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THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

Hate Speech in Egyptian Television Talk Shows: A Qualitative Study

A Thesis

The School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

The Public Policy and Administration Department

by: Caroline Magdi Elias

Supervisor: Naila Hamdy, PhD

Abstract

This research aims to examine hate speech in Egyptian talk shows. Firstly, the research examines how international and Egyptian frameworks deal with the doctrine of freedom of speech and expression in relation to the hate speech issue. Secondly, the research investigates the issue of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows through holding in-depth qualitative interviews with Egyptian media practitioners, media experts, and media policy and decision-makers. The hypothesis of the study is that the spread of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows is mostly intended to serve political and institutional agendas. Therefore, the data analysis examines how hate speech is understood in Egypt, the causes of this phenomenon, its effects on the Egyptian society as well as suggested solutions to combat it.

According to the data analysis, the researcher has found that the major root causes of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows are social illiteracy as well as the confusion between the right to free speech and the practicing of hate speech. In addition, according to the data analysis, the hypothesis that hate speech in Egyptian talk shows occurs mostly due to political reasons, institutional corruption or personal agendas has been confirmed. Women, refugees, oppositionists and religious minorities are subjected the most to hate speech in Egypt. Finally, policies adjustments, recommended by experts and policy makers, in order to combat hate speech or at least to dilute its effects are suggested.

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List of Abbreviations

AFTE: The Association for Freedom of Thought and Expression

AUC: The American University in Cairo

CoE: Council of Europe

CPJ: Committee To Protect Journalists

ECHR: European Convention on Human Rights (and Fundamental Freedoms)

EEF: Egyptian Editors Forum

EJN: Ethical Journalism Network

EMDP: Egypt Media Development Program

EU: European Union

ICCPR: International / United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

LGBT: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender

NUQ: Northwestern University in Qatar

PSTIC: Psycho-Social Services and Training Institute in Cairo

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN: United Nations

UN HRC: United Nations Human Rights Council

US: United States of America

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The media in Egypt usually face several difficulties. The laws that govern the performance of the media and the press in Egypt are conflicting with the assurances stated in the Egyptian Constitution.

Both the Egyptian Constitution of 2014 and the official media and press Charters of Honor guarantee the freedom of speech, as well as regulate some aspects of hate speech. However, in reality, the media scene in Egypt is completely different. Besides the strict regulations imposed on lawful speech, the media are flooded with hate speech (Al Aswad, 2017). The Egyptian executive authority has a say in the work of the press and the media in both direct and indirect ways. In addition, some cases of hate speech in Egyptian broadcasts confirm the influence of media owners over the content presented on television (TV) (Al Aswad, 2017). This is even more apparent in the time taken in enforcing the laws that should protect the people subjected to severe hate speech in the media and the press under the constitutional umbrella. The major source of the problem is not only in the delay of law enforcement but also in the obvious lack of self-regulation, which is the major reason behind that observable increase of the hate speech phenomenon in the Egyptian media scene (Al Aswad, 2017).

Another major problem is the lack of agreement on a clear definition of the term “Hate Speech”. There have been many different ways and definitions used to conceptualize and explain it. Numerous studies have been undertaken by scholars, policymakers and media institutions to set a clear notion of hate speech, especially with the confusion existing with the concept of freedom of expression (Jarallah, Jung, Lynch, Monir, Nazemi, Reisman, 2018; White, 1976). One of these studies was the research-based guidelines “Glossary of hate speech in the Egyptian

media”, a booklet that provides guidelines to media practitioners and journalists in order to help them avoid using hate speech. This glossary states that “free criticism of individuals and groups is allowed within ethical limits... free speech should be practiced without any incitement to violence, to discrimination and/or to the rejection of others” (Hamdy et al., 2016, p.17).

Addressing the issue of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows is a challenging task. A set of rights affecting three different parties should be considered to give justice to a discussion of the issues of hate speech. The first party is the decision makers who impose regulations on hate speech and have the right to set regulations and monitor the media. This right is of great importance since self-regulation is not always the way to monitor hate speech. Secondly, Egyptian TV channels, as well as their agendas, should be taken into consideration, same as their right to express their content freely. The third party is the TV audience whose rights for dignity and equality should also be taken into consideration. The TV audience should include those who are subjected to hate speech, and, therefore, are harmed by it. The rights of those three groups are usually opposed to one another as far as setting limits on the freedom of expression is concerned so as not to cross the red line toward hate speech (Gelashvili, 2018)

To make a tradeoff between these opposing interests of the three different parties, it is imperative to analyze the two key concepts of this research; Freedom of Speech and Hate Speech. To do so, this paper will seek to carefully define the concept of hate speech, explain the reasons behind its occurrence and identify its regulations in Egypt. Accordingly, this study will investigate the reasons behind the escalation of the hate speech phenomenon in the Egyptian talk shows by holding interviews with media experts, decision-makers, scholars, media practitioners, as well as the individuals subjected to hate speech.

1.2 Why hate speech in the Egyptian talk shows matters

It is important to look at the media scene in Egypt and to have a solid understanding on how it is run. This would enable the reader to understand further the freedom of the media in Egypt, its regulations, and its ownership. This also shows that television constitutes the most important source of information for the Egyptian audience and for this reason, it is even more important to look at the content of Egyptian talk shows that may be loaded with hate speech and may, therefore, leak its dangerous effects on the Egyptian society.

The significance of this study is derived from the lack of research done on this subject, especially in Egypt. In addition, according to the Egyptian Syndicate of the Media, Egypt has a deficiency of data sources related to the media (2018).

1.3 Background on Egyptian TV broadcast scene and its influence

Egypt is amongst the first Arab countries to have a strong international media influence (Elena, 2016). Accordingly, the Egyptian media play a vital and very effective role in the Middle East as a whole (Abdulla, 2014). Indeed, Egypt is one of the leading countries in the Arab region that has instigated various liberal initiatives to cope with the global developments in communication technologies (Hamada, 2014). This means that the Egyptian media have a high rate of traffic on their platforms due to the large audience.

One of the reasons that make the Egyptian media very influential is that it has had, since 1952, a central dynamic model of broadcasting for Radio and Television by its powerful Egyptian Radio and Television Union located in Cairo, Egypt. The history of the Egyptian broadcasts highlights the way that the Egyptian government uses the media as an essential and authoritative political tool, especially in a country with a high illiteracy rate and since broadcasts usually depend on the spoken word. For this reason, broadcasting in Egypt is considered to be

“an arm of the government to guide and mobilize the public” (Amin, 2009). Therefore, the influence of the Egyptian media on Egyptian society should be elaborated in details in a theoretical structure as will be explained later on.

The media is the Egyptian government’s tool for directing public opinion and attitudes. This can be explained by the fact that Egypt suffers from a high illiteracy rate among its people and thus, the visual media are considered the most appropriate tool of communication between the government and the people. Consequently, when hate speech is remarkably high in the Egyptian media, it raises the alarm that it could be deliberate hate speech with a political agenda (Al Assad, 2017). For these reasons, a deeper investigation is essential in order for the reader to understand the underlying motives and drives behind the spread of such a phenomenon in our media, and become aware, as well, for whose benefits this hate speech is directed.

1.4 The structure of Egyptian TV Broadcast

NileSat, a most recent development, is considered one of the most important and lucrative projects that have supported the role of the media in the entire Arab region, and specifically in Egypt. It has granted free access to the audience, providing households with a satellite that has diverse channels and offering many choices (Amin, 2009). The first cable channel in Egypt was launched in October 1990, with the establishment of Cable News Egypt (CNE) in a cooperative agreement with the CNN. The NileSat-101 carries 12 transponders, each one of them having the capability to transmit at least eight television channels. The second NileSat was launched in 2000 with more than 200 television stations, and than 60 radio stations (Amin 2004, 2009).

The turning point that re-shaped the Egyptian media scene was the moving away of audiences from the local terrestrial broadcast due to the intense governmental regulation over the

national TV channels (Mendel, 2011). This authoritarian regulation has instilled a sense of untrustworthiness and dissatisfaction with the national TV in the Egyptian audience. As a result, NileSat has become the most trusted and most credible satellite package, which carries more than 200 TV channels from Europe, Egypt, Asia, the USA, and the Gulf region; thus, directing the flow of audiences from the national terrestrial TV toward NileSat. The terrestrial television system operates under complete governmental supervision, leaving private stations able to operate only via the satellite. Licenses and frequencies were issued and assigned by the General Authority for Investment (GAFI), which is affiliated to the Ministry of Investment, and, therefore, is still a part of the government. According to Egypt's media landscape, satellite channels usually enjoy more liberty than terrestrial channels; therefore, they can, to some extent, criticize government decisions or policies. Those satellite channels, which are not monitored or governed by any charters or regulations, are considered the most favored platforms by the audience (Allam, 2018).

