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

The Relationship between Source Credibility and Political Participation: Examining the Egyptian Talk Show “Masr Al Yom” broadcast on Al Faraeen Satellite Channel

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By Riham Ibrahim Abdel Raouf

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DEDICATION

To the loving memory of my mentor Professor Gihan Rachty.

I feel endless gratitude for all the knowledge and wisdom you taught me. You were the primary reason I grew fond of the discipline of Mass Communication. I learned a lot from your dedication and high moral values. I will never forget you.

May your beautiful soul Rest In Peace…
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Abstract

This study set out to assess the credibility of Egyptian talk show host Tawfik Okasha and how it affects the political participation tendencies of his viewers. The results showed that he was highly rated on the components of expertness and trustworthiness and moderately on the component of goodwill. Overall, Tawfik Okasha was perceived as a credible communicator. Tawfik Okasha’s credibility varied among the different educational levels. He is mostly credible among the “illiterate” and the “less than high school” categories. Compared to the rest of the educational levels, highly educated people do not perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible. Perceiving Tawfik Okasha as credible was found to be associated with active political participation among the respondents. The results also showed that respondents who perceive Okasha as credible are more likely to vote for the candidates he supports. Okasha’s use of nationalist discourse has been shown to enhance his credibility.
# Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction ................................................................. 1

- 1.1 Overview of Talk shows in the Arab World and Egypt .............. 3
- 1.2 The importance of the Study .................................................. 10

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework ................. 11

- 2.1 Overview of Political Communication and Its Effects .............. 11
- 2.2 The effect of Television on political participation .................. 18
- 2.3 The Relationship between Internet Use and Political Participation 22
- 2.4 Social media and Political participation in Egypt .................. 25
- 2.5 The Story of Tawfik Okasha .................................................. 28
- 2.6 Tawfik Okasha in his own words .......................................... 34
- 2.7 Source Credibility Theory ..................................................... 38

Chapter 3: Methodology ................................................................. 44

- 3.1 Research Questions and Hypotheses ..................................... 45
- 3.2 Type of Sample ................................................................. 49
- 3.3 Sample Size ........................................................................ 50
- 3.4 Data Collection ................................................................. 50
- 3.5 Pretesting ........................................................................... 50
- 3.6 Survey Design ................................................................. 51

Chapter 4: Results ......................................................................... 53

- 4.1 Sample Characteristics ......................................................... 53
- 4.2 Type and frequency of Media Use ........................................ 56
- 4.3 Analysis of respondents’ Political Participation Levels .......... 60
- 4.4 Research Questions and Hypotheses Testing ....................... 69

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion ........................................... 84

- 5.1 Discussion and Conclusion .................................................... 84
- 5.2 Limitations of the study ....................................................... 89
- 5.3 Recommendations for Future Studies .................................. 90
List of Tables

Table 1: Do you think that political participation is important for Egypt's future? 60
Table 2: Did you vote in the 2012 presidential elections? 60
Table 3: Who did you vote for in the 2012 presidential elections? 61
Table 4: Did you participate in the January 2014 constitutional referendum? 62
Table 5: Did you vote in favor of the constitution or against it? 62
Table 6: Did you participate in the protests of the January 25th revolution? 63
Table 7: Did you participate in the protests of the June 30th revolution? 63
Table 8: Participation in the January revolution Vs. Participation in the June 30th revolution 64
Table 9: Responding to the call of Tawfik Okasha to protest on June 30th 65
Table 10: Responding to the call of Tamarrod to protest on June 30th 65
Table 11: Responding to the call of a political party to protest on June 30th 65
Table 12: Likert scale statements about political participation 66
Table 13: Are you going to participate in the upcoming presidential elections? 67
Table 14: If you are going to participate, who are you going to vote for? 67
Table 15: Do you have anything else that you would like to say about T.V talk show host Tawfik Okasha? 68
Table 16: Distribution of respondents’ rating of Tawfik Okasha’s expertness 69
Table 17: The mean score of Tawfik Okasha’s expertness 70
Table 18: Distribution of respondents’ rating of Tawfik Okasha’s Trustworthiness 70
Table 19: The mean score of Tawfik Okasha’s trustworthiness 71
Table 20: Distribution of respondents’ rating of Tawfik Okasha’s Goodwill 71
Table 21: The mean score of Tawfik Okasha’s Goodwill 71
Table 22: The mean score of Tawfik Okasha’s overall Credibility 72
Table 23: Relationship between liking nationalist discourse and perceiving Okasha as a credible communicator 74
Table 24: The relationship between perceiving Okasha as a credible communicator and believing that political participation is important for Egypt’s future 76
Table 25: The relationship between Tawfik Okasha’s credibility and voting for the candidate he supported in the 2012 presidential elections 27
Table 26: The relationship between Tawfik Okasha’s credibility and voting for the candidates he supports in the upcoming presidential elections 78
Table 27: How the respondents felt about participating in a protest organized by Tawfik Okasha 79
Table 28: Relationship between the mean scores of Tawfik Okasha’s credibility and attending a protest he organized 80
Table 29: Credibility means according to the Level of Education 81
Table 30: The mean scores of Tawfik Okasha’s credibility among the highly educated respondents Vs. The rest of the educational levels altogether 82
Table 31: Okasha’s credibility and the use of the Internet by the Youth 83
List of figures

Figure 1 Banner from the Abbasiya protest in December 2011 displaying four Egyptian talk show hosts in nooses 32

Figure 2: Distribution of respondents’ age 53

Figure 3: Employment status of respondents 54

Figure 4: Distribution of respondents’ monthly income 55

Figure 5: Primary Source for Political Information 56

Figure 6: How many hours do you spend watching Television daily? 57

Figure 7: How many hours do you spend watching T.V. talk shows daily? 58

Figure 8: Frequency of watching Tawfik Okasha’s talk show “Masr Al Yom” 59
Chapter 1: Introduction

"I will be the first to admit that getting votes and getting an audience are two different things. For example, a politician really can't be elected if he's hated by half the people. A talk show host, however, can be an overwhelming national phenomenon while being hated by half the people."

Rush Limbaugh, American radio talk show host

It seems as if Limbaugh's words were describing Egyptian talk show host Tawfik Okasha and his controversial character. Okasha, who hosts a daily talk show called "Masr Al Yom" (Egypt Today) on his privately owned T.V channel Al Faraeen, managed to become a national media phenomenon after the January 25th revolution. By just googling his name, more than 2 million results are displayed. More than ¼ of a million videos that feature him are uploaded on Youtube. Also there are more than 200 pages that were created about him on Facebook. Furthermore, Okasha’s official page has nearly ½ of a million members. For some people, Okasha is perceived as a freedom fighter and for others he is only a media pundit who speaks of nothing but absurdities and unbelievable conspiracy theories. Until now, the latter group remains at odds with the former. The question then arises as to what makes Tawfik Okasha different from any other talk show host?

The answer lies with the fact that Okasha has developed further the use of his television platform and turned it into a political one. He assumed the role of a political leader and called for protests to be held on several occasions under the rule of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and the Muslim Brotherhood, respectively.

The most prominent protest that Okasha called for was on the night of declaring the winner of the 2012 presidential elections. The protest was held near the Nasr City Podium to support the SCAF and presidential candidate Ahmed Shafik against the Muslim Brotherhood. Surprisingly, hundreds of thousands of people showed up in
response to Okasha's call according to the estimates of Sky News Arabia (2012). But it was no surprise that Tawfik Okasha's channel was shut down shortly after the Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohamed Morsi assumed presidency. According to Ahram Online (2012), the General Authority for Investment (GAFI) closed it down as a result of a lawsuit filed against Okasha accusing him of inciting violence against the President. The channel remained closed for six months and Okasha was back on air in March 2013. His criticism of the former President Mohamed Morsi and his policies continued and even escalated as Okasha called for another massive protest to demand the interference of the Armed Forces in order to end Morsi’s rule. Again and on the 21st of June 2013, thousands of people gathered near the headquarters of the Ministry of Defense in response to Okasha's call.

Less than 10 days later, Egypt witnessed the June 30th revolution that ousted President Morsi and put an end to the Muslim Brotherhood's rule. Soon afterwards the crew members of Okasha's show celebrated the success of the revolution. More importantly, they declared Okasha as the "godfather and leader of the revolution".

Now that it has been 9 months since the June 30th revolution, assessing the influence of Tawfik Okasha seems viable and justified. His phenomenon needs an objective and scientific approach. Interestingly enough, Okasha always stresses on the huge popularity of his channel among the Egyptians and Arabs. He repeatedly claims that Al Faraeen is "the most viewed channel in the Arab World", with its viewership exceeding 40 million viewers daily. On other occasions, Okasha would proudly say that on the day he organized a protest against Hillary Clinton’s visit to Egypt in July 2012, his channel was viewed by more than 360 million viewers worldwide.
On the other hand, the anti-Okasha side would usually describe him as the "Gaddafi of Egypt" in reference to the late Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi who was known for using bizarre expressions and unreasonable accusations in his speeches. Despite that, the rise of Tawfik Okasha's phenomenon and his ability to mobilize thousands of seemingly non-politicized citizens needs more scrutiny and research as it signals the introduction of new concepts into the area of political communication.

Assuming the role of a political leader might be a manifestation of the political fluidity that was transmitted to the media scene in the aftermath of the January 25th revolution. Nevertheless, witnessing a talk show host deviating from the traditional values of objectivity and neutrality and turning into a political leader who organizes political rallies and protests is unprecedented in the history of the Egyptian media. It also signals the birth of a new media phenomenon that is worthy of research. Such research should be placed within the context of the Egyptian political scene in the aftermath of the January 25th revolution. For instance, the radical rise in the levels of political participation after the revolution cannot be ignored as Egyptians have become more aware and willing to participate in the political process. Tawfik Okasha might be one of the many reasons that made Egyptians become more active political participants after the revolution. This is why this study aims at assessing the credibility of Tawfik Okasha and whether it has an effect on the political participation levels of his viewers.

1.1 Overview of Talk shows in the Arab World and Egypt

The appearance of Arab private satellite channels in the 1990s marked the beginning of a new era, not just in the field of broadcasting, but in the social and political fields as well. According to Zayani (2006), the establishment of the Qatar-based channel Al Jazeera in 1996 redefined news programming and provided the Arab
audience with an unprecedented margin of freedom. This was manifested primarily in the format of Al Jazeera’s talk shows. These talk shows broke many social and political taboos that the state-owned media in the Arab world never spoke of.

Lynch (2003) points out that the format of Al Jazeera’s talk shows shocked the Arab audience as it featured heated and controversial debates between different guests who used sharp arguments. Another reason that put the label “controversial” on these talk shows was that they openly discussed sensitive issues such as government corruption, the violations of human rights in the Arab countries, and even the persecution of political dissenters (Zayani, 2005). Furthermore, Khatib (2008) argues that Al Jazeera’s talk shows appealed to the audience because they mainly relied on heated political debate and criticism instead of “polished representations of political rulers.”

The “Opposite Direction” (Al Itijah Al Moakes) is perhaps the most well-known talk show that combines all the aforementioned characteristics. The show is hosted by Faissal Al Qassim. It gained its popularity because the audience was no longer satisfied with what the official TV channels were offering. Al Qassim (2005) believes that his show is watched by millions of Arabs and that it plays an important role in shaping what he calls the ”pan-Arab public opinion”.

Hafez (2008) highlights the role of talk shows in fostering political participation as people get to express their opinions in the “Arab virtual parliaments” of talk shows. That might be the first step toward achieving a real political change one day. Despite the fact that Arab mass media do not exert large influence on the political decisions made by the ruling elites, they do contribute to shaping the public opinion and political culture of the Arab viewers.
Lynch (2006) argues that political talk shows are important because they rely on the notion of disagreement which is essential to building a pluralistic society. Nevertheless, talk shows alone are never going to be enough for sound democratic transition.

As for Egypt, the region’s pioneering country in the field of broadcasting, moving into the era of private satellite broadcasting took place in the late 1990s. The interactive feature of viewer call-ins attracted Egyptians as they have not witnessed it before. In other words, talk shows became the “new political currency” as it gave the Egyptian audience the chance to express their opinions and criticize the government policies (Mabrouk, 2010)

Historically, Egypt was the first Arab country to launch its own satellite Nilesat 101 in 1998. It was also the first to establish a media “free zone” known as the Media Production City. A complex of modern studios was built inside the city for satellite channels to broadcast from, under the jurisdiction of the Egyptian state (Sakr, 2001).

In the wake of the new millennium, the Egyptian government started granting licenses to private satellite channels. The business elite welcomed this step as it helped them maintain their business interests and at the same time strengthen their relations with the ruling political elite (Sakr, 2010).

The first three private stations established were Dream TV in 2001, El Mehwar TV in 2002 and OTV in 2007. Ahmed Bahgat owned Dream TV, Hassan Rateb owned El Mehwar, while Naguib Sawiris owned OTV, however he sold it later in 2012 to the Tunisian businessman Tariq Bin Ammar (Sky News Arabia, 2012)
According to Sakr (2010b), the owners of these private channels did not prioritize practicing the freedom of expression because they were aware of the restrictions that have been imposed on them in order to be allowed to operate in the first place. Thus they have always equated the freedom of expression with privatization.

However, the success of these stations was mainly due to the ability of its talk show hosts to discuss the most pertinent and popular issues. Talk shows on the private satellite channels became a means for displaying the “nation’s dirty laundry”. An example of that is the subsidized bread crisis that took place in 2009. The Minister of Social Solidarity at that time Aly Moselhy was hosted on Lamees El Hadidy’ talk show and viewers called and directed heavy criticism to the minister. Furthermore, politicians used the platform of talk shows to reach the audience. For instance, Ayman Nour, the former head of Al Ghad party appeared on Al Ashera Massan hosted at that time by Mona El Shazli after the clashes that took place in the party’s headquarters (Mabrouk, 2010)

Even though the media zone is controlled by the state as the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU) owns 50% of its shares, talk shows were given a big margin of freedom as they were permitted to criticize the state and discuss controversial issues (Amin, 2006). On the other hand, Khamis (2008) argues that talk shows acted as “safety valves” as they helped release the anger of Egyptians at the political and social injustices since they were denied from practicing their political rights.

Elsayed’s (2007) study shows that Egyptian youth turn to satellite television to search for well-made political talk shows that discuss important issues related to their country and religion. Furthermore, the study reveals that Egyptian youth prefers
watching Arabic talk shows over Western ones because they are believed to be more accurate in their presentation of the problems that the youth suffer from.

