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The American University in Cairo
School of Global Affairs & Public Policy (GAPP)

**“The Impact of Mass Media
Uses and Gratifications on Voters:
Case of Egypt 2012 Presidential Elections”**

A Thesis Submitted by
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Submitted to the Journalism & Mass Communication
Department

January 2013

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
The degree of Master of Arts
in Journalism and Mass Communication

Under the Supervision of

Ibrahim Hegazy, Dr.

Galal Zaki, Prof.

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Executive Summary

Phillips, Nouran Victor (2013). “The Impact of Mass Media Uses and Gratifications on Voters: Case of Egypt 2012 Presidential Elections”

Purpose of the Study:

This paper clarifies the role of mass media through the Uses and Gratifications approach during the Egyptian 2012 Presidential Elections campaigns. The main focus of this study aims at studying the role of mass media in shaping Egyptian voters' final decision. In addition, how voters used mass media to search for information to follow up the presidential candidates' campaigns by exploring the factors that predisposed voters to make their voting decisions.

In light of Elihu Katz (1959) question “What do people do with media?” and Blumler and McQuail (1969) concern about how people used the media to gather information about General Elections in Britain in 1965, they developed the Uses and the Gratifications Theory in order to study the relationship between voters and the media. In addition, in the 21st century, the Uses and Gratification Theory had been recognized as a tool to understand audience behaviors and usage patterns and perceptions from the media. Thus, the theory is used to teach communicators how to communicate better with their target audience.

Methodology:

Data was collected through self-administered surveys in both languages, English and Arabic. The sample examined is a “Purposive Sample” including only Egyptian voters who participated in the presidential elections in 2012 whether in round one or round two or both. The sample was chosen according to the voters' eligibility of age authorized to voting criteria, geographical residence was limited to

Egypt's 'Greater Cairo City' and interest in media political participation reflected in making actual voting procedure in 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections.

Major Findings and Discussion:

The findings of the study supported the two assumptions of the research. Mass media had a significant effect on voters' final decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections. Respondents who followed mass media during the Presidential Elections were highly affected by mass media to shape their voting decisions. However, respondents who didn't follow mass media had a greater tendency to disagree that mass media had a role during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections.

In addition, the different mass media channels that voters' sought to gather information during the presidential elections had a relative significant effect on respondents final voting decisions. Egyptians had high tendencies to gather information through traditional old media and mostly the television. Television interviews and press articles were considered the primarily sources for valuable information during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections.

The findings of the study concluded that respondents voted during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections had a great hope in a better future for the country. Respondents who are affiliated to political parties or movements had a greater tendency to be satisfied by political campaigns on different mass media channels. However, Respondents who were party member did not build their perceptions about the candidates from the media.

Chapter One

I. Introduction

II. Theoretical Framework

I. Introduction

The year 2011 was a year of radical changes all-over the world. Several countries had gone through tremendous fluctuations in their political or social arenas or in both. The Middle East was crushed with political and social drawbacks and dilemmas affecting their economy, national stability and security. Those pitfalls were described in protests in Yemen and Bahrain, civil wars in Syria, attacks on national borders in Egypt and Islamists' disputes in Tunisia. Among those dramatic changes and sometimes chaotic instability, presidential elections took place in some of those countries including Egypt.

From another perspective, the whole media environment that contributed highly in the current changes had also has been changing in the last couple of years in the Middle East. These media landscape changes had impacted the regular citizens and politicians. According to Wattenberg (2004), the decline in newspaper readership and the rise of Internet and media convergence affecting different generations had changed the way politicians try to influence the public especially during times of presidential elections. According to Wattenberg some media scholars believe that the decline in viewership for presidential speeches and political news would make it harder for candidates to get their message through to the entire public. However, with the rise of the Internet, candidates are able to find new ways to communicate with their public in the narrowcasting era. "In a political campaign environment, the Internet proved to be an excellent medium for dissemination of information, mobilization, social interaction and even entertainment". Political information can be distributed through the use of games, drawings, talk shows, debates, billboards and television and radio advertisements (Navasartian, 2008).

More precisely, Egypt had passed through many benchmarks since the 25th of January 2011 till the presidential elections in May 2012. Since the former Egyptian president Hosny Mubarak stepped down, the Supreme Council of Army Affairs (SCAF) took control of the country holding the dreams of the Egyptians for a democratic transitional period. The society started to detach between those who support the Islamist figures and with slightly different ideologies and those who support the secular movements with its different political wings. All secular movements were represented in well-established and new parties, socialists and politicians that had an experience with the old regime, “Folol” as they were called. The battle between the two ideologies within the Egyptian society reached its peak as the announcement of the presidential elections started to take place. Some candidates were able to reach more citizens in different governorates in Egypt than others. All candidates were constrained by time limitations, financial support, former public opinion, communication campaigns in mass media and public relations activities.

As a result of the sudden change and the unexpected revolution, there was a need for a democratic system to hold the transformation of the regime to an elected president. In order for Egyptians to become active citizens and participate in presidential electoral voting process they had to gain knowledge about the current situation and the presidential candidates. Mass media has always been a source of political knowledge in different societies. Inoue (2011) study explained that the uses and the gratifications approach of the media depend on the accessibility and existing habits of the audience rather than searching for a specific media channel. Voters seek information according to the available sources even if their usage patterns of the media are not practiced during political discourses. According to Vincent and Basil (2009), motivations for more media use for gaining knowledge through television

broadcasting resulted in a drop in newspaper reading, especially among adults. They investigated also that media usage increases by gender and women are more interested in media surveillance during political campaigns. In addition, youth present a big group of supporters of the political campaigns but the mass media role increases by age.

Kitchens, Powell and Williams (2009) studied Media usage and politics identifying that media usage is both a cause and effect for political behaviour. They explained the cause of media usage is related to information seeking. Voters who use the media for politics seek information on political topics. They identified four major factors for information seeking: openness, education, factual knowledge and political sophistication.

Moreover, Barton (2009) quoting Lasswell's identification of media uses and gratifications explained that the main factors for media usage for gathering information are environmental surveillance, social heritage transmission and building relationship with the current social needs and events. On the other hand, Greenberg (1974), Lometti, Reeves and Bybee (1977) supported the opposite idea that the gratification sought are not usually the gratifications obtained. The two perspectives of the uses of the media for gratifying social and psychological needs defined the motivation for media exposure to satisfy the need for knowledge.

In addition, Danaher and Rossiter (2011) identified how people have different perceptions of different media channels. They compared traditional media, television, radio and print media. Danaher and Rossiter (2011) studied how audience benefit from different messages of different media channels. Their study was useful for campaigners to notice in order to have ideas to satisfy different needs of the

audiences. Also to be able to create and target effective messages in different media channels.

Moreover, Inoue (2001) studied the different gratifications obtained from the internet by voters to reach their voting decisions. Visiting candidates' websites and direct contact with the candidates' campaigners help voters to answer their questions and express their comments on different issues. Internet campaigning increases voters' turnout. Moreover, selective exposure to the internet content gratifies voters and enhances use of the internet political campaigns. However, voters' tendency to gratify their political knowledge through traditional media is higher than through online media (Inoue, 2001).

Moreover, throughout the past twenty years, the internet became an essential medium for gathering information widely spread all over the world. Personal computers and the World Wide Web (WWW) became available to all people everywhere (Hilliard & Keith, 2005). Haas (2006) studied how digital media or the internet can engage citizens in democracy. She explained that the supporters of political campaigns after the intensive use of the internet are using it as a major tool to interact with campaigns' figures. Political campaigners also used the internet to disseminate campaign material and calls, especially after 2004 elections in the United States (Sweetser & Kaid, 2008).

From another perspective, Peng and Hackley (2009) compared voters to commercial consumers. They found that there are relatively similar aspects when dealing with voters as consumer who receive messages from the media. Those messages result in forming attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. However, the setting of the political context of communication campaigns may differ from consumption marketing campaigns (Lock & Harris, 1999). In both cases the campaigner aims at

promoting the candidate as well as promoting the product, the service or the idea and building its image.

The voter at this point is the main player of winning the elections rather than any commercial product profit. That's why grabbing the attention to the candidate through the media determines how the media is used by the voter to take a decision. The campaigner and the media message main task is to keep the voter aware of the candidate (Holbrook, T., 1996).

Hence voters can be perceived as consumers; political advertising and communication activities play an important role determining how voters use the media to satisfy their need for information satisfaction. Political advertising like commercial advertising reinforces loyalty and enhances existing attitudes rather than being a persuasion tool (Hackley, 1998 & Ehrenberg et al., 2002).

Accordingly, voters' behaviours are the indicators of how they use the media to get information and to satisfy their cognitive and affection needs. In different societies, different voters' behaviours towards the media and their reactions to the messages are different. Cwalina, Falkowski and Newman (2008) studied the different behaviours of voters. The study compared voters in Poland as a developing country of evolving democracy and voters in the United States as a well-established democratic society. The study concluded that in developing countries the emotional aspect and emotional relationship with the candidate weighs more than the cognitive calculations. However, in the stable democratic societies, it is hard to convince voters with emotional messages and even with informative messages. In democratic societies voters became more trained not to be drifted with hopes and they carefully perceive political messages as a result of voting experience. They know what to believe and what not to from media messages.

On the other hand, a major player that affects the voters' decisions and opinion formation is the candidates' persuasive communication activities. Propaganda has been playing a critical role during political campaigns as an influential tool to affect the public decisions. Propaganda mainly is not concerned with a two ways communication about different ideas between the propagandist and the audience. Propaganda is rather directed with intended purpose to achieve a certain goal by manipulation through an effective way of persuasion even if lying was integrated into the communication message (Arendt, 1973).

Mass media is considered a major tool for effective propaganda activities reaching masses of the public. Propaganda is directed through mass communication or public relations to affect the publics' opinions and decisions, especially in times of critical decisions like issuing important policies, wars or elections. Lasswell's (1934) definition of propaganda is the most popular and used definition till today. Lasswell defined propaganda as "The technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations." Thus, intentionally or unintentionally, voters are affected by the propaganda representations during the electoral campaigns.

Finally, it has been less than a year for the presidential elections in Egypt. Egyptians moved forward to practice their right in free elections within a democratic frame. The first presidential election in Egypt is a new political practice in the Egyptian society. Thus, it is significant for future elections to know how Egyptians used the mass media during the presidential elections campaigns. Also worth exploring how mass media was regarded as a source of information to get to know about the presidential candidates. According to the "Higher Institution for Presidential Elections", the number of Egyptian voters outside and inside Egypt was 34, 946, 430 citizens which represented 68.5% of the whole population in both first and second

rounds. These numbers include 586,803 Egyptians expatriates in 166 foreign countries.

This study investigates if the Uses and Gratifications Theory is applied on the Egyptian voters during the 2012 presidential elections. The study aims to explain the application of the theory through voters' usage of mass media during the elections to satisfy their emotional, social and cognitive needs. The study explores the role mass media channels through different communication activities during the presidential elections (Danaher & Rossiter, 2011). In addition, how the media was able to answer the concerns and give rational reasons about voting decisions during the presidential elections. As well as how voters used the different mass media channels seeking information to make their final voting decisions (Wurff, 2011).

II. Theoretical Framework

Uses and Gratifications Theory

The Uses and Gratifications Theory was introduced by Blumler and McQuail (1969). Blumler and McQuail (1969) studied the hopes and the wishes of people when watching politicians on television during the General elections in Britain in 1964. They also studied what made people avoid seeing other politicians during the same elections. The theory focuses on how people use the mass media and in other words “What Do People Do with the Media?”.

In addition, the Uses and Gratifications Theory highlights two major factors:

- The reasons why audiences expose themselves to different mass media means; television, radio, printed material and internet (Luo, 2002). The theory was first used to explain how people use mass media during political communication campaigns, dealing with audiences as voters. The Uses and Gratification Theory is used later on to understand more about social uses of mass media, entertainment and consumers behaviours, especially in times of political campaigns for gathering information.
- The main needs that people try to satisfy from using the mass media. The theory supports the idea that the psychological and social needs determine the different patterns and expectations of the people from the media.

Katz, Gurevitch and Haas (1973) defined five core social and psychological needs that mass media gratify audience with:

First, the Cognitive need. Mass media has a function to satisfy audience mental needs to make them able to understand the surrounding events, the status quo and to attain information for more cognitive stability. Second, the Affection need. Mass

media has a role to satisfy the emotional necessity of the audience. Mass media accordingly reduce the emotional instability and help audience to obtain pleasure and entertainment. Third, the Personal Integrative need. Another major need audience seek to gratify when using mass media is personal identity. Mass media has another role to reinforce personal reliability by gaining self-confidence and status. Fourth, the Social Integrative need. People look for social acceptance and for building social relationships to feel more secured. Media is a mean to affirm connections with peers, relatives, friends and family by having more common interests, subjects to talk about. Thus, the media function as a source of information. Fifth, the Tension Release need. Mass media play an important role in helping audience to escape from life conditions, boredom and obtaining change from different stressful circumstances.

Accordingly, there are major needs that audiences use the media for in order to be mentally and emotionally satisfied. The following groups of people represent three main groups of audiences using mass media for different gratifications (Blumler, Katz & Gurevitch 1974):

- There are people who use the media to reinforce their already existing attitudes or strong points of views. Thus, their exposure to the media and their efforts in seeking information are highly selective and determined.
- Some people who have no significant point of view or an existing attitude. This group of people satisfy their social and psychological need when using mass media trying to relate to others in their community and to have personal identity (McQuail, Blumer & Brown 1972).
- Other people use the media to follow up the public affairs. These people use mass media to gain social acceptance and social affirmation (McQuail, Blumer & Brown 1972).

People may be aware of the reasons of exposure to media or may not. The Uses and Gratifications Theory explains that the consequences of exposure to the media may be immediate or may be deferred. The theory attempts to explain that the reason for media usage may be a reminder of the messages of the communication campaign for reinforcing existing attitudes. Accordingly, audiences' reaction to the media may come out with an immediate approval or disapproval to the message. Also the consequences of using the media may result in deferred actions of stored attitudes and perceptions (Schramm, Lyle & Parker 1961)

In addition, several scholars added the following factors which may affect people's usage patterns of the media and how they are affected.

- Social circumstances affect the people's cognitive status and affections in their ways of using the media. Circumstances may vary from economic, political, geographical and social factors. People are subjected to what others say which may affect their overall moods and attitudes. Also the overall political and financial conditions and any unstable status or challenges that may result in social insecurity or unsatisfied basic needs determine how they use the media and how they perceive its messages (Elliott, 1974). The Social conditions variations also result in different patterns of how people use the media for entertainment, political knowledge and cultural identification.
- People are not always active and sometimes people's exposure to media messages (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Media message construction has an effect on the way people determine to use media. Media messages include: the structure, the communication campaign tools used like advertising and propaganda technique, the content of the working and music,

the medium or the channel it is transferred through, the amount of fear and anxiety in the message and the timing.

In addition, in the 21st century, the Uses and Gratification Theory is recognized as a tool to understand audiences' behaviors, usage patterns and perceptions from the media. Consequently, the theory is used to teach communicators how to communicate better with their target audience. Through the theory, communicators can analyse the intended goals of the message and predict the unintended results of the communication messages (Klapper, 1960).

Furthermore, there are different approaches for using Uses and Gratifications Theory in Mass Media Research:

- According to Levy (1978) the Uses and Gratifications Theory is adopted by researchers to investigate how viewers use the media and especially the television. This approach focuses on how audiences seek to get their needs satisfied through information gathering from different mass media. In addition, Levy (1978) used the theory to know about the perceptions of the viewers and their attitudes towards personalities and events presented through mass media.
- Other scholars explain how readers of newspapers use the printed material. There are two main reasons behind using printed media: to get knowledge of the surroundings to gain social acceptance and to be aware of the political, cultural and economic news in order to be more connected with the others (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).
- Luo (2002) states the various uses and attitudes towards the online consumer behaviour websites. His study identifies the differences between informative, entertainment and irritation towards the web usage.

Accordingly, the different uses determine different gratifications from the web. The Uses and Gratifications Theory provided an insight of why people use the web, their attitudes, their motivations and their level of satisfaction rather than studying the web as a marketing tool. This research helps to identify the differences between the uses and the gratifications of traditional media and online media which are nearly very close. The study came to the conclusion that the entertainment, informative and irritation factors are reasons behind different attitudes resulting in various uses and gratifications. Those who perceive the internet as entertaining and informative are more likely to have positive attitudes toward the web. On the other hand, those who perceive the internet as irritating have negative attitudes towards the web. Thus, those who have a positive attitude towards the web are those who feel satisfied by using the internet.

As the Uses and Gratification Theory elaborates, mass media audiences are regarded as voters in mass media political campaigns. During political communication campaigns, voters' adopt the same usage patterns to satisfy their various mental and psychological needs through different media channels. Accordingly, the uses and Gratifications Theory is used to explain the relationship between mass media and the voters (Blumler & McQuail, 1969).

During 2012, Egyptians had passed, for the first time, through the experience of democratic presidential elections. Thus, based on the above theoretical framework, Egyptians during the previous presidential elections embraced the same techniques and were affected by the same aspects that the theory of Uses and Gratifications explains. Based on the Uses and Gratification

Theory, this research studies how Egyptians used mass media in making their voting decisions during the 2012 Presidential Elections.

This research aims to study how mass media helped voters to satisfy their emotional and cognitive needs. This study examines two main factors that highlight the relationship between Egyptian voters and the various mass media channels that influenced them in order to take their voting decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections:

- **The role of mass media channels through different mass communication activities presented in mass media that shaped voters' decisions to reach their final voting decisions (Danaher & Rossiter, 2011).**
- **How Egyptians voters used mass media to gather information during the 2012 Presidential Elections to reach their final voting decisions (Wurff, 2011).**

Chapter Two

III. Literature Review

IV. The Case of Egypt

III. Literature Review

The Evolution of the Relationship between Mass Media and Politics

It is important to know the history of the relationship between political campaigns and mass media. During political campaigns, information dissemination is one of the major means for political communication. Since 1966, political campaigns were perceived as a propaganda tool that mediates citizens to the best interest of the political figure or the candidate. The term propaganda, as stated by Corner (2007) had been historically used of a negative notion of mediation in the society. It had been used as a negative communication activity for shifting and engaging culture into the political arena. Propaganda has been used as a promotional activity defined with pragmatic characteristics that carry an indirect, sometimes logical, discourse and expectations through different means of communication.

Arendt (1973) added that to have a negative or bad communication practice, it determines the inflection of a positive or good communication too. Propaganda was used to spread information through the popular media available at that era. The term propaganda was initially used by Papal Bull who established the Roman Catholic commission to introduce the positive intent of the term by carrying the motion of spreading God's word throughout the world. On the other hand, the strategic initiative of the Vatican against the Protestant interests introduced the negative purpose of the term, "Their Propaganda, which is to bad purpose, against ours, which is to good purpose". With the same concept, propaganda was viewed as a way to support ideas against others whether in positive or negative intended support. For example, the Russian revolution used the same concept to provide the correction effort of the elite with support to gain popularity for reformation in the society. In those three cases propaganda was used to influence the public with specific ideas that benefits one

specific side of the argument against the other in any of the directions. Thus, propaganda is a major concept in perceiving political campaigns (Corner, 2007).

On the other hand, propaganda as a concept was an effective tool to gather public opinion and to engage people into the political life. Mass media had been a very effective tool to disseminate the essential and intended political information since the movable type press had been invented (McLuhan, 1962). McLuhan (1962) explained: “Technological environments are not merely passive containers of people but are active processes that reshape people and other technologies alike. In our time the sudden shift from the mechanical technology of the wheel, printing press, to the technology of electronic circuitry, radio and television, represents one of the major shifts of all historical time. Printing from movable types created a quite unexpected new environment, it created the public.”

