm.

Another expert interviewed who was essential for this study was George Victor, specialist in the Internet policy unit at the National Telecom Regulatory Authority, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology. The interview was conducted on February 22 at 2:00 pm at AUC New Cairo.

In addition to media and political science experts, active Facebook and YouTube users were also interviewed. They included owners of groups on the three case studies and users who were actively involved in Facebook and YouTube discussions posting links to mainstream media, notes on Facebook, writing on the walls of the pages of a particular case and writing their status

on topics related to the three case studies. This was done through e-mail and Facebook and YouTube messages due to safety and convenience. The Facebook and YouTube users included:

1. Ahmed Alafasy, owner of the Facebook fan page face-veil, attracting more than 7,100 fans. Interview conducted via Facebook message on February 18.
2. Phars Alnmr, owner of a Facebook fan page on face-veil attracting more than 50 fans, and a member of other Facebook groups related to religion. Interview conducted via Facebook message on February 18.
3. Isam, 31 (refused to give out last name) created a channel on YouTube in December 2007 called Light, which is dedicated to religion managing to attract 9,815 subscribers, 280,058 channel views and 8,818,886 total upload views. Interview conducted via YouTube message on February 18.
4. Mazen Al Keissy, owner of a YouTube channel on religion, Road to Heaven, and there are 30,551 channel views and a total of 608,983 upload views. Interview conducted via YouTube message on February 18.
5. Anas Mohamed Ahmed, owner of Fair Access Internet Policy fan page on Facebook. Interview conducted via Facebook message on February 18.
6. Mohammed Al Taher, creator of a fan page opposing the Fair Access Internet policy. Interview conducted via Facebook message on April 29.
7. Ahmed Osman, owner of Facebook fan page Campaign Egyptian People's demanding Fifa to re match Egypt and Algeria, which has attracted around 2,479 members. Interview conducted via Facebook message on April 29.
8. Wesam Al Nimr, active Facebook user did not create any group but has been very active towards the Egyptian/Algerian case where he posted his profile picture condemning the issue

and posted many statuses and links from mainstream media and YouTube. Interview conducted via Facebook message on April 29.

9. Noran AlKashef, administrator for the group Speak Up To International News Networks ... Force Them To Hear Us, managing to attract 812 fans. Interview conducted via Facebook message on April 29.
10. Salah El-Deen Adel, creator of Facebook fan page, Algeria is a Pride for Egypt and Egypt is a Pride for Algeria, which has around 1,868 members. Interview conducted via Facebook message on May 7.
11. Khaled Khalil, active Facebook and YouTube user but did not create any groups on Facebook. Interview conducted via Facebook message on May 17.
12. Haitham El Tabei is another active Facebook user and the creator of a group against the Fair Access Internet Policy. Interview conducted via Facebook message on May 17.

## APPENDIX (B) INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

### Questions for Political Science Experts

1. How do you perceive the public policy making process in Egypt?
2. What are the external and internal factors that influence or have an impact on government actions?
3. Can you please describe the power and influence of media in our society?
4. How do you perceive the new trend of electronic media over traditional media?
5. In your opinion, does electronic media have the power to influence public policy making decisions? Have you ever run a story that influenced government actions?
6. How do you perceive the numerous political groups created on Facebook and the numerous profiles created on YouTube?
7. In the case of Egypt/Algeria, how did the government react to the situation in your opinion and was their reaction in anyway affected by electronic media, or can we say the public opinion?
8. Although the niqab issue went to court, but do you think the way the issue was discussed on electronic media had an impact on how the issue has been perceived by the public, which in return affected government actions? How about the fair access Internet policy, how did electronic media impact government actions?

## Interview Questions for Media Experts

1. Can you please describe the power and influence of media in our society?
2. How do you perceive the new trend of electronic media over traditional media?
3. I am aware that you have created a channel of your publication on YouTube and Facebook. How did this new form of electronic media increase your viewership/readership? How important is it for you to be present on online social networks? *(asked to a few)*
4. In your opinion, does electronic media have the power to influence public policy making decisions? Have you ever run a story that influenced government actions?
5. Can you please describe the public policy process in Egypt, including the internal and external factors that have an impact on public policy?
6. What is your viewpoint regarding the tension that occurred recently between Egypt and Algeria? Many people claim that the media is to blame. What is your opinion regarding this case and what was the role of social media in raising the tension between both countries?
7. What is your opinion regarding the impact of social media, particularly Facebook and YouTube, on the recent controversy regarding the face-veil issue?
8. In the case of the fair access Internet policy, the policy was reversed after numerous online groups were created on Facebook? Can you please elaborate on this incidence commenting on how electronic media played any role in the government actions?

### **Interview Questions for Facebook Users**

1. Did you own any of the groups regarding the Egyptian/Aglerian case, Fair Access Internet Policy, face-veil? How many members did you get in your group?
2. Were there a lot of active members in the group, and how active were they?
3. Did you own any other groups on Facebook and how influential or active were they?
4. If you are not an owner of any groups, how active are you on other groups?
5. From where did you get the information for the group content or any content you uploaded on this issue? Did you use links from traditional media?
6. Did you feel that your or any other group will have an impact on public opinion or government action?

### **Interview Questions for YouTube Users**

1. Did you create your own video regarding the Egyptian/Aglerian case, Fair Access Internet Policy, face-veil? Or did you share it from another medium?
2. How many comments did you get on your video?
3. Were they powerful comments attacking or complimenting what you are saying?
4. What is the reason behind using the new forms of electronic media, such as YouTube, and how powerful do you think it is to affect public opinion and government action?

## APPENDIX (C) QUESTIONNAIRE

### Cover Letter

Dear Mr./Ms.

My name is Doaa Farag and I am a graduate student in the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at The American University in Cairo doing my master's in public policy and administration under the supervision of Professor Laila El Baradei. I am writing to invite you to participate in the research by responding to a brief questionnaire.

My research paper is titled "New Forms of Electronic Media and their Impact on Public Policy Making in Egypt: Three Cases from Egypt." The research will discuss how electronic media users are using Facebook and YouTube to express their opinion to a large number of people through the Internet and their effect on government action. The paper will focus on three case studies including, the face-veil controversy, the Internet fair access policy and the recent Egyptian-Algerian tension.

The questionnaire is for academic purposes and the information supplied by participants will be strictly confidential and access to the questionnaire is restricted to my supervisor and myself.

The questionnaire will take around 15 minutes to complete. If you decide you no longer want to be involved in this study, you are free to withdraw at anytime without any adverse consequences. Please feel free to contact me on (202) 2615.3702 or [doaaf@aucegypt.edu](mailto:doaaf@aucegypt.edu) in regards to any queries you may have.