The BBC has highlighted the fact that the Egyptian TV and film industry supplies many of the Arabic-speaking world with different shows from its Media Production City. According to its report about the Egyptian media profile, the BBC listed a number of important Egyptian TV satellite channels, such as Dream TV, Al-Mihwar, Al-Nahar, ON E, Al-Hayah, and CBC.

As mentioned earlier, the Egyptian TV is the top source of news information among Egyptian audiences, which makes its content sensitivity a very important matter. Although Egyptians depend on many other mass media outlets for information, such as printed newspapers, social media, and radio, almost all Egyptians watch TV, similar to other nationals of other countries (96% Egyptians vs. 93% other nationals). In contrast, Egyptians use other types of offline media, including TV, radio, newspapers, books, and magazines, less than other nationals in the region (33% Egyptians use the radio vs. 49% other nationals; 16% use

newspapers vs. 25%; 16% use books vs. 29%; and 11% use magazines vs. 19%). Three-quarters of Egyptians receive news from TV on a daily basis (77%), similar to other countries in the region (78%). On the other hand, a smaller number of Egyptians choose to receive their news on their smartphones on a daily basis (42% Egyptians vs. 67% for other nationals). To be more specific, around 73% of Egyptian smartphone owners do not watch news videos on their smartphones, while the rest do so on a daily basis. Although Egyptians agree that TV is the most important source for information and news, their dependence on it was very high until 2013 but later has declined during the past three to four years (NUQ, 2017).

| Year | Importance of TV in news and Info. |
|------|------------------------------------|
| 2013 | 84% |
| 2015 | 75% |
| 2017 | 74% |

(Media Use in the Middle East, 2017 by the Northwestern University in Qatar, p. 126,127)

This rate of TV broadcast viewership in the Egyptian sphere enables TV to have a powerful influence on Egyptian audiences. Thus, it has become their first and most trusted source of information, as well as the main source of entertainment. According to Dina Hashem, who worked for Universal Media, in her interview on 16th July 2015 with Mada Masr newspaper, nearly 90% of her clients' advertising budgets are directed toward television, since the traffic on TV is higher than that on any other mass medium. Television revenues are mainly generated from advertisements aired during talk shows and soap operas. For that reason, a severe competition exists among TV channels for the advertising pie. Media specialists and experts argue that most, if not all, Egyptian satellite channels spend huge amounts of money to get the

largest rate of audiences' share. The holy month of Ramadan presents a good example of that unbalanced market. During Ramadan of 2017, for example, private stations spent around EGP 2bn and 50m to buy and/or produce exclusive content; however, the whole advertisements' revenues did not exceed the EGP 800m (Allam, 2018). The competition taking place between channels for the highest viewership rates, and accordingly for more advertising, makes us wonder how far these channels are willing to go in order to win this competition. This also raises an important question as to whether hate speech is a part of this game or not. In other words, is adding spices to the TV talk shows becoming now a way to attract more audiences or not? This is what should be answered via the data analysis of this research.

TV broadcast is not only limited to the TV set as a medium but it also includes the TV channels offered on YouTube. Most Egyptian TV channels have their own online archives, which their audiences can go back to in order to watch their favorite programs. Those platforms have made it easier for the audiences to watch, to skip advertisements, and, most importantly, to share the content and to comment on it. The presence of online TV channels has allowed the audience to be more interactive with the content presented than ever before, especially with talk shows. According to the Northwestern University report (2014) about watching TV in the MENA region, Egypt was ranked the second, after Tunisia, in watching television online.

The strong reliance on TV programs in receiving information in Egypt makes these programs and their hate speech content powerful and influential. The relationship between making a hate speech and violence has been proved throughout history (Gelashvili, 2018). Hate speech, in general, was a major tool used to promote discrimination and slavery in Colonial America, to increase the tensions in Bosnia, and to help in the rise of the Third Reich (Shaw, 2011). In 2015, the UN Human Rights Committee's (UN HRC) Special Rapporteur on Minority

Issues asserted that even if hateful messages do not result in actual crimes, they can create a pre-condition in which hate crimes can take place. According to this report, hate crimes are most likely to happen because of the earlier stigmatization and dehumanization of the targeted victims, who are referred to in this paper as being “subjected to hate speech.”

Therefore, the important question here is to know whether hate speech in TV programs can initiate real-life events and lead to violence. Consequently, this study is vital in order to explore how hate speech is understood by media practitioners, experts, and media policymakers, as well as what its effects are, especially since there are only a few studies done on hate speech within the Egyptian TV broadcast.

1.5 Key terms in the research

This section will help the reader to understand the most common terms used in the literature review and in the data analysis section.

Television talk shows: Television talk shows are a popular form of daily TV programs. Media scholars have examined this type of shows in terms of their use as public space forums (Gamson, 1998; Livingstone, 1994). TV talks show segments are conceptualized as "persuasive messages" (Nabi & Hendriks, 2003, p. 528). Hate speech examples that are included in this thesis are from Egyptian TV talk shows that discuss social and political media contents.

Media literacy: Media literacy is a contemporary concept that appeared due to the increase in the audiences' and in the readers' interaction with the media outlets they are exposed to. In 1993, Scott McCloud presented the concept of Visual Literacy in his work, *Understanding Comics*. Likewise, John Debes, the founder of the International Visual Literacy Association, was the first to coin this term in 1969. Media literacy is important for identifying what to look for and learning how to evaluate it critically.

The concept of media literacy will be discussed in the literature, in relation to hate speech. This research study aims to reinforce the link between the audiences' media literacy and their awareness of the factors behind hate speech, on the one hand, and how to deal with such content on the other hand. To fully understand the concept of media literacy, it is necessary to have a review of its background and definitions.

Media Analysis: People's engagement with both print and audiovisual media has been proven to be reliant, to some extent, on analytic competencies. In the audiovisual sphere, this analysis includes, first, an understanding of its nature, categories, languages, technologies, methods, forms of representations and media audiences.

The second step is Evaluation and comes after analysis depicts the need for audiences to have the critical skills needed to evaluate the content they receive via the media. Media content evaluation is important in countering hate speech, since it gives the ability to the audience to evaluate, judge, and acquire the skill of 'hierarchical discrimination' or discriminating the good from bad, as well as the authoritative from the unreliable. Since TV broadcasting has, as of recent, extended to be online too, media audiences now can comment on it or follow it up. Accordingly, it is argued that people achieve a deeper understanding of the conventions and merits of the professionally- produced media content if they have direct experience in content production (Livingstone, 2014).

Hate speech: There are many conceptions around the term "hate speech" with different definitions based on the literature review. Hate speech can be practiced in many forms, such as via cursing words, defamation, negative discrimination, and the incitement to violence and hatred. Hate speech in the media can be also practiced through spreading fake news or false information. Usually, both defamation and fake news are explored, independently, as different

topics; however, it is inevitable to connect them to the phenomenon of hate speech (Gelashvili, 2018).

It is a difficult job to define the concept of hate speech (Sevasti, 2014), which is one of the main approaches of this thesis; however, it is important to state, as a start, the most common definition or meaning of the term “hate speech”. According to the Council of Europe (CoE) Committee of Ministers, hate speech is defined as “all forms of speech which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin” (CoE, 1997).

Television broadcast: This research looks at the Egyptian TV broadcasting programs, and especially, at talk shows. In this paper, “TV talk shows” refers to the shows on the TV set as well as their archive on YouTube. So, basically, talk shows discussed in this paper are watched on both TV sets and YouTube channels. Each satellite channel discussed in the research has its own channel on YouTube that broadcasts the same programs aired on regular TV.