Since the colonial days, pamphlets and public debates in major capitals squares are considered a major mass communication tool to disseminate political information (Muhlmann, 2008). Thomas Paine also added that pamphlets became the most used tool for distributing political positions, general news and information through small pamphlets dispersed by hand to people in street.

Newspapers:

Then newspapers industry had been a major mass medium becoming very influential in disseminating political information. Newspapers were considered expensive to write and produce. They were read only by rich and literate community who can afford buying expensive material. Later on, by late 1800s, more efficient newsprint machine was invented. The invention of the “Penny” newspapers that

consisted of more than one paper was significantly spread among the poor and the rich (Stephens, 2007).

Most of the contents of the newspapers in America were biased towards any of the Democratic or Republican Parties and their political figures and candidates. The newspapers at the beginning were mostly politicized and subjective. On the other hand, the society became more literate and the newspapers were almost read by most socioeconomic classes. In addition, the nature of the material and the stories in the newspapers at that time were sensational and considered as “Yellow Journalism” (Stephens, 2007).

Radio:

The huge electronic media revolution started in the early 1900s with the invention of the electronic waves of radio. Then the introduction of the radio broadcasting in the 1920s was a big step. People discovered that news can be delivered to them instantaneously across oceans and seas through the radio. Accordingly, the transmission of radio was extended across America, Europe and Asia (Browne, 1999). Radio broadcasts made a huge difference in transmitting news instead of waiting for newspapers for weeks to be delivered. Radio transmission made it possible to be informed within minutes in remote spots from the event.

Thus, from a political point of view, radio had highly contributed in dissemination of news. Radio made it possible for people to hear the voices of the political figures and especially candidates whom voters are going to vote for. Radio became very influential for grabbing the attention of the voters. Thus, radio became successful in building a relationship between the candidates and the voters (Buhite & Levy, 1992).

Television:

Then not too far, by the 1940s, the development of video signals had introduced television sets. Television as a new mass medium joined radio in mass broadcasting but with the addition of the visual element besides the audio. Television was a radical change in the mass media broadcasting. With the introduction of the transatlantic satellites and cables, images and real time pictures were able to be transmitted all over the universe (Curtis, 2011).

However, cable television was not flourishing since the late 1940s, it was a crucial mean to transmit television broadcast to rural areas and all areas that standard television signals did not reach. The cable television was a technological advancement that made television a mass media even to unlucky areas. Cable televisions worked through signal television by building community antennas in remote places that can receive television signals and broadcasts them to houses through an electronic cable. It had the advantage of distributing different channels' signals to places that are not receiving the original television signals (Bittner, 1985).

Politicians started to use the television as a mass communication tool to comment on various social, political and economic issues. Political campaigns accordingly used television to communicate with voters and have an audio visual relationship with them in which they became more popular in the street (Gomery, 2008).

With the evolution of mass media in the first half of the 21st century through different media channels, newspapers, radio and television, new journalistic professional skills had been developed as well (Conboy, 2004). Instead of the sensational news and stories that were introduced through the "Yellow Journalism" in

the early years of the newspapers, scholars and reporters started to present a digital media fields. Media scholars and professionals started to teach more balanced, subjected and non-cheering news and stories. A new era of journalism had started presenting political figures and candidates in a more unbiased reporting. Radio and television as well started to have a new mandate in presenting candidates during electoral campaigns with an equal time and provide political points views with a balanced perspective. Also radio and television in America that got licenses for their stations from the Federal Government were obliged to give equal advertising timing for all candidates providing all points of views (Rowan, 1984).

In addition, by the 1980's, Cable News Network (CNN) in the United States started to become popular. Most of the news transmitted through the CNN was political. It worked as a twenty-four hours service (Gomery, 2008). Not only was the CNN from the Unites States but also the BCC from England, Russia Today from Russia and Al-Jazeera from Qatar.

Internet:

During the last twenty years, the internet as another mass medium became widely spread all over the world. Personal computers and the World Wide Web (WWW) became available to people everywhere (Hilliard & Keith, 2005). The internet is considered the most contemporary technological phenomenon in mass media however it is still growing and developing with new services and advancements. Not only people became exposed to all kinds of news and information through the (WWW) but also they started to interact with each other through the internet service. The (WWW) offered to people new and variable information all day long regarding all interests (Zelizer, 2009). People are now able to respond to any

piece of information they like or dislike by commenting with their opinions and launching pages and websites (Quinn, 2005).

Moreover, recently, the internet has been highly politicalized. The content of the internet became highly political. In addition, political candidates started to reach out for the public through the internet. They became able to interact with the people through their websites and social media websites and get feedback and opinions. Also the news media, they disseminate their news through their websites (Zelizer, 2009).

However, most of the political topics on the internet are set by what is called The Agenda-Setting technique (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). What the media news sources focus on is what the public is concerned about. Thus, Politicians then focus on such stories and news and they grab the attention of the users becoming the main issues discussed. Since 1996, Ku, Kaid, and Pfau (2003) found that the internet has a flourishing effect on the exchange of political news. They added that “Internet networks can also influence public exposure to information, creating opportunities for individuals and groups to affiliate and participate in civic affairs and public life” (p. 528).

Accordingly, the internet as well has an influence on people’s agenda as it sets the top hot issues to be discussed and updated. Thus, the internet has the same effect of The Agenda Setting technique of the traditional media, newspapers, radio and television. The internet shapes the discussions and the issues that people become concerned with according to the information disseminated and especially information about politics (Smith & Rainie, 2009).

Haas (2006) studied how digital media or the internet can engage citizens in democracy. She explained that the supporters of political campaigns after the intensive

use of the internet are using it as a major tool to interact with campaign figures. Political campaigners also use blogs to disseminate campaign material and calls. Especially after 2004 elections, blogs were described as “Political information efficacy, the extent to which citizens are confident in their political knowledge and possess sufficient knowledge to engage with the political process” (Sweetser & Kaid, 2008).

The internet had succeeded to interact and enhance engagement of younger generations to get to know more about politics, ask them for voluntary tasks, donate money or effectively vote for certain candidates (Tedesco, 2006). The most significant contribution of youth in political campaigns is described in the large percentage of youth who voted for Barak Obama and made him win in 2008 presidential elections (Kiyohara, 2009).

Furthermore, the mobilization of youth in the “Arab Spring” fall 2011 had supported the influential role of the internet, especially social media. Social media had highly contributed in the political movements across several countries that caused the step down of Mubarak regime in Egypt and Ben Ali in Tunisia. As well as the “Occupy Wall Street” strikes in the United States (Chen, 2011). The Arab Spring, which was a tangible cause for the upraise of “Occupy Wall Street”, was enhanced by the social networking and not through the traditional media. Social media played a role in mobilizing and organizing when the societal dissatisfaction reached its peak. Thus, television and radio have gone gradually out of the people’s choices for gathering information while cable television and internet are becoming the major sources of information.

Apparently, as people’s habits in searching for information have changed also their media choices changed. McLuhan (1964) stated that “The Medium is the

Message.” He explained that some political figures and candidates communicate better in some media channels than others. The mean of communication is as important as the message itself. The wrong choice of the medium can negatively affect the audience even if the content of the message, words or pictures, is important. For example, in his study for Kennedy’s and Nixon’s debate in the American presidential elections in 1960, Kennedy was expected to be the winning candidate to television audience. On the other hand, Nixon was believed to be the winning president to radio audience. During the American presidential election in 2000, the evaluation of both candidates Bush the son and Al Gore had flourished (Kaid, 2003). However, people’s fear and pessimism had not been reduced from their exposure to the internet (Scheirman, 2007).

On the contrary, it had been predicted that the internet will reduce the gap between people and the information they need and seek that will eventually enhance democracy (Abramson, Arterton, & Orren, 1988). Another study found a major difference between traditional media and digital media. The audience are willingly exposed to the traditional media and passively being brain washed while being exposed to digital media requires active interactive users who know what they want and searching for it (Kaye & Johnson, 2003).

Voters' Usage of Mass Media Seeking Information Gathering

Kitchens, Powell and Williams (2009) studied media usage and politics identifying that media usage is both a cause and effect for political behaviour. They explained the cause of media usage in relation to information seeking. Voters who use the media for politics seek information on political topics. Searching for information is the gratification that voters seek as a result of media usage. They identified four major factors for information seeking: openness, education, factual knowledge and political sophistication. They asked a major question; do voters use this information to come up with their voting decision?

Zimmer (1981) and Finkel (1993) had two opposing studies about the link between media exposure and decision making. Zimmer (1981) argued that there was no relationship between exposure to the media during 1972 presidential elections and its effectiveness through practical involvement on the day of elections. On the other hand, Finkel (1993) established a relationship between media exposure and decision making and political involvement in elections. He supported the link by explaining that there is a limited effect for media exposure on voters' turnout and electoral outcomes.

Other scholars, on the other hand stated that the effectiveness of mass media exposure can be explained through the effect of political advertising and political debates (Just, Crigler & Wallach, 1990). They supported political advertising more than political debates as voters noted that political advertising support them with more information than political debates. In another survey by voters who voted for the first time stated that political advertisements had the effective call to convince them to vote (Martinelli & Chaffee, 1995). Adding to the effectiveness of television as a source of effective persuasion about political information for decision making, newspapers had

a less effect than television on voters during political campaigns (Chaffee & Kanihan 1997).

Zaller (1991) had set a model to clarify the dilemma of whether media exposure results in effective decision making by voters during elections. He explained it in a two-step process where the probability of individual's receiving the political message then accepting the content and the whole idea of the message. Thus, it depends not only on being exposed to the message but also on paying attention to its content. Zaller (1991) found that media exposure and media attention are two different variables. Accordingly, in order for voters to be affected by mass media communication, they should pay attention to the message and exposure only is not sufficient for persuasion (Chaffee & Rimal, 1996).

The "Reception Gap Theory":

The "Reception Gap Theory" is developed by Zaller (1996). The theory states that there is a direct relationship between media influence and the amount of media communication the voters receive. Zaller (1996) tested his claim through a study of two incidents occurring at the same time and covered by the media, DC-10 airliner crash and the resignation of House Speaker Jim Wright. He distinguished between habitual viewers and moderate viewers of media. He found that habitual viewers of the crash were aware of the accident with a 100% awareness and moderate viewers were aware of the crash with 95%. He considered that there was no surprising result between habitual and moderate viewers of the crash. On the other hand, habitual viewers of the media were aware of the resignation of Jim Wright with 79% and moderate viewers with 13%. He stated that this gap is defined by how far those viewers are receiving the message. Zaller (1991) noted that during political campaigns, voters who receive political information from the media with a moderate

viewership or less have a higher reception gap between the received information and the influence of this information.

Kinds of Voters:

From another perspective, there are different kinds of voters. In political campaigns and especially during elections, the most important and considerate voters to the candidates are the '*undecided voters*' and the '*swing voters*'. Another study observed the two kinds of voters at the end of the electoral race (Flanigan, 1972). Swing voters and undecided voters are usually non-partisan voters. The study tested the undecided voters and the swing voters' percentage among the total amount of voters in an election races that are highly controversial. The conclusion of the study found that 35 percent of the voters were undecided or swing voters (Oskamp, 1991). Thus, they are very crucial to the candidate as their votes can shift the outcome of the election's race completely. Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1997) added that those voters are usually undecided till the week of the elections. They also stated that undecided voters and swing voters are viewed as "least interested, least knowledgeable, least partisan of the voters who ultimately cast their ballots"

In addition, there are the '*floating voters*'. The '*floating voters*' were defined by earlier scholars to be a group of voters among the swing voters. The '*floating voters*' are heavy media users who use the media intensively during the last week before the election dates (Kitchens, Powell & Williams, 2009). They tested the influence of information seeking on political knowledge and voters' decisions through testing voters' exposure to television, newspaper and interpersonal communication.

Kitchens, Powell and Williams (2009) concluded that information seeking has a direct influence on political knowledge but not on voters' decisions or opinions.

High information seeker also have more knowledge about political issues than low seekers, however, the information gap doesn't affect between high seekers and low seekers in their willingness to decide upon voting (Kitchens, Powell & Williams, 2009). Thus, the study supported the earlier studies indicated that media exposure for the sake of information seeking did not affect voting decisions.

In addition, Kitchens, Powell and Williams (2009) concluded that political advertisements had an effect on voters decisions based upon the earlier researches. In addition, the combination of media exposure among different media channels including political advertisements increased the chance for making voting decisions. Moreover, much information was not an indicator for making decisions, voters may make decisions and content with no or little exposure to the media. On the other hand, if voters gathered a lot of information and not content with the information obtained, they also may not come up with a decision. Undecided voters who are low information seekers, remain undecided. Furthermore, voters who are more politically interested seek more information not only for the sake of decision making. Party members as well are high information seekers but their partisan determined how they were exposed to the media and how they form their decision at the end. Thus, information was gathered for the sake of reinforcing their existing attitudes and not for decision making.

Finally, other researchers claimed that there is a moderate or limited effect for media exposure during presidential elections campaigns. Stressing that people either already have strong beliefs about their candidates or affiliated to a certain political movement or party, or family and peers attitudes and beliefs. People also are affiliated to their socioeconomic standards which may have much greater influence in shaping voters decisions than what mass media have (Bartels, 1993).

Television and Political Campaigns

Television had been proven by several scholars and studies to be the first promoter of communication campaigns throughout the past sixty years. For example, in the United States of America, by the year 1960, there were 87% of households own television sets. Television had been authorized to be the major source of commercial broadcasting (Television Bureau of Advertising, 2003). Television was perceived as a "new direct and sensitive link between Washington and the people" (Stanton, 1962). Television contributed in supporting Americans by new trends and updating them with the latest issues since the 1940s. It was believed that television will broaden the process of democracy and would increase political participation. When television was first introduced it became "a better medium for truth" (Taft, 1951). In addition, Gentzkow (2006) stated that television had contributed more than radio and newspapers. Television is a more believed source of information having visual and audio elements especially in interviews and debates. He added 'debates are important because voters need to know what candidates stand for and how well their proposals survive analysis and criticism'.

Voters and Electoral Turnout:

Other scholars believe the opposite with respect to political communication. Voters' turnout in the 1980s and the 1990s due to other political, economic and social changes had declined. Television was not able to increase voters' turnout in spite of the proliferation of the industry. Citizens became more self-oriented, more busy, confronted with more legal restrictions and authorization barriers and more commercialized not bothering about presidential elections in spite of having more interest in state elections (Teixeira. 1992 & Putnam, 2000).

Walter (1991) argued that democracy is reflected and supported when voters actually do participate inside voting polls and cabinets. Democracy is weakened when citizens only participate in the political life with watching the media and do not actually contribute on the day of the elections. There is a clear distinction between the American candidates Roosevelt and Eisenhower who got high voters' turnout in their elections campaigns and Carter and Ford who got lower percentages. Voters' surveys supported that candidates' popularity is a major factor that the media transmits during elections' campaigns. American voters' believe that their governmental system is the best form of democracy but the candidates' communication campaigns are the main reason for their voting participation (Graber, 2000). The dissatisfaction of the voters from the candidates' communication campaigns is a main reason for their withdrawal from participation. Moreover, Americans consider voting in election as social responsibility even if they think in political campaigning most of the communication is sensationalized (Walter, 1991).

Moreover, partisan membership and political affiliation of the candidates draw their image on the television. Ronald Reagan and Jesse Jackson had gained their popularity from their party affiliation. On the other hand, voters' affiliation with political parties had declined. The decline was reflected during the presidential elections by 18% of television viewership causing more fear and anxiety reflected in the decline of voters' turnout (Rosenstone, 1993).

Voters in the United States vs. Voters in Europe:

Voting practices differ from place to another. In Europe for example, voters' turnout is unaffected with communication campaigns and does not relate to a certain socio-economic class. Unlike in the USA, voting is highly related with socio-economic class where lower classes had lower voting turnout. In Europe, voting

represents 90% of the population in Italy, Sweden and other countries represent not less than 70% of the whole population (Walter, 1991).

On the other hand, other researches mentioned that during 1970s till 1990s voters' turnout increased for several reasons. Citizens became educated finding more white collar jobs accordingly becoming more well off. The more citizens become educated the more they become aware of the political concerns thus their political participation increases. Also the marital status determines participation in the political life. Married citizens get more involved as the feeling of social responsibility increases to ensure their future and the future of their families (Hill & Luttbeg, 1980).

However, voters' behaviour are the indicators of how they use the media to get information and to satisfy their cognitive and affection needs. In different societies, different voters' behaviours towards the media and their reactions to the messages are different. Cwalina, Falkowski and Newman (2008) studied the different behaviours of voters in Poland as a developing country of evolving democracy and in the United States as a well-established democratic society. The study supported the idea that in developing countries the emotional aspect and emotional relationship with the candidates weighs more than the cognitive calculations. However, in the stable democratic societies, it is hard to convince voters with emotional messages and even with informative messages as they became more trained not to be drifted with hope and they carefully perceive political messages as a result of voting experience. They know what to believe and what not to from media messages (Cwalina et al, 2008).

Television vs. Radio and Newspaper during Elections' Campaigns:

Television had contributed highly to increase citizens' interest in the political life. Mass media in general shifted the focus from issues to people. When radio was

introduced and politicians started having their communication campaigns on radio, newspapers readership during the elections was declined (Mondak, 1995). Television introduction was another shift in political participation. Television requires the least attention from views than radio and newspapers. However, information on television may not cause radical perceptions. Radio and newspapers need active participants while television does not require viewers' full attention. Thus, Gentzkow (2006) stated that watching television has a more radical role in being a primary source of political information however it may not be reflected in voters' turn out.

Political Candidates in Television Broadcasting:

Political information was geared into the television likewise the commercial advertisements to be able to attract voters. Television broadcasts political information as a 'good story' to be attractive to the viewer. According to Piven & Cloward (2000) television does not ensure informative analysis or political education but rather demonstrates events and styles. Information on television during political campaigns enhances the campaigns' themes. For example, television labels candidates. Fred Harris was labelled as 'too radical to win' and Gerald Ford was labelled as 'bumbler'.

Also the entertainment element had been added to the political information on television; personal stories and popular activities and scandals. For example, Dan Quale mentioned his story of escaping military service during the Vietnam War by the favour of his rich father and his authority. Candidates perform in television as if they are taking roles in a play or a movie. The different performance of the presidential candidates in television debates determines if the 'movie' is going to sell or not. In the debate between Micheal Dukakis and George bush, Dukakis was not passionate enough when defending his liberalism while Bush was not confident enough when illustrating his future plan. Eventually, Bush was declared to win the debate by

attacking Dukakis as the later was not able to be warm enough while mentioning the case of his wife' rapist (Sterling & Kittross, 2001). Accordingly, the entertainment factor that television adopted in broadcasting during presidential elections focused more on candidates' personal stories rather than political plans.

Television News and Political Campaigns:

Most of the political candidates try to reshape their communication campaigns to fit the television standards. Political candidates are highly influenced by television format trying to reach the public. Some political candidates stage some events just to be placed in the news' headlines. Candidates compose speeches that do not contain worthy or new information just to be seen for a couple of minutes on television. Candidates are usually trained what to wear, how to look, how to give speeches, how to use their gestures and what terms to use to convey their messages (Stanton, 1962). Political candidates are presented to the public as 'patriotic, God-fearing, home-loving, concerned, and courageous'.