Yours Sincerely,

Doaa Farag

## Questionnaire

1. What sources do you use for political news? Mark all that apply
  - a. Newspapers
  - b. TV
  - c. Radio
  - d. Facebook
  - e. YouTube
  - f. Friends
  - g. Family

2. Rank the following from 1 to 7 in terms of perceived credibility with 1 being less credible.

Newspapers	
TV	
Radio	
Facebook	
YouTube	
Friends	
Family	

3. Which of the following do you use most often to share information? Rank from 1 to 4 with 1 being the lowest.

E-mail	
Facebook	
YouTube	
Blog	

4. Yesterday, did you read a paper version, online version of the newspaper, or did you get the news from links on Facebook or YouTube?
  - a. Paper Version of the Newspaper
  - b. Online Version of the Newspaper
  - c. Facebook
  - d. YouTube



5. Would you say you spend more time reading the paper version, online version of the newspaper or more time on Facebook and YouTube?
- Paper Version of the Newspaper
  - Online Version of the Newspaper
  - Facebook
  - YouTube
6. Have you or someone on your friend's list created a group on Facebook or a channel on YouTube?
- Facebook, please specify the type of group or fan page  
-----
  - YouTube, please specify the type  
-----
  - Never
7. On average, how many groups are you a member of on Facebook?
- Less than 5
  - More than 10
  - More than 20
  - Too many, I lost count
  - None
8. On average, what is your viewing frequency for videos on YouTube?
- Daily
  - Several times a week
  - Once a week
  - Several times a month
  - Once a month
  - Rarely
  - Never
9. Which of the following cases discussed through electronic media are you aware of? Mark all that apply. *If none of the below go directly to question 14*
- Egyptian/Algerian Tensions
  - Fair Access Internet Policy
  - Niqab Controversy

10. How have you been getting most of your news about the following issues?

Issue	Facebook	YouTube	Print Version of Newspapers	Online Version of Newspapers	National TV	Satellite TV	Radio	Didn't Follow
Egyptian/ Algerian Tensions								
Fair Access Internet Policy								
Niqab Controversy								

11. How actively did you follow this issue? Mark all that apply.

	Egyptian/Algerian Tensions	Face-Veil Controversy	Fair Access Policy
Read about by following the news			
Based on my readings, discussed the case with my friends			
Became a fan			
Wrote on the wall			
Created a fan page/group			
Started an online discussion			
Invited friends to join			
Uploaded a video on YouTube			

Commented on a video on YouTube			
Commented on an online article			
Called in on a TV show			
Wrote an op-ed			
Other, please specify			

**12.** To what extent do you think Facebook and YouTube discussions of the various cases had an impact on government actions?

	Very Strong	Strong	Weak	Very Weak	No Impact
Egyptian/Algerian Tensions					
Fair Access Internet Policy					
Niqab Controversy					

**13.** If in the question above, there was a perceived impact, please explain the government action.

-----  
 -----

**14.** What are three other political issues you are interested in following through electronic media?

1. -----
2. -----
3. -----

15. Do you think your participation on Facebook and YouTube can affect public policy making? Please explain.

a. Yes

b. No

16. Mark the box that best describes you,

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Does not apply
I believe Facebook and YouTube have an impact on what the mainstream media (national and independent newspapers, TV etc...) publishes.						
I believe Facebook and YouTube can make a positive difference in society.						
I believe Facebook and YouTube have more freedom of expression compared to traditional media such as television, radio and newspapers.						
I believe the government is aware of the influence of Facebook and YouTube.						
I believe Facebook and YouTube are politically biased.						
I believe Facebook and YouTube are growing in influence						
I believe Facebook and YouTube are highly professional.						

I think criticizing political leaders hinders them from doing their job.						
I think criticizing political leaders encourages political leaders to do their job.						

17. Do you have any comments on the effects of Facebook and YouTube on public policy?

Age: Under 18 18-21 22-35 36-50 51 +

Gender: Male Female

Nationality: Egyptian Non-Egyptian

E-mail (Optional):

University: AUC Cairo University Other, please specify

Undergraduate Graduate

Major:

Occupation:

Thank you for your time and cooperation

## APPENDIX (D) TABLES

**Table 2: Credibility Rank among Different Sources for News**

	Response Average
Newspapers	4.62
TV	4.87
Radio	3.98
Facebook	3.35
YouTube	3.44
Friends	3.54
Family	4.25

**Table 3: Ranking of the Most Used Methods to Share Information**

	Response Average
E-mail	2.97
Facebook	3.04
YouTube	2.26
Blog	1.74

**Table 4: Methods of Getting Information on the Three Case Studies**

	Facebook	YouTube	Print Newspapers	Online Newspapers	National TV	Satellite TV	Radio
Egyptian/Algerian Case	126	81	98	88	98	137	40
Fair Access Policy	44	16	27	29	10	27	9
Face-Veil Controversy	48	17	56	64	53	93	10

**Table 5: Impact of Facebook and YouTube on Three Case Studies**

	Very Strong	Strong	Weak	Very Weak	No Impact	Response Count
Egyptian/Algerian Case	54	78	27	14	34	207
Fair Access Internet Policy	18	24	36	16	37	131
Face-Veil Controversy	15	33	42	25	43	157

**Table 6: Respondent's Believe Towards the Following Issues**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Does not apply	Response Count
I believe Facebook and YouTube have an impact on what the mainstream media (national and independent newspapers, TV etc...) publishes.	64	84	63	17	6	4	238
I believe Facebook and YouTube can make a positive difference in society.	53	91	61	24	7	2	238
I believe Facebook and YouTube have more freedom of expression compared to traditional media such as television, radio and newspapers.	135	73	18	8	1	2	237
I believe the government is aware of the influence of Facebook and YouTube.	59	96	54	18	3	7	237
I believe Facebook and YouTube are politically biased.	19	41	75	76	16	10	235
I believe Facebook and YouTube are growing in influence.	82	109	28	10	2	1	232

I believe Facebook and YouTube are highly professional.	31	45	68	60	27	5	235
I think criticizing political leaders hinders them from doing their job.	13	28	55	64	57	19	235
I think criticizing political leaders encourages political leaders to do their job.	43	53	74	30	23	14	236

### Examination of Facebook Users

**Table 7: Became a fan on one of the three cases  
N=80**

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	28	35.0
Fair Access Policy	6	7.5
Niqab Controversy	7	8.8

**Table 8: Wrote on the wall  
N=80**

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	19	23.8
Fair Access Policy	7	8.8
Niqab Controversy	2	2.5

**Table 9: Created a Fan Page/Group on Facebook  
N=80**

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	5	6.3
Fair Access Policy	2	2.5
Niqab Controversy	0	0



**Table 10: Started an online discussion**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	12	15.0
Fair Access Policy	5	6.3
Niqab Controversy	10	12.5

**Table 11: Read by following the news**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	57	71.3
Fair Access Policy	15	18.8
Niqab Controversy	29	36.3

**Table 12: Discussed the case with friends**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	48	60.0
Fair Access Policy	11	13.8
Niqab Controversy	28	35.0

**Table 13: Started an online discussion**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	12	15.0
Fair Access Policy	5	6.3
Niqab Controversy	10	12.5

**Table 14: Invited friends to join groups on Facebook**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	17	21.3
Fair Access Policy	5	6.3
Niqab Controversy	6	7.5

**Table 15: Uploaded a video on YouTube**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	8	10.0
Fair Access Policy	0	0
Niqab Controversy	0	0