Misinformation (often referred to as Fake News / False News): Misinformation is essentially reporting false information on the events covered. Fake news may also refer to the complete made-up story published or broadcasted as news. It is described by Michelle Luhtala and Jacquelyn Whiting, in 2018, as “Alternative Facts” (Mould, 2018). The term “Fake News” was ultimately selected by Collins Dictionary as the 2017 Word of the Year. It is defined as “false, often sensational, information disseminated under the guise of news reporting” (Collins 2017). Collins Dictionary described it as ‘fake news,’ either as a statement of fact or as an

accusation which has been inescapable this year, contributing to the undermining of society's trust in news reporting" (The New York Times, 2017).

Definition of the term "Fake News," with the purpose of defamation, has been considered as a sub-category of hate speech, because it may lead to discrimination or incitement to hatred against a person, a foreign country, or a group of people. Therefore, fake news is, sometimes, intentionally practiced for a specific purpose or agenda. "We define 'fake news' to be news articles that are intentionally and verifiably false, and could mislead readers" (Mould, 2018, 372).

Politicized hate speech: In this research, politicized hate speech refers to the intentional hate speech that follows a specific political agenda or serves political purposes. Politicized hate speech also refers to hate speech that is caused by an intentional relaxation in law and regulation enforcement against hate speech in order to achieve political gains. Political hate speech could serve either internal or external political agendas.

1.6 Research Questions

The background of the Egyptian media scene highlights a critical issue that is worth investigating. Since the Egyptian broadcasting system is regulated, to some extent, by the authorities, and since it is the main tool of communication between the government and the Egyptian people, it is necessary to explore the reasons behind the hate speech phenomenon.

In addition, a fundamental contradiction related to this phenomenon in Egypt exists. TV broadcasters, who practice hate speech, believe that this speech is part of their freedom of expression. However, the literature on the freedom of expression in Egypt asserted that Egypt does not enjoy freedom of expression. This confusion raises the following main three research questions; the first question includes two sub-questions:

- 1) How is the concept of hate speech interpreted in Egypt?
 - Where does freedom of expression stop and hate speech start?
 - How is hate speech conceptualized among media professionals and the people subjected to it?
- 2) To what extent is hate speech presented in Egyptian broadcasts, intentionally practiced?
- 3) What are the actions or procedures that are taken, professionally, to limit hate speech in Egyptian broadcasts?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The problem of hate speech has been the focus of many research studies. More specifically, the main debate has been on protecting free speech and regulating harmful speech. Some research has dealt with the confusion between the right to freedom of expression and the right to dignity which signifies confusion between free speech and the red lines that should not be crossed.

Only a few studies have looked at the purposefully politicized attitude towards hate speech, particularly in Egyptian talk shows. One of those research studies on hate speech in Egyptian media is a research study conducted by Maha Al Aswad in 2017, an independent researcher in the field of freedom of speech and public policy. Al Aswad has published a paper on the challenges of freedom of speech in Egyptian media with the Egyptian Center for Public Policy Studies (ECPPS). Her research examines the point that Egyptian media is politically directed, including its hate speech content. The second research is by Sarah Eissa in 2018, who has conducted a quantitative research study on hate speech in Arabic newspapers at the American University in Cairo. She has examined whether the victims of hate speech differ according to different governments.

The term “Hate Speech” has been hardly studied in the research conducted in Egypt, especially regarding investigating the reasons behind its appearance on Egyptian TV. There were many research studies conducted on hate speech in social media and in newspapers, and both global and Egyptian legal frameworks have touched upon several issues, such as negative discrimination, racism, incitement to violence, and hatred. However, the phenomenon of hate speech in Egyptian broadcasts has not been adequately examined.

The literature review looks at the confusion between hate speech and freedom of expression. It also examines how international human rights charters outline the right to free speech and its limits; then, examines how the national Egyptian media institutions, as well as the Egyptian constitution, approach the issue, whether directly or indirectly. In addition, the literature review analyzes the difference between how freedom of expression is theoretically understood and how it is implemented in Egypt in order to understand the extent of regulation on speech in the Egyptian media, and, accordingly, the regulation control on acts of hate speech.

In brief, this section reviews the diverse perceptions of freedom of expression and hate speech. Then, it analyzes the international human rights framework approaches, the doctrine of freedom of expression, and the human dignity aspect. Afterwards, it analyzes the Egyptian framework on that same issue and elaborates on the real situation in the Egyptian media. Furthermore, it examines ethical decision-making in the media and the press, referred to as “self-regulation” as one of the most recommended methods to regulate hate speech in the media. Lastly, it sheds light on the different ways the term “hate speech” is interpreted as well as its forms and the different factors affecting it.

2.2 The debate concerning regulating free speech and expression

To understand the debate on freedom of expression and its limits, we should first understand how freedom of expression is observed, and, more importantly, also understand the arguments on the necessity of freedom of expression regulation. It has become more difficult than ever to make a balance or a tradeoff between the two important rights of human beings; dignity and free speech in the mass media, especially with the wide use of the internet worldwide (Gelashvili, 2018). For example, each country has taken a different approach to create a balance between individuals’ dignity and free speech, since some acts of free speech violate human

dignity. For instance, in the United States, hate speech is only prohibited when it creates a threat of immediate violence, while in many European countries, hate speech is a criminal act which is legally prohibited (Lynd, 1975).

Thomas Scanlon has explained the disadvantages of the doctrine of freedom of expression. According to him, the doctrine of freedom of expression is one of the most important acts that is protected and that is exempted from the restrictions and regulations to which other acts are subjected. There are some cases, however, where this protected speech or expression is used as a shield against certain restrictions and regulations, which would normally require facing legal liabilities despite the harmful consequences that can result. Consequently, this doctrine could be characterized as irrational and this was portrayed by Justice Holmes (Scanlon, 1972). We can conclude that the doctrine of free speech would be considered more rational if it were subjected to any kind of restrictions; thus, in many cases it should be regulated when it goes beyond the limits of freedom of expression and turns into harmful speech act or ‘hate speech’.

There are many other perceptions related to regulating freedom of expression; however, there are three major ones, in particular, that should be looked at with more elaboration (Gelashvili, 2018). John Stuart Mill, one of the most prominent liberal defenders of unrestrained free speech as a concept, believes in any freedom doctrine, regardless of the immorality carried by a statement or a message (Van Mill, 2002). He stated that *“If the arguments of the present chapter are of any validity, there ought to exist the fullest liberty of professing and discussing, as a matter of ethical conviction, any doctrine, however immoral it may be considered”* (Mill, 1869, p.32). Mill’s approach suggests that public debate is a fundamental requirement for social progress. He claimed that individuals can only fully enjoy their dignity if granted complete freedom of expression (O’Rourke, 2001). His views toward freedom of expression have some

limitations, however, since the Millian concept does not take into consideration the negative consequences of “complete” or even unregulated freedom of expression, but ignores its harm as well (Gelashvili,2018).

Alexander Meiklejohn, on the other hand, views freedom of speech as a pre-condition for democracy. From his point of view, freedom of expression is an important step toward political democracy (Meiklejohn, 1965). Meiklejohn’s view toward freedom of expression is not very different from that of Mill’s. They both believe that freedom of speech and expression should be completely guaranteed with no restrictions at all. In Mill’s view, freedom of expression is important for knowledge and social progress while Meiklejohn sees it is important for political democratic participation (Gelashvili, 2018). However, both views lead to the same result, which is that free speech and expression should not be subjected to any kind of restrictions or regulations for the purposes of social progress and public awareness, or for the sake of unrestricted democracy.

The feminist legal scholar, Catharine MacKinnon argues that there is a critical conflict between equality and liberty. According to her, the principle of free speech has developed without any consideration of equality (MacKinnon, 1993). Therefore, according to her, hate speech, caused by irresponsible free speech that ignores the rights of others causes inequality between individuals. Accordingly, in her argument, she highlighted a genuinely important point which is that unregulated free speech is considered a human right which, in some cases, may violate other human rights with its discrimination or harmful speech. According to MacKinnon, pornography, for example, should fall under negative discrimination rather than only defamation. Pornography discriminates against women because of the way it represents them on the screen. MacKinnon then elaborates: “Statements are discriminatory acts and are legally seen as such...

such statements can also evidence discrimination or show that patterns of inequality are motivated by discriminatory animus” (MacKinnon, 1993, p.13).