On the other hand, Gentzkow (2006) quoted Robert MacNeil describing politicians on television as virtue defenders. MacNeil mentioned that political performances on television are misrepresentations. MacNeil added that 'candidates make their progress through engineered crowds, taking part in manufactured pseudo-events, thrusting and parrying charges, projecting as much as they can with the help of make-up and technology, the qualities of youth, experience, sincerity, popularity, alertness, wisdom and vigour'. Politicians on television behave in their best way to grab the attention of the audiences. Candidates on television alter the characteristics of mass media to be favoured on the newscasts and to get maximum viewership against their opponents. Political campaigners deal with their candidates with marketing skills. Campaigners try to find simple themes and terms that attract the audience's

attention. Currently, campaigners use opinion pools to determine how they are going to sell their candidates to the publics. ‘Some candidates probably only want to be elected. However, once elected, they will have to do some things’ (Stanton, 1962).

Voters tend to elect candidates that are charismatic without really caring about their partisan affiliation or ideological backgrounds. Gentzkow (2006) stated that this is a result of depending on television as a news source during presidential elections. He mentioned that with getting back voters to read newspapers and other printed material, their voting decisions would be more logical. It is supported by earlier studies that television is a primary educator for political discourse (Rosenstone, 1993). However, it is impossible now to ban television broadcasting about political candidates; it is worth elevating the standard of political broadcasting during presidential elections. Instead of getting sensational news and focusing on personal attributes of the candidates, television should work on discussing various plans and policies of candidates with more profound analysis (Gentzkow, 2006).

In addition, candidates should work on presenting their plans and policies in a way to show their goals instead of showing off their campaigns themes (Graber, 2000). Also dealing with negative campaigning should be eliminated by time and should be relevant to governing issues and not to personal attributes. For example, the candidate’s connection with businessmen or keeping his financial records from the public could be points of debate. However, candidates’ habits in doing religious traditions should not be discussed in a political campaign.

Campaigners and Voters:

Political campaigners treat voters for granted as they are ready to learn from television (Gentzkow, 2006). However, campaigners don’t try to teach citizens by

several ways like other educators do when they feel their students do not comprehend or not yet able to think and act. Campaigners should be able to teach citizens how to think logically and reflect the candidates' personal actions on their political goals and policies. Campaigners assume that voters learn from various political and social problems how they wish to rule their countries. On the contrary, voters do not think logically about their nations' future or problems unless educators teach them about the problems and how to solve them through television. Thus, campaigners have to inform citizens of current problems and the way of solving them in order to help the voters to choose the suitable candidate for their social and political agenda. Lassen, (2005) concluded that when voters are more knowledgeable, voting turnout increases. Knowledge increases through efficient television political communication campaigns.

Political Advertising and Voters

It was supported earlier by many scholars that one of the major players in mass media during times of political elections campaigns is political advertising. In addition, it was mentioned that it has a role in the decision making of voters. Thus, it is worth having a more profound understanding about various points of views on how voters perceive political advertising. Besides, it is significant to know how political advertising can be used as a persuasive tool to influence voters' decision.

“The theme of the presidential campaign is the core reason why a candidate should be elected, and if it is the foremost reason, it should rarely change and should be repeated in order to be effective.” (Sudbrocket *al.*, 2011).

According to Jin and An. (2009) study on voters' attitudes and beliefs towards political advertising, political advertising is always a subject of question and criticism. There are general assumptions and questions that voters portray political advertising

or the political communication campaigns as untruthful. The study pointed out if political advertising really influence voters' turnout. Going back to some significant examples from the presidential elections campaigns in the media in the United States, political advertising had been increasingly set on the top of the elections' programs. The total amount of expenses in 2008 elections was \$2.6 billion compared to \$771 billion in 2000 spent only on television advertising (Memmott, Drinkard, 2004 & Seelye, 2008).

On the other hand, do these expenses return back to the candidates in the voting turnout? Are voters beliefs and attitudes change and are influence by the effort of political advertising? Political advertising is a source of information about a candidate (Petty & Cacioppo, 1996, p.7). Voters' beliefs represent voters' mentally stored information about the candidate or the party. Voters' attitudes represent their favorable or unfavorable, positive or negative evaluation towards the candidate or the party, for example, I do like political advertising. Thus, voters' beliefs affect their attitudes and attitudes associate voters' beliefs. In addition, voters' beliefs are subjective towards an idea but their attitudes are more general. Voters beliefs about political advertising can be measured either through measuring the institutional level or the instrumental level, whether on the elections programs and functions of the candidate or on their advertising practices and content (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975).

There are four major beliefs about political advertising; Information, Veracity, Cynicism and Entertainment:

- Starting with Information, two arguments had been discussed.

One says that advertising, like any other commercial market, is for competition and has power (Rotzell, Haefner & Hall, 2006). This idea views political advertising like commercial advertising. The basic efficiency and role of

advertising is to support the market with information. Accordingly, the role of the information given in an advertisement about soap is the same role of information given to promote a political candidate or an ideology. Earlier studies suggested that political advertising shrank the gap between those who are politically aware and those who are not (Patterson & McClure, 1976). Thus, political knowledge and information gathering from political advertising increases, especially among those who are not politically sophisticated (Pfau et al., 2002).

On the other hand, it is argued that there are two kinds of goods: 'experience good' and 'search good'. Buying an 'experience good' that its quality is hard to evaluate before purchase differs from buying a 'search good' that it is easy to evaluate its quality before you buy it. The same differs when dealing with political candidates. It is hard to evaluate your choice through advertising before making up your voting decision. It is hard to assume and infer future matters from information given in an advertisement. This argument holds the idea that political advertising reshapes a public image about the political candidate or the party. Thus, political advertising forms the voter's emotional aspects without a sustainable or logical argument (Jin & An, 2009).

- Then the Veracity factor. 'Veracity' is the willingness to tell the truth and not to base arguments or beliefs on lies. It had been believed that political advertising is misleading, untrue and deceptive with its inflating and exaggerating messages that may have no relation to the truth (Krugman et al., 1994). It is the public's role to evaluate veracity of the messages and the candidates' promises. Veracity refers back to the 'experience good' idea that

needs voters to think forehead. Veracity keeps the game on the voters' side to think and assume. Veracity seeks voters that are thoughtful, politically experienced, politically educated and can put expectations (Jin & An, 2009).

In the United States for example, there are no regulatory bodies to assure the accuracy of the political bodies. The political bodies that create political advertising are protected under the First Amendment, unlike the commercial advertising. Also the Federal Election Commission is not concerned with assessing the accuracy and truthfulness of the political messages in the advertisements focusing more on the financial aspect (Middleton & Lee, 2006). The former chairmen of American Association of the Advertising Agencies, Alex Kroll and John O'Toole explained their anxiety about the political advertising as they consider political advertising a threat. Kroll stated that political advertising can ruin the persuasiveness, credibility and reputation of the commercial advertising. Kroll added that political advertising gives a 'bad name' to commercial advertising because of the lack of accountability in the messages (Gleason & Cuneo, 1996 & Iyengar & Prior, 2006).

- In addition, the Cynicism factor. Voters believe that the fundamental aspect that signifies political advertising is the negativity or the pessimism of the message (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995 & Jamieson, Waldman & Sherr, 2000). The game of the elections implies that one candidate will take it all. Thus, the rules of the game are very aggressive and attacking. The kind of communication in the political campaign determines talking about other candidates' character faults and flaws and trying to break their promises.

Jamieson, Waldman and Sherr (2000) tracked the messages in elections' campaigns and found that one third of the messages are negative.

Another research done in October (2002) investigated that one third of the candidate's ads, two third party advertisements and one third of independent committee ads were negative. Critics about those negative advertisements and their percentages included that they affect the voters' interest and decrease citizens' involvement in public affairs and may be harmful to democracy. Negativism of political advertising usually increases citizens' cynicism about voting and political process in general and inflates their disengagement in elections (Teinowitz, 2002).

On the contrary, other studies by Goldstein and Freedman (2000) supported the idea the voters' turnout increases with the increase of negative campaigning. They argue that the negative content of the messages increases skepticism which results in searching for more information to conform or disagree with the messages so it contributes in more involvement in the electoral process. Also they say that the healthy skepticism is needed and may influence voters more than cynicism. However in other researches by Garramone (1990), Wattenberg and brains (1999) they found no relation between negative advertising and voters' turnout. The argument between the supporters of both points of views about negative advertising is whether voters build a cynicism belief that affects their participation in the electoral process or not based upon negative campaigning.

- The last factor is Entertainment. It is argued that political advertising draws the attention of the public like other commercial advertising. It is used to arouse the attention of the viewer for competitive attraction. As

Jin & An (2009) quoted Kern stating: “Political advertising utilizes a variety of entertainment themes and techniques drawn not only from national myths relating to political institutions or small-town life but also from popular culture as expressed on television”. In addition, entertainment devices that’s add musical emblems, slogans, attractive illustrations, storytelling and humor effects are usually designed in political advertising to motivate and engage the viewers. It had been supported from other earlier researches that the entertainment factor plays an important role in grabbing the attraction of consumers in commercial advertising (Pollay & Mittal, 1993). Tinkham and Weaver-Lariscy (1994) found two factors relating to voters and political advertising. ‘Hedonic’ which represents the amusement attribute of the advertisements including enjoyment and excitement. ‘Utilitarian’ which represents the informative and believable attributes. Then entertainment is assumed to have an effective effect that political campaigning has on voters.

Political Advertising Campaigns:

On another record in Yale University, an experimental research took place about the persuasive efforts of presidential campaign on voters. Huber and Arceneaux (2007) studied the persuasive effects of presidential advertising. The research was mainly studying citizens in isolated non popular places. The research tested the effect of the advertising as a persuasive method while controlling other aspects to be able to get significant findings about the advertising persuasive effects on citizens. The study controlled aspects of the campaign efforts like propaganda, other individual characteristics and political ideologies and partisanship. The research also controlled voters’ demographics like state residence, high competitive districts beside the major role of campaigning like being an informative source and mobilizing voters. The

significant finding showed that a candidate's advertising wins more when it does not hurt the other candidate or compete with the other candidate. The result was based on the fact that if only there is one message prevailing in the market of presidential elections then the advertising effort of one candidate would be persuasive. However, in reality, there should be two or more competing candidates. Thus, when advertising and especially political advertising faced by a frequent particular competition, it is diminished (Huber & Arceneaux, 2007).

This research concluded after conducting the telephone survey, voters may change their opinions on the day of voting. Since the survey was conducted before the elections day to know if the advertising campaign had a role to build voters' opinion or to change it. In addition, isolated experimental research was done in no battlegrounds in the United States to be able to get unbiased results when isolating the effects of the advertising from any other campaign's activities. Thus, even if persuasion efforts were successful, voting turnout may not reflect them. If they did, then external validity is valid and efforts could be generalized, which is not always the case (Huber & Arceneaux, 2007). The research drew a conclusion that advertising does a little effort to inform the citizens during elections, and almost do nothing to mobilize politically uninvolved or passive citizens but does a great deal with active voters. Comparing the results of this research to previous ones in battleground states or non-isolated researches, advertising cannot work alone. Advertising can align voters' decisions with their preferred policies. However, partisanship has a more powerful effect on voters' turn out. Additionally, the conclusion supported the fears that the campaign's financial effort would not be reflected in tangible support during the electoral process is true. Thus, the research supported the conclusion that political

advertising cannot do a 'BETTER' job to produce a democratic result (Huber & Arceneaux, 2007).

Ordeix and Ginesta (2011) elaborated and investigated how Barack Obama in his presidential campaign used different kinds of advertising tools to grab attention and mobilize citizens by different advertising themes. Nonconventional media and especially YouTube called Obama during the elections campaign as "YouTube Presidency". He was perceived as the man who will bring HOPE and CHANGE (Obama, 2008). As well as the man who will work for the global peace.

On the other hand, McCain was perceived as the man who is able to keep the United States on the top. He was believed to keep the United States in the position of "The Country First" but not as a worker for the worldwide interest. Many videos showed McCain as the army figure and showed his past experience as a politician who is capable to do it, to keep the country first. Unlike Obama, McCain had limited campaign activities. Obama's campaign activities resulted in having a vision for the future, expectations of the society and the public values and demands. Obama's campaign gained more support from community workers who promoted the candidate through different means. On the contrary, McCain's campaign focused more on the past experience and policies that do not relate to the society directly. McCain's campaign was unable to relate to the future of the country resulting in less support from the community.

A Successful Political Advertising Campaign:

Presidential candidates should stay on message in their campaigns. Sudbrock (2011) in his study explained the importance of having a consistent and "clear campaign theme". "The theme of the presidential campaign is the core reason why a

candidate should be elected, and if it is the foremost reason, it should rarely change and should be repeated in order to be effective”. Bradshaw (2004) believed that a successful campaign should communicate one message about the presidential candidate as not to confuse voters and supporters. According to Baines (1999), campaigns should focus on issues that electorate considers important and campaigners should address these issues in a coherent and consistent manner.

The Internet and Political Campaigns

Moving to a more recent activity directing to the new technology and the new world trends, the internet should be a channel of focus. There are different ideas with and against the use of internet and social media during political campaigns. Schweitzer (2012) stated that the internet and the online communication have special characteristics. She explained these characteristics as the high capacity of its memory, topicality, wide spread all over the globe at the same time and high selectivity process of the news’ users. Schweitzer (2012) stated that because of the special qualifications of the internet and the online communication, journalistic skills and principles are not associated with political campaigners trying to reach voters. Politicians try to escape from all mass media restrictions by using online communication (Bimber & Davis, 2003). Coleman & Blumler (2009) regarded this phenomenon as a challenge and an opportunity at the same time to democracy.

From the prospective side, due to the unique characteristics of the internet, candidates and parties can support voters with more information that may satisfy more citizens’ concerns about the campaign. Also the internet avoids the mass media patterns of traditional coverage of the campaign that hold the campaign responsible for any political discomfort, for example, negativism and deception (Blumler &

Gurevitch, 2001, Gibson & Ward, 2000 & Selnow, 1998). That's why Blumler (2009) suggested that the e-campaigning can help the political campaigns to be isolated from traditional mass media frames and restrictions helping to mobilize democracy.

From the other challenging side, politicians may use the internet along with the traditional means of the media to grab the attention of the public and gain public opinion (cf. Castells, 2009). In this sense politicians comprehend journalistic qualities and interests. The acquired journalistic skills are considered as poor political strategy and represent the traditional offline patterns of political communication campaigns (Blumler, 2009). 'Normalization' of the media convergence among several media channels results in mediatization of the content of the online campaign. Thus, the online loses its main advantage of breaking the traditional patterns and restrictions of the traditional media (Blumler, 2009).

'Mediatization':

Schweitzer (2012) studied the concept of 'Mediatization' as an online political practice since the mid-eighties. 'Mediatization' refers to the assumption that people form their opinions mainly based on the mass media. 'Mediatization' interprets that mass media channels are the primary source of information. Under this concept, journalists are critical players in political campaigns. Journalists represent the events and the news to the public through the media which consequently forms opinions and perceptions about the candidates and the parties (Schudson, 2002). Thus, the candidates and the parties try to influence journalists to favour their deeds in-front of the public. Several candidates and political parties try to mediate journalists to gain popularity and support with what is called the 'media logic' in presenting various issues (Altheide, 2004, p. 294 & Hjarvard, 2008). On the other hand, the

'Mediatization' concept is not practised in the political e-campaigns which represents the internet political communication as more direct, more informative and more true.

Another study on studied the German e-campaigning from the 2002 till 2009 Schweitzer (2012). Schweitzer tested how e-campaigns are used by politicians through the seven years during the parliament elections evading all journalistic values and guidelines. Schweitzer determined five main dimensions to be tested. First dimension was about the format. The analysis concluded that online parties' posts and messages were written and presented in journalistic news style. The format of the language, presentation of the information and the formal professional style of the messages were guided by the principles of journalism. The second was inducement. Messages were presented within encouraging replies to the other published mediated events on traditional mass media. The third is the reference. The web messages were enhancing the role of the internet as a major source of information. Messages represented a public community that play an important role in the societal community. On the other hand, messages weakened all other sources of information like traditional media, politicians, economists and science professionals. Forth is meta-communication. Messages focused on the candidates' race, plans and the aspects of the campaigns. While traditional media focus on the policies and other strategic plans of the elections. Fifth is the negativity. Messages were subjected to attack the opponents focusing on pitfalls and conflicts.

As a conclusion for all the e-campaigning dimensions tested, Schweitzer (2012) found that e-campaigning from the 2002 to the year 2005 and to the year 2009 have been increasingly mediated. E-campaigning throughout political elections had been a growing source of political mediation and becoming more directional by time. Political e-campaigning was also found to be media logic in sense that it is a winning

playing factor were parties and politicians consider affecting journalists to influence voters' perceptions. It was also supported that political e-campaigning shapes voters opinions with the same tools of the traditional media. However, may be the format of mediatisation on the online campaigning are much more than on the offline mass media (Schweitzer, 2012).

Online Campaigning vs. Offline Campaigning:

The degree of affecting the voters differs from the two media. The online political campaigns have limited number of audience but it offers a way to gain more publicity. Online power of reporting the news of the parties and the candidates is more flexible. Online political campaigning can be a positive form of communication if it became a reaction to offline political campaigns on the traditional media (Schweitzer, 2012). On the other hand, some of the political e-campaigning does not provide basic information about the candidates or the parties to educate the voters. In an e-campaign, the basic data is usually put in indistinct spots on the websites. In addition, the material used about such information is usually brought from offline media sources that may not be very attractive to grab the attention on the voters for more civic political information (cf. Lupia & Philpot, 2005). The amount and important information should be used in a clear presentation. Accordingly, voters will be deliberately educated and can be more willing to learn about the elections if candidates and parties information about their history, structure and ideologies are highlighted.

Online political campaigning main pitfall is that it may focus on requiring journalistic principles and do not present the political education that voters seek. When online offers more political choices and strategies on their front pages like other offline or traditional media, then it loses its main advantage. Its main advantage is to

educate voters with more political and public awareness that they need to make their opinions without dictation (cf. Cappella & Jamieson, 1997 & Patterson, 1993).

Accordingly, some scholars saw that the hope for more democratic societies raised with the proliferating spread of the internet. The increase use of the internet resulted in the political use of the internet. It was estimated that the online communication, especially during political campaigning, will support the voters with more educational information. On the contrary, others saw that the online political communication have the same deficiencies like the traditional media. Online communication has the same obstacles of considerations and formatting to reach the goals of the campaigns (Barber, 1984).

A Successful Experience:

However, in the article Victoria Chand (2009) supported the use of the internet by showing how President Barak Obama used the power of technology and social media to collect voices and influence voters' decision. The article showed the different means the campaign targeted to reach the public and gain voices. Among those means sending emails to a three million emails' list, reaching out to social networks "Friends" around the five million members with three million "Friends" only on Facebook. In addition, the campaign reached more than eight and half million visitors monthly on 'barakobama.com' website including invitations for voluntary work, blogging and fundraising. Furthermore, 2000 YouTube videos were uploaded officially coming out from the Obama's campaign. Plus, three million messages on mobile phones were sent and another three millions phone calls were directly coming out from the campaign and the sponsors (Chand, 2009). Finally, Obama reached the chair of presidency.

According to Ordeix and Ginesta (2011), to achieve an effective political communication campaign there should be a coherent communication practice. A successful political communication campaign should combine the political values with the societal demands norms and values. The communication campaign should make it clear to balance the political and partisanship values with the interests, demands and expectations of the society. One of the effective ways that made Barak Obama's campaign successful is that his campaign managers promoted the campaign's legitimacy through the use of the internet by reaching large numbers of people and gaining their commitment. During this campaign, the old theories about the limited effect of the internet had been less supported by practice. The influence of the internet including grassroots media and creating virtual communities and constructing social worlds gave an optimistic perspective for the use of technology. Castells, Fernandez-Ardevol, Qiu, and Sey (2004) defined the internet virtual community as "the wide availability of individually controlled wireless communications effectively bypasses the mass media system as a source of information, and creates a new form of public space." Their definition was based on the influence of information technology on political decisions.