**Table 16: Commented on a video on YouTube**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	16	20.0
Fair Access Policy	6	7.5
Niqab Controversy	5	6.3

**Table 17: Commented on an online article**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	21	26.3
Fair Access Policy	4	5.0
Niqab Controversy	11	13.8

**Table 18: Called in on a TV show**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	2	2.5
Fair Access Policy	1	1.3
Niqab Controversy	2	2.5

**Table 19: Wrote an op-ed**  
N=80

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	7	8.8
Fair Access Policy	1	1.3
Niqab Controversy	6	7.5

**Table 20: Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian/Algerian Case**

	Frequency	%
No Impact	8	10.0
Strong	28	35.0
Very Strong	24	30.0
Very Weak	3	3.8
Weak	7	8.8
Total	80	100.0

**Table 21: Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Fair Access Internet Policy**

	Frequency	%
No Impact	16	20.0
Strong	12	15.0
Very Strong	6	7.5
Very Weak	3	3.8
Weak	14	17.5
Total	80	100.0

**Table 22: Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Niqab Controversy**

	Frequency	%
No Impact	17	21.3
Strong	13	16.3
Very Strong	7	8.8
Very Weak	7	8.8
Weak	12	15.0
Total	80	100.0

**Table 23: Effect of Facebook and YouTube on Public Policy Making**

	Frequency	%
Yes	34	42.5
No	46	57.5
Total	80	100.0

**Table 24: Believe Facebook and YouTube have an impact on what the mainstream media (national and independent newspapers, TV etc...) publishes**

	Frequency	%
Agree	27	33.8
Disagree	5	6.3
Neutral	19	23.8
Strongly Agree	27	33.8
Strongly Disagree	1	1.3
Total	80	100.0

**Table 25: Believe Facebook and YouTube can make a positive difference in society**

	Frequency	%
Agree	33	41.3
Disagree	8	10.0
Neutral	14	17.5
Strongly Agree	24	30.0
Total	80	100.0

**Table 26: Believe Facebook and YouTube have more freedom of expression compared to traditional media such as television, radio and newspapers**

	Frequency	%
Agree	17	21.3
Disagree	2	2.5
Does not apply	1	1.3
Neutral	3	3.8
Strongly Agree	55	68.8
Strongly Disagree	1	1.3
Total	80	100.0

**Table 27: Believe the government is aware of the influence of Facebook and YouTube**

	Frequency	%
Agree	30	37.5
Disagree	7	8.8
Does not apply	2	2.5
Neutral	14	17.5
Strongly Agree	25	31.3
Strongly Disagree	1	1.3
Total	80	100.0

**Table 28: Believe Facebook and YouTube are politically biased**

	Frequency	%
Agree	9	11.3
Disagree	31	38.8
Does not apply	1	1.3
Neutral	22	27.5
Strongly Agree	9	11.3
Strongly Disagree	7	8.8
Total	80	100.0

**Table 29: Believe Facebook and YouTube are growing in influence**

	Frequency	%
Agree	37	46.3
Disagree	1	1.3
Does not apply	2	2.5
Neutral	9	11.3
Strongly Agree	30	37.5
Strongly Disagree	1	1.3

**Table 30: Believe Facebook and YouTube are highly professional**

	Frequency	%
Agree	16	20.0
Disagree	17	21.3
Does not apply	1	1.3
Does not apply	2	2.5
Neutral	23	28.8
Strongly Agree	13	16.3
Strongly Disagree	7	8.8
Total	80	100.0

**Table 31: Think criticizing political leaders hinders them from doing their job**

	Frequency	%
Agree	13	16.3
Disagree	21	26.3
Does not apply	6	7.5
Neutral	11	13.8
Strongly Agree	7	8.8
Strongly Disagree	21	26.3
Total	80	100.0

**Table 32: Think criticizing political leaders encourages political leaders to do their job**

	Frequency	%
Agree	22	27.5
Disagree	9	11.3
Does not apply	4	5.0
Neutral	23	28.8
Strongly Agree	13	16.3
Strongly Disagree	8	10.0
Total	80	100.0

**Examinations of YouTube Users****Table 33: Became a fan on one of the three cases****N=44**

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	13	29.5
Fair Access Policy	4	9.1
Niqab Controversy	5	11.4

**Table 34: Wrote on the wall**

N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	12	27.3
Fair Access Policy	5	11.4
Niqab Controversy	2	4.5

**Table 35: Created a Fan Page/Group on Facebook**

N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	1	2.3
Fair Access Policy	1	2.3
Niqab Controversy	0	0

**Table 36: Started an online discussion**

N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	7	15.9
Fair Access Policy	3	6.8
Niqab Controversy	7	15.9

**Table 37: Read by following the news**

N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	27	61.4
Fair Access Policy	9	20.5
Niqab Controversy	19	43.2

**Table 38: Discussed the case with friends**

N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	25	56.8
Fair Access Policy	10	22.7
Niqab Controversy	20	45.5

**Table 39: Invited friends to join groups on Facebook**

N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	7	15.9
Fair Access Policy	1	2.3
Niqab Controversy	3	6.8

**Table 40: Uploaded a video on YouTube**  
N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	5	11.4
Fair Access Policy	0	0
Niqab Controversy	0	0

**Table 41: Commented on a video on YouTube**  
N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	12	27.3
Fair Access Policy	5	11.4
Niqab Controversy	5	11.4

**Table 42: Commented on an online article**  
N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	8	18.2
Fair Access Policy	3	6.8
Niqab Controversy	7	15.9

**Table 43: Called in on a TV show**  
N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	1	2.3
Fair Access Policy	1	2.3
Niqab Controversy	3	6.8

**Table 44: Wrote an op-ed**  
N=44

	Frequency	%
Egyptian/Algerian Case	5	11.4
Fair Access Policy	1	2.3
Niqab Controversy	4	9.1

**Table 45: Impact of Facebook on YouTube on the Egyptian/Algerian Case**

	Frequency	%
No Impact	4	9.1
Strong	16	36.4
Very Strong	13	29.5
Very Weak	3	6.8
Weak	4	9.1
Total	44	100.0

**Table 46: Impact of Facebook on YouTube on the Fair Access Internet Policy**

	Frequency	%
No Impact	5	11.4
Strong	7	15.9
Very Strong	5	11.4
Very Weak	2	4.5
Weak	7	15.9
Total	44	100.0

**Table 47: Impact of Facebook on YouTube on the Niqab Controversy**

	Frequency	%
No Impact	10	22.7
Strong	5	11.4
Very Strong	5	11.4
Very Weak	7	15.9
Weak	2	4.5
Total	44	100.0

**Table 48: Effect of Facebook and YouTube on Public Policy Making**

	Frequency	%
Yes	23	52.3
No	21	47.7
Total	44	100.0

**Table 49: Believe Facebook and YouTube have an impact on what the mainstream media (national and independent newspapers, TV etc...) publishes**

	Frequency	%
Agree	10	22.7
Disagree	4	9.1
Neutral	12	27.3
Strongly Agree	16	36.4
Strongly Disagree	2	4.5
Total	44	100.0