In December 2010 and right before the revolution of January 25th, the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS) issued a detailed and valuable report titled “Media and Parliamentary Elections in Egypt: Evaluation of Media Performance in the Parliamentary Elections”. The report gave a detailed account of the media performance during the 2010 parliamentary elections and also the vicious attacks on the media before the elections started. The latter was mainly directed at popular talk shows. The first talk show that was suspended was “Cairo Today” (Al Qahira Al Yawm), which is hosted by Amr Adib and according to the report has “a substantial impact on public opinion and debate.”

The second incident mentioned by the report is the suspension of Ibrahim Eissa, the famous Egyptian journalist, who co-hosted a talk show named “Our Country in Vernacular” (Baladna Bel Masry) with Reem Maged on ONTV. According to Naguib Sawiris, Eissa was removed from the show because the advertisers believed that Eissa caused problems by crossing the red lines in his criticism of the regime. The same thing goes for the four religious TV channels, namely Al Nas, Al Hafez, Al Khalijia and Al Seha Wal Jamal, which were shut down in October 2010 right before the elections.

The report attributed these moves to the regime’s strategy to silence the media through narrowing the margin of freedom given to them earlier. It was the talk shows that reported on the violations made during the 2005 parliamentary elections.

Not all talk shows were of good and professional quality. According to Hamada (2008), the content of the Arab satellite channels’ shows relied on cheap entertainment
and political propaganda, with the possible exception of Al Asherah Massan on Dream 2, 90 minutes and Hewar on Hot Fire on El Mehwar, and Kalam Rosas on Dubai TV.

In post January 25th Egypt, the media scene entered a phase of intense fluidity as the restrictions imposed on licensing new satellite channels were lifted. As a result, 16 new channels were established in less than 4 months following the January 25th revolution (Madkour, 2011). Watching talk shows have become dominant among Egyptians. The most popular shows according to Iskandar (2012) were Yousri Fouda’s Akher Kalam (Last Words) and Reem Maged’s Balandna Bil Masry (Our country in Egyptian). Their main competitors were Mona Al Shazli’ Al Ashera Masaan (10:00 PM) and Moatza Al Demerdahs’s 90 Dakeeka (90 minutes).

According to El Khalili (2011), some talk shows like Akher Kalam became popular as they played a role in exposing corruption. An example of this is the resignation of Egypt’s chief forensics doctor after a series of episodes on Yousri Fouda’s talk show “Akher Kalam” were aired in May, 2011. The episodes exposed the role the chief forensics doctor in writing a forged report about the death of Khaled Said, the icon of the revolution in June 2010.

In her comprehensive study about the Egyptian media after the January 25th revolution, El Issawi (2013) provides an extensive review of Egyptian talk shows and the performance of their presenters. Issawi argues that “talk show hosts have become arbiters of public opinion and contributors to shaping the political discourse”. Talk show presenters have seemingly gained more courage in confronting politicians. An example of this was when the Prime Minster at that time Ahmed Shafik appeared with Youssri Fouda and Reem Maged and was fiercely criticized on air. The next day he resigned.
Interestingly, the role of the talk show’s presenter was greatly developed as his personal views were integrated into the news reports. The presenter would even support certain candidates in the elections. For example, the Salafi talk show host Kahled Abdullah who appeared on Al Nas channel believed that his overt support for Salafi candidates in the parliamentary elections in 2011 was one of the main reasons that made people vote for them.

Issawi surveyed a number of prominent talk show hosts to assess how they perceived the role they played in the aftermath of the revolution. Mahmoud Saad rejects the neutrality stance and believes that he should voice out his opinions clearly. The same opinion is shared by Tamer Amin, the host of “Saa’ Mareya” on Rotana Masreya, who argues that “There is a difference between the public opinion in the West and that in Arab countries. Here, they need to be told what to think. They need guidance. I try not to express my opinion but I received phone calls from my audience asking me to give them advice.”

Another example of a talk show host who assumed the role of an activist is Reem Maged who became well-known for her support for the revolution and even protesting in Tahrir Square. She believes that talk shows are a “powerful weapon” that she cannot give up and instead she chooses to use it to serve her cause.

On the other side of the spectrum, talk show host Sherif Amer refuses to assume the role of an activist and asserts that when talk show hosts give up their objectivity, they become more potential targets for blackmail by the regime.

Commenting on the role of talk show hosts after the revolution, Nasser (2011) believes that the private satellite channels have drowned in chaos. This is evident as talk show hosts displayed a lack of professionality and that their “stardom” was made
up. That is why the researcher asks for a critical evaluation of the performance of talk show hosts during and after the revolution.

**1.2 The Importance of the study**

The significance of this study stems from the fact it is the first study to focus on the effect of a single talk show host on the political attitudes and actions of his audience. Moreover, it contributes to the growing body of literature on the effect of the media on the people’s political participation.

Given that Egypt has witnessed a most intense and polarized political climate following the events of the January 25th revolution, the interrelationships between media and politics cannot be disregarded. These three years have also witnessed a substantial evolvement in the role of journalists and talk show hosts who assumed the role of political activists rather than adhering to the traditional role of being watchdogs (Elmasry, 2013). Tawfik Okasha is therefore chosen as a case study since he embodies this fact of a talk show host who turned into a political activist. Source credibility theory will be used as a basis for this study as it aims to assess if there is a relationship between Okasha’s credibility as a talk show host and the political participation levels of his audience. Hence this study is also expected to:

1. Add to the existing literature about the effects of source credibility on persuasion.
2. Suggest new ways to look at the role of source credibility in the field of political communication.
3. Serve as a starting point for studying the role of credible communicators in the times of pivotal changes, with special emphasis on the Egyptian media scene.
2.1 Overview of Political Communication and Its Effects

The discipline of political communication emerged in 1956 with the attempts to assess the relationship between formal governmental institutions and the voting behavior of the public (Nimmo & Sanders, 1981). It currently includes the consequences of all political communication messages tailored by personal and institutional sources and how they affect the attitudes of the media audiences (McLeod, Kosicki, & McLeod, 2009). According to Crigler (1996), the media effects models have always been the gateway to studying political communication. The earliest model of media effects, known as the “Magic Bullet” or the “Hypodermic Needle approach”, assumed that the media messages are powerful and immediate in their effect on the behavior of the audience. Then along came Harold Laswell in 1964 with his “flow of communication” model that assumed that communication effects are not inevitable and that there are several other factors that impact the message. The model emphasized the importance of the message components and the conditions under which the receiver is exposed to the message. This approach dominated the study of persuasion and opinion change for many decades as it highlighted that people’s attitudes and opinions can be changed through well-crafted messages.

Later on in 1972, McCombs and Shaw (1972) introduced their famous agenda-setting theory which maintained that the media is highly successful in influencing the public agenda and deciding which issues are important and which are not. They emphasized the undeniable role of the media in the political process in the concluding part of their study by stating that “the media are the major primary sources of national political information; for most, mass media provide the best-and only-easily available approximation of ever-changing political realities”. That is why a central theme in the
field of political communication has to do with the notion of public opinion. Similarly, Zukin (1981) argued that even though it is difficult to determine the exact effects that the media have on the public opinion, identifying how the media affect the public opinion in general seems a lot easier. In other words, the media play a critical role in providing the public with information about political issues. Politicians in turn are highly aware of that critical role played by the newspapers and television in the process of setting the public’s agenda. This leads them consequently to design their political strategies according to the public’s issue priorities (Walgrave & Aelst, 2006).

The effect of political communication on the public opinion was examined in different ways. For example, Chong and Druckman (2010) studied the effect of competing messages on the public over the course of a campaign and how the timing of their exposure to the messages affect their attitudes. An experiment was conducted and it showed that when people receive competing messages at the same time, they can easily evaluate the opposing arguments and make up their minds about the issue. However, when the competing messages are received across different periods, people tend to forget the argument made at the beginning. The experiment showed that people’s attitudes were affected by the timing of exposure to the message. Moreover, Nir and Druckman (2008) examined the effect of political campaigns on the timing of voters’ decision. Their study focused on the ambivalent voter who had not decided yet who to vote for. The experiment they conducted showed that when ambivalent voters were exposed to a mixed flow of messages, it took them much longer to make up their minds.

As mentioned before, the agenda-setting theory has always been central to the study of political communication as it explains how the role of the media in shaping the
public opinion. Political parties all over the world are also highly aware of that role. That is why they rely on the media to design their campaigns’ strategies and policies. In their study of the 2007 national election campaign in Denmark, Hopmann, Præstekær, Vliegenthart and de Vreese (2010) found out that the parties of the Social Democrats and Liberals were successful at influencing the issue agenda in the news media through the press releases they published.

In their interesting study about the increasing influence of the media during election times in Denmark and Germany during the last 20 years, Hes and Hoppman (2013) found support for the “mediatization hypothesis”. The process of mediatization refers to the increasing media influence on the society thorough controlling the depiction of reality. The study showed that the media’s coverage of elections in both countries have entailed the horse-race technique (showing that a candidate is leading the race and the other one as losing it), and personalization (giving most of the coverage to the top politicians at the expense of issues and parties’ strategies).

Walgrave (2008) also discussed the ability of the media to set the political agenda in Belgium. The author conducted a survey among Belgian journalists and politicians to measure their perception of the agenda-setting power of the media. The results showed that both journalists and politicians believe in the media’s powerful effect on setting the political agenda.

Furthermore Vliegenthart and Walgrave (2010) investigated the effect the media have on the choice of issues to deal with by Belgian parliamentarians. Their analysis proved that the media have a considerable influence on the agenda of Belgian MPs. Nevertheless, there are some factors that moderate the agenda-setting function of the media. For example, the opposition is more influenced by the media coverage of
events than the majority party. Also the size of the party is another factor as the smaller parties tend to have its political agenda set by the media more than the bigger ones.

Van Dalen and Van Aelst (2014) studies the agenda-setting function of the media in eight West European countries: Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Norway, Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. They surveyed political journalists in the 8 countries in order to examine the relationship between the media and the political process. The results were interesting as they showed that the “institutional arrangements” of each political system affected the agenda setting function of the media. In Germany, Spain and the UK where the executive power is concentrated in the hand of one or two parties, the government is the more powerful than the media in setting the agenda. On the other hand, the weak concentration of power in Belgium, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands leads the media to have a stronger agenda setting power than the government.

Sheafer and Weimann (2005) employed a content analysis of the media coverage of four Israeli elections to examine the relationship between the media agenda and the public agenda. They examined the process of agenda building, agenda setting and priming. Their results showed that the voting behavior was influenced by the agenda setting function of the media as they respondents voted for the candidates who adopted the media agenda in determining what issues were important.

Min (2004) studied the agenda-setting function of the media during the 2000 Korean Congressional elections. The study examined the political parties’ agenda, the civic agenda and the news agenda. The findings indicated that the media was more influential in setting the agenda and determining which issues were more important and that in turn affected the voting behavior of Korean citizens. The study also showed that
the role of political parties in setting the agenda seems limited when compared to the media.

In the United States, Sun and Weaver (2005) conducted a study about the effect of media agenda setting on the public opinion during the 2000 presidential elections. Their study examined the first and second levels of agenda setting. The findings showed that the cumulative news salience of the candidates and their attributes caused a change in the public opinion. Furthermore, the more a candidate received a positive coverage over time, the more he was supported by the public opinion.

Shehata and Strömbäck (2013) used a panel survey and a content analysis of Swedish media coverage of the 2010 elections to examine if the traditional media still possess the powerful function of setting the public agenda, especially with the advent of the online news media. Their results showed that the traditional media still influence the public agenda, however, this influence seems to be weakened by the use of online news media.

Strömbäck and Nord (2006) conducted an interesting study to examine the relationship between journalists who are considered to be the media gatekeepers and politicians. They used a survey, content analysis and interviews to decipher the dynamics of the relationship between journalists and their political sources. The study was conducted during the 2002 Swedish national election. The findings supported the idea that journalists exert more influence on the news content than politicians.

To examine the media agenda-setting power from the perspective of politicians, Van Aelst and Walgrave (2011) surveyed MPs from Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark to see how they view the effect of media on their political agenda. Their findings showed that politicians think very highly of the media and have a strong belief
that it sets the public’s agenda to a great extent. This makes them more willing to adopt and deal with the issues that are deemed important by the media.

All the previous studies showed that the media is perceived to be powerful in its effect on voters’ decisions. This perception might indicate the existence of a third-person effect. The third-person effect is a hypothesis that postulates that people are more likely to believe that the media have greater effects on others than on themselves and therefore are more likely to favor censorship to “protect” others (Davison, 1983). One of the consequences of the third person effect is the development of hostile media bias phenomenon. This phenomenon refers to a tendency to believe that the media is being biased against one’s favorite candidate and that would certainly affect other people’s perception of that candidate (Perloff, 2009, p.261).

Gardikiotis (2004) examined both the third person effect and the hostile media bias phenomenon in the context of the 2004 Greek National election. The results of the survey he conducted showed that the third-person effect existed among the respondents who believed that the media campaign will have a greater effect on the voting choices of others than on themselves. Also respondents who belonged to certain parties demonstrated a belief that the media campaigns were unfair toward their parties. This validated the existence of the hostile media bias perception.

Similarly, Wei and Lo (2007) checked for the existence of a third-person effect resulting from political attack ads during the U.S. 2004 presidential elections. Their results validated the third-person hypothesis as respondents perceived the political attack ads to be significantly more harmful on others than on themselves. The results also indicated that the respondents supported imposing restrictions on such ads. Another study that explored the same area was Wei, Chai and Lo’s (2011) study of the
effect of polls conducted during the 2008 presidential election on the voter attitudes. The study showed that the respondents perceived others to be more likely affected by election polls than themselves. The results also indicated that even though the election polls showed Barack Obama leading the race, Obama’s supporters believed that the polls favored their opponent John McCain. In addition, Brubaker (2011) examined the third-person effect through the scope of celebrity endorsements during the 2004 and 2008 presidential elections. The results showed that the both Democrats and the Republicans reported that their voting choice was not affected by celebrity endorsements, but they assumed that other people would be affected by such endorsements. Hence a third-person effect took place as both parties assumed that “undesirable messages” will affect the public.