Other philosophers, following the same concept as MacKinnon, choose more to defend human dignity than to advocate for the unregulated right of free speech. Among those philosophers is Jeremy Waldron, one of the few philosophers who clarified the difference between freedom of speech and hate speech. His thoughts stand against free speeches that contain violence or discrimination. His main concern focused on the dignity of humans; thus, he stressed that any type of speech that violates human dignity, whether directly or indirectly, could cause psychological damage and therefore should be prohibited. Regulating hate speech, according to him, could contribute to securing the rights of the excluded members of the society (Waldron, 2012).

Those scholars have had different views toward the doctrine of freedom of speech and whether it should be regulated or not. Those views have been elaborated on due to the confusion between the right to free speech and expression and the right to a “complete” and unregulated speech (Rutherglen, 1987). Unregulated speech may lead to negative consequences on the society. One of the key premises of hate speech regulation is that speech-based harm is prevalent and severe enough to be subjected to speech regulation (Bennett, 2015) which is recommended since all acts of expression could be turned into violent and damaging ones. Therefore, it is important to work out a clear distinction between speech and action that should fit our clearest intuitions about which acts do, and which do not qualify for protection (Scanlon, 1972).

2.3 International framework: Freedom of Speech Vs. Hate speech

There is an ongoing debate on whether hate speech should be restricted by governments or should be considered part of free speech, although hate speech is regarded as a negative

feature of free speech according to several scholars and governments. Freedom of speech is protected by The Universal Declaration of Human rights (UDHR) of 1948, United Nations Covenant on Civil Right and Political Rights (ICCPR) of 1966, and the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) of 1950. All these documents have stressed the right to freedom of expression. On the other hand, many of them (i.e., the UDHR and the ICCPR) do not just leave the right to freedom of expression to be openly and randomly practiced; they set some restrictions in order to prevent hate speech and discrimination against individuals in the society (Rosenfeld, 2003)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 demonstrates the dilemma of preserving the right to free speech while preventing discrimination. The first non-binding document of the UDHR was adopted at the end of the Holocaust and was intended to promote the protection of human rights in order to end the violations that took place in the past (Sangsuvan, 2014). The UDHR sought to find a proper balance between the right for equal treatment amongst the members of the society, on the one hand, and freedom of expression, on the other hand. Therefore, it states, in Article 7, that *“All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination”*. The seventh article in the UDHR contains values of fundamental importance; it acknowledges the right for equal protection before the law (UDHR, Art. 7). On the other hand though, the UDHR also declares that everyone has the right to freedom of speech and expression, It states that *“everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”* (UDHR, Art. 19). The

UDHR, therefore, provides the grounds for regulating freedom of expression when it violates other human rights. However, hate speech is not considered to be violating human rights because the text does not explicitly or clearly refer to the term “hate speech” as a certain concept to be combated (Gelashvili, 2018).

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) generally claimed to be one of the most important and comprehensive international instruments in addressing hate speech, adopted the same attitude toward that matter. The ICCPR does not clearly mention the term “hate speech”; however, the document precisely addresses two different styles of hate speech. Article 19 included the right to freedom of expression and expressing opinions without interference. It stated that *“everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice”* (ICCPR, Art.19). Afterwards, it specified that freedom of expression should not extend to harming others. *The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may, therefore, be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary.”* It highlights specific rights to be respected under the practice of freedom of expression, such as the respect of the rights or reputations of others, the protection of national security or of public order or of public health and morals (ICCPR, Art. 19). In addition, it makes it even more specific in Article 20 by presenting some forms of hate speech, but still without mentioning the term “hate speech” precisely. For example, it calls for a lawful and legal prohibition of any propaganda for war, and any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence (ICCPR, Art 20).

Although these documents sought to create a balance between the right to freedom of expression and other human rights, it did not include all forms of hate speech, which is a challenging issue considering the new forms of hate speech that are continually on the increase. Yet, if the term “hate speech” was included in the ICCPR, it could have covered as many types of hate speech as possible. However, the term “hate speech” could also be misused in order to combat harmless or lawful speech (Redish, 1982). Therefore, the ICCPR has exerted many efforts to protect human dignity. It has obligated countries that have ratified the treaty to protect and preserve basic human rights, such as the right to life, the right to human dignity, the right to a fair trial, equality before the law, religious freedom and privacy, and gender equality (Sangsuvan, 2014). Moreover, it has demanded the governments involved to take administrative, judicial, and legislative measures in order to protect and defend the rights stated in the treaty (ACLU, 2019).

Despite the presence of those treaties and laws, formulated in order to deal with the issues of free speech and to protect human dignity, some countries still deal with freedom of expression and hate speech in different manners. Consequently, these countries have not succeeded in developing a unified stand on this issue (Redish, 1982). Some countries set their own rules according to what suits their ideologies and history. For example, if a country’s history was full of discrimination and racism, it would then set the rules to regulate freedom of expression, while some other countries prefer to adopt an unlimited right of freedom of expression as long as it does not violate their national security (Sunstein,1993). Countries and scholars that believe in unregulated freedom of expression have extended criticism against hate speech laws and claim that some groups could use these laws to “backlash against severe penal regulations” (Goldberg,

2017, p. 9). According to them, some of the groups who could be subjected to harmless criticism could misuse these laws to their advantage in courtrooms and present themselves as victims.

In the United States, for example, hate speech is given strong constitutional protection as it is considered an integral part of free speech. However, according to the International Human Rights Convention, and most Western democracies such as Germany, Canada, and the United Kingdom, hate speech is strongly prohibited by law and its perpetrators also subjected to criminal sanctions (Rosenfeld, 2003). In Germany, hate speech cannot rise to the level of discourse that merits constitutional protection at all. Some legal systems deal with hate speech as an uncertain way that raises doubts, as they deal with hate speech as a term, which suggests that it is a form of speech and, accordingly, “speech” should be protected by liberal states. However, this kind of “speech” is either motivated by hatred or carries violent messages. Accordingly, Germany has chosen not to protect this kind of speech by its constitution (Brugger, 2003). In addition, Germany's criminal code also made it unlawful to “*disturb the peace ... incite hatred against segments of the population or call for violent or arbitrary measures against them; or ... assault human dignity of others by insulting, maliciously maligning or defaming segments of the population . . .*” (GCC, Section 130, 1998). The code pointed to hate speech prohibition in the media as well. *If it “disseminates a presentation of the content indicated in No 1 above by radio, media services, or telecommunication services...shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding three years or a fine”* (Section 130).

2.4 Freedom of Speech in Egypt: Constitutional and legal framework Vs. Reality

The situation in Egypt is full of contradictions. The Egyptian constitution of 2014, the media and press regulatory law, along with the media and press charters in Egypt have guaranteed the right to free speech (Al Aswad, 2017). Moreover, there are also regulations

passed against discrimination and incitement to hatred. However, enforcing these regulations has not always been properly practiced (Elliott et al., 2016). Some studies show that freedom of speech is being violated in Egypt, with no attempt to combat hate speech. Regulations on hate speech are obviously misused to restrict lawful free speech. After 2011, freedom of the media has become very unstable and witnessed opposition and politicization (Elliott et al., 2016). The Egyptian law sets regulations on the acts of discrimination, for example, but it does not precisely protect minorities. When hate speech gets used against minorities in the Egyptian TV, the enforcement of the law does not take place. On the other hand, freedom of expression, which is guaranteed by the Egyptian constitution and the press Code of Ethics, is definitely not protected when practiced by journalists who, for example, criticize the government.

Freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Egyptian constitution of 2014, while the messages that carry hatred have been regulated; however, Egypt is one of the countries least likely to enjoy freedom of expression. Article 53 guarantees that all citizens have, without discrimination, the right to freedom as a general right, specifying that *“all citizens are equal before the Law. They are equal in rights, freedoms and general duties, without discrimination based on religion, belief, sex, origin, race, color, language, disability, social class, political or geographic affiliation or any other reason”* (Art. 53, 2014). This article focuses on two important concerns the first being the right to freedom of expression while the second is the avoidance of discrimination. The same article also highlights the red lines that free speech should not exceed as it specifies that freedom should not encompass being disrespectful to others and also should not encourage incitement to violence; since *discrimination and incitement to hatred is a crime punished by the law and since the State shall take necessary measures to eliminate all*

forms of discrimination, and the law shall regulate creating an independent commission for this purpose” (Art. 53, 2014).