**Table 50: Believe Facebook and YouTube can make a positive difference in society**

	Frequency	%
Agree	21	47.7
Disagree	5	11.4
Neutral	4	9.1
Strongly Agree	13	29.5
Strongly Disagree	1	2.3
Total	44	100.0



**Table 51: Believe Facebook and YouTube have more freedom of expression compared to traditional media such as television, radio and newspapers**

	Frequency	%
Agree	12	27.3
Disagree	1	2.3
Neutral	2	4.5
Strongly Agree	28	63.6
Strongly Disagree	1	2.3
Total	44	100.0

**Table 52: Believe the government is aware of the influence of Facebook and YouTube**

	Frequency	%
Agree	16	36.4
Disagree	5	11.4
Does not apply	2	4.5
Neutral	10	22.7
Strongly Agree	10	22.7
Strongly Disagree	1	2.3
Total	44	100.0

**Table 53: Believe Facebook and YouTube are politically biased**

	Frequency	%
Agree	4	9.1
Disagree	17	38.6
Neutral	14	31.8
Strongly Agree	3	6.8
Strongly Disagree	6	13.6
Total	44	100.0

**Table 54: Believe Facebook and YouTube are growing in influence**

	Frequency	%
Agree	22	50.0
Disagree	1	2.3
Neutral	5	11.4
Strongly Agree	15	34.1
Strongly Disagree	1	2.3
Total	44	100.0

**Table 55: Believe Facebook and YouTube are highly professional**

	Frequency	%
Agree	9	20.5
Disagree	12	27.3
Does not apply	1	2.3
Neutral	14	31.8
Strongly Agree	6	13.6
Strongly Disagree	2	4.5
Total	44	100.0

**Table 56: Think criticizing political leaders hinders them from doing their job**

	Frequency	%
Agree	5	11.4
Disagree	15	34.1
Does not apply	3	6.8
Neutral	6	13.6
Strongly Agree	2	4.5
Strongly Disagree	13	29.5
Total	44	100.0

**Table 57: Think criticizing political leaders encourages political leaders to do their job**

	Frequency	%
Agree	15	34.1
Disagree	3	6.8
Does not apply	2	4.5
Neutral	8	18.2
Strongly Agree	8	18.2
Strongly Disagree	8	18.2
Total	44	100.0

## Examination of the Correlation of the Respondents' Sex and the Three Case Studies

**Table 58: Gender Relations to the Sources Used for Political News**

	Female	Male	P Value
Newspapers (online and print)	Count: 105 Percentage: 68.2%	Count: 57 Percentage: 67.9%	.959 ns
TV	Count: 126 Percentage: 81.8%	Count: 58 Percentage: 69.0%	S .025
Radio	Count: 33 Percentage: 21.4%	Count: 18 Percentage: 21.4%	1.000 ns
Facebook	Count: 50 Percentage: 32.5%	Count: 30 Percentage: 35.7%	.612 ns
YouTube	Count: 26 Percentage: 16.9%	Count: 18 Percentage: 21.4%	.388 ns
Friends	Count: 62 Percentage: 40.3%	Count: 41 Percentage: 48.8%	.203 ns
Family	Count: 85 Percentage: 55.2%	Count: 24 Percentage: 28.6%	.000 ns

**Table 59: Newspaper Rank for Credibility**

Newspaper Rank	Female	Male	Total
1	Count: 19 Percentage: 12.3%	Count: 16 Percentage: 19%	Count: 35 Percentage: 14.7%
2	Count: 18 Percentage: 11.7%	Count: 8 Percentage: 9.5%	Count: 26 Percentage: 10.9%
3	Count: 8 Percentage: 5.2%	Count: 9 Percentage: 10.7%	Count: 17 Percentage: 7.1%
4	Count: 14 Percentage: 9.1%	Count: 8 Percentage: 9.5%	Count: 22 Percentage: 9.2%
5	Count: 15 Percentage: 9.7%	Count: 11 Percentage: 13.1%	Count: 26 Percentage: 10.9%
6	Count: 25 Percentage: 16.2%	Count: 14 Percentage: 16.7%	Count: 39 Percentage: 16.4%
7	Count: 55 Percentage: 35.7%	Count: 17 Percentage: 20.2%	Count: 72 Percentage: 30.3%

P=0.14 (NS)

**Table 60: TV Rank for Credibility**

TV Rank	Female	Male	Total
1	Count: 13 Percentage: 8.4%	Count: 9 Percentage: 10.7%	Count: 22 Percentage: 9.2%
2	Count: 16 Percentage: 10.4%	Count: 10 Percentage: 11.9%	Count: 26 Percentage: 10.9%
3	Count: 7 Percentage: 4.5%	Count: 7 Percentage: 8.3%	Count: 14 Percentage: 5.9%
4	Count: 6 Percentage: 3.9%	Count: 10 Percentage: 11.9%	Count: 16 Percentage: 6.7%
5	Count: 16 Percentage: 10.4%	Count: 15 Percentage: 17.9%	Count: 31 Percentage: 13.0%
6	Count: 54 Percentage: 35.1%	Count: 15 Percentage: 17.9%	Count: 69 Percentage: 29.0%
7	Count: 42 Percentage: 27.3%	Count: 17 Percentage: 20.2%	Count: 59 Percentage: 24.8%

P=0.01 (S)

**Table 61: Radio Rank for Credibility**

Radio Rank	Female	Male	Total
1	Count: 15 Percentage: 9.7%	Count: 9 Percentage: 10.7%	Count: 24 Percentage: 10.1%
2	Count: 8 Percentage: 5.2%	Count: 9 Percentage: 10.7%	Count: 17 Percentage: 7.1%
3	Count: 34 Percentage: 22.1%	Count: 16 Percentage: 19.0%	Count: 50 Percentage: 21.0%
4	Count: 24 Percentage: 15.6%	Count: 15 Percentage: 17.9%	Count: 39 Percentage: 16.4%
5	Count: 49 Percentage: 31.8%	Count: 20 Percentage: 23.8%	Count: 69 Percentage: 29.0%
6	Count: 19 Percentage: 12.3%	Count: 8 Percentage: 9.5%	Count: 27 Percentage: 11.3%
7	Count: 5 Percentage: 3.2%	Count: 6 Percentage: 7.1%	Count: 11 Percentage: 4.6%

P=0.33 (NS)

**Table 62: Facebook Rank for Credibility**

Facebook Rank	Female	Male	Total
1	Count: 31 Percentage: 20.1%	Count: 11 Percentage: 13.1%	Count: 42 Percentage: 17.6%
2	Count: 39 Percentage: 25.3%	Count: 15 Percentage: 17.9%	Count: 54 Percentage: 22.7%
3	Count: 25 Percentage: 16.2%	Count: 13 Percentage: 15.5%	Count: 38 Percentage: 16.0%
4	Count: 26	Count: 17	Count: 43