In Sweden, Johansson (2002) studied the impact of the third-person effect on shaping political attitudes. The study showed that the respondents believed that media play a critical role in shaping the political attitudes of others more than on themselves. Furthermore, they believed that the media had a small role in shaping their political attitudes and reported that they relied more on their personal experience rather than the media. In the United States, Banning (2006) argued that the third person perception is most likely to vary according to political affiliation (democrats and republicans) and that the third-person effect have an impact on political participation. The findings showed that people who have high third-person perception were not active political participants. Also the republicans were shown to high higher third-person perception than the democrats. Another study that dealt with the relationship between the third-person effect and political participation was done by Golan, Banning and Lundy (2004) about the 2004 presidential elections in the U.S. The study focused on the perceptual and behavioral consequences of the third person effect. One of its intriguing findings
was that the more a person was exposed to political advertising, the more likely he was to vote in the elections. In other words, the third-person effect has been noticed to motivate people to vote. This study brings us to one of the most important concepts in the field of political communication: **political participation.**

### 2.2 The effect of Television on political participation

Interestingly, there were various ways used by scholars to measure political participation. While the majority chose to define political participation in terms of voting preferences, party membership, contacting officials, signing petitions, participating in rallies and demonstrations (Hofstetter et.al, 1994; Putnam, 1995; Norris, 1996; Pinkleton et.al, 1998; Wilkins, 2000; Scheufele, 2000; Kwak et.al, 2004), there were others who opted for counting on **attitudinal measures** like political trust, political efficacy and how people felt about politicians to examine the citizens' political participation (Kern,1997; Newton, 1999). Additionally, Gil de Zuniga (2011) noted that political participation is dependent on "*informational media use and interpersonal discussions about politics*".

That being said, it is important to highlight the challenging fact that of all kinds of political participation, voting behavior gives the least amount of information about the effects of political communication (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Attending a rally, for instance, can be a better indicator of citizens' political engagement (Moy, Torres, Tanaka & McCluskey, 2005). Similarly, Marsh and Kaase (as cited in Quaranta, 2012) differentiated between two types of political participation. The first one is conventional political participation. It refers to engaging in politics through voting and participating in other procedures of the electoral process. On the other hand, unconventional political participation refer to “the use of tactics as petitions,
demonstrations, boycotts, rent or tax strikes, unofficial industrial strikes, occupations of buildings, blocking of traffic, damage to property, and personal violence”. The media have been cited to have an effect on the political participation of citizens.

According to Cho (2005), watching television news and interpersonal discussions influenced the voters' choices in the 2000 presidential election campaign through shaping the psychological traits used in judging the candidates. Moreover, Livingstone and Markham (2008) found a positive correlation between media use and political participation among the UK citizens. Also Quintelier and Hooghe's (2011) study about the impact of television on the political participation of Belgian adolescents found a positive link between the two.

Norris (2000) rigorously asserted that media, with special reference to news media, have made people more knowledgeable and more politically active. This challenges the "media malaise theory" that the American political scientist Michael Robinson came up with in the 1970s. Robinson (1976) hypothesized that the amount of news coverage that people receive has negatively affected the levels of trust in politicians and government, and hence decreased the levels of citizens' political participation. Notable scholars reevaluated the media malaise theory and concluded that the media do have a clear and undeniable impact on raising the political awareness of the audience and hence their political participation (Bennett, Rhine, Flickinger, & Bennett, 1999; Newton, 1999; Lee, 2005; Stromback & Shehata, 2010).

In their comprehensive study about the effect of the media on political activity, Stromback and Shehata (2010) conducted a three-wave panel study of the 2006 Swedish election campaign. The sample was diverse as it included people from the age of 18 till 74 years old. The results demonstrated that political interest is raised by
exposure to public service broadcast and that people who are already politically interested will seek media exposure.

Furthermore, Martin’s (2008) study stresses the importance of the mass media in inciting political participation. Through a content analysis, he shows that the media is a force of political mobilization and that bad or negative news about issues makes the citizens more aware and therefore raises the levels of political participation.

Television is a rich medium that since its invention, scholars have been debating its effect on the audience. Various theories were crafted to explain its effects, most notably Gerbner’s cultivation theory and Noelle Neumann’s spiral of silence (Severin and Tankard, 2001). Early studies proved that there was a positive relationship between television and high voter turnout (Glaser, 1965).

The study of television effects extended to talk shows. The introduction of television talk shows took place in the U.S. in 1951. This trend became very successful as talk show production proved to be cheaper to produce than other kinds of programming and at the same time appealed to large numbers of the audience. In the late 1990s, the American talk shows started to be syndicated to international audiences and local broadcasters in each country started to mimic the American talk shows style (Hume, 1995).

Establishing a link between watching talk shows and active political participation has been discussed by many studies. For example, Hoffman and Young (2011) examined the effect of watching parody and satire on political participation. Through conducting a survey, they proved that there were significant effects on the levels of political participation of the respondents caused by watching satire like “The Daily Show” and “The Colbert Report”. Hoffman and Thomson (2009) showed that
watching late night T.V positively affected high school students’ political efficacy and hence their civic participation.

Moy, Xenos and Hess (2005) based their study on the assumption that the audience have turned to non-traditional or softer sources for political information. Their study examined “The Daily Show” and some of the politically-oriented episodes of “Oprah”. A positive link was found between watching that kind of content and enhanced political participation. However, the effect differed according to race, age and income. The political content on Oprah Winfrey’s show received a lot of attention from scholars. Baum and Jamison (2006) argued that watching Oprah’s show by the politically inattentive citizens helped them vote consistently for candidates that reflected their own preferences than those who did not.

Added to this is Parkin’s (2010) study of the effect of the appearance made by John Kerry, the Democratic presidential candidate at the time, on the Late Show with David Letterman in 2004. Through conducting an experiment, Parkin showed that the appearance of candidates on talk shows positively affected the political knowledge of the disinterested viewers and made them recall important political information. Baum (2005) set out to examine the reasons why political candidates appeared on talk shows like Oprah and Rosie O’Donnell, and the effect that had on the viewers’ voting preferences. A content analysis and a survey were conducted to examine the issue. The results showed that politically unaware citizens were more affected by the appearance of candidates on these shows, in terms of their voting choices, than politically aware ones.

Nevertheless, these studies focused mainly on the content of talk shows rather than the credibility of the communicator. Other studies examined the character of
famous talk shows hosts like Oprah Winfrey, but without tying it to political awareness and participation (Hill and Zillman, 1999; Peck 2002; Wilf & Illouz, 2008; Prarkins, 2010)

2.3 The Relationship between Internet Use and Political Participation

In reference to the proliferation of Internet use, Blumler (2001) notes that we are currently living in the age of "communication abundance". As a result, the audience was given a more active role and that in turn forced the political elites to reshape their political communication strategies and techniques in response to the growing competition.

Numerous studies have been conducted to assess the role of the Internet in inciting political participation. Best and Wade (2009) examined the relationship between the Internet and democracy through a comprehensive analysis of data sets from 188 countries. The variables used by the researchers included the nation’s GDP, the level of democratization and the Internet penetration levels. Two different periods of time are compared. The first one extends from 1992 to 2002 and the second one from 2001 to 2002. Interestingly, analysis of the second period which entailed high levels of Internet penetration showed that Internet usage was correlated with an increase in the levels of political participation.

Polat (2005) identified 3 potential functions for the Internet that might influence the levels of political participation. They are the use of the Internet as a source for political information, a communication medium, and a virtual public sphere. The article examines each of the three functions and how they affect political participation. However, the effect of the Internet on people’s political participation remain debatable as no direct link could be established between the two. Furthermore, questions about
the Internet’s effects on the participatory inequalities has been risen. Some scholars argued that it increased the levels of political participation among the youth. On the other hand, there were scholars who argued that the Internet has deepened the digital divide as it lead the people who are already more informed and interested in politics to become more active, and those who neither have access nor are interested in politics became less active (Anduiza, Cantijoch & Gallego, 2009). Several studies started to examine the effect of the Internet on political participation more closely and come up with significant, yet contradictory results.

Through a secondary analysis of Taiwan’s 2004 Social Change Survey, Wang (2007) reached the conclusion that the Internet not only had positive effects on political participation, but on political attitudes as well. The results showed that the more a person expresses his/her political views online, the more likely they will demonstrate high levels of political trust and political participation.

Quintelier and Vissers (2008) conducted a secondary analysis of the Belgian youth survey that included a representative sample of 6,330 participants and showed that spending more time on the Internet does not guarantee active political participation among the youth. It mostly depends on the kind of activities they engage in online that determines their political involvement. Blogging, following the news and forwarding e-mails with political content are the kind of activities that correlate with active political participation. Calenda and Meijer (2009) also showed that there is a correlation between Internet use and political participation. Online political participation correlates with offline participation and vice versa. In Germany, Czernich (2012) wanted to examine if the Internet availability and usage affects voter turnout or not. The results of his study showed that voter participation increased in areas with high DSL rates.
A common finding among these studies is that the Internet has provided the youth with new opportunities to engage in politics and become active political participants (Oser, Hooghe & Marien, 2012). Consequently, the role of the social media in increasing the political participation of the youth cannot be ignored.

The first major political event that brought the role of the social media to people’s attention was the Barack Obama presidential campaign in 2008. The use of the Internet and especially the new media websites like Facebook and MySpace was one of the main reasons for the success of Obama’s campaign which relied on them heavily to reach the grassroots level (Levenshus, 2010). The campaign managed to reach the users of the social networking websites and make them politically engaged, hence increasing their levels of political activism. That was one of the key reasons that led to Obama’s historical victory (Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011). Even the traditional media dealt with the social media seriously and reported daily on some of the news items circulated on the latter (Metzgar & Maruggi, 2009).

Xenosa, Vromenb & Loaderc (2014) examined the impact of social media use on political engagement in three advanced democracies: Australia, the U.S. and the U.K. The study focused on the youth between the ages of 16 and 29 years old. The results reflected a positive relationship between social media use and political engagement. The study also showed that there is a positive correlation between the socioeconomic status of the person and his/her levels of political engagement. The higher the socioeconomic status, the more politically engaged the individual will be.

Moreover, Dong, Toney & Giblin (2010) relied on measuring political knowledge, political interest, and political participation to assess the effect of social networking websites in the area of political communication. Their findings indicated
that dependency on social networking websites fostered more political engagement and participation among the youth. Within the same line comes Schuster’s (2013) study of the relationship between social media use and young women’s political participation in New Zealand. The study employed a qualitative method as it interviewed 40 women. The results indicate that young women do use social media websites for political activities due to the ease of access and cheapness.

Scherman and Arriagada (2012) chose to make Facebook their main focus in order to see its impact on the political participation of Chilean youth. They conducted a survey that consisted of 1000 participants between the age of 18 and 29 years old. The hypothesis regarding the positive effect of Facebook use on political participation was validated as it showed that the more the individual spends time on Facebook, the more likely they are to vote in future elections.

2.4 Social media and Political participation in Egypt

Political participation levels in terms of voting rose dramatically in Egypt after the January 25th revolution. The highest turnout in any elections in the history of Egypt was witnessed in the 2011 parliamentary elections. 62% of the registered voters participated in the elections, whereby in the 2010 parliamentary elections held right before the revolution, the official voter turnout was 27.47% (IDEA, 2011)

Added to that is the many protests that were held in the aftermath of the revolution. Tahrir Square, the birthplace of the revolution, witnessed 30 large scale protests known as the “million march man” in 2012 (Hosny, 2012). These marches were called for by political parties and revolutionary coalitions to call for certain demands.
The role of the social media in starting the revolution in the first place has been discussed extensively by many studies. The question of whether Facebook and Twitter helped mobilize the people rose to prominence as the American media was the first to pinpoint that the social media ignited the revolution in Egypt and Tunisia (Bashri, Netzley & Greiner, 2012). Khamis and Vaughn (2011) discussed the role of Facebook in mobilizing the youth to protest thorough analyzing the “We are All Khaled Said” page. The page was created after a young Egyptian man called “Khaled Said” was tortured to death by the police in June 2010. The administrator of the page Wael Ghoneim invited the members to protest against police brutality on the 25th of January, which is the national police day. In response to this call, more than 50,000 said that they will protest in the streets. The page continued to play an important role during the 18-days of the revolution as it provided the protestors with information and encouragement to continue protesting.

Before the 2011 uprising, Egyptian youth have abstained from participating in official politics because they thought it was obsolete under the rule of authoritarian regimes. However, they had positive political attitudes toward the values of democracy. These attitudes were translated into real political engagement in the form of protests as a result of using the social media websites (Sika, 2012).

The way political activists perceived the potential role that social media websites could play in politics was tackled by Sayed (2011) in her survey of some young Egyptian activists. The results indicated that the social media were perceived as a substitute for the traditional media that were dominated by the government. The new media gave its users new opportunities to engage in politics. The results also showed a positive correlation between online and offline participation. The social media provided a tool for middle-class youth to connect with each other away from the control of the
government. It also allowed the online activists to reach large sectors who suffered from regime oppression and mobilize them to protest on January 25th (Lim, 2012). The social media provided an unmonitored and uncensored platform for spreading information and mobilization of people to protest. It was difficult for the authoritarian regimes to control or suppress such a platform (Douai, 2013).

Moreover, Tufekci and Wilson (2012) argued that the role of the social media in the Egyptian revolution can be seen as contributing to shaping the new system of political communication. The authors surveyed a sample of 1200 Egyptian protestors and the results showed that participants who used social media were more likely to have participated in the first day of protests. Also it showed that Facebook was used to produce and disseminate visual content about the protests.

Nevertheless, it would be an overstatement to refer to the uprising as the “Facebook revolution”. According to Rine and Salem (2012), the social media only acted as a facilitator for the uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia. These revolutions took place due to complex geopolitical factors rather than just being ignited by Facebook and Twitter. This view is also shared by Halverson, Ruston, & Trethewey (2013) who studied the nationalist martyr narratives that emerged in the wake of the Arab Spring, with special reference to Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia and Khaled Said in Egypt.

Their study focused on the role played by the social media in creating and disseminating these narratives and how they were used to mobilize people for political change. Furthermore, the traditional media are still influential as gatekeepers in comparison to the citizen journalism practiced on the social media. An example of this is the fact that Wael Ghoneim, the creator of the “We are all Khaled Said” page on Facebook was an anonymous figure to Egyptians until he made his famous television
appearance on Dream 2 TV. That was the interview that made people know more about
the role of his Facebook page in igniting the protests and made Ghoniem gain popularity
as one of the leaders of the revolution (Ali & Fahmy, 2013)

2.5 The Story of Tawfik Okasha

In their landmark work on political commentators in the U.S. in the 20th century,
Nimmo and Newsome (1997) state that the emergence of the social role of the
professional communicator resulted from the specialization of labor, mass persuasion,
propaganda and advertising which were brought about by the industrial revolution. That
role evolved over the years and with the technological advances, the phenomenon of
political commentators was shaped.

Some political commentators present themselves as “standing above the
crowd, talking down to readers, listeners, viewers and offer priestly absolutions
originated by elites as beneficial to the masses... Others wrap themselves in the cloaks
of sages and imply that they alone know what others simply cannot know” (Nimmo
&Newsome, 1997)

An interesting question would be: Under which of these types does Tawfik
Okasha fit in? Or is he a mix of both? In order to explore the possible answers for these
questions, some important background information about Okasha and his television
channel must be highlighted.