Consequently, over the past years, one of the major tools of the internet in political campaigns was the use of social networks or social media. Social media became an online phenomenon that was increasing in their popularity and usage (Áine Dunne *et al*, 2010). There were more than a billion individuals connected around the world together via some kind of an online social network website (Cheung, 2011). By definition, social media are virtual communities that have a population of people involved together in using these websites for online communication to do several things that include: chatting and communication, sharing opinions and audio-visuals

material, and discussing some of their ideas (Raacke, 2008). In February 2007, of all Internet traffic activities taking place, the ones occurring on some social media accounted for almost 6.5% of all Internet traffic (Cheung, 2011).

The Rise of Web 2.0:

The growth of Web 2.0 generated the interaction between the users and the websites' platforms. Web 2.0 gave the opportunity to have the online communication on a two ways communication scale. Politicians were able to find new ways in order for them to communicate with their public in the narrowcasting era (Navasartian, 2008). Web 2.0 opened a new era for negotiations, discussions and presentations of different and even contradicting points of views. Politicians made use of Web 2.0 to influence the users or the public in large by forming followers and supporters through those posted information and illustrations. "In a political campaign environment, the Internet proved to be an excellent medium for dissemination of information, mobilization, social interaction, and even entertainment". Political information about a political campaign can be in a form of games, satire and caricature (Fernandes *et al.*, 2010). The use of social media by several politicians to communicate and reach out for their public has proved to be a successful way of communication and campaigning in the United States during the 2008 US presidential campaign.

Grassroots Media:

Grassroots media and civil media or civil journalism was engaged as a major part of the public relations campaigns in the American presidential election of 2008 (Ordeix & Ginesta, 2011). They elaborated how grassroots media or social-civil media had affected Obama's campaign not even inside the United States but in Europe as well in the presidential campaign in 2008. Ordeix and Ginesta (2011) quoting B.

Shayne and C. Willis who defined grassroots media or civil media as “Participatory Journalism: the act of a citizen, or a group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information. The intent of this participation is to provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information that a democracy requires.” Mark Glaser, the freelancer journalist in the Media Shift Institution also commented on the new trends of media practices. Glaser added that citizens can now use the new forms of technology and internet fast connections and new forms, like blogs, social media and discussion boards to distribute news, check facts, create discussions and promote ideologies. Citizens now can form a fast mirroring to what is happening in the society without professional journalistic training.

Grassroots media had developed a new virtual world. Grassroots media had influenced the success of Barak Obama in 2008 presidential campaign to (Rosen, 2009, pp. 159-165). Using “A People-to-People” movement had caused a change in the structure of the American society where an African American had abolished the wall of racial discrimination. Obama as a candidate for presidency had changed the concept of ethnicity and minorities to a positive and reinforced position. Also grassroots media pushed social and cultural communities to practice their interests of having a multicultural society on a political agenda through the use of grassroots media (Payne, 2009, p. 23).

Furthermore, political parties had heavily used the electronic world through social media to campaign for their candidates. Obama’s position as a movement against the Iraqi War allies was supported through grassroots media (Castells, Fernandez-Ardevol, Qiu, & Sey, 2004). Obama believed in the role of the new communication means of information technology. Online communication encouraged

the mobilization of grassroots media and generated traffic to political campaigns' website to attract indecisive voters and communities. The campaign heavy use of the information and communication technology had gained popularity in political marketing. The example of the 2008 American Presidential Elections had become an essential model for public relations practitioners for persuasive interests and dissemination of values and new policies (Ordeix & Ginesta, 2011). Eventually, Obama's intensive use of technology had affected the presidential elections outcome.

Voters' Expectations and Attitudes towards Political Communication Campaigns

Lipstiz, Trost (2006) emphasised that voter's dislike political campaigns on purpose as they hold superficiality and negativity. Voters also do not want more deliberate or debatable practices that ask for more complexity even if more true or showing up clearer attempts or promises about the political candidates. On the other hand, voters seek simple communication methods that do not integrate them much into the political life and do not ask them for exerting much effort to get to know details about the political candidate or the political campaign (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2002). Voters just need direct, simple and undemanding communication campaigns to help them to make up their minds. However, more politically involved citizens desire campaigns that suggest plans and reformations.

Consequently, the interests of various citizens depend on two main factors, education and political involvement (Zaller 1992 & Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2002). Those who are more educated or more politically involved, which do not go along all the way, are more into substantive or purposive campaigns. Those who are less educated or less politically involved are more into undemanding campaigns that do

not need extra effort to be exerted or thought of to come up with a decision. Thus, the conclusion of the survey suggested that candidates and campaigners should be cautious about the different messages they communicate with different publics so as not to lose audience for the sake of gaining others (Lipstiz & Trost, 2006).

There are two main factors were citizens' seek to gratify from a political campaign; conventional, informative campaigns and explicit true and undemanding campaigns (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996 & Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2002). The first requires involving citizens, attacking other candidates and thoughtful in policies and political conflicts. The second determines citizens to trust the political candidate and accept informative messages that do not hold negative assumptions or attacking messages from the candidates and if including attacking messages then they shall be within informative useful contexts (Lipstiz & Trost, 2006).

- The first communication campaign satisfies citizen's needs for public debates, candidate public discussions, forums and communication opportunities. These communication activities seeks represent more interactive meetings and presentations for the candidates' policies and public speeches (Carpini & Keeter, 1996).

- The second looks for more short, summing up and direct communication activities. Communication activities like, television ads, televised debates that represent main point and give a picture of the candidates' characters. These kinds of activities help citizens to make clear choices in shorter time (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2002).

The research was conducted through two scientific methods: telephone surveys and focus groups (Lipstiz & Trost, 2006). The survey was conducted upon a random sample and was directed towards knowing the preferences of the voters towards the

communication campaigns and the content of the messages. It was conducted upon 2002 governorate race between the democratic Gray Davis and Republican Bill Simon. The survey was conducted upon those two candidates to know if voters' beliefs about generic communication tools are different from communication towards specific candidates. On the other hand, there were six focus groups in it his research that concluded the general dissatisfaction of the voters about the elections communication campaigns by 58% (Blumenthal, 1980 & Ornstein & Mann, 2000).

The research concluded that Americans hate political campaigns and see that they are ruining their democratic life by 82% as they are deteriorating in their ethical and valuable activities especially in the last two past decades by 58%. As quoted in the article that Americans view political campaigns as '*Nasty*' and '*permanent*' (Blumenthal, 1980 & Ornstein & Mann, 2000). According to King, (1997) politicians all the time are 'running scared' so they 'campaign too much' and 'govern too little' to keep themselves in the race and on the minds of the citizens. Moreover, the average person in the society cannot resist politicians on the television all day long interfering their daily lives. As a child once described it and was quoted by Governor Bob Graham at a campaign rally put it: "Daddy, Daddy, there's the man who lives in our TV."

Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (2002) in their book *Stealth Democracy* (2002), argued that the people dissatisfaction from their governments is reflected to less trust in political campaigns. They argued that citizens search for a system that is non-self-interested but rather a societal oriented democratic system that Hibbing and Morse call the '*Stealth Democracy*'. Politicians lost their credibility as a result of selfish governments (p.44). Thus, politicians are not expected to be working from their heart to serve the community and as a result their campaigns are not trusted. Hibbing and

Theiss-Morse (2002) also explained that citizens' perception of the governments' policies and institutions' practices and reality affected the evaluation of all political practices including the political campaigns which they called the 'process gap'. They added that average citizens are not interested in political decision making (p. 1). Political practice is considered the last thing they want to do. Average citizens search for more reforming governments seeking public interest in the first place without going into the details or consumed by political conflicts.

Factors Affecting Voters' Decisions Presented through Mass Media

Voters are subjected to different kinds of attributes that may affect their exposure to the mass media and consequently result in decision making any political elections. Some factors are psychological, others are defined according to the candidates' legitimacy, some are concerned with the candidates' campaign and some are mainly mass media communication activities.

- *First are Five Factors Affecting Voters' Attitudes:*

Different scholars' defined five aspects that influence people attitudes towards political campaigns:

1. First is the partisanship and ideology. It determines that party's affiliation is strong with its members in how they view their communication campaigns (Miller & Shanks, 1996). Parties' members of any ideology get more satisfied from political campaigns than do the independent citizens. Also conservatives are more interested to know more about the character of the candidates than do liberals or moderates. However it is not expected from party members or

ideology holders to be affected by political communication campaigns (Doherty & Gimpel, 1997).

2. The second is political involvement (Zaller, 1992). The three fundamentals are education, political interest and political knowledge. Those who are less educated expect more from the government and political candidates thus they are more interested in political communication campaigns. On the other hand, those who are more politically interested in policies and conflicts and have higher political knowledge are less interested in political campaigns. Other scholars say that those who are more politically involved will be more interested the content of the messages, discussions and debates about specific issues than those who are not. Also they will be more skilled to depend on the information, tone and mode of the campaign to build a decision about voting and the general dilemma of the elections.
3. The third is gender (Elshtain, 1982, Noelle-Neumann & 1993, Tannen, 1994). Researchers found that women are more interest in political consensus. They tend more to be politically involved especially in response to negative campaigning and electoral process.
4. Fourth is age. It was found that Americans long for older political communication campaigns that were more ethical and clear than today's campaigns (Brown, 198, Carlsson & Karlsson, 1970 & Converse, 1969). Thus, older generations tend to be more keen about politics than younger generations. However, because age makes it harder for people to change their attitudes or form new ones, older generations may be interested in political conflicts and state of the campaigns than in the new styles like advertisements.

5. The fifth and the last aspect is ethnicity and citizenship (Uhlener & Garcia, 2002). It shows that countries that allow immigration teach those new citizens how to become loyal and builds inside them a high sense of identity to this new country they are taking part in even more than regular citizens. For example, Latinos and Asian Americans may be more interested and positive towards the political communication campaigns than other Americans.

- *Second is the Candidate's Legitimacy:*

Legitimacy as a concept is described by Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997; cf. Suchman (1995) as the assumption of actions that make a politician or an entity desired, trusted and popular by other social actors to ruin negative reputation or critiques. It requires that the desired person or entity be regarded as capable to have beliefs, norms and values constructed in the society especially if legitimacy is combined with power. Legitimacy is the concept the Obama's campaign presented throughout the use of information and communication technology to attract different forms voters and supporters.

Typologies that define the influence that a candidate may have on voters:

1. Traditional or historical Legitimacy (Bosch, 2004, Lipset & Rokkan, 1967 & Max Weber's, 1992): In Obama's case, being the first African American president presented a unique opportunity for his success. Obama was accepted and gained popularity and sincerity as a non-traditional and breaking the historical pattern. Obama achieved a lawful position against all previous racial discrimination between the white and the black in the United States.

2. Legal-Rational Legitimacy (Max Weber's, 1992 and Robert Dahl, 1999): In Obama's case, giving policies and plans that will cause a real

change not only in the United States. Talking about the Middle East, the Iraqi war, creating hopes and wishes in the Arab world. The application of peaceful discussions and negotiations and offering solutions to the financial crisis inside and outside the United States.

3. Charismatic Legitimacy (Max Weber's, 1992): In Obama's case, his communication skills and skilled qualities helped him to engage with the public and be accepted. Obama's ability to communicate with the people had linked the public with him emotionally and convinced them with his abilities. Also credibility was built between Obama and his public by believing his words to be true and summing up the truth about their needs and about the society at large.

- *Third is the Promises and Reputation of the Political Candidate and the Campaign:*

In the research done on political campaigns during elections, Enriqueta Aragonès, Thomas Palfrey and Andrew Postlewaite (2007) mentioned the relationship between the candidates political campaigns and their reputation. Political campaigns included new policies, plans and promises, whether achieved or not, and the reputation of the candidates (Downs, 1957). Aragonès, Palfrey and Postlewaite (2007) analysed conditions under which the reputations of candidates may affect voters' beliefs' over the policies that will be implemented by these candidates. Ferejohn (1986) and Barro (1973) developed a model in case of repeated elections in which the candidates are purely ideological and went through more than a round during the election's period. In this model, an equilibrium was analysed in which voters' strategies include a credible threat to punish candidates who broke their words of their campaign promise. Those promises had been communicated to the public

throughout the campaign duration, especially the first round. On the other hand, under certain conditions threats of such punishment can lead to an equilibrium in which candidates will keep their campaigns' promises (Duggan & Fey, 2006).

The model focused on one aspect of political campaigns and referred to as credible commitment. They stated that politicians make promises to get to office, but the flip side of the coin is that promises may later come back to hunt an office holder seeking re-election. Aragonès, Palfrey and Postlewaite (2007) also supported the idea that campaign promises provide a mechanism for voters to select among multiple aspects, especially in a repeated game. Promises affect the expectations of the voters about the policies that will be adopted by an elected official. Promises also act like a benchmark for voters to link the political decisions of the elected official with future re-election.

Banks and Duggan (2002) developed the model that studied multiple elections' rounds because campaign promises in this model are costly. Voters build up their decisions on the ability of the candidate to meet his promises as it is described in forming his reputation in the repeated game. They presented and analysed a dynamic model in which the candidates make campaign promises and then voters will use these promises to form their opinions about the policies that this candidate will apply if elected. The equilibrium of the model works when candidates keep some of their promises even when the promised policy differs from their ideal point view as a reaction to fear from voters' reprisal. This means that candidates may slightly shift from their beheld ideology when they estimate voters' support in the second round on the condition that the candidates kept their promises in the first round.

Candidates are willing to go pragmatic in some issues that may not affect the core of their ideology as long as they gain the support of the voters when keeping their

promises. However unlike the reflective punishment, punishment in their model was potential. Voters here will discipline the candidates by trusting them as long as they have never reneged on a promise before. Once a candidate reneges, no future promises are believed. Candidates as well keep the promises they make if elected (Aragonès, Palfrey & Postlewaite, 2007). In other words, they considered only sub game perfect equilibrium.

- *Fourth is the Mass Media and the Concept of Propaganda:*

Since propaganda was a major persuasive tool in political campaigns since the early times of politics. Many scholars supported that candidates and political figures deal with the publics with the concept of propaganda. Lasswell's (1934) the popular and most used definition of propaganda is "The technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations." Meaning that the activity of manipulation and influencing the public, using media and cultural symbols, is an accepted action in some circumstances. Even though, if negative communication was used, it is regarded as 'accepted'. The tension between propaganda activities, public opinion, media and politics started with the high recognition of the persuasion role of propaganda. This tension is defined by Jowett and O'Donnell (1992) as "The deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviors to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist." Thus, propaganda works for the good and the intent of the sender or the propagandist and not by necessary the best interest of the receiver or the audience. The manipulation is directed towards the cognition of the audience rather than the presentations. Cognitions are highly associated with the psychological goals of the propagandist and the psychology of the audience.

Propaganda is not concerned with the exchange of ideas between the propagandist and the audience; it is rather directed with intended purpose to achieve a certain goal by manipulation reformed with an effective way of persuasion. Media is considered a major tool for effective propaganda activities reaching masses of the public. Propaganda influences the public through mass communication or public relations. The main goal of any propaganda activity is to affect the publics' opinions and decision especially in times of critical decisions like issuing important policies, wars or elections. Taylor (1992) had defined propaganda as a neutral persuasive process that should be regarded with a neutral sense of ineffective and ineffective activity and not as good or bad.

The direct connection between propaganda and politics is associated with promotional and publicity effort from candidates, politicians, leaders or governments towards their own publics or other countries (Rawnsley, 2005). Those propaganda efforts through the media are designed to influence the public and reduce the effect of other political discourse. Aristotle (1872) regarded propaganda with an ethical communication behavior when raised and lowered according to the need. Otherwise, the public may become alert of the manipulation and start a reverse action not to be affected but rather may start with a negative activity.

There is an increasing concern of politicians to integrate the public into political decisions. Propagandists aim at creating public opinion by increasing the usage of propaganda activities to communicate with the public through the media (Mayhew, 1997). Politics is being regarded as a commercial product that should be communicated to the public with in promotional applications of persuasive techniques with market research, advertising and public relations within a systematic and logical practice. Thus, the research done about the circumstances rising in the time of

promoting a political idea, figure, or a policy is counted into consideration. Many circumstances determine if there is a need for negative propaganda or a positive promotion for the intended idea. Propaganda is considered along with an extensive research of the internal and external opportunities, threats, strengths and weakness. Propaganda deals with scandals, counter arguments and crisis management (Corner, 2007).

‘Spin’ and ‘Spin Doctors’, a famous story examined the role of propaganda in the political effort of the British government since 1997 and onwards. The propaganda efforts were seeking gaining the support of the parliament and the public on the Invasion of Iraq 2003 (Andrews, L. 2006). The frame of the journalistic reporting from the New Labour was able to Spin and neutralize the scandalous or remarkable activities into the favorable pattern to promote for the good of the decision. Propaganda had been accused of promoting untruth, deceiving the public and associated with lies. Arendt (1993) quoted in her publication ‘Pentagon Paper’ that ‘Lying in Politics had ever been unethical; saying that deceitfulness and communicating untrue politics had always been counted into politics with justifications tools and virtues. She illustrated that lying in politics was introduced by acting figures and so it is not likely to disappear unless acting disappeared which is part of human sinfulness.

There are two levels of communicating lying to the public (Arendt, 1993). First level is ordinary lying. It aims to hide facts and not to reveal all facts even if revealed after the event or the action under conditional circumstances. The ordinary level determines high level of selectivity about what to announce, what to temporarily hold and what the public should never know. Second level is the organized lying. Organized lying occurs for problematic reasons. The second level of lying takes place

when problems should not be communicated to the public for hidden intentions and seeking disruption rather than camouflage. This is mostly used in communicating debatable politics to justify and build a permanent campaigning or to damage another campaign (Arendt, 1973).

Describing the major components of propaganda in the media; there are six major aspects that Corner (2007) considered:

1. First is lying. Lying involves communicating untrue information whether to hide something to distract the public from facts that should not be on the public's sphere.
2. Second is withholding information. Described as censoring some information within a systematic strategy that applies a selectivity process involving some kind of denial.
3. Third is strategic selectivity. Eliminating important information that are not promoting the main targeted information. It also integrates information that may lend the support to the issue being communicated with more questionable and suspicious material.
4. Fourth is exaggeration. A way to distort the information and magnify them whether positively or negatively working with the interest of the propagandist.
5. Fifth is revealed or hidden emotional appeals that relate to fear or desires. Using illustrations and material rather than logical persuasion like videos or pictures.
6. Sixth is structuring the flow of ideas and meanings. Ideas and meaning are communicated through visual or linguistic patterns to serve the purpose and increase intention towards the desired communicated interest of the propagandist.

Those six aspects are mostly integrated together to create any form of promotion and structure the propaganda needed through advertising, direct communication and public relations. The major factor applied into propaganda activities is the lying factor. The lying factor determines two important concerns, the concern of the motive and the consequences. Motives are always seen by the propagandist as his interest and usually justified (Corner, 2007).

IV. The Case of Egypt

Egypt has passed through two year of radical changes in its political, social and economic fields. In addition, the past two years from 2011 to 2012 Egyptians, for the first time, were subjected to a democratic process to elect their new President. There were limited amount research papers done since May 2012 till the end of the year on the role of the media in the past two years.