179

	Percentage: 16.9%	Percentage: 20.2%	Percentage: 18.1%
5	Count: 17 Percentage: 11%	Count: 8 Percentage: 9.5%	Count: 25 Percentage: 10.5%
6	Count: 9 Percentage: 5.8%	Count: 8 Percentage: 9.5%	Count: 17 Percentage: 7.1%
7	Count: 7 Percentage: 4.5%	Count: 12 Percentage: 14.3%	Count: 19 Percentage: 8.0%

P=0.09 (NS)

**Table 63: YouTube Rank for Credibility**

YouTube Rank	Female	Male	Total
1	Count: 32 Percentage: 20.8%	Count: 16 Percentage: 19.0%	Count: 48 Percentage: 20.2%
2	Count: 28 Percentage: 18.2%	Count: 14 Percentage: 16.7%	Count: 42 Percentage: 17.6%
3	Count: 30 Percentage: 19.5%	Count: 12 Percentage: 14.3%	Count: 42 Percentage: 17.6%
4	Count: 21 Percentage: 13.6%	Count: 10 Percentage: 11.9%	Count: 31 Percentage: 13%
5	Count: 22 Percentage: 14.3%	Count: 12 Percentage: 14.3%	Count: 34 Percentage: 14.3%
6	Count: 8 Percentage: 5.2%	Count: 13 Percentage: 15.5%	Count: 21 Percentage: 8.8%
7	Count: 13 Percentage: 8.4%	Count: 7 Percentage: 8.3%	Count: 20 Percentage: 8.4%

P=0.27 (NS)

**Table 64: Regular Viewership on YouTube**

	Female	Male	Total
Daily	Count: 19 Percentage: 12.3%	Count: 24 Percentage: 29.8%	Count: 44 Percentage: 18.5%
Never	Count: 21 Percentage: 7.8%	Count: 1 Percentage: 1.2%	Count: 13 Percentage: 5.5%
Once a month	Count: 4 Percentage: 2.6%	Count: 3 Percentage: 3.6%	Count: 7 Percentage: 2.9%
Once a week	Count: 17 Percentage: 11%	Count: 7 Percentage: 8.3%	Count: 24 Percentage: 10.1%
Rarely	Count: 33 Percentage: 21.4%	Count: 7 Percentage: 8.3%	Count: 40 Percentage: 16.8%
Several times a month	Count: 19 Percentage: 12.3%	Count: 6 Percentage: 7.1%	Count: 25 Percentage: 10.5%
Several times a week	Count: 50 Percentage: 32.5%	Count: 35 Percentage: 41.7%	Count: 85 Percentage: 35.7%

P=0.001 (S)

## Examination of the Correlation of the Respondents' Age

**Table 65: Age Relations to the Sources Used for Political News**

	18-21	22-35	P Value
Newspapers (online and print)	Count: 97 Percentage: 65.1%	Count: 50 Percentage: 71.4%	.353
TV	Count: 117 Percentage: 78.5%	Count: 54 Percentage: 77.1%	.818
Radio	Count: 33 Percentage: 22.1%	Count: 15 Percentage: 21.4%	.905
Facebook	Count: 43 Percentage: 28.9%	Count: 32 Percentage: 45.7%	.014
YouTube	Count: 24 Percentage: 16.1%	Count: 15 Percentage: 21.4%	.337
Friends	Count: 54 Percentage: 36.2%	Count: 38 Percentage: 54.3%	.012
Family	Count: 65 Percentage: 43.6%	Count: 36 Percentage: 51.4%	.280

**Table 66: Age Relations on the source of news prior to conducting the survey**

	18-21	22-35	P Value
Print Newspaper	Count: 57 Percentage: 38.3%	Count: 17 Percentage: 24.3%	.042
Online Newspaper	Count: 31 Percentage: 20.8%	Count: 25 Percentage: 35.7%	.018
Facebook	Count: 70 Percentage: 47.0%	Count: 37 Percentage: 52.9%	.417.
YouTube	Count: 13 Percentage: 8.7%	Count: 1 Percentage: 1.4%	.040

**Table 67: Examination of the Correlation of Respondents' Age and Egyptian/Algerian Football Conflict**

	18-21	22-25	P Value
Facebook	Count: 78 Percentage: 52.3%	Count: 40 Percentage: 57.1%	.507
YouTube	Count: 53 Percentage: 35.6%	Count: 23 Percentage: 32.9%	.694
Print Newspaper	Count: 58 Percentage: 38.9%	Count: 31 Percentage: 44.3%	.451
Online Newspaper	Count: 47 Percentage: 31.5%	Count: 33 Percentage: 47.1%	.025
National TV	Count: 61 Percentage: 40.9%	Count: 29 Percentage: 41.4%	.945

Satellite TV	Count: 77 Percentage: 51.7%	Count: 48 Percentage: 68.6%	.019
Radio	Count: 20 Percentage: 13.4%	Count: 16 Percentage: 22.9%	.079

**Table 68: Impact of Facebook and YouTube on the Egyptian/Algerian Case**

	18-21	22-35	Total
No Impact	Count: 23 Percentage: 15.4%	Count: 10 Percentage: 14.3%	Count: 33 Percentage: 15.1%
Strong	Count: 36 Percentage: 24.2%	Count: 31 Percentage: 44.3%	Count: 67 Percentage: 30.6%
Very Strong	Count: 40 Percentage: 26.8%	Count: 8 Percentage: 11.4%	Count: 48 Percentage: 21.9%
Very Weak	Count: 10 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 3 Percentage: 3.4%	Count: 13 Percentage: 5.9%
Weak	Count: 16 Percentage: 10.7%	Count: 8 Percentage: 11.4%	Count: 24 Percentage: 21.9%
Total	Count: 149 Percentage: 100%	Count: 70 Percentage: 100%	Count: 219 Percentage: 100%

P=0.04 (S)

### Examination of the Correlation of the Respondents' University

**Table 69: Sources of Political News for AUC and Cairo University**

	AUC	Cairo University	P
Newspapers (online and print)	Number: 81 Percentage: 67.5 %	Number: 81 Percentage: 68.6%	.850
Television	Number: 100 Percentage: 83.3%	Number: 84 Percentage: 71.2%	.025 (S)
Radio	Number: 22 Percentage: 18.3%	Number: 29 Percentage: 24.6%	.241
Facebook	Number: 41 Percentage: 34.2%	Number: 39 Percentage: 33.1%	.855
YouTube	Number: 24 Percentage: 20%	Number: 20 Percentage: 16.9%	.544
Friends	Number: 60 Percentage: 50%	Number: 43 Percentage: 36.4%	.035 (S)
Family	Number: 70 Percentage: 58.3%	Number: 39 Percentage: 33.1%	.000 (S)

**Table 70: Newspaper Rank for Credibility among AUC and Cairo University Students**

Newspaper Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.3%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%	Count: 35 Percentage: 14.7%
2	Count: 7 Percentage: 5.8%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%	Count: 26 Percentage: 10.9%
3	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.9%	Count: 17 Percentage: 7.1%
4	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.9%	Count: 22 Percentage: 9.2%
5	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.5%	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.3%	Count: 26 Percentage: 10.9%
6	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.7%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%	Count: 39 Percentage: 16.4%
7	Count: 51 Percentage: 42.5%	Count: 21 Percentage: 17.8%	Count: 72 Percentage: 30.3%