The general right for freedom is guaranteed by many other articles in the 2014 Egyptian constitution, such as Articles 65, 66, and 67. Those articles conferred to all Egyptians the right to freedom of thought, belief, and opinion. Article 65 guarantees the right to freedom of thought and freedom of expressing that thought. This was expressed in the following words *“The right to express his/her opinion verbally, in writing, through imagery, or by any other means of speech and publication.”* Article 66 discussed the right to freedom of research and gave full right to all citizens to conduct any kind of research, while Article 67 assured that all citizens have the right to freedom of artistic and literary creativity.

Article 70 in this constitution is devised to highlight the right to freedom of speech in the Egyptian media (Al Aswad, 2017). This article states that *“freedom of the press, printing and paper, visual, audio and electronic publication every Egyptian - whether natural or legal, public or private person – shall have the right to own and issue newspapers and establish visual, audio and digital media outlets.”* The article points out that the Egyptian law shall regulate the procedures of creating, establishing and owning TV stations, whether these stations are visual, or broadcast, or online This means that the Egyptian government gives itself the right to regulate media ownership and also means that it has a direct legal hand in media ownership and the content of these media outlets.

The Egyptian constitution is not the only Egyptian official document to touch upon the right to freedom of thought and speech since the Egyptian press Charter of Honor has encouraged the right to defend freedom of expression (Al Aswad, 2017). The first article in the Egyptian Press Code of 2011 demanded Egyptian journalists to defend their right for free speech

and even made it a national obligation for them to preserve it. The second article states that freedom of speech is the basis of a journalist's responsibilities, and that free press should take the responsibility and carry the burden of directing public opinion towards objectivity (Egyptian Press Charter of Honor, 2011).

The Syndicate of the Media in Egypt has established its media Charter of Honor on the 20th of December 2017 and stressed the fact that all Egyptian media practitioners should respect its regulations and rules. This media code highlighted many important rules regarding the issue of freedom of expression and hate speech, even though it did not mention the term "hate speech" exactly. The first article stressed the importance of the free media message, and that freedom of expression should be driven by responsibility, since it is the main cornerstone of the profession (Egyptian Media Charter of Honor, 2017). In addition, the third article guarantees the right to respectful free speech for all media professionals, as long as they are fully aware of their responsibility toward their profession. Thus, it stressed the concept of responsible media, which should practice its right to free speech without causing harm, discriminating, or inciting to violence.

2.5 Status of media freedom in Egypt

Freedom of expression is not generally a respected value by Arab governments (Hamdy, 2009) and by Egypt specifically. For decades, it has been the norm for Arab countries to regulate information through state-owned media (Hamdy, 2009), which is actually the case in Egypt (BBC, 2018). Although freedom of expression is guaranteed by the Egyptian constitution and is supported by both the Egyptian press code and by the Media Code of Ethics, in most cases in Egypt, journalists are jailed for reasons other than for practicing hate speech (Al Aswad, 2017). For example, they may be jailed for reporting a case of corruption or other problems such as the

Egyptian pound inflation. During the period between 2011 and 2018, the degree of media freedom declined as Egypt is now considered one of the world's least free countries for journalists and media professionals in general (Reporters Without Borders, 2018). An increasingly "draconian legislative arsenal" poses a threat to the media and to journalistic freedom in Egypt (Middle East Observer, 2018). Egyptian journalists are expected to protect national security, by reporting only the official types of terrorist attacks as stated in the terrorism law adopted in August 2015.

Therefore, basically, if a journalist tries to report any incidence of terrorism that is not officially confirmed by the government, he/she will end up in jail. In addition, the law for media regulation, adopted in December 2016, intensifies government regulation over the news-sharing practices of journalists. Moreover, journalists and human rights protectors are officially banned from being in most of the Sinai region, and are not allowed to provide any independent coverage of any military operation (State Information Service, 2018). Not only is the coverage of such topics banned but also any other coverage of any sensitive economic subject, including inflation and corruption, can also result in imprisonment (Freedom House, 2018). This strict regulation can constrain freedom of expression within the TV broadcast and in the press in general. The internet is considered, at the moment, the most liberated media platform where the independently reported news and information can be more freely circulated. However, even the internet can still be controlled as more than 400 news websites have been blocked since the summer of 2017, and even more people are being arrested because of their posts on social networks (Reporters without Borders, 2018).

In addition, according to the Freedom House report of 2018, the Egyptian media sector is dominated by pro-government outlets, since most of the opposition-oriented outlets were

recently shut down. Moreover, over the past three years, a number of private television channels and newspapers have been acquired by pro-government businessmen and individuals with ties to the military and the intelligence services (Al Aswad, 2017). Journalists who fail to align their reporting with the interests of the owners or the authorities are at risk of dismissal (Al Aswad, 2017). Journalists also continue to be imprisoned for their work; 20 journalists have remained behind bars as of December 2017, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists. Up to the present day, in 2019, Egypt is still considered one of the top countries with the biggest number of issues in freedom of expression (Freedom House report, 2019).

A law was adopted late in 2016 by the Supreme Council for Media Regulation to grant the authorities broad discretion in regulating the content of broadcast, print, and online media. In September 2017, during a crackdown on LGBT people, the council banned any media coverage of “homosexuality” except to convey the danger of the problem. This prohibition was respected since the Egyptian society, including its decision makers, is a conservative society. Egyptian mainstream culture rejects members of the LGBT community, viewing them as perverts and as threats to the social order (Elliott et al., 2016). This has not only manifested itself in the media but also in the prosecution of such conducts. While there is no law punishing LGBT acts, such acts are often prosecuted as a form of “debauchery” and public indecency (Whitaker, 2014). Consequently, we can consider this to be one of the reasons behind the marginalization of LGBT in the Egyptian media or behind the practice of using hate speech against them.

To sum up the situation regarding the right to freedom of expression in Egypt, the Egyptian constitution, as well as the Egyptian media and press Codes of Ethics, guarantee this right. However, these are criticized for being too broad which may lead to their being misused (Ezzat, El-Banna, & Aboud 2013). On the other hand, however, the government punishes

journalists who report corruption, negative economic issues and criticize the country. The Association for Freedom of Thought and Expression (AFTE) reported a major increase in the government's efforts to censor online media beginning May 2017. It found that approximately 500 websites had been blocked by December of that year, though the authorities had yet to admit the scale of the blocking or provide a legal justification for it. Accordingly, this could give an indication that the authorities could, strictly speaking, control the press that uses hate speech or the decriminalized messages against groups or individuals of the society without being blamed for limiting freedom of expression.

The next part discusses how hate speech is addressed in the Egyptian legal framework. Later, the data analysis will show the extent of which regulations against this type of speech are enforced.

2.6 Egyptian regulations on Hate Speech

There is no specific law against the term “hate speech”, as a clear and specific concept, in the Egyptian legislation. Therefore, there is an absence of a concrete straightforward definition of hate speech in the Egyptian constitution. However, the Egyptian constitution and Egyptian laws include some articles that prohibit religious blasphemy, incitement to crime, and discrimination (Elliott et al., 2016).

Although the Egyptian legal framework guarantees freedom of expression for media professionals and for journalists, it also enforces regulations on it when that freedom goes beyond the limits of respect and responsibility and reaches the extent of incitement to crime or violence in general. While Article 65 guarantees freedom of artistic and literary creativity, it prohibits crimes that are related to “*the incitement to violence, discrimination between citizens, or impingement on individual honor*”. Besides, this Article states that the law shall specify the

penalties if such prohibited acts were practiced in any way (Article 65, 2014). Prohibition of incitement to violence did not stop at Article 65, but it was stated again in Article 71 to be more specific and more relevant to publications. This Article highlights the prohibition of censorship, confiscation or shutting down of any newspaper or media outlet; however, it restricts censorship during times of war or during general mobilization. This constitutional article also states that *“the law shall stipulate penalties”* in cases related to practicing discrimination between citizens, to incitement to violence, to defamation or impingement of individual honor (Article 71, 2014). The eleventh article guarantees that the state shall protect women against all kinds of violence (Article 11, 2014).

In relation to Article 71, we may conclude that the constitution categorizes violence against women as a type of discrimination. Furthermore, the constitution does not only prohibit violence against women, but also *“ensures the rights of children with disabilities.... provides children with protection from all forms of violence, abuse, mistreatment and commercial exploitation”* (Article 80, 2014). Article 11 also supports MacKinnon’s views on absolute freedom of expression as a tool for gender discrimination, as discussed earlier.