The most significant and official report was done by the ‘Higher Institution for Presidential Elections’. The report was published on their official website (www.elections.eg). The report mentioned the overall statistics of the voters’ distribution all over Egypt and their division upon the candidates. The number of Egyptian voters outside and inside Egypt was **34, 946, 430** citizens which represented **68.5%** of the whole population in both the first and the second rounds. These numbers included **586,803** Egyptians expatriates in **166** foreign countries. The breaking down of the numbers in the ten major Egyptian cities is as follows:

- Cairo: Included 12.7% of the whole population of Egyptian voters with 6,491,521 citizens above 18 years old.
- Giza: Included 8.4% with 4,280,659 Egyptian citizens
- Dakahlyya: Included 7.2% with 3,666,554 Egyptian citizens.
- Sharkya: Included 6.9% with 3,495,451 Egyptian citizens.
- Alexandria: Included 6.4% with 3,286,831 Egyptian citizens.
- Bahara: Included 6.3% with 3,222,893 Egyptian citizens
- Gharbya: Included 5.7% with 2,907,544 Egyptian citizens.
- Menya: Included 5.2% with 2,657,774 Egyptian citizens.
- Kaluobya: Included 5.1% with 2,596,352 Egyptian citizens.
- Sohag: Included 4.6% with 2,340,851 Egyptian citizens.

The following numbers represent the breakdown of the Egyptian voters on the ten Presidential Candidates in the first round of the elections with total number of **23,207,342** representing **66.4%** of the whole population of Egyptian voters inside and outside Egypt:

- Mohamed Morsi: 24.8% of the total number of voters representing 5,764,952 citizens.
- Ahmed Shafik: 23.7% representing 5,505,327 citizens.
- Hamdeen Sabahy: 20.7% representing 4,820,273 citizens.
- Abdel Moniem Abo ElFotoh: 17.5% representing 4,065,239 citizens.
- Amr Moussa: 11.1% representing 2,588,850 citizens.
- Selim ElAwa: 1.0% representing 235,374 citizens.
- Khaled Ali: 0.6% representing 134,056 citizens.
- Abo ElEzz ElHariri: 0.2% representing 40,090 citizens.
- Hesham Bastauissy: 0.1% representing 29,189 citizens.
- Mahmoud Hossam: 0.1% representing 23,992 citizens.

As for the indicators of the second round including **25,577,511** Egyptian voters representing **73%** of the whole population of voters:

- Mohamed Morsi: 51.7% of the total number of voters representing 13,230,131 citizens.
- Ahmed Shafik: 48.3% representing 12,347,380 citizens.

Diversity of news stories about the Presidential Elections:

Mass media has contributed by various ways to affect voters. One of those ways is by initially choosing which stories to be covered. Another way is through determining the approaches by which news stories were to be covered. Audiences and voters specifically come up with certain perceptions and attitudes according to what they listen to, read and watch in the media.

One of the most known and common media techniques that media professionals use to affect audiences is the ‘Agenda-Setting Technique’. The ‘Agenda-Setting Technique’ implies that what the media sets on its coverage is what the public keeps as their priorities and concerns (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The technique suggests that what the media news sources focus on is what the public pays attention to. Accordingly, what the media focus on and pay attention to is what the society also thinks about and what the media ignore, the society also ignores. Thus, the media play an important role in affecting voters’ major ways of thinking, concerns and also in providing answers to their questions.

Consequently, to affect voters’ perceptions and attitudes towards the elections and the candidates, the media coverage of different news stories and the content of those stories play an important role. The “Media Diversity Institute” has studied mass media diversity in covering the Egyptian Presidential Elections that took place May-June 2012. The research was published in September 2012. The research aimed at investigating the diversity of the content by selecting a sample from the Egyptian media which represented the national and the independent newspapers and television programs during the two rounds of the presidential elections.

The report included a content analysis of 5305 news stories from AlAhram and AlAkhhbar national newspapers and AlMasry ElYoum and AlShorouk independent newspapers. From the major findings of the study, 82.2% of the stories were analysed as ‘objective’ with a clear separation in the coverage of facts and opinions. In addition 50.6% were analysed as ‘fair and balance’ and 36.6% as ‘not fair and balance’.

Another major finding in the report was about the various topics discussed in the newspapers during the elections. Stories covering the Egyptian interior affairs were 58.7%, stories covering the international affairs were 3.3%, stories covering the

logistics and the laws of the electoral process were 18.1%, stories covering social issues were 5.1%, stories covering economic issues were 2.3%, stories covering crime were 2.5%, stories covering education were 0.1% (representing 7 stories), stories covering health issues were 0.2% (representing 12 stories) and stories covering science and technology were 0.5% (representing 24 stories) from a whole number of 5308 stories during 31 days.

In addition, the report included the analysis of the different stories covering various geographical areas inside Egypt. Stories covering news from the capital, Cairo, were 40%, covering news stories from Alexandria were 5.5%. Moreover, stories covering news from cities other than Cairo and Alexandria were represented by 23.2% and from outside Egypt were 11.8%.

Some other aspects were analysed in the same report: gender diversity, religion diversity, age and ethnic diversity. Women were represented by 6.5% while men were represented by 93.5%. On a religious scale, 96% were Muslims and 4% were Christians which were identified by significant religious names or ornaments.

Concerning the television coverage in the same content analysis, four major programs and talk shows were included. The overall findings of the coverage revealed that television programs and talk shows represented fewer geographical areas than that were covered by the newspapers. Cairo was covered by 66.2%, the rest of the cities and the international coverage was 33.8%. However, there was live coverage from the four programs during the days of the elections that covered different cities and electoral cabinets with several interviews and political analysis of the event.

First, the national television showed less diversity in respect to covering different ideologies or points of view. The news bulletin and the talk shows were

keeping space between both the political parties and the political movements. The news bulletin and the talk shows were always very keen to reflect a positive image of the. SCAF was viewed as the ‘helping hand’ that supports citizens and help them throughout the electoral process in the queues and inside the cabinets. ‘Mubashar men Misr’ covered 91% news stories from inside Cairo, where the representation of men versus women was 85%. On the other hand, 95% stories were related to logistics and the electoral process.

Second, the other two talk shows on the independent satellite channels, the content analysis showed somehow different findings. For ‘Baladna bel Masry’ on ONTV, it represented the presidential candidates in a psychological analysis that was to a great extent ‘objective’ and ‘fair and balance’. The program was mainly supporting one side of the political status which is pro the 25th of January revolution. However, it was ‘somehow balanced’ in representing different points of view, ethnics and physically disabled people. The last talk show analysed was ‘AlAshera Masaan’ on Dream channel. The program also showed a relatively objective, ‘fair and balance’ news coverage for the elections and the candidates. It dedicated equal timings to each presidential candidate and analysed different topics with the candidates for more comparative analysis. More than once the program used a lot of visual effects, graphs and figures for more illustrative analysis for the electoral process. On the other hand, 98% of the news stories were about the electoral process and the logistics, as well as giving a minor attention to women or Christians interviewed.

As an overall conclusion of the report, it showed a higher diversified comparative analysis compared to the previous report that the institute conducted during the parliament elections. In respect to the geographical coverage, it was better diversified than the previous elections especially to stories related to ethnics’

representation. However, the variety of women, different religions, different age brackets and disabled were still slightly represented (Abdullah, 2012).

Egyptian Voters' Attitudes towards the 2012 Presidential Elections:

The different concerns of the media and the different stories covered by the media play an important role in determining voters' attitudes and perception about the election and the candidates. That's why another statistical research done by the "House of Wisdom Strategic Studies" investigated voters' attitudes towards the presidential elections 2012. The study was published in ElWatan Egyptian independent newspaper on the 10th of May, 2012. The research examined a sample of 2368 citizens in 17 cities all over Egypt. There were 57% of the respondents believing that the presidential elections will be done 'fair' while 38% believed it will be 'somehow fair'. However, these percentages are relatively high. Respondents believed that the previous parliament elections was relatively 'fair' with a greater percentage; 64% of the respondent believed that the parliament election was 'fair' and 27% believed it was 'somehow fair'.

Also the research indicated that citizens who live in Upper Egypt believe that the presidential elections will be 'Fair' by 65%. The relationship between citizens of the tribes in Upper Egypt and the elections was not determined by presidential candidates' personalities or programs or party affiliation but rather determined by the tribal connections. In addition, statistics indicated that women believed that the elections will be 'fair' with 62% while 57% of the men believed it will be 'fair'. Furthermore, illiterates believed more that the presidential elections will be 'fair' with 68%, while those of average education believed it with 57% and those of higher

education with 41%. As a final outcome, this research showed that the more people know about the issue and get informed about it, the more they become sceptical and are not easily persuaded. Thus, the overall results of the research supported the assumption that the ability of the respondents to trust the political and judicial authorities in Egypt is decreasing (Abdel Fatah, 2012, p.8).

Egyptian Voters from August 2011 till May 2012:

Moreover, during the presidential elections the 'Political and Strategic Studies Centre' had undergone a study to explore how Egyptians were able to know about the presidential candidates during the presidential elections in 2012. The study was published on the 14th of June 2012 in AlAhram supplement. This study explored several aspects about the Egyptian voters from August and September 2011 to May 2012. The findings of the research were as follow:

- Egyptians were concerned to know the updates of the political life in Egypt in August 2011 with 25.2% classified as 'highly concerned', 53.6% 'concerned', 14.6% 'not concerned' and 6.6% 'not concerned at all'.
- Another finding was about how Egyptians reflected their interest about the political life in Egypt by following the mass media in August 2011. Egyptians followed the national Egyptian television by 37.7%, the Egyptian satellite channels by 36.4%, the Arab satellite channels by 13.1%, peers discussions by 3.8% then Egyptian newspapers by 3.4% and at last the news on the internet by 3.3%. The research concluded that the visual mass media channels are the most followed media with 84.1% in August 2011 and 94.9% in September of

the same year whether for Egyptian, Arab or International television and satellite channels.

Accordingly, the research mentioned that Egyptians got their information about the political news in August and September 2011 from four major channels. The first was Egyptian national television by 39.4% in August then 25.7% in September. The second was the Egyptian satellite channels by 29.8% in August then 52.9% in September. Third were the Arab and International satellite channels by 14.9% in August then 16.3% in September. Fourth were all other sources of information by 15.9% in August then 5.1% in September 2011. These findings indicate that Egyptians are searching for a convenient, more trustworthy and informative sources of information. Thus, they are ready to change their habits in order to find the satisfaction of their emotional and cognitive desires from following mass media.

The research also investigated other aspects during May 2012. Somehow the findings were the same from September 2011 till May 2012. Egyptians who followed the Egyptian television or the satellite were 77.1% of the sample, those who followed the radio were 11.5%, those who followed Facebook were 2.8% and those who were pro peers' discussions were 2.7%.

More findings were about how far the media was an active positive agent in the changes taking place currently in the society that was found to be 53.9%. Also 79.5% agreed that media freedom was a major concern in the Egyptian society nowadays. In addition to another 89.3% agreed that the Egyptian media should follow the international standards of how the media should be free, objective and responsible at the same time.

The last aspect of the research was about the candidates' communication tools to reach the voters through different mass media and public relations tools. However the sample was directed more towards the high influence of the television but most of the candidates didn't benefit from this medium specifically. Regarding the press conferences, 72.9% of the respondents did not have any press conferences nearby their districts. As for the printed flyers and brochures, 55.4% didn't receive any from the candidates. However, most of the candidates used billboards to announce for their nomination as 88.3% had recognized the candidates' billboards. In addition, the respondents agreed that the debate was unprofessionally done resulting in losing some of the swinging supporters who were undecided about both of them. On the other hand, those who didn't participate in the debates won the voices of the undecided voters.

Thus, the overall conclusion of the research findings represented the high influence of the visual material in the Egyptian Presidential Elections 2012. Egyptians are getting more interested in the political affairs than before. They are also ready to change their usage patterns of pursuing mass media channels in order to get informed about the political life in Egypt which was highly reflected in their responses in August and September 2011 studies (Kamha, 2012).

Private Research Institutions:

From another perspective, IPSOS private research agency had undergone several studies concerned with the political situation in Egypt after the 25th of January revolution. However, the Research General Manager, Kelada, mentioned in a personal interview about the research field during the presidential elections 2012 that several

restrictions obstructed the private companies from doing much field research during the presidential elections. Accordingly, research papers during that period focused on other aspects that are not directly related to the presidential elections. Several studies investigated the advertising expenses of different parties before and after the revolution concerning the parliament elections. Other studies were concerned about the recognition of the political parties before and after the 25th revolution in the Egyptian streets by civilians. On the other hand, researchers studied the appearance of the different political ideologies on the national and satellite television channels after the revolution. In addition, more studies were conducted on the division of spending towards the different geographic areas with diverse socio-economic levels. Moreover, researches were done to know the most used and popular statements and topics discussed by different political parties during the first Egyptian parliament elections after the 25th of January 2012 revolution.

Finally, other research institutes had also studied the media practices after the 25th of January revolution; namely: Arab Network for Human Rights Information, Baseera (The Egyptian Centre for Public Opinion Research) and Arab Network for Human Rights Information. One of the workshops done by the Arab Network for Human Rights Information and the Arab Network for Human Rights Information "Professional ethics on media coverage of the elections". This workshop worked on the basic guidelines of ethical standards that a journalist should obtain while covering the presidential elections. There were twelve young journalists attending the workshop from age twenty to thirty representing partisan, national and independent newspapers. Another workshop was about respecting the professional media ethics within the transitional era which focused on the professional standards, observation and

documentation techniques that journalists should adopt during the transitional period in Egypt.

Where does the Egyptian mass media stand subsequent to Mubarak's regime?

The private research institutes, The Arabic Network for Human Rights Information and the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights, selected a sample from different media channels to monitor media coverage in Egypt after the revolution concerning the political scene and elections, justice system, and the Military Council.

The sample included major national and independent newspapers: "AlAhram, al-Akhbar, al-Masry al-Youm, al-Shorouk, al-Wafd." The sample also included three talk shows: "Baladna Bel-Masry, al-Ashera Masaan, Live from Egypt." In addition to four websites: "Youm7, Al-Ahram Gate, Masrawy, El-Badil."

The report stated that the media prospect in Egypt after the 25th of January revolution implicated free media professionals however the media is not yet free. Still there are individuals using the same policies, laws and authorities to restrict media framework in some media institutions likewise the case prior to the revolution and the step down of Mubarak. Many media professionals and journalists expected radical shifts in the media scene and practice after the revolution however the same pattern of the previous regime is still taking over the scene. The study had emphasised that free media professionals and journalists struggled to free the media and the press, which they regard as incomplete, from the governing sector prior to the revolution but eventually they couldn't.

The findings of the qualitative and quantitative study showed that the national Egyptian television, state-owned, and ElWafd newspaper during the monitored period

from June 2011 to January 2012 were covering the news with the same pattern prior to the 25th of January revolution. During the period that the Military Council was ruling the country, they were covered by with the same concern allocated with the same time and space in different channels. On the contrary, the private media, dealt with the authority the same way they dealt with the former regime. They used to highlight criticism and ask questions that Egyptians are concerned with.

In addition, as for AlAkhbar newspaper as state-owned newspaper it was supporting the military council to a large extent with agreement in the reporting style and opinion columns. However, the ElBadil website and the talk show Baladna BelMasry were criticising the military council as the top authority ruling in that transitional period. Media coverage during that period tended to show the military council authorities whenever the public opinion is against the 'strategic experts'. On the other hand, they show up the 'strategic experts' whenever the public opinion is against the military council authorities. The top issue discussed during those episodes were all about the governing policies. The topic was controversial as the Military Council trampled between directing the democratic process and the regression and the restrictions of the former regime.

Moreover, the media continued to deal with this the judiciary in excessive carefulness. The state-owned media did not present any criticism or controversial opinions about the judiciary with higher commands from the Military Council. The judiciary was viewed as the secreted institute. However, the main goal of covering the Egyptian judiciary was to track the steps of setting the Egyptian constitution and the relationship between the authorities. That was to assess if the media was able to cover the main concerns of the Egyptian citizens or the media was not able to reflect the public opinion.

The findings showed that the media was not able to cover the most important issues that the revolution demanded. The coverage was not profound enough to investigate more details about the eradication of corruption and court cases. Issues like the independence of the judiciary were not approached neither with defending or rejecting them. As well as other demands that the protestors asked for, like ejecting the Attorney General or stopping the military cases against civilians. Most of the coverage was about the cases of the former regime and thugs' cases against civilians and police. The news was transmitted to the public in the form breaking news and news reports format. Those issues were discussed on the ElBadil and Baladna BelMasry.

In addition, the unclear and scene of the political scene in Egypt was highly reflected in the media performance. The disordered media observations revealed that the political orientation in the country was not organized especially during the elections'. The media did not have the time to manage its performance and mechanisms and make a good chance from the transitional period as the unsettled political situation was already confusing.

This confusion was clear in the ranking process of the presidential candidates. Some candidates were ranked to be the first among the race on some newspapers while others were ranked on the first place on the internet or the talk shows. Thus, the media showed its incomplete capability to portray the public opinion and discuss the issues that the public were concerned with and need radical conclusions for, during the transitional period.

As viewed above, the media scene in Egypt after the 25th of January 2011 revolution was not as free and capable as expected. The media is the mirror of the society so it should be reflecting the public needs. The credibility of the politicians

and the issues approached in the media during the transitional period till the presidential elections created public opinion.

Researches done during this period showed how different issues were tackled. Meanwhile and among all these political confusion and instability, the Egyptians were inquired to move their first step in the democratic process. Egyptians were faced by a critical decision to choose their president. Due to the lack of research regarding Egyptian voters' and their relationship with the media during the electoral process, this study is going to study the role of the media in shaping the final voting decisions of the presidential candidates and the different approaches voters used to gather information about the presidential election May-June 2012. The study is going to tackle if the media was able to persuade the voters of certain candidates, what were the main sources of information that voters viewed as credible to get their news from and the main reasons behind pursuing mass media sources during the Egyptian Presidential Elections 2012.

Chapter Three

V. *Research Methodology and Design*

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study identifies the relationship between the Egyptian, Arab and international mass media channels and the Egyptian voters during political elections. The study identifies voters' habits and reasons for using the media during political elections. This research aims to contribute in the future communication campaigns by assessing how media had a role in building and reinforcing voters' perceptions and attitudes. In addition, the study adds to the current mass media professionals and campaigners how to reach voters through different media channels for more effective mass communication planning and more effective information sources.

Research Hypotheses

This study attempts to explore how Egyptians used mass media in making their voting decisions during the 2012 presidential elections. The research seeks to examine the role of the media in shaping voters' final decisions. The study explores two main factors that helped voters to satisfy their emotional and cognitive needs through mass media during the 2012 presidential elections:

- The role of mass media channels through different communication activities in the mass media that affected voters' final voting decisions.
- How Egyptians voters used mass media to gather information about the presidential elections and presidential candidates to reach their final voting decisions.

These two factors are tested through the following two Research Hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1:

Mass media had a role in shaping voters' final voting decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections.

Independent Variable:

During previous mentioned Presidential Elections, mass media is manifested to be an influential player in making voting decisions. Accordingly, in this study, the role of mass media during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections is tested to explore if mass media affected Egyptians voting decisions. The influence of mass media on voters is examined through the role of different mass media means through the different communication campaigns. The role of the media is examined during the presidential elections presented in the major mass media channels; television, radio, newspapers and internet (Danaher & Rossiter, 2011 & Curtis & Mark C., 2011).

Dependant Variable:

The dependent variable shows voters' behaviours that are described in their voting decisions. Voters' decisions may have been influenced by mass media during the presidential campaigns May-June 2012 (Cwalina, Wojciech, Falkowski, Andrzej, Newman & Bruce I., 2010). The study measures how voters made their final decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections based on the mass media influence and the contribution of different mass media communication activities.