P<0.01 (S)

**Table 71: Television Rank for Credibility among AUC and Cairo University Students**

Television Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 5 Percentage: 4.2%	Count: 17 Percentage: 14.4%	Count: 22 Percentage: 9.2%
2	Count: 12 Percentage: 10%	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.9%	Count: 26 Percentage: 10.9%
3	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%	Count: 14 Percentage: 5.9%
4	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 12 Percentage: 10.2%	Count: 16 Percentage: 6.7%
5	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.7%	Count: 17 Percentage: 14.4%	Count: 31 Percentage: 13.0%
6	Count: 49 Percentage: 40.8%	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.9%	Count: 69 Percentage: 29.0%
7	Count: 32 Percentage: 26.7%	Count: 27 Percentage: 22.9%	Count: 59 Percentage: 24.8%

P<0.01 (S)

**Table 72: Radio Rank for Credibility among AUC and Cairo University Students**

Radio Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 6 Percentage: 5.0%	Count: 18 Percentage: 15.3%	Count: 24 Percentage: 10.1%
2	Count: 7 Percentage: 5.8%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%	Count: 17 Percentage: 7.1%
3	Count: 21 Percentage: 17.5%	Count: 29 Percentage: 24.6%	Count: 50 Percentage: 21.0%



4	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.7%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%	Count: 39 Percentage: 16.4%
5	Count: 48 Percentage: 40%	Count: 21 Percentage: 17.8%	Count: 69 Percentage: 29.0%
6	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.5%	Count: 12 Percentage: 10.2%	Count: 27 Percentage: 11.3%
7	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.8%	Count: 11 Percentage: 4.6%

P=0.003 (S)

**Table 73: Facebook Rank for Credibility among AUC and Cairo University Students**

Facebook Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 28 Percentage: 23.3%	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.9%	Count: 42 Percentage: 17.6%
2	Count: 29 Percentage: 24.2%	Count: 25 Percentage: 21.2%	Count: 54 Percentage: 22.7%
3	Count: 22 Percentage: 18.3%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%	Count: 38 Percentage: 16.0%
4	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.7%	Count: 23 Percentage: 19.5%	Count: 43 Percentage: 18.1%
5	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.5%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%	Count: 25 Percentage: 10.5%
6	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 13 Percentage: 11.0%	Count: 17 Percentage: 7.1%
7	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.3%	Count: 19 Percentage: 8%

P=0.038 (S)

**Table 74: YouTube Rank for Credibility among AUC and Cairo University Students**

YouTube Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 28 Percentage: 23.3%	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.9%	Count: 48 Percentage: 20.2%
2	Count: 26 Percentage: 21.7%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%	Count: 42 Percentage: 17.6%
3	Count: 26 Percentage: 21.7%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%	Count: 42 Percentage: 17.6%
4	Count: 13 Percentage: 10.8%	Count: 18 Percentage: 15.3%	Count: 31 Percentage: 13.0%
5	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.5%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%	Count: 34 Percentage: 14.3%
6	Count: 5 Percentage: 4.2%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%	Count: 21 Percentage: 8.8%
7	Count: 7 Percentage: 5.8%	Count: 13 Percentage: 11.0%	Count: 20 Percentage: 8.4%

P=0.02

**Table 75: Friends Rank for Credibility among AUC and Cairo University Student**

Friends Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 18 Percentage: 15.0%	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.9%	Count: 38 Percentage: 16.0%
2	Count: 25 Percentage: 20.8%	Count: 18 Percentage: 15.3%	Count: 43 Percentage: 18.1%
3	Count: 37 Percentage: 30.8%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%	Count: 53 Percentage: 22.3%
4	Count: 13 Percentage: 10.8%	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.9%	Count: 24 Percentage: 11.3%
5	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.3%	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.7%	Count: 25 Percentage: 10.5%
6	Count: 13 Percentage: 10.8%	Count: 27 Percentage: 22.9%	Count: 40 Percentage: 16.8%
7	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.8%	Count: 12 Percentage: 5.0%

P=0.01 (S)

**Table 76: Family Rank for Credibility among AUC and Cairo University Student**

Family Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.7%	Count: 12 Percentage: 10.2%	Count: 26 Percentage: 10.9%
2	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.3%	Count: 13 Percentage: 11.0%	Count: 23 Percentage: 9.7%
3	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.5%	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.3%	Count: 20 Percentage: 8.4%
4	Count: 45 Percentage: 35.7%	Count: 22 Percentage: 18.6%	Count: 67 Percentage: 28.2%
5	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.3%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%	Count: 35 Percentage: 14.7%
6	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.5%	Count: 13 Percentage: 11.0%	Count: 28 Percentage: 11.8%
7	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.2%	Count: 27 Percentage: 22.9%	Count: 38 Percentage: 16.0%

P=0.019 (S)

**Table 77: E-mail Rank among AUC and Cairo University Student**

E-mail Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 21 Percentage: 17.8%	Count: 29 Percentage: 12.2%
2	Count: 17 Percentage: 14.2%	Count: 23 Percentage: 19.5%	Count: 40 Percentage: 16.8%
3	Count: 49 Percentage: 40.8%	Count: 30 Percentage: 25.4%	Count: 79 Percentage: 33.2%
4	Count: 45 Percentage: 35.7%	Count: 42 Percentage: 35.6%	Count: 87 Percentage: 36.6%

P=0.026 (S)

**Table 78: Facebook Rank among AUC and Cairo University Students**

Facebook Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.8%	Count: 18 Percentage: 15.3%	Count: 32 Percentage: 13.5%
2	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.4%	Count: 26 Percentage: 22.0%	Count: 36 Percentage: 15.2%
3	Count: 37 Percentage: 40.8%	Count: 28 Percentage: 25.4%	Count: 65 Percentage: 33.2%
4	Count: 58 Percentage: 48.7%	Count: 44 Percentage: 37.3%	Count: 102 Percentage: 43.0%

P=0.026

**Table 79: YouTube Rank among AUC and Cairo University Students**

YouTube Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.8%	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.7%	Count: 35 Percentage: 14.8%
2	Count: 73 Percentage: 61.3%	Count: 49 Percentage: 41.5%	Count: 122 Percentage: 51.5%
3	Count: 18 Percentage: 15.1%	Count: 42 Percentage: 35.6%	Count: 60 Percentage: 25.3%
4	Count: 7 Percentage: 5.9%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%	Count: 16 Percentage: 6.8%

P=0.008 (S)

**Table 80: Blog Rank among AUC and Cairo University Student**

Blog Rank	AUC	Cairo University	Total
1	Count: 84 Percentage: 70.6%	Count: 64 Percentage: 54.2%	Count: 148 Percentage: 62.4%
2	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.8%	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.7%	Count: 29 Percentage: 12.2%
3	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.2%	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.9%	Count: 25 Percentage: 10.5%
4	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.4%	Count: 23 Percentage: 19.5%	Count: 33 Percentage: 13.9%

P=0.037 (S)