The official documents indicate that a company by the name of "Virginia for Media
Production and Satellite Channels " was established on the 13th of November, 2008.
The license given to the company included permission to launch a satellite TV channel
under the name of "Al Faraeen" (The General Authority for Investment, 2014). Al
Faraeen was successfully launched on the 1st of June, 2009. Tawfik Okasha who is also the representative of the company said that this new channel "aims at providing content that strengthens the Arabic cultural identity and cultivating the sense of patriotism" (Youm7, 2008)

It is worth noting that the political dimension of Okasha's show was not as strong as it was after the January 25th revolution. Yet, the channel was shut down temporarily in December, 2010 because Okasha was accused of using his daily talk show to promote his candidacy in the parliamentary elections at that time, which he eventually won (Gohar, 2010)

Okasha always affiliate himself with the peasants of Egypt and always emphasizes the fact that all those working in the channel are peasants. He even goes as far as saying that those who attack Al-Faraeen channel do so because they hate the working class and peasants of Egypt. (Game Over, 2012; RadarMsrTube, 2013)

Tawfik Okasha rose to prominence in the aftermath of the January 25th revolution as he adopted an anti-revolutionary rhetoric. He did not acknowledge that what happened on the 25th of January was a revolution. Instead, it was a conspiracy led by Egypt's enemies, especially the Zionists and the "Freemasons" who want to destroy Egypt (Fisher, 2012)

In the only detailed study made about Tawfik Okasha, Armburst (2013) argues that Okasha’s fame surged after the revolution as a result of the “increasingly chaotic post-regime environment” and his adoption of conspiracy theories and anti-revolutionary discourse that framed the revolution as being brought about by foreign agents who want to destroy the Egyptian nation. Furthermore, Okasha has been widely believed to be working for the Military Intelligence. Armbrust’s study is an
ethnographic study that builds its analysis of Tawfik Okasha’s phenomenon on the anthropological concept of the “Trickster”. The trickster is a kind of character that rises in the times of uncertainty and disorientation such as the transitional phase that follows a revolution. Below is the definition of the trickster, according to Armbrust.

“Trickster is at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dupes others and who is always duped himself. He wills nothing consciously. At all times he is constrained to behave as he does from impulses over which he has no control. He knows neither good nor evil yet he is responsible for both. He possesses no values, moral or social, is at the mercy of his passions and appetites, yet through his actions all values come into being”

That definition makes it clear that Armbrust’s view of Okasha is of a negative nature that portrays Okasha as a symbol of the counter-revolution and postulates that the role he played and still playing is harmful to the Egyptian revolution and society at large. Armbrust believes that Okasha acted as the unacknowledged spokesman for the ruling Military Council that took over after the collapse of Mubarak’s regime.

Nevertheless, the study remains important as it traces the Okasha phenomenon from the beginning and provides important information about the political inclinations of Tawfik Okasha. Furthermore, this is the only academic study that gives an account of Al Abbasiya’s demonstrations that Okasha organized.

Okasha showed his complete support for the ruling SCAF from the moment it took over after Mubarak stepped down. However it was not before November, 2011 that his moral support was turned into a real and tangible support. The turning point was the Mohamed Mahmoud clashes that resulted into the death of more than 40 protestors and forced Essam Sharaf, Egypt’s prime minister at that time to resign. Some of the protestors in Tahrir Square called for the resignation of SCAF as well. That was the moment that Okasha decided to call for his first protest to be held in Al-Abbasiya Square near the Ministry of Defense.
The protest witnessed the participation of thousands of people (Okasheyat, 2011; Ibrahim, 2011). Ever since, Al Abassiya Square became the meeting point for Okasha’s supporters. And again in December, 2011, Okasha called for another protest to be held in Abbasiya to support SCAF after the cabinet clashes that took place in front of the Egyptian cabinet headquarters. Okasha called this event the “Friday of the crossing” in reference to the historical victory of the Egyptian Army in the October War of 1973 when the troops crossed to the other side of the canal and breached the Bar Lev line. The square was filled with banners that talked about the silent majority and its support for the Army, police and the Judiciary. An interesting and rather intimidating banner displayed four talk show hosts in nooses. They were Yousri Fouda, Reem Maged, Mona Al Shazli and Hala Sarhan (Ambrust, 2013). See Figure (1)
Okasha is also known for his staunch criticism of the political Islam movements, especially the Muslim Brotherhood. Before Morsi was proclaimed winner of the 2012 presidential elections, Okasha kept warning that if the Muslim Brotherhood assume power in Egypt, they will turn the country into a theocracy like Iran (Carr and Gohar, 2013). His anti-Brotherhood discourse earned him the nickname of "Egypt's Glenn Beck", the famous American political commentator who is known for his conservative views. Glenn Beck himself made a radio commentary about Okasha praising his anti-
Brotherhood opinions "He's called the Egyptian Glenn Beck because he’s on Egyptian television and he’s been saying, ‘the Muslim Brotherhood, they’re Islamic extremists they are in bed with the leftists here,’ and ‘Egypt, stay away from these guys." (Beck, 2012)

In less than two months after Morsi assumed presidency, Al Faraeen was shut down as a result of a lawsuit filed against Okasha accusing him of "incitement to murder" President Morsi. (BBC, 2012)

The channel remained closed for six months and Okasha was back on air in March 2013. His criticism of the former President Mohamed Morsi and his policies continued and even escalated as Okasha called for another massive protest to demand the interference of the Army in order to end Morsi's rule. Again and on the 21st of June 2013, thousands of people gathered near the headquarters of the Ministry of Defense in response to Okasha's call.

Less than 10 days later, Egypt witnessed the June 30th revolution that ousted President Morsi and put an end to the Muslim Brotherhood's rule. Soon afterwards the crew members of Okasha's show celebrated the success of the revolution and declared Okasha as the "godfather and leader of the revolution and the nation". The channel even aired a 22 minutes documentary titled "The Two Men" which showed that Egypt was saved from the Muslim Brotherhood and the Fourth-generation warfare through the efforts of two men: Field Marshal Abdel Fatah Al Sisi, and Tawfik Okasha who kept warning people against the "conspiracy of Jan 25th, 2011 and mobilized Egyptians against the Muslim Brotherhood and foreign interference". (xxMERCURICxx, 2013; ArbBom, 2013)
Okasha continued to adopt the same conspiratorial rhetoric even after the June 30th revolution. He argued that there is a fifth-column in Egypt working against the stability and progress of the country and consider Tawfik Okasha as their main nemesis. Okasha vowed to continue exposing the fifth –column and that nothing they can do would make him afraid for that he did not fear the Muslim Brotherhood when they were in power. (Masat, 2013; RasdMasr, 2013)

2.6 Tawfik Okasha in his own words

*Due to the scarce literature on Tawfik Okasha, the researcher conducted a personal interview with him. The interview yielded rich information that deserves to be placed in a separate section. Additionally, integrating the perspective of Okasha himself is valuable to the purpose of this study.*

Tawfik Yehia Ibrahim Okasha, commonly known as Tawfik Okasha, was born on the 24th of January, 1967 in the city of Nabarouh in Dakahleya governorate. Okasha started his career as a television presenter in Channel 5 in Alexandria in 1991. He became the screenwriter and director of the famous show “Good Morning Egypt” in 1993. According to Okasha, former President Hosni Mubarak liked the show and praised Okasha for a scope he made in 1994 after the floods that hit Upper Egypt. A presidential decree was issued and Okasha was moved to Channel 1 in Cairo in 1994. In 2000, he started hosting a new program on the Egyptian television named” Parties and Parliament” (Ahzab Wa Barlaman). It aired for five years. It covered all issues related to political parties and elections. However, the program was suspended the Minister of Information Anas Al Fiki in 2006. That was the time when Okasha first started to think about establishing a private television channel, especially that he has a Ph.D. in “Media Institution Management”. Right before that, Okasha had already
established a news website with that carries the same name of his future channel: AlFaraeen.com. It is worth noting that Okasha plans on re-launching the website soon.

Regarding the ideological tendencies of the channel, Okasha said that it leans toward what he calls “Eastern liberalism”. This refers to the kind of freedom that does not contradict with the three monolithic religions. As for its political ideology, the channel adopted a “quasi-opposition” stance to the Mubarak regime. According to Okasha, he believes his channel became popular because it catered to the interests of the Egyptian citizens living in other governorates beyond Greater Cairo. These governorates were ignored before by the majority of television channels. Moreover, he began watching and observing the norms of the “lower middle class” and peasants in order to know how to address them. Adopting that unique style led to raising the levels of political awareness among them. Okasha believes that political awareness, unless complemented by political participation, is useless. This is why he worked on raising people’s awareness and encouraging them to protest. He stressed that he is not just a talk show host. He is also a politician because he belongs to a family that has a long tradition in politics and that he himself was a member of the parliament once, therefore acting as a politician on his show is completely justified.

Okasha is certain that he played a major role in spreading proper “political education” among his viewers. Thanks to him, people became aware of what is meant by terms like Zionism and freemasons. His efforts made them acquire general knowledge about complicated issues that they knew nothing about before. So the lower middle class, which according to Okasha was ignored before by the media, started to esteem Okasha because he was the first television presenter to address them. As for the youth of the revolution that he has always attacked on his show, Okasha argues that they do not represent all the Egyptian youth who were always present in his protests.
Regarding his use of anti-revolutionary discourse, Tawfik Okasha argued that he did not think that the January revolution was a conspiracy from the beginning. On the contrary, he showed support for it. However, by mid-March, 2011, he soon realized that what was happened cannot be labeled as a revolution and that it was a conspiracy against Egypt. That was the time when Al Faraeen channel’s policy changed as it started to focus on exposing the conspiracy led by Hamas, Hezbollah, Turkey and Qatar. The channel was the first to bring to the attention of the public the role of the Muslim Brotherhood in breaking into prisons and burning down police stations across the country during the January 25th revolution.

That led to a significant increase in the viewership of the channel that made it the “top channel” in Egypt and the Arab World that is watched by more than 40 million people daily. When asked about the source of such information, Okasha said that he has a “friend” working in the Nile Sat who provided him with the channel’s ratings.

As for his sources of information, Okasha denied any affiliation to any of the security institutions. He said that he gathers his information from reading and from his network of friends in Europe. This enabled him to make accurate predictions most of the time.

Okasha believes that the conspiracy that Egypt was facing forced him to adopt the theory of “crisis communication”. Crisis communication refers to the use of nationalist discourse by media professionals in order to warn people against the dangers facing the country and the looming civil war. He also believes that abiding to the professional journalistic rules under these circumstances have proven to be a complete failure. Organizing protests was part of the crisis communication strategy implemented by Okasha. He argues that the first protest he called for in Abassiya Square was attended
by about half a million protestor. This was the first successful protest organized by Okasha, and was followed by many others. Okasha believes that the biggest protest was the one held near the Nasr City podium the night of declaring the winner of the 2012 presidential elections. It was attended by 2 million people. Nevertheless, Okasha admits he was wrong when he told people to leave before announcing the official results. He believes that had the protesters stayed, Ahmed Shafik would have been declared the winner instead of Mohamed Morsi.

As for the pre-June 30th protests, Okasha said that between March 2013 and June of the same year, he organized 13 protests in 13 different governorates. These protests mainly aimed at supporting the state institutions, especially the Armed forces, the police, the Judiciary, Al Azhar and the Coptic Church. Okasha contends that these protests provided people with the required field training to protest in massive numbers and overthrow Morsi and the Brotherhood.

Okasha also says that he helped the grassroots movement of “Tamarrod” in getting from 8-12 million signatures on their petition to end Morsi’s presidential term and hold new presidential elections. Okasha firmly believes that he is the leader of the June 30th revolution. He believes that if it has not been for his efforts and the protests he organized all over Egypt, people would not have protested with the massive numbers that everybody saw on June 30th.

Okasha says that he is not going to organize any protests in the future. Instead, he would call on people to voice out their concerns and problems through their parliamentary representatives. Also he plans on launching a campaign that urges people to vote for centrist parties that do not adhere to the ideology of political Islam.
In a nutshell, Tawfik Okasha is a controversial talk show host who refuses to abide to the traditional values of objective television journalism and instead perceives himself as a “man with a message” for Egyptians. He also believes that he is the leader of the June 30th revolution. But do Egyptians perceive him as so? This is what this current study aims at exploring through the use of source credibility theory.

**Theoretical Framework**

2.7 Source Credibility Theory

Source credibility is a theory among several other persuasion theories that explains why certain people have the ability to increase the message effectiveness and change people's attitudes. It is used to evaluate the effect that the communicator's personality has on his message. Other important factors that should be taken into account include the structure of the message, traits of the receiver, and the context of the message itself (O'Keefe, 2002)

The concept of source credibility and its importance in adding effectiveness to the message, is as old as time. Aristotle was perhaps the first one to pinpoint that the communicator's "ethos" played an essential role in influencing the audience. Ethos refers to the communicator's knowledge and expertise about the topic. A highly gifted speaker in ancient Athens had the ability to influence the jurors who would reach a decision based on how convincing the speaker s, regardless of facts and evidence (Warnick, 2004; Umeogu, 2012). The impact of source credibility on the message is crucial as a source low in credibility can cause the audience to disregard the persuasive elements of the message (Greenberg & Miller, 1965)
Therefore a great deal of the message effectiveness has to do with the honesty and trustworthiness of the one relaying it. For that reason, persuasion is entirely different from propaganda. Unlike propagandists who remain unidentified, persuaders reveal their real intent and are perceived to be sincerely concerned about the welfare of their audience (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). According to Brinol and Petty (2009), a source that is high in credibility has the ability to make people support and believe the content of his message, unlike a source low in credibility that would result in increasing the probability of producing unfavorable thoughts regarding his message. In other words, the credibility of the source does have an effect on creating either a positive or negative attitude toward the message.

Here it becomes important to highlight the fact that there is a dynamic and rather interactive relationship between the communicator's credibility and his message. While the credibility of the communicator enhances the persuasive effects of his message, it is also true that the content of his message impacts his credibility. Roberts (2010) points out that a common error made by credibility scholars is that they for the most part sought to study separately either the message or the messenger, overlooking the complicated interrelationships between the two.

In the light of this, the first hypothesis of this study examines the effect of the message type on the credibility of the source. It seeks to see if the nationalistic elements in Tawfik Okasha's discourse increase his credibility as a communicator.