In addition to the Egyptian constitution, there are two media documents that regulate the work of the media and the press; the Egyptian Press Charter of Honor issued by the Egyptian Supreme Council of Press (1998), and the Egyptian Media Charter of Honor 2017 issued by the Egyptian Media Syndicate (2017) according to the provisions of Egyptian Law 93 of 2016. The introductory principles of the press, included in the document, state that journalists must respect the dignity of other individuals in the society; besides their professional obligation to respect women and minorities’ rights. It also affirms that journalists are, professionally, expected to stand against negative discrimination and extremism. Furthermore, it states that journalists must

not incite to hatred of any “holy” religions, nor call for aggressive criticism of any sect of the society. The same concepts are stated with more elaboration in Article 20 in the Supreme Council of the Press law (Supreme Council of the Press, 1998).

Despite the absence of definite laws against the term “hate speech” in the Egyptian legislation, there are other laws against some other acts such as “*religious blasphemy*”, which “*is an offence under the Penal Code*”. However, since this law only protects Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (Elliott et al., 2016), it was criticized by some experts within the Egyptian media for being discriminatory in itself, as it ignores protecting other beliefs such as Baha’ism and Atheism, for instance (Ezzat, 2014). This criticism will be later discussed in the data analysis section. This type of discrimination is referred to by media experts as a “factor” for the flourishing of hate speech against those minorities in the society.

In addition to the Press Charter of Honor, the Media Charter of Honor includes media principles similar to the ones mentioned in the Press Charter. According to the general media principles, “*it is important to respect “holy religions – Al-Adyan Al-Samawiyah and maintain social standards*”; however, it does not include a general respect to “all” religious beliefs (Ezzat, 2017). The Egyptian Media Charter of Honor of 2017 has discussed in more than twelve articles what may be considered elements of hate speech. Section two in the Charter (Duties) includes six principles that discuss some elements of hate speech, such as principles 5, 7, 9, 14, 15, and 17. These six points state that media practitioners should “respect the public morals of the society during TV conversations in talk shows,” (Principles 5, 6). However, this statement is too broad; raising questions about what “public morals” are in particular, and which category or section in Egypt they are in accordance with. Principle 9 advises media practitioners to avoid carrying messages that “*enrich violent and hatred culture*”. Principle 14 points to an extremely important

point, which is “*to avoid screening crimes in detail on TV in a way that may lead to its imitation, as well as avoiding revealing the identity of the accused person until it is confirmed that he/she is the criminal.*” (Egyptian Media Charter of Honor, p.5) This approach is also supported by Professor George Gerbner who developed the idea that people who are exposed to violent content on TV suffer from the “mean world,” which means that those who watch violence on TV would look at the world as a dangerous place, and they would also act violently in their real life if they are repeatedly exposed to violence (Mosharafa, 2015). In addition, the portrayal of women and prejudice against them on TV may lead to an increase in the sexism scale against women in the society (Mosharafa, 2015). Consequently, regulating violent content on TV is an important procedure, according to the Egyptian Media Charter of Honor in order to limit its effects on the Egyptian society. However, Egyptian talk shows are still full of racist and verbally violent content that affects the audience, and therefore the society as a whole, negatively (Leets & Giles, 1997).

Principle 17 highlights the importance of adhering to the rights that were stated in the international charters, regarding those related to “*marginalized denominations in the society, children, women and citizens with special needs*” (Media Charter of Honor, p.5). Although this principle is stated in official Egyptian documents, minorities remain the most vulnerable to hate speech in the Egyptian media. The constitution and Egyptian laws grant political rights to all citizens regardless of religion, gender, race, ethnicity, or any other such distinction. However, women, Christians, Shia Muslims, people of color, and LGBTs face indirect forms of discrimination that limit their political participation in varying degrees (UNHCR, 2018). Moreover, there is no specific statement on what the “marginalized denominations” are in the charter. The third section in the charter includes the tenth principle, which states that a media

practitioner should “avoid stimulation of hatred, discrimination, negative preference and incitement to violence in any shape or method” among members of the society. Principles 12, 13 and 21 discuss libel, defamation, and the importance of language sensitivity during the reporting (Media Charter of Honor, p.7).

The Media and Journalism Regulatory Law, formed by the Egyptian Supreme Council for Media Regulation in September 2018, has also discussed some elements similar to hate speech, but, still, without directly mentioning the term “Hate Speech”. Article 4 discusses regulations on incitement to violence, racism, and intolerance. Article 5 also discusses the same issue stating that “it is not permissible, by all means, to give a license or a permission for establishing a newspaper, a TV channel or a website...on the basis of religious or doctrinal distinction, or discrimination because of gender or origin, or sectarian or ethnic...or incitement to pornography, or to hatred or violence...”.The Regulatory Law also emphasizes the issue of incitement to hatred and violence in Article 19, which examines the danger of “Fake News” that may incite to “breaking the law, to violence, hatred, discrimination, racism, defamation, or to insulting members of the society or their holy religions.” This article is one of the few that presents fake news as a provoking factor to hatred and, therefore, to practicing violence.

2.7 How hate speech is differently viewed

In order to better understand how hate speech is conceptualized, we first have to agree that the term is explained by media experts and scholars in different ways. Media experts and scholars have interpreted it in a more in-depth manner than the regulatory system did as previously discussed. These differences may all be valid as they are constructed according to different backgrounds, cultures, concerns, and extents of sensitivity.

According to the literature, there are diverse opinions on how hate speech is perceived

and interpreted. It is a wide-ranging term that symbolizes a number of “negative discourses” that provoke violence and assault (Sikorskaya & Gafarova, 2014). In his analysis, Michel Rosenfeld (2003) explained hate speech as the speech that is *designed* to promote hatred on the basis of race, religion, origin or national origin. According to his definition, hate speech is not an unintentional action, but it is designed with a purpose and a plan. He also pointed out that the constitutional treatment of such problems is far from being consistent, since the boundaries between propagation/broadcasting of hatred and the protected speech differ (Rosenfeld, 2003). Moreover, some countries define hate speech and its consequences in various ways, which makes it difficult to distinguish between the types of hate speech and, thus, to take actions to counter it. For example, the United States only prohibits "a clear and present danger," which is not a hard decision (Rosenfeld, 2003, p. 1529). Therefore a criticism against the United States for bearing hate speech does not always seem to take into account the difference between incitement to violence and incitement to discrimination or hatred, and criticism as free speech (Rosenfeld, 2003).

Hate speech is generally referred to as damaging speech. It is psychologically damaging, generally aimed at minorities or the least powerful members in a society, and it can be said that it 'silences' its victims (Waldron, 2012). To understand the meaning of hate speech better, we have to highlight the notion that hate speech is different from freedom of expression. The boundaries of freedom of expression can be identified indeed, in an instrumental way, as securing and sustaining positive conditions of sympathy and responsibility within a community (Moon, 2000). This is known as a kind of communication that may fuel, later on, discrimination, hostility and violent attacks. People who practice hate speech are unaware, or cannot accept, that the society is not just for them, but it is for them as well as for all others. Each person, and each member of

each group, should be able to go about his/her life with the assurance that there will be no need for him/her to face hostility, violence, discrimination, or exclusion by the others (Waldron, 2012).

In support of this view, Justice Frankfurter referred to the historic prohibition of defamation and libel. He argued that defamation and racial speech should not fall under free speech protection due to the risks inflicted on social unity by this kind of speech (Waldron, 2010). Many countries in Europe that abide by the same concept and analysis do not afford to protect racial and ethnic hate speech (Sunstein, 1993); however, they believe in the concept itself but lack the ability to cover all its aspects. These countries are aware of the consequences of defamation, a main component of hate speech. They are aware that when hate speech is practiced against minorities, it undermines them and offends them (Waldron, 2010). These societies perceive hate speech as a practice that creates something totally negative, such as an environmental threat to their social peace and order that may lead, gradually, to a national imbalance or even a civil war (Waldron, 2012). Therefore, hate speech is considered a kind of an indirect gradual-acting poison that is added here and there. Eventually, it becomes too hard and too abnormal for even the good-hearted members of the society to play their positive part in maintaining public good (Waldron, 2012).