**Table 81: Sources of News between AUC and Cairo University the Day Prior to Conducting the Survey**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Print Newspaper	Count: 32 Percentage: 26.7%	Count: 53 Percentage: 44.9%	0.003
Online Newspaper	Count: 28 Percentage: 23.3%	Count: 34 Percentage: 28.8%	0.336
Facebook	Count: 65 Percentage: 54.2%	Count: 48 Percentage: 40.7%	0.037
YouTube	Count: 6 Percentage: 5%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%	0.404

**Table 82: Time Spent on Facebook and YouTube Between Cairo University and AUC**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Print Newspaper	Count: 24 Percentage: 20%	Count: 49 Percentage: 41.5%	0.000
Online Newspaper	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.3%	Count: 30 Percentage: 25.4%	0.018
Facebook	Count: 79 Percentage: 65.8%	Count: 53 Percentage: 44.9%	0.001
YouTube	Count: 37 Percentage: 30.8%	Count: 12 Percentage: 10.2%	0.000

**Examination the Respondents' University and the Three Case Studies****Table 83: Following the Three Cases between AUC and Cairo University**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 96 Percentage: 80%	Count: 102 Percentage: 86.4%	0.184
Fair Access Policy	Count: 26 Percentage: 21.7%	Count: 52 Percentage: 44.1%	0.000
Face-Veil Controversy	Count: 53 Percentage: 44.2%	Count: 77 Percentage: 65.3%	0.001

187

**Table 84: Methods Used of Following the Egyptian/Algerian Case between AUC and Cairo University**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Facebook	Count: 71 Percentage: 59.2%	Count: 55 Percentage: 46.6%	.052
YouTube	Count: 45 Percentage: 37.5%	Count: 36 Percentage: 30.5%	.255
Print Version of the Newspaper	Count: 53 Percentage: 44.2%	Count: 44 Percentage: 37.3%	.280
Online Version of the Newspaper	Count: 47 Percentage: 39.2%	Count: 41 Percentage: 34.7%	.480
National TV	Count: 53 Percentage: 44.2%	Count: 44 Percentage: 37.3%	.280
Satellite TV	Count: 69 Percentage: 57.5%	Count: 68 Percentage: 37.6%	.984
Radio	Count: 22 Percentage: 18.3%	Count: 18 Percentage: 15.3%	.525

**Table 85: Methods Used of Following the Fair Access Internet Policy Issue between AUC and Cairo University**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Facebook	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.2%	Count: 33 Percentage: 28%	.000
YouTube	Count: 5 Percentage: 4.2%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%	.172
Print Version of the Newspaper	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%	.022
Online Version of the Newspaper	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.7%	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.7%	.805
National TV	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.8%	.058
Satellite TV	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%	.022
Radio	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%	.002

**Table 86: Methods Used of Following the Face-Veil Controversy Issue between AUC and Cairo University**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Facebook	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.7%	Count: 28 Percentage: 23.7%	.175
YouTube	Count: 7 Percentage: 5.8%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%	.429
Print Version of the	Count: 20	Count: 35	.017

Newspaper	Percentage: 16.7%	Percentage: 29.7%	
Online Version of the Newspaper	Count: 31 Percentage: 25.8%	Count: 32 Percentage: 27.1%	.822
National TV	Count: 18 Percentage: 15%	Count: 34 Percentage: 28.8%	.010
Satellite TV	Count: 36 Percentage: 30%	Count: 56 Percentage: 47.5%	.006
Radio	Count: 1 Percentage: 8%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%	.009

**Table 87: Read about by following the news**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 83 Percentage: 69.2%	Count: 77 Percentage: 65.3%	0.520
Fair Access Policy	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.5%	Count: 26 Percentage: 22.0%	0.51
Niqab Controversy	Count: 38 Percentage: 31.7%	Count: 44 Percentage: 37.3%	0.362

**Table 88: Discussed the case with my friends**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 72 Percentage: 60%	Count: 62 Percentage: 52.5%	0.246
Fair Access Internet Policy	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.2%	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.9%	0.75
Niqab Controversy	Count: 31 Percentage: 25.8%	Count: 40 Percentage: 33.9 %	0.174

**Table 89: Became a fan**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 28 Percentage: 23.3%	Count: 30 Percentage: 25.4%	0.707
Fair Access Policy	Count: 1 Percentage: 8%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%	0.005
Niqab Controversy	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.3%	0.057

**Table 90: Wrote on the wall**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 13 Percentage: 10.8%	Count: 25 Percentage: 21.2%	0.29
Fair Access Policy	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%	0.29
Niqab Controversy	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%	0.16

**Table 91: Created a fan page/group)**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%	0.145
Fair Access Internet Policy	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.4%	0.169
Niqab Controversy	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%	0.120

**Table 92: Started an online discussion**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 27 Percentage: 22.9%	0.000
Fair Access Internet Policy	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%	Count: 13 Percentage: 11.0%	0.51
Niqab Controversy	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.9%	0.000

**Table 93: Invited friends to join**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 12 Percentage: 10.0%	Count: 23 Percentage: 19.5%	0.039
Fair Access Internet Policy	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%	0.002
Niqab Controversy	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%	0.002

**Table 94: Uploaded a video on YouTube**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%	0.001
Fair Access Internet Policy	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%	Count: 5 Percentage: 4.2%	0.029
Niqab Controversy	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 6 Percentage: 5.1%	0.065

**Table 95: Commented on a video on YouTube**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 23 Percentage: 19.5%	0.003
Fair Access Internet Policy	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.8%	0.058
Niqab Controversy	Count: 1 Percentage: 8%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%	0.005

**Table 96: Commented on an online article**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.3%	Count: 28 Percentage: 23.7%	0.001
Fair Access Internet Policy	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%	Count: 12 Percentage: 10.2%	0.005
Niqab Controversy	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%	Count: 18 Percentage: 15.3%	0.001

**Table 97: Called in on a TV show**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 6 Percentage: 5.1%	0.065
Fair Access Internet Policy	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.4%	0.42
Niqab Controversy	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.4%	0.169

**Table 98: Wrote an op-ed**

	AUC	Cairo University	P Value
Egyptian/Algerian Case	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%	0.043
Fair Access Internet Policy	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%	0.245
Niqab Controversy	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.8%	0.224

**Table 99: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube among the Egyptian/Algerian Case**

	AUC	Cairo University	Total
No Impact	Count: 12 Percentage: 17.5%	Count: 21 Percentage: 10.2%	Count: 33 Percentage: 13.9%
Strong	Count: 46 Percentage: 38.3%	Count: 29 Percentage: 24.6%	Count: 75 Percentage: 31.5%
Very Strong	Count: 24	Count: 29	Count: 53



	Percentage: 20%	Percentage: 24.6%	Percentage: 22.3%
Very Weak	Count: 7 Percentage: 5.8%	Count: 7 Percentage: 5.8%	Count: 24 Percentage: 5.9%
Weak	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.3%	Count: 17 Percentage: 13.4%	Count: 27 Percentage: 11.3%

0.029 (S)