**H1: People who like nationalist discourse tend to perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible**

Historically, Hovland and Weiss's (1951) study was the first study conducted to examine the effect of highly credible communicators on the effectiveness of the
message. Their experiment showed that messages endorsed by highly credible communicators resulted into real opinion change.

In order to decipher the main components of credibility itself, Hovland took the theory further and in 1953 he wrote his book "Communication and Persuasion" in which he identified the two main dimensions of credibility as being expertise and trustworthiness. Moreover, he discussed another important feature that makes a communicator credible in the eyes of the audience; that is being perceived as "belonging to a group with which the recipient is also affiliated with." (Hovland & Janis, 1959, p.11).

In recent years, Rhoads and Caildini (2002) defined expertise as the knowledge and experience that the communicator seems to have about the issue or topic at hand, while trustworthiness refers to "the communicator's honesty and lack of bias". Interestingly, Lui and Standing (1986) argued that trustworthiness is a much stronger component of credibility than expertness. The study tested the effect of a persuasive message regarding AIDS directed at nuns. The message was presented first by a priest and then a doctor. The results showed that the priest was more persuasive than the doctor as he was perceived to be highly trustworthy by the nuns.

A third dimension that is often overlooked by researchers despite its importance is "goodwill". Goodwill has three aspects: understanding, empathy, and responsiveness. Understanding entails having knowledge about the feelings and needs of others, while empathy means the acceptance of the views of others even if one does not fully agree with them and responsiveness refers to how attentive the person seems to be to the message of another person (McCroskey & Teven, 1999).
By applying all three dimensions of credibility, Teven (2008) studied the credibility of the presidential candidates in the American presidential elections in 2008. His results showed that Barack Obama got “the highest means for perceived credibility” leading to increasing his likeability and believability. So the first research question that this study will try to answer is:

**RQ1: Is Tawfik Okasha a credible communicator?**

Many domains discussed the role played by the communicators' credibility in changing the attitudes of the intended audience. Highly credible sources such as celebrities are used by advertisers to enhance the image of their product. The more the audience identifies with the celebrity, the more successful the advertisement is expected to be (Jain & Posavac, 2001; Spry et al., 2009; Roy et al., 2013).

Also studies in the field of experimental psychology asserted that the people with high credibility play an important role in perceiving the message to be truthful. Credible sources influence the way the message is comprehended by the audience (Henkel & Mattson, 2011; Sparks & Rapp, 2011). In a different context, Infante (1985) also tackled the concept of credibility as he sought to discover the effect of women’s argumentativeness on their credibility. The results showed that the more argumentative a woman is, the higher her perceived credibility will be.

Given that all these studies focused on the role of source credibility in creating a positive attitude toward a product or a person, the third hypothesis of this study postulates that:

**H2a: People who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are more likely to believe that political participation is important**
However, the behavioral component of political participation was not covered. Therefore, the third and fourth hypotheses in this study aim at measuring the impact of Tawfik Okasha's credibility on the political behavior of his audience. It seeks to see if there is a relationship between watching Okasha's show and active political participation (i.e. attending a protest, voting for a certain candidate, working in the campaign of a political candidate).

**H2b:** People who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are more likely to vote for the candidates he supports

**H3:** People who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are more likely to have participated in a protest he organized

The level of education is an important variable in the process of persuasibility. Previous studies have shown that highly educated people are harder to persuade, people with a low level of education are assumed to be easier to persuade (O'Keefe, 2002; Bay, 2002). Furthermore, education is considered a marker when it comes to political awareness and participation. According to Martinussen (1971), the inequality in education between different segments of the society lead to remarkable differences in political participation. However, this might not always be the case. In their study about the effect of education on political persuasion during the times of crisis, Johansen and Joslyn (2008) found out that the difference in education does not always affect the level of persuasiveness. In some cases it might be a “resisting agent” against political propaganda but at other times not. Yanagizawa-Drott (2011) conducted a study about the relationship between propaganda, persuasion and education. The study focused on the case study of “Hate Radio” in Rwanda. The “Hate Radio” refers to the Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) that was founded in the wake of the
Rwandian genocide by the Hutu. It called for the extermination of all those who belonged to the Tutsi ethnic group. The study found that the (RTLM) did not have a substantial effect of high villages with high literacy rates. In contrast, it was most effective in villages that lacked basic education. Hence it is quite logical to assume that education is an important variable in the process of perception. If this is applied to the current study, the fourth hypothesis that the current study aims at investigating should relate to the relationship between the level of education that a person has and his perception of Tawfik Okasha's credibility. So the fourth hypothesis assumes that:

H4: Compared to the rest of the educational levels, highly educated people are less likely to perceive Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator

Finally and as noted in the literature review, there is a correlation between Internet use and political participation, especially for the youth. If this is combined with Tawfik Okasha’s anti-revolutionary discourse and attack of young political activists, the fifth hypothesis states that:

H5: Young people who use the Internet as a primary source for political information do not perceive Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator
Chapter 3: Methodology

This study used a survey to assess the impact of the credibility of Egyptian talk show host Tawfik Okasha on the political participation of his viewers. The reason this method was selected had to do with the fact that surveys render large amounts of data in a relatively short time. Moreover, it provides the researcher with the opportunity to test many variables and assess their relationships to each other (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p.180)

In addition, the researcher conducted a semi-structured interview with Tawfik Okasha at the headquarters of Al Faraeen channel. According to Qu and Dumay (2011), “the semi-structured interview enjoys its popularity because it is flexible, accessible and intelligible and, more important, capable of disclosing important and often hidden facets of human and organizational behavior”. Building on this, the researcher constructed a set of questions that corresponded to the main themes of the study. The main objective of this interview was to identify how Tawfik Okasha sees himself and the effect he has on his viewers’ political participation. Furthermore, the information derived from this interview was compared with the quantitative data obtained from the survey. This was done so as to provide a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of Tawfik Okasha.

3.1 Research Questions and Hypotheses

RQ1: Is Tawfik Okasha a credible communicator?

➢ This question addresses a core component of this research as seeks to measure Tawfik Okasha’s credibility through a 5-point Likert scale that consisted of 11 items. (1) meant Strongly Agree, (2) meant Agree, (3) meant Neutral, (4) meant Disagree, while (5) meant Strongly Disagree.
The following four statements were used to measure the first component of credibility: expertness:

- Tawfik Okasha is a reliable source for information.
- Tawfik Okasha is knowledgeable about politics.
- Tawfik Okasha has the ability to make accurate predictions about the future.
- I think Okasha is highly intelligent.

Trustworthiness, the second component of source credibility was measured by the following four statements:

- I believe that Okasha is honest in his presentation of facts.
- I think that Okasha is an honorable patriot.
- I think that Okasha is genuinely concerned about the welfare of the Egyptian nation.
- I think that Okasha is politically independent.

The third and final component of source credibility, goodwill, was measured by the following three statements:

- I identify with Tawfik Okasha on many levels.
- I feel that Tawfik Okasha is concerned about my well-being.
- I think that Okasha understands my needs and respects my values.

H1: People who like nationalist discourse tend to perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible.

This hypothesis aims at examining if there is correlation between liking nationalist discourse and the tendency to perceive Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator.
In the light of the definition provided by the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy for the concept of “nationalism”, the independent variable of “nationalist discourse” was operationally defined by the researcher as “discourse that entails the use of expressions and ideas which reflect the caring attitude of the nation members about the sovereignty of their country” (Nenad, 2010)

**It was measured by five statements:**

- I believe that what happened on the 25th of January, 2011 was a real revolution.
- I believe that what happened on the 30th of June, 2013 was a real revolution.
- I believe that Egypt has many enemies who are still conspiring against its stability.
- I believe in the existence of a fifth-column in Egypt.
- I am ready to fight and die for my country's sake.

The dependent variable of “perceiving Okasha as credible” was measured by the aforementioned Likert scale statements.

**H2a: People who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are more likely to believe that political participation is important.**

This hypothesis predicts that the more someone perceives Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator, the more likely he/she will believe that political participation is important.
The independent variable of “political participation” is measured by question no. 6. Political participation was operationally defined as “voting in the elections and attending a protest”

Q6. Do you think that political participation is important for Egypt's future?

1. Yes, it is important
2. No, it is not important

H2b: People who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are more likely to vote for the candidates he supports.

➢ This hypothesis predicts that people who think that Tawfik Okasha is credible will vote for the candidates he supports. This is measured by question no.8 which asks about who the respondent voted for in the 2012 presidential elections and question no. 15 which asks about the candidate that the respondents are going to vote for in the upcoming presidential elections.

H3: People who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are more likely to have participated in a protest he organized.

➢ This hypothesis predicts that people who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are expected to have participated in a protest he called for. This hypothesis is measured by statement no.18 on the Likert scale, where respondents were given the option to estimate how they felt about participating in one of the Okasha’s protests. Statement 17 reads “I am proud to have participated in protests organized by Tawfik Okasha”
H4: Compared to the rest of the educational levels, highly educated people are less likely to perceive Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator.

This hypothesis predicts that highly educated people are less likely to perceive Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator. The independent variable of education was measured by a question in the demographics section which contained different educational levels. The choices were Illiterate, Reads and writes, Less than high school (primary or elementary school), High school, Technical diploma, Bachelor’s degree. Highly educated people refers to holders of a Bachelor’s degree.

H5: Young people who use the Internet as a primary source for political information do not perceive Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator.

This hypothesis predicts that the youth who rely on the Internet to provide them with political information are expected not to think that Tawfik Okasha is a credible communicator. This independent variables of “Young people” and “Internet use” are measured by questions no. 1 and 18. Question 1 asks about the primary source that the respondent relies on for political information. Five choices were listed. They were: Newspapers, Television, Internet, Radio, Family and friends. Also the option of “other” was added. As for the “young people” variable, question no.18 in the demographics section specified 5 age ranges. The first was 18-21 years old, the second 22-35 years old, the third 36-50 years old, the fourth 51-60 years old and the fifth one was “older than 60 years”. The researcher operationally defined the youth as people whose age range between 18-35 years old.
3.2 Type of Sample

The sample used to conduct this survey was a non-probability “Quota sample” whereby the respondents were chosen according to a predetermined variable (Rajamanickam, 2001, p.81). The variable chosen by the researcher was education. It is important to highlight that the quota allocated for each category does not correspond to the real proportion of the different educational attainments among the Egyptian population. This is mainly because there are no official figures available in this regard. Therefore it is a disproportionate quota sample. The respondents were classified into four main categories: the first category included the illiterate, the second one combined people who could read and write and those who have only completed their education till the primary or elementary stage. The third one included people who have completed their high school education or technical diploma. The fourth and last category included people who have a bachelor’s degree. Fifty participants were allocated for each of the four categories.

3.3 Sample Size

Due to cost and time considerations, the sample size that the researcher opted for was 200 participants. Another reason was because the results are not going to be generalizable since the sample used is a non-probability sample. Therefore this study lacks external validity.

3.4 Data collection

Due to difficulty in reaching the targeted sample as most of it was concentrated in poor neighborhoods that the researcher had difficulty in accessing, a trained interviewer was hired to administer the surveys. This trained interviewer chosen was a graduate student at the Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo
University. The training entailed the ethical rules and considerations when approaching the participants. It also included training the interviewer on making sure that no question that required an answer was skipped. More importantly, the interviewer was given instructions about the required quota to be met for each category. The interviewer first would ask about the educational levels of the respondents, then they were asked if they watched Okasha’s daily talk show or not. Surveys were conducted in Greater Cairo and Giza. The interviewer went to places of social gatherings like cafes and asked the possible respondents if they were interested to fill out the survey. It is worth noting that the majority of the sample consisted of males. This has to do with the conservative cultural norms of the Egyptian society which makes it difficult to approach females on the street. That explains the disproportion of gender distribution found in the sample.

3.5 Pretesting

Pretesting is a critical step that should be carried out before conducting the survey as it increases the quality of the data the survey is expected to generate (DeMaio, Rothgeb, & Hess, 1998). A pretest was conducted by the researcher to make sure that all the questions were easy to understand. Thirty respondents were asked to answer the survey and report any difficulty or unclear expressions. The remarks the respondents had were taken into consideration by the researcher who modified some questions and added more choices to others.

In question 13 which asked about whom the participants responded to their call to protest on the 30th of June, many respondents wrote “Tamarrod” beside the
option “An independent revolutionary group”. Accordingly the option of the “independent revolutionary group” was replaced with “Tamarrod”.

The researcher interviewed the respondents after they finished the pretest and noticed that they had several comments about Tawfik Okasha. That is why the researcher thought it was necessary to have an open-ended question to check if the respondents had something to add. Therefore question 16 was placed at the end of the survey. In general, the respondents who took the pretest said that the questions were concise and easy to understand.

3.6 Survey Design

Due to the nature of the current study and the different educational levels involved, the survey was translated into Arabic. The survey was divided into four parts. The first part was designed to see measure the type and frequency of media use by the respondents. This part consisted of 4 questions. The first question asked about the main source for political information. The second one asked about the number of hours that the respondent spends in watching television. The third one asked about the number of hours that the respondent spends in watching Talk Shows. The fourth one asked about the frequency by which the respondent watched Tawfik Okasha’s program (Masr Al Yom) on Al Faraeen channel.

It is worth noting that this question was designed to make sure that all those who took the survey watched Okasha’s talk show. Even though the trained interviewer was instructed to ask the respondents about this before giving them the survey, the researcher added a disqualifying choice. It read” I do not know
who Tawfik Okasha is”. In this case, the respondent would be thanked for their time and asked to terminate the survey.

The second part aimed at measuring three elements: the first was Tawfik Okasha’s credibility, the second was what the respondents thought about the nationalist discourse that he used and the third was designed to measure the direct effect of Tawfik Okasha on the political behavior of his viewers. All three elements were measured on a 5-point Likert scale.

The third part aimed at measuring the political participation levels of respondents starting from the January 25th revolution until the constitutional referendum that was carried out this year. This part also covered the tendency of the respondents to participate in the upcoming presidential elections.

The fourth part was the demographics section that included the personal information of the respondents. It consisted of 5 questions that asked about gender, age, level of education, employment status and monthly income.

All survey questions were closed-ended, except for one question that the researcher though would yield more useful information about the credibility of Tawfik Okasha. Question (16) was placed in the end of the third section. It asked the respondents if they had anything that they would like to add about TV talk show host Tawfik Okasha. 54% of the respondents answered this question and that is why the researcher carefully analyzed the answers to detect common themes among them. As a result, the answers fell into 5 main categories which were coded and inserted into SPSS.
Chapter 4: Results

The data were coded by the researcher and entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences software (SPSS) which generated the following results.