Some scholars believe that the right to free speech should not be in conflict with protecting human dignity, and that combating hate speech should not abuse the right to free speech listed in the first amendment. However, a broad and vague restriction of hate speech would definitely violate the first amendment. However, opposing hate speech attempts is a way to target a category of protected 'fighting words'. The line is thin between restrictions and regulations; some are based on the inflicted harm while others are based on viewpoints or

different contents of the criticism (Sunstein, 1993). In addition, even a general form of expression on the camera can take many shapes, not only verbal but also actions, such as flag-burning that can carry a more aggressive and distinctive meaning than a spoken statement saying that “my country is doing wrong” (Sunstein, 1993, p.182).

Moreover, and as mentioned earlier, some countries believe in unlimited free speech, even if it turns into hate speech while others do not. Americans have a profound faith in free speech as an unlimited source. However, Justice O. Holmes, Former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, could not endorse unlimited freedom of expression. For Holmes, speech should be protected unless it creates a "clear and present danger to people", such as falsely shouting "fire" in a crowded theater and thus causing panic.” (Rosenfeld, 2003, p.1534)

2.8 Hate speech in the form of symbols and the ease of its spreading

Hate speech does not stop with the form of words, but some signs and actions may be considered as hatred messages as well. The Supreme Court found that protection of free speech should include even the action of, for example, burning a cross in the neighborhood of a black family in the middle of the night. On the other hand, although the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* also recognizes the importance of free speech by stating that “*everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression,*” it considers that protection of hate-based activities, such as cross-burning (Huhn, 2009) a misplaced deed. Accordingly, it takes into consideration the view of the victim and protects human dignity from hate expression. Consequently, Catlin asks a critical question, “Without such consideration, how can members of a targeted minority group be fully enfranchised citizens (with the mutual respect of the majority and the laws-under decisions? A minority group can only feel ‘left’ (Catlin, 1994, p.777)). In his

view, all the challenges of speech regulation, and the judicial evaluation procedures that make free speech a “preferred right” resulted actually in tolerance toward the direct and clear hate speech regulation in return (Catlin, 1994).

Hate speech not only includes verbal racism, defamation, violent, and racist actions but also includes purposely false speech (Gelashvilli, 2018). Spreading of intended false news and defamation rests on two major pillars: the speech generator/practitioner and the receiver or the audiences who accept this kind of messages and react upon them. Contemporary media culture, after the introduction of online broadcasts, mostly includes ultra-violent and sexually explicit content (Wilson & Nugent, 1987). These broadcasting platforms also include gossip-mongering blogs to spread fake news. According to Hobbs, 2010, hate broadcasting sites promote prejudice, sexism, racism, cyber-bullying, terrorism, and unethical online practices (Athreya & Mouza, 2016). The spread of these kinds of violent and harmful messages has become much wider than before, thanks to the technology which reinforces its effects. TV can be watched now online, and, therefore, sharing its content has become much easier than ever before. Nowadays, anyone with a smart phone can immediately and directly reach a large audience. Accordingly, this means that the ability to spread false information has now become more rapid than ever before. It also means it has become easier to spread a defamatory speech (Chemerinsky, 2018).

Some media content depends on stalking, bullying, and harassment that may negatively affect the physical and psychological safety of members of the society who are definitely subjected to hate speech (Hobbs, 2010). Reputation is also a critical and central issue since societies are now at a time when they experience a rapid shifting of ideas, ownership, privacy, and social stability. The relationship between the spread of hate speech and media literacy of audiences must be highlighted because of its importance. This importance comes from the

necessity for audiences to be protected from some elements of hate speech, such as, spreading false news, (El Ghetany & Sherif, 2017). The easy access to information and speech necessitates proper knowledge and skills in order to be able to make wise, sensible, and responsible decisions (Livingstone, 2004). It is important for audiences and for members of the society who are subjected to hate speech, to avoid sharing, spreading or acting upon that type of speech. Skills for media literacy can be extremely essential here. Audiences should know how to analyze and evaluate what they watch on TV or online, through broadcasting channels (Hobbs, 2010). This will be discussed in more details in a later section.

2.9 Politically-driven hate speech

Hate speech is, in many cases, politically driven. The meaning derived from the word ‘politically’ is that this speech may follow a specific agenda, especially directed against some minorities. Hate speech contains highly political ideas, which may not be censored simply because they are offensive or otherwise harmful. In addition, the speech that contains racist-hatred content is not treated differently from speech that reflects ordinary anger (Sunstein, 1993). However, there is no disagreement regarding the fact that most harm occurs because of racist speech. Racism is, mostly, practiced against minority groups. This kind of racism spurs the fear of subsequent physical violence to be directed against the groups subjected to racist speech. The harm, whether psychologically or physically inflicted, is plausibly adversative to the goal of “political equality,” which is a pre-condition for democracy (Sunstein, 1993). When a nation opposes the condition of full democracy and political equality, it tends to use the instrument of hate speech, or racist speech, against the groups it wants to silence.

In addition, it is assumed that only the threats that are against the president can cause typical harm and can, therefore, be severely punished (Sunstein, 1993). Governments apply

exceptional penalties and punishment because of the distinctive harm that those threats can cause. However, governments do not do the same to counter the phrases that can cause harm and threats to the public or to a specific minority (Sunstein, 1993). Accordingly, the key aspect in regulating hate speech is that it is both allowed and promoted by governments. Laws on hate speech are formulated particularly into a framework which is drafted, in a way, as to lead to either active or implicit restriction of political discourse in the name of “fostering peace”. This is important to note especially when it interplays with the meaningful and important criticism of government policy agenda (Elliott et al., 2016). This kind of political agenda has been referred to as “Viewpoint Discrimination,” by Cass Sunstein. This discrimination occurs when the government takes one side of the debate. An example of this would be when a law indicates that libel toward the President will be punished more severely than libel practiced against anyone else (Sunstein, 1993); this would reflect both political and discriminating approaches of hate speech.

In conclusion, governments commonly employ media as a propagandist tool to promote their ideologies, both internally and globally (Silverblatt, Ferry & Finn, 1999). Therefore, restricting hate speech or allowing it, as well as allowing freedom of speech or violating it are, in most cases, all following political agendas. Therefore, media literacy and self-regulation are important for both media practitioners and people in order to self-govern and filter the media content.

2.10 Media literacy and self-regulation in relation to limiting hate speech

In the previous sections, hate speech has been shown to be related to many factors and elements. As discussed earlier, hate speech has many forms such as verbal insult, discrimination, purposeful spread of fake news, defamation, and hateful signs and actions. Hate speech is also related to many factors, as previously mentioned, such as political agenda setting or the

confusion between freedom of expression and its limits. Lack of media literacy also plays a role in spreading harmful messages and promoting them. As previously mentioned also, the wide access to information and media comes with threats and dangers. According to a comprehensive European study, there are three types of harm associated with the use of the media (Athreya & Mouza, 2016). The content risk, which is the first type, is associated with the exposure to hatred, discriminative offensive, and racist media content. The second type of harm is the contact risk, which occurs when people are subjected to harassment, invasion of privacy, and cyberbullying. The conduct risk is the third type of harm and happens due to misinformation or hacking (Hobbs, 2010). Therefore, media literacy is considered to be very important in order to have the ability to analyze media content that people are exposed to and avoid these associated risks/harms (Livingstone, 2004).

Media literacy is a means for members exposed to mass media by which they can defend themselves against getting tricked by media content (Athreya & Mouza, 2016). Mass media literacy is basically the capabilities that enable people, who are exposed to and who interact with the media, to analyze, evaluate, and create media messages (Vivian, 2013). Therefore, media literacy is an important and fundamental tool to analyze and evaluate the media messages we receive through TV broadcasts. After analyzing the messages, it can be easier for the audience to decide what is deemed as hate speech and what is not, what is worth sharing and what should not be shared or even commented on.

Since hate speech is a two-way tool, people who practice it as well as those who are subjected to it should have an increased awareness of this concept. Media literacy is an important instrument that can be viewed as self-monitoring for combating hate speech. Some media scholars even believe that ethical decisions are built-in systems for media professionals and

journalists (White, 2015). Those systems should be their regulators for self-regulation, since some terms, such as hate speech, differ from one person, or from one country, to another, and because new regulations are not believed to be the ideal solution for the issue of hate speech (White, 2015). Ethics is argued to be something a media professional should have, not something he/she does (Patterson, 1998). Although the term “hate speech” does not have a unified conception, a review of its background can help in understanding and combating it. Ethics is a skill that anyone can acquire, but it first necessitates some background review.