**Table 100: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube in the Fair Access Policy**

	AUC	Cairo University	Total
No Impact	Count: 24 Percentage: 20%	Count: 13 Percentage: 11%	Count: 37 Percentage: 15.5%
Strong	Count: 6 Percentage: 5%	Count: 17 Percentage: 14.4%	Count: 23 Percentage: 9.7%
Very Strong	Count: 6 Percentage: 5%	Count: 12 Percentage: 10.2%	Count: 18 Percentage: 7.6%
Very Weak	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.2%	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.4%	Count: 15 Percentage: 6.3%
Weak	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.3%	Count: 20 Percentage: 16.9%	Count: 36 Percentage: 15.1%

P=0.013 (S)

**Table 101: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube in the Face-Veil Controversy**

	AUC	Cairo University	Total
No Impact	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.3%	Count: 26 Percentage: 22%	Count: 42 Percentage: 17.6%
Strong	Count: 12 Percentage: 10%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%	Count: 28 Percentage: 11.8%
Very Strong	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.3%	Count: 15 Percentage: 6.3%
Very Weak	Count: 12 Percentage: 10%	Count: 13 Percentage: 11%	Count: 25 Percentage: 10.5%
Weak	Count: 26 Percentage: 21.7%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%	Count: 42 Percentage: 17.6%

P=0.05 (NS)

**Table 102: Perceived Impact of Facebook and YouTube Participation on Government Action**

	AUC	Cairo University
No	Count: 71 Percentage: 59.2%	Count: 65 Percentage: 55.1%
Yes	Count: 49 Percentage: 40.8 %	Count: 53 Percentage: 44.9%

P=0.53 (NS)

**Table 103: Believe Facebook and YouTube have an impact on what the mainstream media (national and independent newspapers, TV etc...) publishes**

	AUC	Cairo University
Agree	Count: 39 Percentage: 32.5%	Count: 45 Percentage: 38.1%
Disagree	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.2%	Count: 6 Percentage: 5.1%
Does not apply	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.4%
Neutral	Count: 28 Percentage: 23.3%	Count: 34 Percentage: 28.8%
Strongly Agree	Count: 39 Percentage: 32.5%	Count: 25 Percentage: 21.2%
Strongly Disagree	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%

P=0.10 (NS)

**Table 104: Believe Facebook and YouTube can make a positive difference in society**

	AUC	Cairo University
Agree	Count: 52 Percentage: 43.3%	Count: 38 Percentage: 32.2%
Disagree	Count: 13 Percentage: 10.8%	Count: 11 Percentage: 9.3%
Does not apply	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%
Neutral	Count: 26 Percentage: 21.7%	Count: 35 Percentage: 29.7%
Strongly Agree	Count: 24 Percentage: 20%	Count: 29 Percentage: 24.6%
Strongly Disagree	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%

P=0.51 (NS)

**Table 105: Believe Facebook and YouTube have more freedom of expression compared to traditional media such as television, radio and newspapers**

	AUC	Cairo University
Agree	Count: 36 Percentage: 30%	Count: 36 Percentage: 30.5%
Disagree	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%	Count: 5 Percentage: 4.2%
Does not apply	Count: 1	Count: 2

	Percentage: 0.8%	Percentage: 1.7%
Neutral	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%
Strongly Agree	Count: 71 Percentage: 59.2%	Count: 64 Percentage: 54.2%
Strongly Disagree	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 0 Percentage: 0%

P=0.757 (NS)

**Table 106: Believe the government is aware of the influence of Facebook and YouTube.**

	AUC	Cairo University
Agree	Count: 53 Percentage: 44.2%	Count: 43 Percentage: 36.4%
Disagree	Count: 6 Percentage: 5.0%	Count: 12 Percentage: 10.2%
Does not apply	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%	Count: 5 Percentage: 4.2%
Neutral	Count: 24 Percentage: 20%	Count: 29 Percentage: 24.6%
Strongly Agree	Count: 33 Percentage: 27.5%	Count: 26 Percentage: 22%
Strongly Disagree	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%

P= 0.41 (NS)

**Table 107: Believe Facebook and YouTube are politically biased**

	AUC	Cairo University
Agree	Count: 22 Percentage: 18.3%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%
Disagree	Count: 42 Percentage: 35.0%	Count: 34 Percentage: 28.8%
Does not apply	Count: 3 Percentage: 2.5%	Count: 10 Percentage: 8.5%
Neutral	Count: 33 Percentage: 27.5%	Count: 41 Percentage: 34.7%
Strongly Agree	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.7%	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.4%
Strongly Disagree	Count: 6 Percentage: 5%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%

P=0.046 (S)

**Table 108: Believe Facebook and YouTube are growing in influence**

	AUC	Cairo University
Agree	Count: 51 Percentage: 42.5%	Count: 57 Percentage: 48.3%
Disagree	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%
Does not apply	Count: 2 Percentage: 1.7%	Count: 6 Percentage: 5.1%
Neutral	Count: 15 Percentage: 12.5%	Count: 13 Percentage: 11%
Strongly Agree	Count: 50 Percentage: 41.7%	Count: 32 Percentage: 27.1%
Strongly Disagree	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%

P=0.025 (S)

**Table 109: Believe Facebook and YouTube are highly professional**

	AUC	Cairo University
Agree	Count: 12 Percentage: 10%	Count: 33 Percentage: 28%
Disagree	Count: 44 Percentage: 36.7%	Count: 16 Percentage: 13.6%
Does not apply	Count: 1 Percentage: 0.8%	Count: 6 Percentage: 5.1%
Neutral	Count: 37 Percentage: 30.8%	Count: 29 Percentage: 24.6%
Strongly Agree	Count: 6 Percentage: 5%	Count: 25 Percentage: 21.2%
Strongly Disagree	Count: 19 Percentage: 15.8%	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.8%

P<0.01 (S)

**Table 110: Think criticizing political leaders hinders them from doing their job.**

	AUC	Cairo University
Agree	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 19 Percentage: 16.1%
Disagree	Count: 31 Percentage: 25.8%	Count: 33 Percentage: 28.0%
Does not apply	Count: 8 Percentage: 6.7%	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.9%
Neutral	Count: 8	Count: 14

	Percentage: 6.7%	Percentage: 11.9%
Strongly Agree	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.6%
Strongly Disagree	Count: 40 Percentage: 33.3%	Count: 17 Percentage: 14.4%

P=0.005 (S)

**Table 111: Think criticizing political leaders encourages political leaders to do their job**

	AUC	Cairo University
Agree	Count: 30 Percentage: 25%	Count: 22 Percentage: 18.6%
Disagree	Count: 13 Percentage: 10.8%	Count: 17 Percentage: 14.4%
Does not apply	Count: 4 Percentage: 3.3%	Count: 12 Percentage: 10.2%
Neutral	Count: 43 Percentage: 35.8%	Count: 30 Percentage: 25.4%
Strongly Agree	Count: 21 Percentage: 17.5%	Count: 22 Percentage: 18.6%
Strongly Disagree	Count: 9 Percentage: 7.5%	Count: 14 Percentage: 11.9%

P=0.12 (NS)