Hypothesis 2:

The type of mass media channels that voters considered during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections to gather information affected their final voting decision.

Independent Variable:

Mass media usage during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections was supported by the need to search for news about the elections and the presidential candidates. Voters use mass media during presidential campaigns to satisfy their cognitive and emotional needs to shape their final voting decision (Greenberg 1974 & Lometti, Reeves & Bybee, 1977). Voters' usage of different types of mass media channels is examined in order to explore how they were able to gather information about the elections and the presidential candidates to reach their final voting decisions.

Dependent Variable:

Voters' usage patterns of mass media during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections determine how they gathered information about the elections. The voting decision of the voters was affected by different aspects including mass media. Thus, when the usage patterns of mass media for gathering information of voters are examined it indicates how their voting decisions were taken. In addition, how their voting decisions were affected by different mass media channels that voters sought to gather information about the Presidential Elections (Kitchens, James T. a, Powell, Larry, Williams & Glenda 2009).

Operational definitions:

The 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections:

The 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections refer to the first Presidential Elections that took place in Egypt in May and June 2012 following the 25th of January Revolution 2011. The Presidential Elections of 2012 that took place over two rounds of voting.

Mass Media:

The 'Mass Media' term in this study reflects the different mass communication channels identified in the literature review mentioned earlier. 'Mass Media' refers to the four major media channels; Television, Radio, Newspapers and Internet.

Communication Activities:

Communication activities refer to the various communication campaigns of the presidential candidates that took place during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections. Communication activities identify campaigns' messages represented through mass media. These activities are: television advertisements, radio, newspapers' and internet advertisements. In addition, communication activities represent campaigns' themes sin television and radio, printed flyers and articles, web pages and social media groups.

Research Design

Data Collection:

Data was collected through self-administered surveys in both languages, English and Arabic. The self-administered surveys gave the researcher the advantage of having no interference on the answers of the respondents. Surveys also helped the

respondent not to be affected by the researcher's personal bias. Thus, surveys gave the respondents the opportunity to express their opinions and understanding of the issue without pressure or direction from the researcher. Also the self-administered survey gave the researcher the opportunity to examine the questionnaire through a pilot study in order to come up with more comprehensive, clearer, shorter and better understood questions (Vincent a &. Basil, 2009).

Sample:

The sampling method used is a "Purposive Sample" included only those Egyptian voters who participated in the presidential elections in 2012 whether in round one or round two or both. The sample size is **500** surveys are distributed with **393** respondents. Some of the questionnaires are drafted for not being relevant to the criteria of the sample while others are not answered completely.

The sample matched the purpose of the study as it categorized respondents according to three major characteristics:

- Voters' eligibility in terms of the minimum age authorized to vote in the presidential elections.
- Geographical residence located inside Egypt's 'Greater Cairo City'.
- Actual voting procedure during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections.

Pilot study:

To test the questionnaire, it was completed by 15 respondents from the population under the study. Some changes were done to the questions. Some questions were adjusted, rewritten, added or eliminated.

Questionnaire Design:

The self-administered questionnaire is composed of four major parts including a total of 17 multiple choice questions. It is translated from English to Arabic to be able to reach Egyptian voters from different educational and social strata. Respondents are asked to choose the most suitable answers representing their opinion on the two major factors examined throughout this study: the role of mass media and communication activities during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections and how they managed to gather information about the presidential candidates and the elections during the communication campaigns. Mass media is defined throughout the questionnaire to be the different mass media channels: Television, Radio, Newspapers and Internet.

The questionnaire is divided into the four following parts:

1. General Questions about voting process in 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections.
2. The role of mass media in shaping voters' final voting decisions throughout the two rounds of the presidential elections May/June 2012.
3. How Egyptian voters were able to gather information about the elections and the candidates through mass media channels.
4. Demographics representing Age, Gender, Education, Occupation, Monthly Income, Residential Area and Marital Status.

Part One:

The first part encloses general questions about voting during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Election. It includes three questions (Cwalina, Wojciech & Falkowski, Andrzej & Newman, Bruce I. 2008).

The first question tests voters' behaviours through actual participation in the electoral process. The second question tests the psychological and cognitive motives that drove voters to take a decision and go through the electoral process. The third question aims to test if respondents followed any of mass media channels during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections.

All questions are asked on a Nominal scale to get accurate and concise answers. Respondents are asked to choose only one answer for each question.

Q1. Did you vote in the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections 2012?

Q2. Which was the main driving force behind your voting decision in the presidential elections?

Q3. Did you follow any of the following mass media during the presidential elections?

Part Two:

The second part tests if mass media had a role in shaping the final decisions of the voters during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections. Respondents are asked about the different mass media channels that contributed in building and reinforcing their final voting decisions (Hackley, 1998 & Ehrenberg et al., 2002).

The first question is asked to know if mass media helped voters to reach their final voting decisions by investigating the main reasons for following mass media

during the presidential elections (Vincent & Basil, 2009). The second aims to identify the main media channels that voters sought to know immediate updated news about the Presidential Elections. The third question is asked to investigate the reason for making final voting decisions based on the represented information in mass media about the candidates' personalities, future plans, solutions for current interior affairs and their reputation in the society. The fourth question explores the contribution of mass media in shaping the final voting decision.

One question is asked on a Nominal scale and the other two questions are asked on an Ordinal scale with mutually exclusive answering options. As well as respondents are asked about the attitude towards the role of the media during the presidential elections and if it contributed in making their final decision through an Interval Likert scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree".

Q5. What was your main reason for using mass media during elections?

Q7. Which of the following mass media had immediate updates about the presidential candidates?

Q8. Which of the following factors presented through the mass media helped you to make your final voting decision?

Q9. Mass media helped you in shaping your final decision about voting in the presidential elections?

Part Three:

The third part of the questionnaire tests the various ways that Egyptian voters' sought to gather information about the elections and the presidential candidates (Kitchens , Powell & Williams, 2009). This part aims at investigating the different mass communication media channels and the different forms of communication

activities that had valuable information about the presidential candidates and the elections.

The first question is asked to know the various sources of gathering information that Egyptians may have sought to gather information during the Presidential Elections. Those channels are represented in national, international, state owned and independent television channels and newspapers, radio and internet with their various formats. The second question aims at identifying the communication activities enclosing valuable information that the candidates' campaigns represent through mass media: for example, press conferences, advertisements, interviews and debates (Just, Crigler & Wallach, 1990). The third question asks voters about their affiliations to political parties and political movements. This question investigates the role of political parties or movements as a major source of information. Party affiliation is tested through direct membership in political parties or movements or throughout using partisan newspapers, internet pages or websites or channels (Zaller, 2006).

One question is set on a Nominal scale with another option for an open ended question where respondents are asked to write the name of the political party or the movements if membership is applicable. The other two questions are asked on an Ordinal scale with all answers are mutually exclusive and do not intervene as well as exhaustive and comprehensive.

Q4. What was/were the main media source(s) for news gathering about the elections and the candidates?

Q6. Which of the following communication activities gave you valuable information about the candidates during the 2012 Egypt Presidential Elections?

Q10. Are you a member of a political party or movement?

Part Four:

The last part in the questionnaire is the demographics of the Egyptian voters during the 2012 presidential elections (Vincent & Basil, 2009). Questions are asked about the demographics of the respondents to identify their Age, Gender, Residential Location, Occupation, Education, Monthly Income and Marital Status. In addition, the relationships between their demographics and mass media usage and gratifications throughout the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections.

Questions are asked on either a Nominal or an Ordinal scale. All answers were mutually exclusive and do not intervene as well as exhaustive and comprehensive.

Chapter Four

- VI. *Research Results*
- VII. *Discussion*

VI. Research Results

Sample Characteristics:

The following criteria screened the questionnaires answered by the 393 respondents in order to filter out the three main characteristics of the sample representing the Egyptian population authorized to vote:

First Criteria:

Age eligibility: The first criteria ensured that the age of the respondents was eligible to the 'Higher Institution of Presidential Elections'. Respondents under the age of 18 were filtered out.

Second Criteria:

Geographical Location: The second criteria considered the geographical residential area of the respondents. The sample was restricted to respondents located inside Egypt's Greater Cairo City and Giza.

Third Criteria:

Actual voting procedure: The third criteria included only respondents who actually voted with giving their voices during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections either in the first or the second rounds.

Results:

The analyses of the results of the questionnaire were able to give explanations about respondents' final voting decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections. The results tested the two main Hypotheses. The two main Hypotheses are answered through several sub-hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1:

Mass media had a role in shaping voters' final voting decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections.

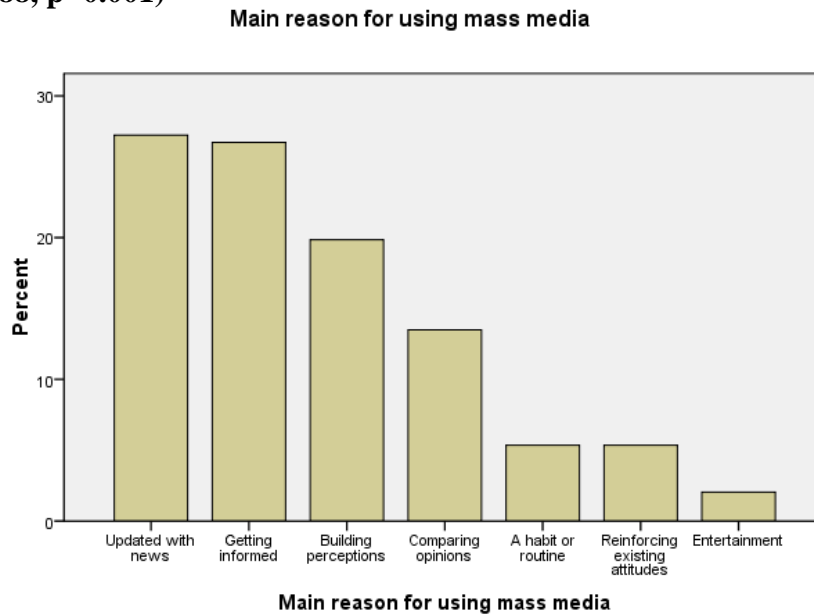
To test the first Hypothesis, five sub-hypotheses were examined:

H1-1 There is a relationship between the different reasons for using mass media and the role of mass media during the Presidential Elections to shape the final voting decision.

The first hypothesis was concerned about respondents' main reasons for following mass media during the presidential elections. In order to explore how mass media helped respondents to reach their final voting decisions, the percentages of the different reasons for following mass media during the presidential elections were calculated exclusively and exhaustively. Examining why respondents followed mass media during the presidential elections explained how voters viewed the role of mass media during the presidential elections.

The majority of the respondents followed mass media during the presidential elections to be *Updated with news* (n=107, 27.2%). Followed by respondents who followed mass media to *Get Informed* (n=105, 26.7%). Then respondents who followed mass media for *Building Perceptions* about the candidates (n=78, 19.8%). Followed by those who used mass media for *Comparing Opinions* (n=53, 13.5%). Then the percentages of respondents who followed mass media during the elections as *A habit or Routine* were the same as those who followed mass media for *Reinforcing Existing Attitudes* (n=21, 5.3%). Finally, those respondents who followed mass media during the elections for *Entertainment* (n=8, 2%) (Figure 1).

In order to investigate the relationship between main reason of using mass media during the presidential elections and the final voting decision of voters, an **Anova Test** was conducted. The results supported the relationship between the two variables. The results revealed that there was a high significance between the reason for using mass media and the role of media in shaping voters' final voting decisions (**F=3.988, p=0.001**)



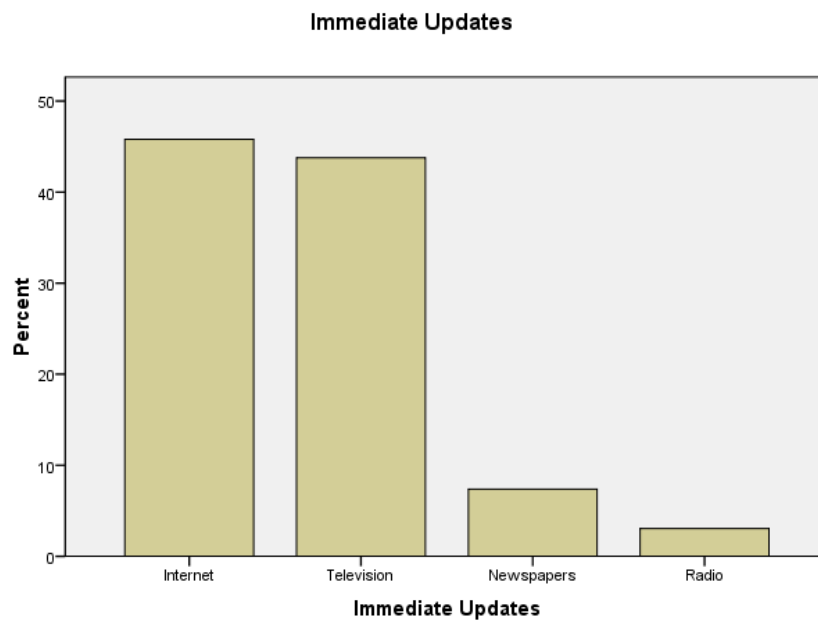
(Figure 1)

H1-2 There is a relationship between the updating of election news on mass media channels and the voters' final decisions.

The second hypothesis explored voters' main media channel sought to find immediate updated news about the presidential elections. The percentages of using each of the various mass media channels were calculated. Respondents' answers reflected how different mass media channels were believed to have a major role in supporting voters with the most updated news about the presidential elections.

The majority of the respondents considered the *Internet* as the most immediate mass media channel that included the most updated news about the presidential election (n=180, 45.8%) which was heavily used by respondents within the age

bracket (25-34) (n=106, 59%). Then followed by *Television* (n=172, 43.8%) and was used mostly by respondents within the age bracket (25-34) (n=75, 43.6%). Followed by *Newspapers* (n=29, 7.4%) which were mostly used by respondents within the age bracket (35-49) (n=14, 48.2%). Finally, the least mass media channel respondents regarded as an immediate supplier for the updated news during the presidential elections was the *Radio* (n=12, 3.1%) and was highly used by respondents between the age bracket (25-34) (n= 5, 14.6) (Figure 2).



(Figure 2)

There was no relationship between the immediate mass media channels that respondents sought to keep updated about the news of the Presidential Elections and their final voting decision. In addition, those who followed Newspapers to get updated news about the elections had a higher tendency to agree that mass media had a role in final voting decisions ($M= 3.62$). In order to know the relationship between the mass media channels used by respondents for immediate updates about the Presidential Elections and the age of the respondents a **Chi-Square Test** was conducted. The results revealed that there was a correlation between the mass media channels and the

age of the respondents (**Pearson chi-square=4.5, p=0.001**). Each age bracket had a high correlation with the medium they used to get immediate updated news about the presidential elections and the candidates (Figure 3).

Age Bracket	Medium
(18-24)	Internet
(25-34)	Internet
(35-49)	Television
(50-59)	Television
60 and above	Television

(Figure 3)

H1-3 There is a relationship between the different attributes about the candidates presented through the mass media and the role of the media in shaping final voting decisions.

The third hypothesis was concerned about the reason for making final voting decisions based on the represented information in mass media. Respondents were asked to choose from the following attributes that the media presented during the presidential elections: Candidates' Personalities, Future Plans, Promises about solving the Current Interior Affairs and their Reputation in the Society. Respondents were allowed to choose more than one attribute in order to get more detailed and accurate responses. Each attribute was calculated separately.

The highest attribute that respondents agreed upon to be the major factor mass media presented about during the presidential election was the *Future Plan of the Candidate* (n=205, 52.2%). Then followed by the *Character and Charisma* of the candidate (n=171, 43.5%). Followed by the *Promises about Solving the Current Interior Problem* (n=114, 29%). Finally, the *Reputation* of the Candidate (n=112, 28.5%).

In order to know the relationship between the candidates different attributes represented through the media and the final voting decision of the respondents Independent **T-Tests** were conducted (Figure 4):

	M score	T	Sig. (2-tailed)
<i>Future Plan of the Candidate</i>	3.6	3.771	0.001
<i>Character and Charisma</i>	3.46	0.728	0.467
<i>Promises about Solving the Current Interior Problem</i>	3.39	-0.310	0.757
<i>Reputation</i>	3.45	0.324	0.746

(Figure 4)

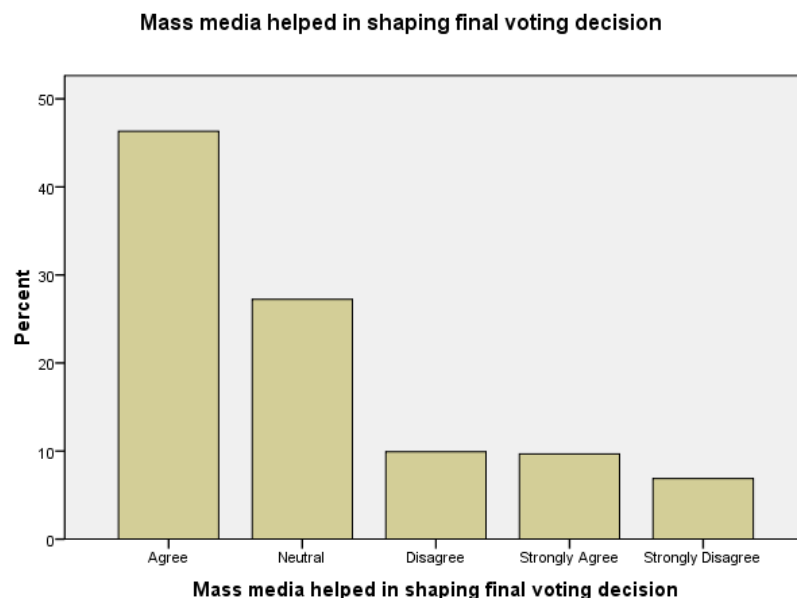
The group that was affected by the *Future Plan* of the candidate represented through the media was affected more by the media in shaping his final voting decision had the high tendency to Agree that media affected the final voting decision (**M score=3.6**). There was a significant relationship between the future plan of the candidate and the media effect in shaping final voting decision (**t=3.771, p=0.001**).

On the contrary, there was no significance between the *Character and Charisma* and the effect of the media in shaping the final voting decision. The group of respondents who chose the *Character and Charisma* of the candidate to be the most represented attribute in the media had a tendency to Agree that the media helped to shape their voting decision (**M score=3.46**). In addition, there was no significance between the *Promises* of the candidate about solving the current interior problems and the effect of the media in shaping the final voting decision. The group of respondents chose the *Promises* of the candidate about solving the current interior problems to be the most represented attribute in the media had a tendency to be Neutral towards the effect of media to shape their voting decision (**M score=3.39**). Finally, there was no significance between the Reputation of the candidate represented in the media and the effect of the media in shaping the final voting decision. The group of respondents

who chose the *Reputation* of the candidate to be the most represented attribute had a tendency to Agree that the media helped to shape their voting decision (M score=3.45).

H1-4 The demographic profile of the voters had an impact on their voting decisions.

This hypothesis was concerned about the overall contribution of mass media to shape the final voting decision. Respondents were asked about their overall opinion if mass media had helped them in shaping their final voting decisions (Figure 5).



(Figure 5)

The majority of the respondents *Agreed* that the media helped in shaping their final voting decisions (n=182, 46.3%). Followed by respondents who considered the contribution of the media in shaping their final voting decision was *Neutral* (n=107, 27.2%). Then those who *Disagreed* (n=39, 9.9%). Followed by those who *Strongly Agreed* (n=38, 9.7%). Finally, those who *Strongly Disagreed* that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (n=27, 6.9%). Respondents had a tendency to

Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decision during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections (**Mean=3.42**).