**Descriptive Data Analysis**

4.1 Sample characteristics

1. Gender

The overwhelming majority of the sample consisted of males, whereby (n=194) representing 97% of the sample. Only 3% were females (n=6).

2. Age

84.5% of the sample were between the ages of 22-50 years old. The distribution of respondents’ ages is documented in Figure (2)

![Age of Respondents](image)

Figure (2)
3. Education
As stated before, the quota sampling technique that the researcher used specified a certain quota for each educational level. 25% of the sample was allocated to the Illiterate, another 25% for respondents who could read and write and have completed their education up to the primary or elementary stage. Then 25% for respondents who completed their education till High school and the last 25% was allocated for BA holders.

4. Employment status
As it appears in Figure (3), 62% of the sample falls under the “Employed” category, while 5.5% appear to be unemployed and 22.5% reported that they are “Freelancers”.

![Employment Status of Respondents](image)

**Figure (3)**

5. Monthly Income
47.8% of the respondents’ reported that their monthly income ranges between 1000-2000 L.E, while the monthly income for 41.8% of the sample ranged between 500-1000 L.E. Figure (4) shows the distribution of respondents’ monthly income. It is
worth noting that the 5th choice “More than 3000 L.E” was not chosen by any of the respondents in the sample

Figure (4)
4.2 Type and frequency of Media Use

A. More than half of the sample use television as their primary source for political information (52.5%), while Newspapers and the Internet were selected as the primary source for political information by 23.5% of the sample for each. The radio was selected by only one respondent (0.5%). See Figure (5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (5) Primary Source for Political Information
B. 46% of the respondents reported that they watch Television daily for more than 2 hours - 3 hours. 27.5% of the respondents said that they watch Television for more than an hour - 2 hours daily. See Figure (6)

**Figure (6) How many hours do you spend watching Television daily?**
C. About half of the sample (49.5%) said that they spend more than an hour to two hours watching talk shows daily. 34.5% reported that they watch talk shows for less than an hour daily. See Figure (7)

Figure (7) How many hours do you spend watching T.V. talk shows daily?
D. For 63% of the sample, the frequency of watching Tawfik Okasha’s talk show “Masr Al Yom” ranges between “once a week” and “daily”. See Figure (8)

![Graph showing frequency of watching Tawfik Okasha’s talk show “Masr Al Yom” on Al-Faraeen channel.](image)

**Figure (8) Frequency of watching Tawfik Okasha’s talk show “Masr Al Yom”**
4.3 Analysis of respondents’ political participation levels

The analysis showed that 92% of the sample believed that political participation is important for Egypt’s future (See Table 1)

| Q6: Do you think that political participation is important for Egypt's future? |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Frequency       | Percent |
| Yes             | 184     | 92.0    |
| No              | 16      | 8.0     |
| Total           | 200     | 100.0   |

Table (1)

Regarding their participation in the 2012 presidential elections, 89.5% of the respondents (n=179) reported that they voted in the elections, while 10.5% (n=21) said that they did not vote. (See Table 2)

| Q7: Did you vote in the 2012 presidential elections? |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Frequency       | Percent |
| Yes             | 179     | 89.5    |
| No              | 21      | 10.5    |
| Total           | 200     | 100.0   |

Table (2)

When asked about which candidate they voted for, 81% (n=145) said that they voted for Ahmed Shafik, while 14% (n=25) said that they voted for Mohamed Morsi and only 5% (n=9) reported that they annulled their votes. (See Table 3)
Q8: Who did you vote for in the 2012 presidential elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohamed Morsi</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed Shafik</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I annulled my vote</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>179</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (3)
As for the most recent act of political participation, that is the 2014 constitutional referendum, 88.5% (n=177) said that they did participate in the referendum, while 11.5% (n=23) said that they did not participate. Of those who participated, 89.3% voted in favor of the constitution “Yes” and 9.7% voted against it “No” (See Tables 4 and 5)

Q9: Did you participate in the January 2014 constitutional referendum?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (4)

Q10: Did you vote in favor of the constitution or against it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>89.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (5)
The analysis of the results also showed that the June 30\textsuperscript{th} revolution witnessed the participation of 76\% of the respondents (n=152), compared to 48.5\% (n=97) for the January 25\textsuperscript{th} revolution (See Table 6 and 7).

Interestingly, 41.4\% of those who participated in the January 25\textsuperscript{th} revolution participated in the June 30\textsuperscript{th} revolution, while 58.6\% of those who did not participate in the January revolution reported participating in the June revolution (See Table 24).

\begin{tabular}{lrr}
\hline
& Frequency & Percent \\
Yes & 97 & 48.5 \\
No & 103 & 51.5 \\
Total & 200 & 100.0 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Table (6)

Q11: Did you participate in the protests of the January 25th revolution?

\begin{tabular}{lrr}
\hline
& Frequency & Percent \\
Yes & 152 & 76.0 \\
No & 48 & 24.0 \\
Total & 200 & 100.0 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Table (7)
Table (8) Participation in the January revolution Vs. Participation in the June 30th revolution

When asked about whom they responded to their call to protest on June 30th, 2013, Tawfik Okasha and the revolutionary movement “Tamarrod” were chosen by 61.8% (n=94) and 58.6% (n=89) of the respondents respectively (Note that question allowed respondents to choose 2 options). Only 4.7% (n=7) chose “Political Party”.

(See Tables 9, 10 and 11)
### Q13: Tawfik Okasha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in the protests of the June 30th revolution?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% within Participants in the June 30th revolution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>61.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>152</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (9) Responding to the call of Tawfik Okasha to protest on June 30th

### Q13: Tamarrod

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in the protests of the June 30th revolution?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% within Participants in the June 30th revolution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>152</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (10) Responding to the call of Tamarrod to protest on June 30th

### Q13: Political Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did you participate in the protests of the June 30th revolution?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% within Participants in the June 30th revolution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>95.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>152</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (11) Responding to the call of a political party to protest on June 30th
Moreover, the Likert statements that measure the relationship between Tawfik Okasha and the political participation tendencies of his viewers showed that the mean score for Statement (18):” I voted for a particular candidate because Okasha endorsed him” is 2.6 which is closer to the “Agree” category.

The mean score for Statement (19):” I intend to work in the political campaign of Abdel Fatah Al Sisi because Okasha supports him” is 2.00 which means that the respondents seem to be willing to work in the presidential campaign of Abdel Fatah Al Sisi because Okasha supports him. (See Table 12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I voted for a particular candidate because Okasha endorsed him</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>1.248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I intend to work in the presidential campaign of Abdel Fatah Al Sisi because Okasha supports him</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (12)

As for the future political participation of the respondents, 87.5% (n=175) said that they were going to vote in the upcoming presidential elections. 10 % (n=21) said that they have not made up their minds yet, while 2% (n=4) said that they are not going to vote. (See Table 28). 88.6% (n=155) of the respondents who are going to participate said that they will vote for the presidential candidate Abdel Fatah Al Sisi, while 11.4% (n=20) said that they plan on voting for the other presidential candidate Hamdeen Sabahy. (See Tables 13 and 14)
Q14: Are you going to participate in the upcoming presidential elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still not sure</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (13)

Q15: If you are going to participate, who are you going to vote for?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamdeen Sabahy</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdel Fatah Al Sisi</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>175</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (14)

- The last question which was an open-ended question was answered by 54% of the respondents (n=108). The comments were coded into 5 main categories. 34.3% of the respondents who answered this question believed that “Okasha is an honest and courageous man who fights corruption”, 26.9% said that they “trust his opinions and believe that he is Egypt’s best talk show host. On the other hand, 18.5 % said that they believed Okasha to be “a corrupt and hypocritical talk show host. 16.7 % reported that they do not like him because
“he is not a professional communicator”. Finally, 3.7% believed that “Tawfik Okasha manipulates poor people and takes advantage of their ignorance”.

**Q16: Do you have anything else that you would like to say about T.V talk show host Tawfik Okasha?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tawfik Okasha is an honest and courageous man who fights corruption</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust Tawfik Okasha’s opinions and believe that he is Egypt’s best talk show host</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawfik Okasha is a corrupt and hypocritical talk show host</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not like Tawfik Okasha because he is not a professional communicator</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawfik Okasha manipulates poor people and takes advantage of their ignorance</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (15)
4.4 Answering the Research Questions and Testing the Hypotheses of the Study

A. (RQ1): Is Tawfik Okasha a credible communicator?

This question aimed at measuring Tawfik Okasha’s credibility based on three main components: Expertness, trustworthiness and goodwill.

1st: Expertness

The results showed that Tawfik Okasha was highly rated on the expertness component

(See Table 16)

The mean score for the expertness component of Tawfik Okaasha’s credibility is 2.22

(See Table 17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tawfik Okasha is a reliable source for information</td>
<td>30 (15%)</td>
<td>104 (52%)</td>
<td>26 (13%)</td>
<td>26 (13%)</td>
<td>14 (7%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tawfik Okasha is knowledgeable about politics</td>
<td>40 (20%)</td>
<td>109 (54.5%)</td>
<td>19 (9.5%)</td>
<td>17 (8.5%)</td>
<td>15 (7.5%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tawfik Okasha has the ability to make accurate predictions about the future</td>
<td>44 (22%)</td>
<td>85 (42.5%)</td>
<td>34 (17%)</td>
<td>24 (12%)</td>
<td>13 (6.5%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I think Tawfik Okasha is highly intelligent</td>
<td>49 (24.5%)</td>
<td>102 (51%)</td>
<td>20 (10%)</td>
<td>14 (7%)</td>
<td>15 (7.5%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (16) Distribution of respondents’ rating of Tawfik Okasha’s expertness
Table (17) The mean score of Tawfik Okasha’s expertness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expertness</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>2.2200</td>
<td>1.16118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd: Trustworthiness

The results showed that Tawfik Okasha was highly rated on the trustworthiness component (See Table 18)

The mean score for the trustworthiness component of Tawfik Okaasha’s credibility is 2.36 (Table 19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. I believe that Tawfik Okasha is honest in his presentation of facts</td>
<td>44 (22%)</td>
<td>88 (44%)</td>
<td>28 (14%)</td>
<td>27 (13.5%)</td>
<td>13 (6.5%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I think that Tawfik Okasha is an honorable patriot</td>
<td>39 (19.5%)</td>
<td>98 (49%)</td>
<td>24 (12%)</td>
<td>22 (11%)</td>
<td>17 (8.5%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I think that Tawfik Okasha is genuinely concerned about the welfare of</td>
<td>42 (21%)</td>
<td>83 (41.5%)</td>
<td>31 (15.5%)</td>
<td>24 (12%)</td>
<td>20 (10%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Egyptian nation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I think that Tawfik Okasha is politically independent</td>
<td>23 (11.5%)</td>
<td>111 (55.5%)</td>
<td>37 (18.5%)</td>
<td>17 (8.5%)</td>
<td>12 (6%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (18) Distribution of respondents’ rating of Tawfik Okasha’s Trustworthiness
The results showed that Tawfik Okasha was moderately rated on the goodwill component (Table 20).

The mean score for the goodwill component of Tawfik Okasha’s credibility is 2.77 (Table 21).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9. I identify with Tawfik Okasha on many levels</td>
<td>17 (8.5%)</td>
<td>87 (43.5%)</td>
<td>26 (13%)</td>
<td>34 (17%)</td>
<td>36 (18%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. I feel that Tawfik Okasha is concerned about my well-being</td>
<td>18 (9%)</td>
<td>98 (49%)</td>
<td>26 (13%)</td>
<td>32 (16%)</td>
<td>26 (13%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. I think that Tawfik Okasha understands my needs and respects my values</td>
<td>20 (10%)</td>
<td>110 (55%)</td>
<td>25 (12.5%)</td>
<td>28 (14%)</td>
<td>17 (8.5%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (20) Distribution of respondents’ rating of Tawfik Okasha’s Goodwill
Table (21) The mean score of Tawfik Okasha’s Goodwill

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>2.7750</td>
<td>1.23369</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

➢ The three components were combined together to assess the overall credibility of Tawfik Okasha. The mean score for Tawfik Okasha’s credibility is 2.42 (Table 22)

➢ This shows that Tawfik Okasha is a credible communicator. Hence the first question of this study is answered.

Table (22) The mean score of Tawfik Okasha’s overall Credibility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall Credibility</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>2.4250</td>
<td>1.14934</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H1: People who like nationalist discourse tend to perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible.

The testing of this hypothesis entailed comparing the choices made by the respondents on both variables: liking nationalist discourse and perceiving Tawfik Okasha as credible (See Table 8)

The use of Chi-Square test showed that there is a positive relationship between both variables (p <0.001). Therefore Hypothesis H1 was supported.
The results showed that 27.5% of the people who strongly liked (Strongly Agree) nationalist discourse also strongly believed that Tawfik Okasha is a credible communicator, while 47.1% of the people who liked (Agree) nationalist discourse also perceived Okahsa to be a credible communicator. On the other hand, 13.8% of the people who were neutral about the use of nationalist discourse were also neutral about Okasha’s credibility. 8.7% of the respondents who disliked nationalist discourse also did not perceive Okasha to be credible. Finally, 2.9% of the respondents who strongly disliked nationalist discourse reported that they did not believe that Okasha is a credible communicator.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tawfik Okasha’s Credibility</th>
<th>Nationalist Discourse</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree Count</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Nationalist Discourse</td>
<td>27.5%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Count</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Nationalist Discourse</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral Count</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Nationalist Discourse</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Count</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Nationalist Discourse</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree Count</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Nationalist Discourse</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Count</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Nationalist Discourse</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table (23) Relationship between liking nationalist discourse and perceiving Okasha as a credible communicator**
H2a: People who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are more likely to believe that political participation is important

Overall, 92% of the sample believed that political participation is important for Egypt’s future (n=180). 20% did not think that political participation is important (n=20) (See Figure 5)

A chi-square test was employed to test this hypotheses. The results showed that there a positive relationship between perceiving Tawfik Okasha to be credible and believing that political participation is important for Egypt’s future (p <0.001). Hence H2a was supported. (See table 9)

21.7% of the respondents who believed that political participation is important for Egypt’ future strongly agreed that Okasha is a credible communicator, while 50.6 % of the respondents who thought that political participation is important agree that Okasaha is a credible communicator. 13.3% of the respondents who believed that political participation is important neither agreed nor disagreed that Okasha is credible. On the other hand, 10% those who said that political participation is important disagreed that Okasha was a credible communicator and 4.4% of those who thought that political participation was important strongly disagreed that Okasha is a credible communicator.