Through conducting **Anova Tests**, it was found that the demographic profile of the voters had no significant impact on the role of mass media to shape their final voting decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections. However, there were other results concluded from the relationships between the demographics of the voters and the role of mass media in shaping their final voting decision:

Age Bracket	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error of Skewness
18-24	3.21	48	.944	.343
25-34	3.41	197	1.024	.173
35-49	3.47	90	1.051	.254
50-59	3.50	44	1.067	.357
60 and above	3.79	14	.975	.597
Total	3.42	393	1.025	.123

(Figure 6)

There was an overall tendency that as age of respondents increased, respondents tend to Agree that mass media helped them in shaping their final voting decisions during the Presidential Elections (Figure 6).

Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error of Skewness
Male	3.43	181	1.028	.181
Female	3.42	211	1.022	.167
Total	3.42	393	1.025	.123

(Figure 7)

Since the 'M score' between Males and Females were very close, then there was not enough evidence to prove that there was a difference between the two groups in the effect of media on their final voting decisions (Figure 7).

Education	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error of Skewness
Not Educated	3.67	3	1.528	1.225
High School	3.21	14	1.188	.597
Technical Education	3.26	19	1.046	.524
Bachelor University Degree	3.42	292	1.007	.143
Post Graduate (Masters or PHD)	3.45	64	1.053	.299
Total	3.42	392	1.023	.123

(Figure 8)

There was enough confidence that there was a significant difference between the different educational levels of the respondents in the effect of media on their final voting decisions. The Not Educated have a higher tendency to Agree that mass media helped them in shaping their final decisions (**M score=3.67**) but other educated categories had a less tendency to be affected by mass media during the presidential elections (Figure 8).

Occupation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error of Skewness
Employee	3.39	302	1.047	.140
Employer	3.45	33	1.003	.409
Professional	3.50	30	.900	.427
Technician	3.20	5	1.483	.913
Not Employed	3.64	22	.848	.491
Total	3.42	392	1.026	.123

(Figure 9)

There was a tendency for the Not Employed to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decisions (**M score=3.64**). There was enough confidence that there was a significant difference between the different categories of the occupations of the respondents in the effect of media on their final voting decisions (Figure 9).

Monthly Income	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error of Skewness
Less than 1000 LE	3.27	48	1.144	.343
1000 LE-3000 LE	3.39	145	.981	.201
3000-5000 LE	3.52	75	.978	.277
5000-10,000 LE	3.35	74	1.128	.279
Above 10,000 LE	3.59	51	.942	.333
Total	3.42	393	1.025	.123

(Figure 10)

Those who earn less than 1000 LE monthly tend to be Neutral about the effect of mass media on their voting decisions (**M score=3.27**). There was enough confidence that there was a significant difference between the different categories of the occupations of the respondents in the effect of media on their final voting decisions (Figure 10).

Marital Status	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error of Skewness
Single	3.39	145	1.002	.201
Married	3.44	240	1.041	.157
Widow	3.50	2	.707	.
Divorced	3.00	5	1.225	.913
Total	3.42	392	1.026	.123

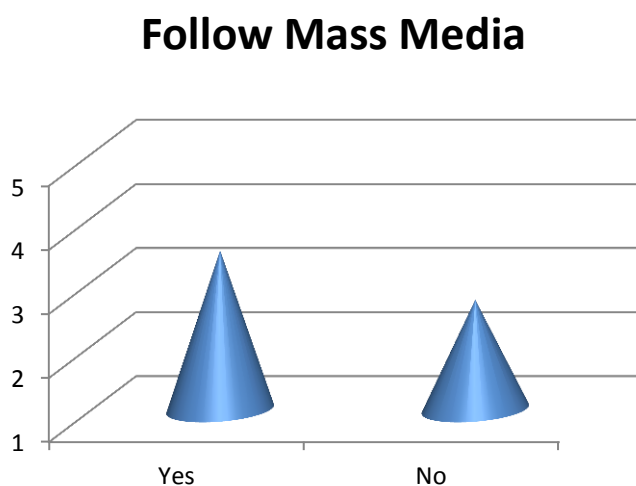
(Figure 11)

Divorced respondents were Neutral towards the effect of mass media during the presidential elections. However, all the other Married, Single, Widowed respondents tend to agree that mass media helped them in shaping their final voting decisions. There was enough confidence that there was a significant difference between the different categories of the occupations of the respondents in the effect of media on their final voting decisions (Figure 11).

H1-5 Following mass media channels had an impact on the voters' final decisions during the Presidential Elections.

The majority of the respondents followed different mass media channels during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections (n=362, 92.1%). While those who did not follow mass media during the presidential elections were (n=31, 7.9%).

In order to find the relationship between following Mass media and the role of media in shaping the final voting decisions of the respondents, a **T-Test** was conducted. The results revealed that following mass media during the Presidential Elections had a high impact on voters' final decisions (**t= 4.1, p=0.001**). Respondents who followed the mass media during the presidential elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their voting decisions (**M score= 3.48**). While those who did not follow mass media during the elections had the tendency to Disagree that media helped them to shape a final decisions about voting (**M score=2.71**) (Figure 12).



(Figure 12)

Hypothesis 2:

The type of mass media channels that voters considered during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections to gather information affected their final voting decision.

To support the second Hypothesis, two sub-hypotheses were tested:

H2-1 Mass media channels sought of as sources of information to gather elections related news impacted voters' final decisions.

The first hypothesis was concerned with the main news information channels that respondents gathered information from during the presidential elections. Respondents were asked to choose among the different mass media channels in order to explore the most used news gathering channels. The percentages of using the different mass media channels were calculated separately where respondents were free to choose more than one channel to get more precise and accurate results. The majority of the respondents gathered their information about the presidential elections and the presidential candidates from *Social Media* (n=150, 38.2%). Then followed by the *Arab Satellite Channels* (n=146, 37.3%). Followed by the *Internet News Websites* (n=122, 31 %). Then respondents depended on the *International News Satellite Channels* (n=100, 25.4%). Followed by the *Independent Newspapers* as a source of information about the presidential elections (n=96, 24.4%). Then respondents gathered information through the *National Egyptian Television* (n=63, 16%). Followed by the *National Newspapers* as a source of information (n=43, 10.9%). Then respondents gathered information from *Religious Channels* (n=22, 5.6%). The least three news sources during the presidential election were *Radio, International Newspapers and*

Partisan Newspapers (n=14, 3.6%), (n=13, 3.3%) and (n=10, 2.5%) respectively (Figure 13).

Main Source of Information	M score	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
<i>International News Satellite Channels</i>	3.66	2.909	0.004
<i>International News Websites</i>	3.63	2.766	0.006
<i>Arab Satellite Channels</i>	3.52	2.419	0.016
<i>the Independent Newspapers</i>	3.61	2.151	0.032
<i>Egyptian National TV</i>	3.22	-1.674	0.095
<i>Radio</i>	3.36	-0.173	0.865
<i>National Newspapers</i>	3.44	0.179	0.858
<i>Partisan Newspapers</i>	3.40	0.062	0.951
<i>International Newspapers</i>	3.23	-0.676	0.499
<i>Social Media</i>	3.44	0.306	0.760
<i>Religious Channels</i>	3.41	-0.173	0.865

(Figure 13)

There was a high significant impact from the mass media on respondents who chose the *International News Satellite Channels* to shape the final voting decision (**t=2.909, p=0.004**). Respondents who chose the International News Satellite Channels to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a higher tendency to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decision (**M score=3.66**).

There was a high significant impact from the mass media on respondents who chose the *International News Websites* to shape the final voting decision (**t=2.766, p=0.006**). Respondents who chose the International News Websites to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a high tendency to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decision (**M score=3.63**).

There was a significant impact from the mass media on respondents who chose the *Arab Satellite Channels* as their main source of information during the Presidential Elections to shape the final voting decision (**t=2.419, p=0.016**). Respondents who chose the Arab Satellite Channels to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a higher tendency to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decision (**M score=3.52**).

There was significant impact from the mass media on respondents who chose the *Independent Newspapers* to shape the final voting decision (**t=2.151, p=0.032**). Respondents who chose the Independent Newspapers to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a high tendency to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decision (**M score=3.61**).

There was a low significant negative impact from the mass media on respondents who chose the *Egyptian National TV* to shape the final voting decision (**t=-1.674, p=0.095**). Respondents who chose the Egyptian National TV to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to be Neutral about the role of mass media in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.22**).

On the contrary, there was no significant impact from the mass media on respondents who chose the Radio, the National Newspapers, the Partisan newspapers, the International newspapers, Social Media and the Religious channels to shape their final voting decisions.

However, respondents who chose the *Radio* to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to be Neutral about the role of mass media in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.36**).

Respondents who chose the *National Newspapers* to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decision (**M score=3.44**). Respondents who chose the *Partisan Newspapers* to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decision (**M score=3.40**). Respondents who chose the *International Newspapers* to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to be Neutral about the role of mass media in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.23**). Respondents who chose the *Social Media* to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decision (**M score=3.44**). Finally, respondents who chose the *Religious Channels* to be their main source of information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped them to shape their final voting decision (**M score=3.41**).

H2-2 The various communication activities supporting voters with valuable information on the mass media during the presidential campaigns impacted voters' final voting decisions.

The second hypothesis tested if the different communication activities represented through the mass media supported respondents with valuable information about the presidential elections and presidential campaigns. Respondents were asked to choose which of the communication activities representing the presidential campaigns had valuable information during the presidential elections. In order to get more accurate and comprehensive results, respondents were asked to choose more than one communication activity if applicable.

The majority of the respondents considered that *Television Debates* included the most valuable information during the Presidential Elections (n=169, 43%). Then respondents considered *Social Media Pages* as a source of valuable information (n=146, 37.2%). Followed by *Television Interviews* (n=122, 31%). Then respondents chose *Press News Articles* to be a source of valuable information during the presidential elections (n=107, 27.2%). Then followed by *Television Advertisements* (n=40, 10.2%). Finally, the least two communication activities were considered as sources of valuable information during the presidential elections are *Outdoors flyers and Billboards* and *Radio Advertisements* (n=18, 4.6%) and (n=10, 2.5%) respectively (Figure 14).

Communication Activity	M score	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
<i>Television Interviews</i>	3.52	2.814	0.005
<i>Press News Articles</i>	3.6	2.270	0.024
<i>Outdoors Flyers and Billboards</i>	2.72	-2.986	0.003
<i>Press Conferences</i>	3.44	0.260	0.795
<i>Television Advertisements</i>	3.42	0.34	0.973
<i>Television Debates</i>	3.48	1.289	0.198
<i>Social Media Pages</i>	3.43	0.173	0.863
<i>Radio Advertisements</i>	3.5	0.253	0.803

(Figure 14)

There was a high significant impact from the mass media on respondents who considered *Television Interviews* a major source of valuable information to shape their final voting decision (**t=2.814, p=0.005**). Respondents who considered Television Interviews a major source of valuable information during the Presidential Elections had a high tendency to Agree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.52**). There was a significant impact from the mass media on

respondents who considered *Press News Articles* a major source of valuable information to shape their final voting decision ($t=2.270$, $p=0.024$). Respondents who considered *Press News Articles* a major source of valuable information during the Presidential Elections had a high tendency to Agree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.6**). There was a significant negative impact from the mass media on respondents who considered *Outdoors Flyers and Billboards* a major source of valuable information to shape their final voting decision ($t=-2.986$, $p=0.003$). Respondents who considered *Outdoors Flyers and Billboards* a major source of valuable information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Disagree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=2.72**).

On the other hand, there were no significant impact from the communication activities *Press Conferences*, *Television Advertisements*, *Television Debates*, *Social media Pages* and *Radio advertisements* on respondents final voting decisions.

However, respondents who considered *Press Conferences* a major source of valuable information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.44**). Respondents who considered *Television Advertisements* a major source of valuable information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.42**). Respondents who considered *Television Debates* a major source of valuable information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.48**). Respondents who considered *Social Media Pages* a major source of valuable information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (**M**

score=3.43). Finally, Respondents who considered *Radio Advertisements* a major source of valuable information during the Presidential Elections had a tendency to Agree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.5**).

Respondents' Profile:

Classification of the sample according to Gender and Age:

Among those 393 complete surveys according to the purposive sample, 181 (46.1%) were *Males* and 211 (53.7%) were *Females*. In terms of the Age of the respondents, the majority of the respondents were between the age of (25-34) (n=197, 50.1%) the highest amount of respondents which were mostly females (n=107, 54.3%). Then respondents between the age of (35-49) (n=90, 22.9%). Followed by respondents between the age of (18-24) (n=48, 12.2%) which were represented mostly by females (n=35, 79%). Then followed by respondents between the age of (50-59) (n=44, 11.2%). Finally, respondents of the age of (60 and above) (n=14, 3.6%). The average age of the respondents was (**M score= 2.44**) between (24-49) with a higher tendency towards the 24.

Classification based on Marital Status and Monthly Income:

Among the 393 respondents, the majority of the respondents were *Married* (n=241, 61.3%). Then followed by *Single* respondents (n=145, 36.9%). Followed by *Divorced* respondents (n=5, 1.3%). Finally, *Widow* respondents (n=2, 0.5%). In terms of the Monthly Income, the majority of the respondents earn monthly between (1000LE-3000LE) (n=145, 36.9%) which were mostly married (n=83, 57.6%) and singles (n=60, 41.6%). Then followed by respondents who earn monthly (3000LE-5000LE) (n=75, 19.1%). Followed by those who earn monthly (5000LE-10,000LE)

(n=74, 18.8%). Then respondents who earn monthly (*10,000LE and more*) (n=51, 13%). Finally, respondents who earn monthly (*Less than 1000LE*) (n=48, 12.2%).

Classification based on Education and Occupation:

The majority of the respondents were holding a *Bachelor University Degree* (n=292, 74.5%). Then followed by respondents holding a *Postgraduate Degree* (n=64, 16.3%). Followed by respondents who had *Technical Education* (n=19, 4.8%). Then respondents who had a *High School Degree* (n=14, 3.6%). Finally, respondents who were *Not Educated* (n=3, 0.8%). In terms of Occupation, the majority of the respondents were *Employees* (n=302, 77%). Then followed by respondents who were *Employers* (n=33, 8.4%). Followed by respondents who were *Professionals* (n=30, 7.7%). Then respondents who did *Not Work* (n=22, 5.6%). Finally, those respondents who worked as *Technicians* (n=5, 1.3%).

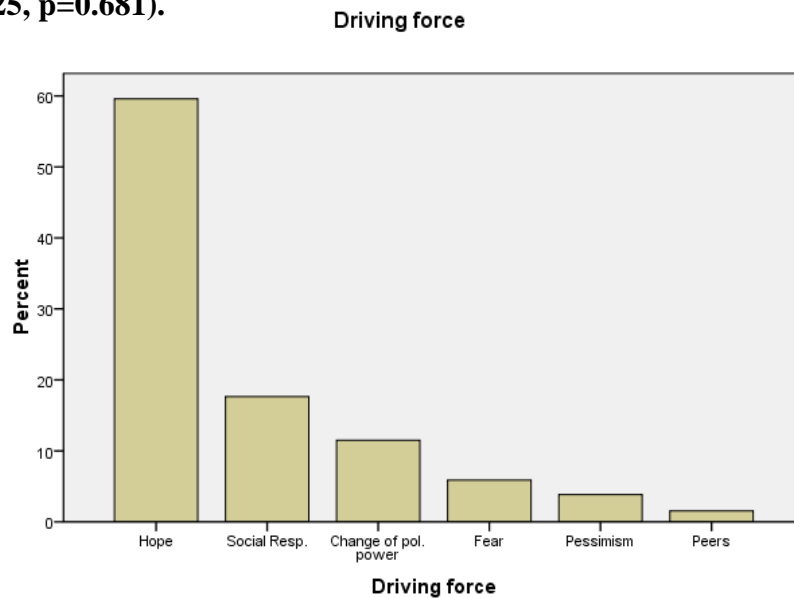
Classification based on the main cognitive and emotional reasons for voting:

In order to be able to know the main reasons that drove voters' to vote in the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections, the psychological and cognitive motives behind voters' decisions were examined. Respondents were asked about their hidden thoughts and attitudes towards the Presidential Elections. The percentages of the different reasons were calculated.

The majority of the respondents said that the main driving force behind their final voting decisions in the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections was *Hope for a better Future* (n=233, 59.6%). Then the second driving force behind respondents final voting decision was the feeling of *Social Responsibility* (n=69, 17.6%). Followed by respondents who chose the *Urge for Change of Political Power* as their driving force behind voting (n=45, 11.5%). Then respondents who voted based on their *Fear of the*

Unknown (n=23, 5.9%). Followed by respondents who voted as a result of *Pessimism from the Current Living Condition* (n=15, 3.8%). Finally, *Peer Pressure* was respondents' main driving force to vote in the presidential elections (n=6, 1.5%) (Figure 15).

In order to investigate the relationship between the driving forces that drove votes to vote in the 2012 Presidential Elections with the role of the media in shaping their final voting decision an **Anova Test** was conducted. The result of the test revealed that there was no significance between the driving force, weather the emotional or the cognitive, with the role of media during the Presidential Elections (**F=0.625, p=0.681**).



(Figure 15)

Classification based on political affiliation to parties or movements:

In order to know about respondents' affiliation to political parties or political movements, respondents were asked to write the names of the political parties or movements they belong to if applicable.

The majority of the respondents were not affiliated to any political party or movement (n=373, 94.9%). On the other hand, the rest of the respondents were

members of different political parties or political movements (n=20, 5.1%). The majority of the respondents affiliated to political parties were members of one of *ElDostour Party* and *ElMasryeen ElAhrar Party* each of (n=5, 1.3%). Then respondents were members of *ElHorya WelAdala Party* (n=3, 0.8%). Followed by respondents membership in the *Egyptian Social Democratic Party* (n=2, 0.5%). Finally, respondents were affiliated to *ElMowatna Party*, *ElWafd Party*, *Masr ElHorya Party*, *Masr ElKawayia Party* and *TayarShaebiy Party* each of (n=1, 0.3%).

There was no significant relationship between party affiliation and the role of mass media in shaping the respondents final voting decisions. Also there is enough evidence that that there is a significant difference between the two groups in the effect of media on their political opinion concerning voting in the Presidential elections. Respondents who were members in a Political Party or a Political Movement had a high tendency to Agree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decision (**M score=3.7**). While respondents who were not members of any political party or movement had a tendency to have a Neutral opinion about how mass media helped to shape their final voting decision during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections (**M score= 3.4**).

VII. Discussion

The findings of the study revealed that respondents who followed the media during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections were highly affected by the media. Thus, there was a high impact from following the mass media during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections on voters' final decisions. There was enough evidence that there was a difference between those who followed mass media during the Presidential Elections and those who did not follow mass media in their relationship with the role of the media on their voting decisions. The findings were consistent with Zimmer's (1981) assumption that there was a high relationship between media exposure with decision making and political involvement. However, the finding was irrelevant with Finkel (1993) as the study showed that the media exposure had a limited effect on voters' turnout and elections outcomes.

In addition, respondents' opinions about the main reasons for using mass media during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Election had a significant relationship with the role of media in shaping voters' decisions. Respondents used mass media during the Presidential Elections primarily to be updated with news and lastly to get entertained. This finding was consistent with Patterson and McClure (1976), Petty and Cacioppo, (1996, p.7). However, the finding was inconsistent with Tinkham and Weaver-Lariscy (1994) who assumed that the entertainment factor in any political campaign was highly associated with using mass media during Presidential elections.