![Is Political Participation Important for Egypt's Future?](image)

Figure (9) Is political participation important for Egypt’s future?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tawfik Okasha’s Credibility</th>
<th>Is political participation important?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is political participation important?</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is political participation important?</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is political participation important?</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is political participation important?</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is political participation important?</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is political participation important?</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (24) The relationship between perceiving Okasha as a credible communicator and believing that political participation is important for Egypt’s future
**H2b:** People who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are more likely to vote for the candidates he supports.

The use of Pearson’s chi-square test showed that there is a positive relationship between perceiving Okasha as credible and voting for the candidates he supports (p < 0.001).

Respondents who believe that Tawfik Okasha is a credible communicator overwhelmingly voted for Ahmed Shafik in the 2012 elections and intend to vote for Abdel Fatah Al Sisi in the upcoming presidential elections. Hence H2b is supported.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who did you vote for in the 2012 presidential elections?</th>
<th>Tawfik Okasha’s Credibility</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohamed Morsi</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed Shafik</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>% Tawfik Okasha’s credibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Tawfik Okasha’s credibility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I annulled my vote</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>% Tawfik Okasha’s credibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (25) The relationship between Tawfik Okasha’s credibility and voting for the candidate he supported in the 2012 presidential elections
Table (26) The relationship between Tawfik Okasha’s credibility and voting for the candidates he supports in the upcoming presidential elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who are you going to vote for in the upcoming presidential elections?</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% Tawfik Okasha’s credibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamdeen Sabahy</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdel Fatah Al Sisi</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>88.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have not decide yet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tawfik Okasha’s credibility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**H3:** People who perceive Tawfik Okasha as credible are more likely to have participated in a protest he organized.

Overall, 62% of the sample (n=124) reported that they have participated in a protest organized by Tawfik Okasha. 50% of the respondents (n=100) ratings ranged between Strongly Agree and Agree (See Table 27)

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare Tawfik Okasha’s credibility and participating in protests that he organized. The two variables turned out to have a significant relationship to each other (p<0.001). The mean score for Tawfik Okasha’s credibility among those who participated in one of his protests is 1.94, while the mean score for his credibility among those who did not participate is 3.35, which means that they do not perceive him as credible (See Table 28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Did Not Participate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am proud to have participated in a protest organized by Tawfik Okasha</td>
<td>20 (8.5%)</td>
<td>80 (43.5%)</td>
<td>16 (13%)</td>
<td>6 (17%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>76 (38%)</td>
<td>200 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (27) How the respondents felt about participating in a protests organized by Tawfik Okasha.
### Table (28) Relationship between the mean scores of Tawfik Okasha’s credibility and attending a protest he organized

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Credibility means among the respondents who attended a protest organized by Tawfik Okasha</th>
<th>Number (N)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
<td>1.9417</td>
<td>.61665</td>
<td>.05538</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Credibility means among the respondents who did not attended a protest organized by Tawfik Okasha</th>
<th>Number (N)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>3.3565</td>
<td>1.02506</td>
<td>.11758</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**H4**: Compared to the rest of the educational levels, highly educated people are less likely to perceive Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator

The perceived credibility of Tawfik Okasha differed among the different educational levels. The “Illiterate and Less than High school” categories were the top two categories in terms of perceiving Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator (See Table 29)

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the level of education to the perceived credibility of Tawfik Okasha. A significant relationship between the two variables was found (p<0.001). The mean score for Tawfik Okasha’s credibility among highly educated respondents is 2.85, while the mean score for the rest of the educational levels is 2.35. This means that highly educated respondents, compared to the rest of the educational levels, tend to be neutral about their perception of Tawfik Okasha’s credibility. Hence H4 is supported. (See Table 30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of education completed</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>2.1282</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>.83974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reads and Writes</td>
<td>2.6667</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.57735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>2.4081</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.13954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>2.6364</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.70287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Diploma</td>
<td>2.4841</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.85933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>2.8509</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.26192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.4793</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1.05117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (29) Credibility means according to the Level of Education
Table (30) The mean scores of Tawfik Okasha’s credibility among the highly educated respondents Vs. The rest of the educational levels altogether

**H5:** Young people who use the Internet as a primary source for political information do not perceive Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to see if there is a relationship between being young and using the Internet as a primary source for information on one hand and perceiving Tawfik Okasha to be a credible communicator. A significant relationship between the two groups of variables was found (p<0.001). Hence H5 is supported.

(See Table 31)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tawfik Okasha’s credibility among young people who use the Internet as a primary source for information</th>
<th>Number (N)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.1538</td>
<td>1.33628</td>
<td>.26207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tawfik Okasha’s credibility among young people who do not use the Internet as a primary source for information</th>
<th>Number (N)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2.4756</td>
<td>.78703</td>
<td>.08799</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (31) Tawfik Okasha’s credibility and the use of the Internet by the youth
Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The findings of this study show that Tawfik Okasha is a credible communicator. He got highly rated on the expertness and trustworthiness components and moderately rated on the goodwill aspect of credibility. It has been also shown that Tawfik Okasha’s use of nationalist discourse enhances his credibility as a communicator and also the persuasive effect of his message.

Furthermore, the study revealed that Tawfik Okasha’s credibility as a communicator is associated with a strong belief in the importance of political participation and a tendency to vote for the political candidates endorsed by Okasha. Another important finding is that the respondents have shown high political participation levels in the aftermath of the January 25th revolution. This was demonstrated not just through voting in the elections, but also through their participation in protests. Tawfik Okasha’s credibility turned out to have an effect on the participation of his viewers in protests. 62% of the respondents reported participating in one of Tawfik Okasha’s protests. This reflects that Okasha is a persuasive communicator.

Education is an important variable when to it comes to the source credibility theory. The current study showed that Okasha’s credibility was highest among the illiterate respondents and lowest among the highly educated ones. Also Okasha was not perceived as credible by the young respondents who rely on the Internet as a primary source for political information.

The findings of this study convey important things about the domain of political communication in Egypt. First of all, it reflects that Okasha has successfully reached out to a large sector in the society, which is the illiterate people. According to recent
statistics, 16 million Egyptians are illiterate. So logically speaking, they need a kind of communication that is of a simple and non-sophisticated nature. And this is what Okasha provided. Therefore being perceived as credible among the illiterate respondents reflects the success he achieved in reaching out to them. Moreover, the results show that television remains the top medium through which respondents rely on for political information. This makes sense as television enjoys high penetration rates with 98.8% of Egyptian households owning a television set (BBG, 2014)

The study also highlighted the appeal of nationalist discourse to Okasha’s viewers. Using nationalist discourse enhanced Okasha’s credibility as a communicator, which in turn had an effect on the political participation tendencies of the respondents. The current study has also shown that source credibility theory still holds true, even in the age of the Internet. Expertness and trustworthiness in Okasha’s case seem to be related to his adoption of the “crisis communication” theory. He is always keen on presenting himself as a patriot who puts the interests of his country before his own. This positively enhanced his image as many respondents reported that they think he is an “honest and courageous man who fights corruption.”

Even the respondents who did not perceive Okasha as credible exhibited strong support for several elements of nationalist discourse. This highlights that when it comes to effective political communication in Egypt, adopting nationalist discourse seems to be appealing to Egyptians. It would be important to highlight that the appeal of this kind of discourse has to do with the critical phase that Egypt has been living in since the January 25th revolution. The heightened sense of patriotism and fear for the country’s future always accompany times of revolt. In such atmosphere, appealing to the nationalist sentiments of the viewers is expected to generate favorable attitudes toward the communicator and more importantly perhaps, the viewership rates of the
channel. The role of nationalist discourse in tailoring effective political communication messages by media professionals is undeniable, especially in post-revolution Egypt. However, further studies are needed to assess how the use of nationalist discourse impacts the credibility of the communicator and his message altogether.

The general findings of this study support the strong role played by the media in fostering political participation among Egyptians. The survey results suggest that Tawfik Okasha played a role in enhancing the political participation of his audience and mobilizing them to protest on different occasions. This come in line with other studies that rejected Robinson’s media malaise theory. It also comes in line with previous research that asserts the role of the media as a force of political mobilization (Martin, 2008; Stromback & Shehata, 2010).

The results also reflect the importance of source credibility theory in the field of political communication. Through his perceived credibility, Okasha affected the attitudinal and behavioral components of his viewers’ political participation. The attitudinal component is reflected in their belief that political participation is important for Egypt’s future, while the behavioral component appears in their active participation in elections, referendums and protests. Despite the fact that these results support what Okasha said about his role in providing his viewers with proper “political education”, it is important not to overestimate the influence of Tawfik Okasha or attribute the active political participation of respondents to him solely. There are other intervening factors that deserve to be examined by future studies.

Another critical issue that this study dealt with is the evolving role of Egyptian talk show hosts, especially after the January revolution. Even though Tawfik Okasha’s phenomenon is unique in its nature, however it manifests the rising trend of talk show
hosts abandoning the values of objectivity and neutrality, and assuming the roles of political activists and politicians. The findings reveal that the effect of political parties is almost non-existent as only 4.6% of the sample said that they responded to the call of a political party to protest on June 30th. On the other hand, we find that Tawfik Okasha’s call was much more effective as 61.8% of those who participated in the June 30th protests reported that they responded to his call. So could it be that talk show hosts feel the necessity to fill the void left by political parties and politicians? In the researcher’s interview with him, Tawfik Okasha admitted that considers himself the leader of the June 30th revolution as he was able to mobilize people to protest and end the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood. He even attributed the success of grassroots movement “Tamarrod” in gathering petitions to his relentless efforts.

The majority of Egyptian talk show hosts believe that it is impossible to maintain an impartial stance under the current circumstances. They strongly believe in the importance of their role in shaping the public opinion. Furthermore and as illustrated by El Issawi (2013), they think that maintaining a neutral stance at this moment will be an act of treason. They also think that the audience is always eager to hear what they have to say. Therefore, it can be said that Tawfik Okasha’s case is part of a bigger phenomenon that has prevailed among Egyptian talk show hosts. The findings also suggest that the youth rely on the Internet as their main source for political information. That might be one of the reasons that made talk show hosts deviate from their traditional roles and adopt new ones in order to appeal to young people and restore their faith in the traditional media once again.

This opens the door for a long debate about the effect of such change in the traditional role of television presenters. First of all, it poses questions about how healthy this phenomenon is in the long run. Even if the justifications given by talk show hosts
are acceptable for the time being, they might not be valid in the future. Media experts say that Egypt is heading toward having a public broadcasting system similar to the BBC. Egypt’s new constitution has an article that stipulates the establishment of a “Supreme Council for the Regulation of Media”.

According to Article (211), “The Council shall bear the responsibility for guaranteeing and protecting the freedom of press and media as stipulated in the Constitution, safeguarding its independence, neutrality, plurality and diversity, preventing monopolistic practices, monitoring the legality of the sources of funding of press and media institutions and developing the controls and criteria necessary to ensure compliance by the press and media outlets with the professional and ethical standards, and national security needs as stated in the Law.”. The council will be the main regulatory body for all media practices in Egypt. The article also speaks about ensuring that all media outlets comply with the professional ethical standards. If such a rule is strictly applied, the phenomenon of talk show hosts turning into political activists might be put to an end.

Nimmo and Newsomne (1997) argued that the social role of the professional communicator emerged as one of the consequences of the Industrial Revolution. The same can be applied to the phenomenon of Tawfik Okasha. He rose to prominence mainly because he appeared at a critical juncture in Egypt’s history; that is the January 25th revolution. His phenomenon evolved due to the political and social changes brought about by the revolution. The political fluidity that followed the collapse of Mubarak’s regime gave Tawfik Okasha’s talk show an unprecedented margin of freedom. Such freedom allowed him to present himself as a political commentator “wrapped in the cloaks of sages” according to Nimmo and Newsome’s description. In
sum, the dramatic social and political changes that Egypt witnessed during the past three years have contributed to shaping Tawfik Okaha’s credibility.

5.2 Limitations of the current study:

- The main limitation of this study had to do with the sample selection. A quota sample, despite its many advantages, is a non-probability sample that cannot be used to generalize the results. Therefore the study lacks external validity.
- Due to cost and time considerations, the researcher could not go beyond Greater Cairo and Giza in the selection of participants. This is also one of the limitations as a substantial portion of Okasha’s viewers reside in rural areas. Another limitation had to do with the survey method itself. The researcher had to limit the number of questions because respondents usually do not want to spend a lot of time answering surveys. Including more than one open-ended questions would have provided more in-depth data about Tawfik Okasha. Nevertheless, the survey questions covered almost all aspects of the Okasha phenomenon.
- Finally, the overwhelming majority of the sample consisted of males and therefore the female perspective was not present. It is important because the political participation levels of women has surged during the past 3 years.
5.3 Recommendations for future studies:

- The current study used a quota sample based on education. Future studies could integrate more variables such as age, socioeconomic status, and gender. They could compare how Tawfik Okasha is perceived by different strata of the society.

- There was a trace of the third-person effect in the results. Therefore, future studies could examine the existence of such effect and how it impacts the political attitudes and behavior of the viewers.

- It would be valuable if a comprehensive study is conducted, that not only examines the impact of Tawfik Okasha’s credibility, but also several other prominent Egyptian talk show hosts like Ibrahim Eissa, Lamees El Hadidy, Mahmoud Saad and Yousri Fouda. Other media effects theories such as the agenda setting theory can also be applied.
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92


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Figure (1). Banner displayed in Abbasiya protest showing four talk show hosts in nooses. From “The Trickster in Egypt’s January 25th Revolution,” by W. Armbrust, 2013, Comparative Studies in Society and History, 55, 841


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APPENDIX (A)

English version of Survey

[Image]

Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

Project Title: [The Relationship between Source Credibility and Political Participation: Examining the Egyptian Talk Show “Masr Al Yom” broadcast on Al Faraeen Satellite Channel]

Principal Investigator: Riham Ibrahim

E-mail: rihamibrahim@aucegypt.edu

*You are being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of the research is to examine the credibility of Egyptian Talk Show “Masr Al Yom broadcast on Al Faraeen Satellite Channel”, and the findings may be presented.

The expected duration of your participation is 10-15 minutes.

The procedures of the research will be as follows:

You are kindly asked to complete a questionnaire that consists of 21 questions. Your contribution will be of great value for this study. Thank you in advance for your time and cooperation.

*There will not be certain risks or discomforts associated with this research.

*There [will not be] benefits to you from this research.

*The information you provide for purposes of this research is confidential.