Additionally, there was a significant relationship between the Future Plan of the Candidate represented through the media with the role of mass media during the Presidential Elections on voters' decisions. Mass media had a role to persuade voters of the presidential candidates' future plans rather than the candidates' characters and

charisma, promises about the current situation in Egypt or the reputation of the candidates. This finding was relevant with Dahl (1999) who considered that the most effective attribute on voters' decisions was the future plan and the set of policies and strategies represented by the candidate through the media. However, the finding was not consistent with Gentzkow (2006) and (Max Weber's, 1992) who considered the Character and the Charisma of the candidate as the most important attribute that affect voters' decisions during political campaigns. In addition, Aragonès, Palfrey and Postlewaite (2007) considered the Reputation of the Candidate the most important attribute that affect voters' decisions.

There was no relationship between the type of mass media channel that respondents sought to get updated news about the elections and their final voting decisions. However, there was a significant relationship between the immediate medium sought by voters to get updated information about the Presidential Elections and the age of the respondents. The internet was highly used by respondents between the age of (18–34) during the Presidential Elections which was consistent with Kiyohara, (2009) assumption that youth are the bigger group to use the internet during political campaigns. Nevertheless, elder respondents depended on the television for immediate updates about the Presidential Elections.

There was a significant impact from the main mass media sources that respondents followed during the Presidential Elections on shaping voters' final decisions. Respondents who considered Arab satellite channels, International news satellite channels, International news websites and Independent newspapers as their major source of information during the Presidential Elections were directly affected by the mass media in shaping their final voting decisions. The findings of the study were irrelevant to the assumption Kitchens and Powell and Williams (2009) stating

that mass media usage patterns of different channels in seeking information do not determine respondents political behaviours.

On the contrary, those who watched the Egyptian national television during the Presidential Elections were negatively impacted from the mass media while shaping their final voting decisions. Respondents who were negatively impacted from the mass media during the Presidential Elections were more confused, unsecured and worried about the electoral process and the political situation. This finding was consistent with Zaller's Reception Gap Theory (1991) as the theory stated that there is a gap between the information received from the media and the influence of the media. Thus, having a negative effect from the Egyptian national television supported Zaller's (1991) theory that there was a gap between the source of information and the effect of the political message.

Additionally, there was a significant impact from communication activities on the mass media on shaping voters' final decisions during the Presidential Elections. Television interviews had a high significant impact while press articles had a reasonably significant impact with the role of mass media during Presidential Elections. Television Interviews and Press Articles were the most effective communication activities in terms of supporting voters with valuable information during the presidential elections. The finding was irrelevant with Pfau at al. (2002) and Just, Crigler and Wallach, (1990) assumption that political advertising was the most effective communication activity during elections.

On the other hand, the outdoors billboards and the flyers had a negative significant impact on shaping voters' decisions during the Presidential Elections. Respondents considered the Outdoors Billboards and Flyers communication activities might have affected the presidential candidate negatively. The finding was irrelevant

with Muhlmann (2008) who supported that the pamphlets and public debates are the most effective communication activities in political campaigns.

Another finding showed that voters' demographic profile of the voters did not impact the role of mass media in shaping their final voting decisions. Respondents' opinions about the role of media in shaping their final voting decision during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections were not affected by their 'gender'. Gender had no significant relationship with the role of media during voting. In addition, there was not enough evidence to support the assumption that there was any difference between males and females in their opinion about the effect of mass media in shaping their final voting decision. However, this finding was irrelevant to other scholars' findings that related gender to mass media during political discourses. Vincent and Basil (2009) stated that women are more into the surveillance of the media during political campaigns. Elshtain, (1982), Noelle-Neumann, (1993) and Tannen, (1994) also assumed that women are more into political involvement especially when there is a negative communication campaign.

Moreover, there was no significant relationship between 'age' and the role of media in affecting voters' decisions. However, the findings showed that as age increases, there was a higher tendency to be affected by the mass media during the Presidential Elections. The overall tendency of older voters to be more affected by the mass media was supported by other scholars mentioning that older generation usually long for the precedent days of politics (Brown, 1981, Carlsson & Karlsson, 1970, Converse, 1969).

Furthermore, the findings showed that the 'socioeconomic' status affected voters' decisions more than the mass media which is consistent with Bartels, (1993). Thus, there is no significant relationship between the monthly income of the

respondents and how far mass media helped them in shaping their final voting decision. However, there was enough evidence to say that the social standard of the respondents affected their relationship with the media during the presidential election. The finding was consistent with other scholars' assumption that in the USA lower social classes had lower voting turnout not related to voting turnout (Walter, 1991).

In terms of the different demographics of the respondents, there was no relationship between the role of mass media in shaping voters' final decisions in the 2012 Presidential Elections and the different 'marital strata', 'education' and 'occupation'. However, the findings revealed that the 'married' and the 'singles' have a greater tendency to agree that mass media helped in shaping their final voting decisions which is relevant to the assumption of Walter (1991). In addition, the 'not educated' respondents were more into agreeing that mass media helped them throughout the Presidential Elections which was supported by Zaller (1992). Also the 'not employed' were affected highly by mass media during the Presidential Elections which is inconsistent with Hill and Luttbeg (1980).

In addition, the findings of the study showed that the main driving force that urged the respondents to vote during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections was 'hope for a better future' and the least driving force was 'peers pressure'. However there was no significant relationship between the cognitive or the emotional driving forces behind the voters' interest in voting decisions and the role of media during the Presidential Elections. The finding was consistent with the Greenberg (1974), Lometti, Reeves, and Bybee (1977) who stated that the needs of the people are not usually what they gratify when using mass media to gather information. On the other hand, the finding was consistent with Barton (2009) assumption that people use mass

media to satisfy their psychological and mental needs especially needs that are related to environmental surveillance, social acceptance and peers affiliation.

Finally, the findings of the study revealed that there was no significant relationship between political party affiliation and the role of media in shaping the final voting decision. There was enough evidence that there is a difference between respondents affiliated to political parties and respondents who are not members in any political party or movement. Respondents who were members of political parties tend to agree more that mass media affected their voting decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections. Miller and Shanks (1996) assumption supported the general tendency of the respondents who were members of political parties or movements to be more satisfied with the communication campaigns of presidential candidates through different mass media channels.

Chapter Five

VIII. Conclusion

IX. Limitations

X. Recommendations for Future Studies

VIII. Conclusion

In conclusion, during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections, mass media had affected voters' final decisions in many aspects. The study revealed that the mass media during the Presidential Elections had an overall role in shaping the voting final decisions of the respondents. However, some of the findings of the study cannot be validated on the whole population.

The first hypothesis that assumed that mass media channels had a role in shaping final voting decisions was supported in terms of different aspects. Respondents who followed mass media during the Presidential Elections were highly effected by mass media in shaping their final voting decisions. The reasons respondents used the media for during the Presidential Elections had a high impact on voters' final decisions. In addition, respondents mostly used the internet and television then newspapers and finally the radio to get informed about the recent updates of the Presidential Elections. However, there was no relationship between their voting decisions and the medium they used to get immediate updated news about the elections.

Moreover, respondents mostly used mass media to be updated with news, get informed and to build their opinions and perceptions about the elections and the presidential candidates. There was a high relationship between the reason for following mass media during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections and the effect of mass media on voters' final decisions. Thus, the media was able to persuade respondents and affect their attitudes towards the presidential candidates. In addition, the candidate's future plans presented through mass media was the only significant candidate's attribute to affect voters' decisions other than personal or emotional

attributes. However, in any developing country people depend more on their emotional aspects as they have a minimal experience in evaluating political messages.

The second hypothesis that assumed that mass media channels respondents sought during the Presidential Elections affected their voting decisions. Respondents who gathered information from the Arab satellite channels, international news satellite channels, international news website and independent newspapers were affected by those media sources while shaping their final voting decisions. While those who gathered information from the Egyptian national television had a negative relationship with the media during the Presidential Elections. The more respondents watched the Egyptian national television, the more they become uncertain and unsecured. Thus, the Egyptian national state-owned sources of information were the least sources of information Egyptians trusted during the Presidential Elections.

In addition, television interviews and press articles highly affected respondents voting decisions. There was a relationship between the final voting decisions and the valuable information respondents found about the elections in the television interviews and the press articles. However, the outdoors billboards and flyers affected respondents but in a negative way causing them negative perceptions and attitudes about the candidates. Thus, Egyptians tend to gather information through traditional media other than new and technological sources of information.

Moreover, partisan membership had an effect on voters' perceptions about the communication campaigns through mass media. Members of different political parties and movements were much satisfied from the communication campaigns. However, mass media had no role in shaping their final voting decisions. In addition, respondents' main factors that drove them to take a step and vote in the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections were primarily positive intensions. The first was 'hope

for a better future' then 'social responsibility' and 'the need for change of political power'. However, negative emotional attributes were selected as the least driving forces for voting: fear and pessimism.

Egyptians men or women didn't differ in their interest in political discourse. Both genders agreed that mass media affected their voting decisions. However, different age groups of Egyptians had different interests in political involvement. Older generations seemed to be more affected by the media during the Presidential Elections. Egyptian youth may be more concerned with demonstrations and the ongoing conflicts in the streets than by what the media focus on. The less educated Egyptians and the 'not employed' were both affected highly by the media during the elections. Thus, the media is responsible about what they represent to the public especially in the Egyptian society where there is a high literacy and poverty rates.

Finally, the findings supported the main assumptions of the study. Mass media had a role in shaping voters' final decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections. Also the different mass media channels voters' sought to gather information about the Presidential Elections had a relative effect on the overall perceptions and attitudes of voters about the presidential candidates. There were other factors affecting voters' decisions other than mass media that the study did not focus on like: poverty, illiteracy rates, religious affiliations and political disputes.

IX. Limitations

The 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections was the first chance for Egyptians to practice their right in choosing and voting for their president since 1952. Also it was the first experience for the media to cover such democratic practice. In addition, the time period when this study took place was faced by many political disputes. In addition, the research was challenged by some other scientific applications while being conducted. Accordingly, this study was challenged with some societal and scientific limitations.

Many respondents were afraid to fill out the surveys as a projection from the fear of expressing personal opinions that may be prospected from the government. Some respondents questioned the goal of the survey so they were not expressing their actual opinions. Also due to the limited experience of the media professionals in Egypt, there were some pitfalls that made the people uncertain about some answers. The talk-shows that presented the presidential candidates and the debates held on television were not displaying all the presidential candidates. Some respondents were confused about the role of the television interviews and the debates to be valuable supporters for political information. Accordingly, some respondents did not give accurate answers for the role of the media during the presidential elections.

On the other hand, some limitations in this study were scientific pitfalls. Due to the time constrains, the sample size was limited. There was limited access to get answers from more respondents with more variety of social class, ages, education and marital status. In addition, there was a geographic limitation as well. Respondents were only from Cairo and Giza. The geographic limitation may affect the external validity of the research results not to able to generalized on the whole Egyptian population.

X. Recommendations for Future Studies

Future research could study the different talk-shows and programs that were presented during the Presidential Elections in a content analysis study. Studying the content of different programs and the candidates' performance may add to the experience of the media professionals and the candidates. Further studies should take into consideration the different communication activities that affect voting decisions and the expectations of voters from the media as a political educator. Political campaigners should be aware of the different mass media channels voters' use most according to age, residential areas and socioeconomic classes. Campaigners shall consider how different ages and different genders perceive their political communication efforts. Accordingly, campaigners should create different political messages and use mass media more efficient to hit their targets with the minimum cost.

Future research should investigate how voters perceive communication practice during presidential campaigns. In addition, more studies could examine each presidential candidates' various communication tools used to affect voters through the media. Future studies could explore the different communication messages that affected voters' decisions.

Further investigations considering the relationship between voters and mass media during presidential elections should put into considerations two additional aspects. Those aspects include the amount of hours voters spend using mass media during elections and the gained experience from voting in previous presidential elections. Future studies should be able to explore mass media as a political educator through practicing democracy and voting on free will bases without intermediation of political parties.

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XII. Appendix

An Academic Questionnaire

This is Nouran Victor, Master's student at the American University in Cairo. Kindly, you are asked to answer this academic questionnaire that will not take more than 10 minutes. The purpose of this study is to investigate the role of mass media in making voting decisions during the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections and how voters used mass media to gather information about the candidates. Your answers will be anonymous (No names are required and your private information will not be shared). Your contribution is highly appreciated.

Q1. Did you vote in the 2012 Egyptian Presidential Elections 2012?

- Yes
- No (*If you didn't vote, please go to Question #11*)

Q2. Which was the main driving force behind your voting decision in the presidential elections?

- Pessimism from the current living condition
- Hope for a better future
- Fear of the unknown
- Peer pressure
- Social responsibility
- Urge for change of political power

Q3. Did you follow any of the following mass media during the presidential elections? (Mass media refer to television, radio, newspapers and internet)

- Yes
- No

Q4. What was/were the main media source(s) for news gathering about the elections and the candidates?

- Egyptian national television
- Arab satellite channels
- International news satellite channels
- Radio
- National news papers
- Independent newspapers
- Partisan newspapers
- International newspapers
- Social media
- Internet news websites
- Religious channels

Q5. What was your main reason for using mass media during elections?

- A habit or routine
- Entertainment
- Getting informed
- Updated with the news
- Comparing opinions
- Building perceptions
- Reinforcing existing attitudes

Q6. Which of the following communication activities gave you valuable information about the candidates during the 2012 Egypt Presidential Elections? (Please choose only 3)

- Press conferences
- Television advertisements
- Television interviews
- Television debates
- Social media Pages
- Outdoor flyers and billboards
- Radio advertisements
- Press news articles

Q7. Which of the following mass media had immediate updates about the presidential candidates?

- Television
- Radio
- Newspapers
- Internet

Q8. Which of the following factors presented through the mass media helped you to make your final voting decision? (Please choose more than one if needed)

- Candidate's future plan
- Character and charisma
- Reputation
- Promises about solving the current interior problems

Q9. Mass media helped you in shaping your final decision about voting in the presidential elections?

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Q10. Are you a member of a political party or movement?

- Yes, Please specify _____
 - No
-

Q11. Please specify your age bracket:

- 18 - 24
- 25 - 34
- 35– 49
- 50 - 59
- 60 and older

Q12. Gender:

- Male
- Female

Q13. Education:

- Not educated
- High school
- Technical education
- Bachelor University Degree
- Post Graduate (Masters and Doctorate) Degree

Q14. Occupation:

- Employee
- Employer
- Professional
- Technician
- Not employed

Q15. Monthly Income:

- Less than 1000 LE
- From 1000 – 3000 LE
- From 3000 – 5000 LE
- From 5000 – 10,000 LE
- More than 10,000 LE

Q16. Residential Area:

- Cairo & Giza
- Alexandria
- Delta
- Upper Egypt
- Egyptian Working Abroad

Q17. Marital Status:

- Single
- Married
- Widow
- Divorced

أستمارة استبيان رأي أكاديمي

بواسطة نوران فيكتور، طالبة الدراسات العليا في الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة. برجاء الإجابة على هذا الاستبيان الأكاديمي الذي لن يستغرق منك أكثر من 10 دقائق. الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو معرفة دور وسائل الإعلام في اتخاذ قرار التصويت خلال انتخابات الرئاسة المصرية عام 2012 وكيف قام الناخبين بأستخدام وسائل الإعلام لجمع المعلومات عن المرشحين للرئاسة. سوف تكون إجاباتك مجهولة (لن يطلب منك تسجيل أسمك ولن تتبادل المعلومات الخاصة بك). مساهمتك محل تقدير كبير.

س1: هل قمت بالتصويت في الانتخابات الرئاسية المصرية في مايو-يونيو 2012؟

- نعم
- لا (إذا كنت لم تصوت في الأنتخابات، يرجى الانتقال إلى السؤال # 11)

س2: ما هو العامل الاساسي المؤثر في قرار تصويتك في الانتخابات الرئاسية 2012؟

- التشاؤم من الحالة المعيشية الحالية
- الأمل في مستقبل أفضل
- الخوف من المجهول
- آراء من حولك
- المسؤولية الاجتماعية
- الرغبة في تغيير السلطة السياسية

س3: هل تابعت أي من وسائل الإعلام خلال الانتخابات الرئاسية؟ (وسائل الإعلام تشير إلى التلفزيون، الصحف، الراديو والإنترنت)

- نعم
- لا

س4: ما هو أهم مصدر أو مصادر إعلامية لجأت إليه لجمع المعلومات عن الانتخابات الرئاسية والمرشحين؟

- التلفزيون المصري الرسمي
- القنوات الفضائية العربية
- القنوات الفضائية الأخبارية العالمية
- الراديو
- الجرائد الرسمية
- الجرائد المستقلة
- الجرائد الحزبية
- الجرائد العالمية
- المواقع الاجتماعية
- المواقع الاخبارية
- القنوات الدينية

س5: ما السبب الرئيسي لمتابعتك لوسائل الاعلام أثناء الانتخابات الرئاسية؟

- عادة وروتين
- تسلية
- للحصول على معلومات
- متابعة اخر المستجدات
- مقارنة الآراء
- بناء وجهات نظر
- للتدليل على صحة رأيك

س6: أي من وسائل الإعلام الآتية المختلفة قدمت لك بمعلومات ذات قيمة عن المرشحين للرئاسة؟ (الرجاء اختيار 3 فقط)

- المؤتمرات الصحفية
- الاعلانات التلفزيونية
- المقابلات التلفزيونية
- المناظرات التلفزيونية
- صفحات التواصل الاجتماعي
- اللافتات والاعلانات الكبيرة في الشوارع (أعلانات الطرق والملصقات)
- اعلانات الراديو
- مقالات الصحف

س7: أي من وسائل الإعلام التالية افادتك بأحدث المعلومات عن المرشحين للرئاسة؟

- التلفزيون
- الراديو
- الصحف (الجرائد)
- الإنترنت

س8: أي من العوامل التالية المقدمة من خلال وسائل الإعلام ساعدتك لاتخاذ قرارك النهائي للتصويت؟ (يرجى اختيار واحد أو أكثر إذا لزم الأمر)

- الخطة المستقبلية للمرشح
- الشخصية وكاريزما
- ما يقال عنه (سُمعته)
- الوعود بحل المشاكل الداخلية الحالية

س9: وسائل الإعلام ساعدتك في تشكيل قرارك النهائي للتصويت في الانتخابات الرئاسية؟

- لاوافق بشدة
- لاوافق
- محايد
- موافق
- موافق بشدة

س10: هل انت عضو في حزب أو حركة سياسية؟

- نعم، من فضلك أذكر
- لا

س11: السن:

- 18 - 24
- 25 - 34
- 35 - 49
- 50 - 59
- 60 أو أكثر

س12: النوع:

- ذكر
- انثى

س13: مستوى التعليم:

- غير متعلم
- تعليم ثانوي
- تعليم فني
- حاصل على درجة جامعية
- دراسات عليا (الماجستير والدكتوراه)

س14: المهنة:

- موظف
- صاحب عمل
- مهني
- فني
- غير عامل

س15: الدخل الشهري:

- أقل من 1000 جنيه
- 1000 - 3000 جنيه
- 3000 - 5000 جنيه
- 5000 - 10,000 جنيه
- أكثر من 10,000 LE

س16: محل الإقامة:

- القاهرة والجيزة
- الاسكندرية
- الدلتا
- صعيد مصر
- مقيم بالخارج

س17: الحالة الاجتماعية:

- اعزب
- متزوج
- ارمل
- مطلق