*If you have any further inquiries regarding your participation in this research, please contact me.

rihamibrahim@aucegypt.edu

*Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Signature

Printed Name

Date

115
Please circle the answer that best applies to you:

1. What is your main source for political information? Please choose only one

* Newspapers
* Television
* Internet
* Radio
* Family or friends
* Other, please specify____________

2. How many hours do you spend watching T.V daily?

* Less than an hour
* More than an hour – 2 hours
* More than 2 hours – 3 hours
* More than 3 hours – 4 hours
* More than 4 hours

3. How many hours do you spend watching T.V. talk shows daily?

* Less than an hour
* More than an hour – 2 hours
* More than 2 hours – 3 hours
* More than 3 hours – 4 hours
* More than 4 hours
* Occasionally

4. How often do you watch Tawfik Okasha's talk show "Masr Al Yom" on Al-Faraeen channel?

* Every Day
* 4 to 6 times a week
* 2 to 3 times a week
* Once a week
* Occasionally

* I do not know who Tawfik Okasha is (Please terminate the survey. Thank you for your time)
5. These are statements about T.V talk show host Tawfik Okasha. Please select one choice for each statement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- “Masr Al Yom” talk show is a reliable source for information</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- “Masr Al Yom” talk show is knowledgeable about politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- “Masr Al Yom” talk show has the ability to make accurate predictions about the future</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- I think that the presenters of “Masr Al Yom” talk show are highly intelligent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- I believe that “Masr Al Yom” talk show is honest in its presentation of facts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- I think that the presenters of “Masr Al Yom” talk show are patriotic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- I think that “Masr Al Yom” talk show is genuinely concerned about the welfare of the Egyptian nation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- I think that “Masr Al Yom” talk show is politically independent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- I identify with “Masr Al Yom” talk show on many levels</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- I feel that “Masr Al Yom” talk show is concerned about my well-being</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- I think that “Masr Al Yom” talk show understands my needs and respects my values</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12- I believe that what happened on the 25th of January, 2011 was a real revolution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13- I believe that what happened on the 30th of June, 2013 was a real revolution</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14- I believe that Egypt has many enemies who are still conspiring against its stability</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15- I believe in the existence of a fifth-column in Egypt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16- I am ready to fight and die for my country's sake</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17- I am proud to have participated in protests organized by “Masr Al Yom” talk show</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18- I voted for a particular candidate because “Masr Al Yom” talk show endorsed him</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19- I intend to work in the political campaign of one of the candidates because “Masr Al Yom” talk show supports him</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Do you think that political participation is important for Egypt's future?

*Yes, it is important

*No, it is not important

7. Did you vote in the 2012 presidential elections?

*Yes (Please proceed to the next question)

*No (Please go to Question 9)
8. Who did you vote for?
___________________________________

9. Did you participate in the January 2014 constitutional referendum?
*Yes (Please proceed to the next question)
*No (Skip the next question)

10. Did you vote in favor of the constitution or against it?
*In favor of the constitution (Yes)
*Against the constitution (No)

11. Did you participate in the protests of the January 25th revolution?
*Yes (Please proceed to the next question)
*No (Skip the next question)

12. Did you participate in the protests of the June 30th revolution?
*Yes (Please proceed to the next question)
*No (Skip the next question)

13. What is the political entity that you responded to its call for protesting on the 30th of June?
*A political party
*Tamarrod
*“Masr Al Yom” talk show
*Other, please specify __________________

14. Are you going to participate in the upcoming presidential elections?
*Yes I participated (Please proceed to the next question)
*No (Please go to Question 16)
*Still not sure (Please go to Question 16)

15. If yes, who are you going to vote for?
___________________________________

16. Do you have anything else that you would like to say about “Masr Al Yom” talk show?
___________________________________
**Personal Information**

17. **Gender:**

* Male  
* Female

18. **Age:**

* 18-21 years old  
* 22-35 years old  
* 36-50 years old  
* 51-60 years old  
* Older than 60 years old

19. **Highest level of education completed:**

* Illiterate  
* Reads and writes  
* Less than high school (primary or elementary school)  
* High school  
* Technical diploma  
* Bachelor’s degree  
* Post graduate degree

20. **Employment status:**

* Employed  
* Unemployed  
* Freelancer

21. **Monthly Income:**

* Less than 500 L.E  
* 500-1000 L.E  
* 1000-2000 L.E  
* 2000 -3000 L.E  
* Over 3000 L.E
APPENDIX (B)

Arabic version of Survey

الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

استمارة موافقة مسبقة للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية

عنوان البحث: (تأثير مصداقية المصدر علي المشاركة السياسية بالتطبيق علي برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع علي قناة الفراعين) 
الباحث الرئيسي: ريهام إبراهيم عبد الروز
البريد الإلكتروني: rihamibrahim@aucegypt.edu

انت مدعو للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية عن تأثير مصداقية المصدر علي المشاركة السياسية حيث يتم فحص برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع علي قناة الفراعين.

هناك دراسة هدف الدراسة هو تأثير مصداقية برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع علي قناة الفراعين علي المشاركة السياسية لمشاهديه.

نتائج الدراسة سرجاء ملء هذه الاستمارة التي تحتوي علي 61 سؤال عن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع علي قناة الفراعين وتأثيره على المشاركة السياسية لمشاهديه.

المدة المتوقعة للمشاركة في هذا البحث: (10-15 دقيقة)

إجراء الدراسة

برجاء ملء هذه الاستمارة التي تحتوي علي 16 سؤال عن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع علي قناة الفراعين وتأثيره على المشاركة السياسية لمشاهديه.

السرية واحترام الخصوصية: المعلومات التي ستدل بها في هذا البحث سوف تكون سرية.

" أي أسئلة متعلقة بهذه الدراسة أو حقوق المشاركين فيها أو عند حدوث أي أصابات ناتجة عن هذه المشاركة يجب أن توجه إلى ريهام إبراهيم rihamibrahim@aucegypt.edu.

إن المشاركة في هذه الدراسة ماهي إلا عمل تطوعي، حيث أن الامتناع عن المشاركة لايضمن أي عقوبات أو فقدان أي مزايا تحق لك. ويمكنك أيضا التوقف عن المشاركة في أي وقت من دون عقوبة أو فقدان لهذه المزايا.

الإمضاء: 

اسم المشارك: 
التاريخ: 

121
1. ما هو المصدر الرئيسي الذي تعتمد عليه للحصول على المعلومات الخاصة بالسياسة؟ (برجاء اختيار وسيلة واحد فقط)
   * الصحف
   * التلفزيون
   * الإنترنت
   * الراديو
   * العائلة والأصدقاء
   * مصدر آخر. برجاء ذكره

2. كم ساعة تقضيها في مشاهدة التلفزيون يومياً؟
   * أقل من ساعة
   * من ساعة إلى أقل من ساعتين
   * من ساعتين إلى أقل من ثلاث ساعات
   * من ثلاث ساعات إلى أقل من أربعة ساعات
   * أكثر من أربعة ساعات
   * لا أشاهدها

3. كم ساعة تقضيها في مشاهدة البرامج الحوارية (التوك شو) يومياً؟
   * أقل من ساعة
   * من ساعة إلى أقل من ساعتين
   * من ساعتين إلى أقل من ثلاث ساعات
   * من ثلاث ساعات إلى أقل من أربعة ساعات
   * أكثر من أربعة ساعات
   * لا أشاهدها

4. كم مرة تشاهد برنامج "مصر اليوم" الذي يقدمه توفيق عكاشة على قناة الفراعين?
   * يومياً
   * من 4-6 مرات أسبوعياً
   * من مرتين إلى ثلاثة أسبوعياً
   * مرة واحدة أسبوعياً
   * أشاهده بشكل منقطع
لا أعرف هذا البرنامج ولا مقدمه توفيق عكاشة (شكراً جزيلاً لوقتك. برجاء عدم إكمال الاستبيان)

5. هذه مجموعة من العبارات تتعلق ببرنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين، أرجو معرفة رأيك فيها:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>العبارة</th>
<th>موافق بشدة</th>
<th>موافقاً بخفة</th>
<th>محايد</th>
<th>معارض بشدة</th>
<th>معارض بخفة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. يعتبر برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين مصدر موثوق للمعلومات</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين يتمتع بثقافة سياسية عالية</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين لديه القدرة على التنبؤ بدقة بالأحداث المستقبلية</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. أعتقد أن مقدمي برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين يتمتعون بذكاء عالٍ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. أرى أن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين يعرض الحقائق بأمانة ووضوعية</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. أرى أن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين برنامج وطني</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. أعتقد أن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين مهتم حقاً بمصلحة مصر</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- معارض</td>
<td>محايد</td>
<td>موافق</td>
<td>موافق بشدة</td>
<td>العبارة</td>
<td></td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أرى أن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين مستقل سياسياً (لا ينتمي لأي جهة أو حزب سياسي)</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أشعر بأن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين يشبهني في أشياء كثيرة</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>أشعر بأن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين مهتم بمصلحتي الشخصية كمواطن</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>أعتقد أن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين لديه علم باحتياجاتي كمواطن وحيده احترام لمبادئي وقيمتي الشخصية</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>أرى أن 25 يناير ثورة شعبية حقيقية</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>أرى أن 30 يونيو ثورة شعبية حقيقية</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أعتقد أن مصر لديها أعداء مماثلين يتأمرون على استقرارها</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أعتقد وجود طابور خامس داخل مصر</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. أنا مستعد للقتال والموت من أجل مصر...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>العبرة</th>
<th>لا يعتقدوني على</th>
<th>معارض بشدة</th>
<th>معارض</th>
<th>محايد</th>
<th>وافق</th>
<th>وافق بشدة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>لا</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. أشعر بالفخر لأنني شاركت في مظاهرة نظمها برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين...

18. قمت بالتصويت لصالح مرشح لأن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين أظهر مساندته له...

19. أتمنى القيام بالعمل في الحملة الانتخابية للسيسي لأن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع على قناة الفراعين...

6. هل تظن أن المشاركة في العملية السياسية مهم لمستقبل البلاد؟ (مثال: التصويت في الانتخابات والاستفتاءات، العمل في حملة أحد المرشحين...الخ)

- نعم، المشاركة مهمة

- لا، المشاركة ليست مهمة

- محايد

7. هل شاركت في الانتخابات الرئاسية التي جرت في صيف 2012؟

- نعم (انتقال إلى السؤال التالي)

- لا (انتقال إلى سؤال رقم 9)

8. من هو المرشح الذي أعطيته صوتك؟

9. هل شاركت في الاستفتاء على الدستور هذا العام (يناير 2014)؟

- نعم (انتقال إلى السؤال التالي)
لا (انتقال إلى سؤال رقم 11)

10. هل قمت بالتصويت بنعم أم بلا في الاستفتاء؟
* نعم

لا

11. هل شاركت في مظاهرات ثورة الخامس والعشرين من يناير 2011؟
* نعم، شاركت

لا، لم أشترك *

12. هل شاركت في مظاهرات ثورة 30 يونيو 2013؟
* نعم شاركت (انتقال إلى السؤال التالي)

لا لم أشترك (انتقال إلى سؤال رقم 14)

13. ما هي الجهات التي استجابت لدعوتها من أجل التظاهر يوم 30 يونو؟ (يمكنك اختيار إجابتين)
* حزب سياسي
*تمرد
* برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع علي قناة الفراعين
*  ____________________________________________
* آخر. يرجى ذكرها

14. هل ستقوم بالتصويت في الانتخابات الرئاسية القادمة؟
* نعم (انتقال إلى السؤال التالي)

لا (انتقال إلى سؤال رقم 16)
* لم أقرر بعد (انتقال إلى سؤال رقم 16)

15. إذا كنت تنوي المشاركة، فمن المرشح الذي ستصوت لصالحه؟

16. هل لديك أي شيء آخر تود قوله عن برنامج مصر اليوم المذاع علي قناة الفراعين؟

-------------------------------------------
المعلومات الشخصية:

17. الجنس
* ذكر* أنثى

18. الفئة العمرية
* 18-21 عام
* 18-22 عام
* 18-35 عام
* 18-40 عام
* 18-50 عام
* 18-51 عام
* أكبر من 60 عام

19. مستوى التعليم
* غير متعلم
* يقرأ ويكتب
* شهادة ابتدائية أو إعدادية
* الثانوية العامة
* دبلوم فني
* حاصل علي شهادة جامعية عليا

20. المهنة:
* لا يعمل* يعمل في مهنة وهي: _______

21. الدخل الشهري
* أقل من 500 جنيه
* من 500-1000 جنيه
* من 1000-2000 جنيه
* من 2000-3000 جنيه
* أكثر من 3000 جنيه
APPENDIX (C)

CAPMAS Approval

قرار رئيس الجهاز المركزي للتنقيح العامة والإحصاء بالتفويض
رقم (236) لسنة 2014


رئيس الجهاز

بعد الإبلاغ على القرار الجمهوري رقم (219) لسنة 1994 بشأن إنشاء وتنظيم الجهاز،

وعلى قرار رئيس الجهاز رقم (121) لسنة 1998 في شأن إجراء الإحصاءات والمعطيات والإستقصاءات.

وعلى قرار رئيس الجهاز رقم (131) لسنة 2007 بشأن التفويض في بعض الاختصاصات.

وعلى الإبلاغ على فكرة العرض على رئيس الجهاز وموافقة موجهته على ما ورد بها.

وعلى كتاب الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة الاراده الوراء للجهاز في 5/5/2014.

قرارات

مادة 1: تقوم الباحثة: ريهام إبراهيم عبد الروؤف إبراهيم - المسوقة لدراسة الماجستير بقسم الصحافة - كلية الإعلام - الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة - بإجراء الدراسة الميدانية والمراقبة لها على:

- مادة 2: تجري الدراسة على عدد جماع (200) من مجموع المجرري من الجمهور المصري بالمناطق التالية:

- مادة 3: تجمع البيانات للفحص الدورة طبقاً للأشياء المحددة لهذا الغرض ومعدة من الجهاز المركزي للتنقيح العامة والإحصاء وعدد صفحاتها (سبعة).

- مادة 4: يراعى موافقة معرفة الجهة - مع مراعاة سرية البيانات والسرية وعدم استخدام البيانات التي يتم جمعها لأغراض أخرى غير أغراض هذه الدراسة.

مادة 2: يجري العمل الميداني خلال شهر من تاريخ صدور هذا القرار.

مادة 3: يوافق الجهاز المركزي للتنقيح العامة والإحصاء بناءً على النتائج النهائية لهذه الدراسة.

مادة 4: يتطلب الباحثة: ريهام إبراهيم عبد الروؤف إبراهيم - باللغة المقدمة الألمانية بمحافظة القاهرة والجزء.

مادة 5: ينطف هذا القرار من تاريخ صدوره.

صدر في 5/5/2014

أحمد عطية محمد
مدير إدارة القائمة العامة للنمر

128