Accordingly, any individual who works in the media should be aware of, and have a sense of, the duties that should be carried out and the values that those duties reflect. Media ethics takes us out of the frame of “this is the way I do it, or the way it should be done” to think about “this is what I should do” or say (Patterson, 1998). Hate speech comes in different forms such as fake news, defamation, framed messages, inappropriate words, pornography, messages that carry incitement to violence or discrimination, and so on. Media literacy, consequently, helps TV audiences to analyze these messages and differentiate between what the context of free speech is and what hate speech is. Media literacy is basically the ability to “access, analyze, evaluate and create messages across a variety of contexts” (Livingstone, 2014, p.3). The advantage of this four-component model is that it could be equally well applied to print, broadcasting, and the internet alike (Livingstone, 2014)

Media ethics proposes an ideal way that media literate people and practitioners should follow to combat hate speech, that is self-judgment and hence, self-regulation. Self-regulation is an attempt to stave off government regulations (Campbell, 1999). Self-regulation is not less effective than governmental restriction; however, it has both advantages of regulating hate speech as well as avoiding violating free speech by governments. Self-regulation has been

portrayed as superior to government regulation in addressing ethical issues of the new media (i.e., digital television). Technically, governmental regulation differs from self-regulation (Campbell, 1999) while the self-regulation consists first of a Code of Ethics and Standards of Commercial Practices (Brenner, 1975). The Code mentioned programming practices in the form of a cue that "every broadcaster will endeavor to use in order to prevent the broadcasting of any matter which would commonly be regarded as offensive" (Documents of American Broadcasting, 1973, pp. 326-29)

Assistant Secretary of Commerce Larry Irving stated that most basically, we need to define what we mean, as the term "self-regulation" itself *"has a range of definitions. At one end of the spectrum, the term is used quite narrowly to refer only to those instances where the government has formally delegated the power to regulate, as in the delegation of securities industry oversight to the stock exchanges. At the other end of the spectrum, the term is used when the private sector perceives the need to regulate itself for whatever reason—to respond to consumer demand, to carry out its ethical beliefs, to enhance industry reputation, or to level the market playing field and does so"* (Campbell, 1999, 714).

In addition, media literacy provides the required skills for determining the ideologies of the owners and producers of media institutions. Owners of media institutions force their negative ideologies (Silverblatt, Ferry & Finan, 1999) into the content of the media. Therefore, it is also important to be aware of the ownership of the media that we are exposed to, as this ownership plays a critical role in the content of the broadcast. The media, normally, are owned by corporations or by the government (Vivian, 2013). This makes us wonder about the "agenda" of each media outlet or TV channel we watch.

Media ownership, in some cases, could be the root cause for acting in an unprofessional way that leads to incitement to hatred against some groups. Therefore, it is important to be aware of who owns the media platforms we follow or watch. An example from the Egyptian media is the case of the two guests belonging to religious minorities who were expelled from private television programs because of their religious beliefs. In November 2016, in the program "Sah Al-Noum", Muhammad al-Ghaiti, on the LTC satellite channel, hosted a "Shiaa" activist. He received a telephone call from the channel's owner, Samira al-Deghaidi, saying "No Shiaas' or atheists are allowed to appear here; they have no place in the channel". Therefore, Al-Gheiti abruptly ended the conversation with the activist and took an advertisement break (Al Aswad, 2017).

In this incidence, the channel's management interfered directly by prohibiting on-air content while it was being broadcast. This interference is not permitted in the media and press profession, where "media professionals are turned into tools" (Al Aswad, 2017, p.39) in the hands of the channel owners, who give out orders, based on their financial and administrative power. In addition, the intervention carried discriminatory speech inciting hatred toward religious minorities (Al Aswad, 2017).

In 2015, in the "Sabah Al Asema" program, in one episode presented by the actress Rania Mahmoud Yassin accompanied by another media reporter in the "Al Asema" satellite channel, Yassin hosted an atheist to discuss his beliefs in a debate with another guest, in a routine way known as "facing an argument with a counterargument". Yassin did not allow the atheist to speak but then, the latter objected and demanded his right to explain his point; however, the presenter still did not allow him to speak and started shouting back at him. The man chose to leave the studio to save his dignity, and yet, as he was leaving, while still in front of the cameras,

the presenter told him that she did not want any atheists or "infidels" in her program. The guy asked, "why did you host me?" She answered: "I hosted you to "preach" to the audience and to show them the erroneous thoughts". The other presenter remained silent all the time. The broadcast was cut off and a break was called while the quarrel was still going on (Al Aswad, 2017).

The critical point here is that the two presenters did right according to the 2014 Media Charter of Honor for the visual and audiovisual media, which states, in its duties section, that a media practitioner should "*refrain from transmitting what is offensive to the divine or the heavenly religions, the apostles, the doctrines, the religious symbols, the adherence to the values set by heavenly religions, as well as to refrain from making atheistic calls or favoring acts of sorcery*" (Section 3, Article 4). This means that the 2014 Media Charter of Honor was an active factor in promoting discrimination against religious minorities in Egypt.

According to Al Aswad, media owners could also depend on defamatory content in order to generate high viewership for their channels. Unfortunately, defamation in the media has been considered as a factor that may lead, indirectly, to incitement to violence against the defamed subjects. One of the most popular cases in the Egyptian media was in October 2015, when the broadcaster Riham Saeed, in her program "Sabaya al-Khair" on Al-Nahar TV, published photographs of a girl who had been sexually assaulted and beaten by a man in a mall in Cairo. The girl then was invited to appear in an episode with Saeed to tell the story of her sexual harassment. However, after the girl left the show, pictures of her were displayed on TV. The girl later accused the program team of stealing pictures from her mobile phone while she was in the studio. These pictures later were the cause of violent acts against the girl (Al Aswad, 2017).

2.11 Conclusion

Based on the literature, there are diverse perceptions and definitions of hate speech that differ from one country to another and from one culture to another as well as within the international and the Egyptian frameworks. In his analysis, Michel Rosenfeld (2003) defined hate speech as the speech that is designed to promote hatred on the basis of race, religion, origin or national origin (Rosenfeld, 2003). He also pointed out that the constitutional treatment of such problems is far from consistent, since the boundaries between impermissible and unacceptable propagation of hatred and the protected speech differ from one setting to the next. Moreover, some countries define hate speech and its consequences in various ways, which makes it difficult to distinguish between the different types of hate speech and, thus, take actions to counter it. For example, the criticism against the United States for bearing hate speech does not always seem to take into account the difference between incitement to violence and incitement to discrimination or hatred (Rosenfeld, 2003).

The literature review has also pointed out that hate speech is mostly targeted at minorities. Hate speech is psychologically damaging, generally aimed at minorities or the least powerful in a society, and it could be said that it 'silences' its victims. The boundaries of freedom of speech can, indeed, be identified in an instrumental way as securing and sustaining positive conditions of mutuality and responsibility within a community (Moon, 2000).

Another important point indicated in the literature is how hate speech encourages discrimination against some minor groups. Hate speech is known as a type of communication that may fuel discrimination, hostility, and, consequently, violent attacks. People who practice hate speech against others must accept that the society is not just for them, but it is for them as well as for all the others within it. And each person, each member of each group, should be able

to go about his/her life with the assurance that there will be no need for him/her to face hostility, violence, discrimination, or exclusion by others (Jeremy, 2012, p.4)

When hate speech is practiced against, for example, the refugees, it undermines them and makes them feel psychologically offended, while they should be treated in a good way and be appreciated as being current residents of the country. Hate speech undermines this public good or, at least, makes the task of sustaining it much more difficult than it would be otherwise. It does this by no other means than by intimating discrimination and violence. When hate speech is practiced against the people, it creates something, such as an environmental threat, to social peace. As a result, a kind of an indirect gradual-acting poison is added here and there. Eventually, it becomes too hard and too abnormal for even the good-hearted members of the society to play their positive part in maintaining this public good (Jeremy, 2012).

The literature review has shown how researchers have defined hate speech. It has also given the reader an idea about how hate speech can negatively affect the society and encourage hatred and violence against minorities or against groups with the least power.

The literature review has also examined the definitions and interpretations of hate speech, as well as the misconceptions between hate speech and freedom of speech. It has addressed the relationship between media literacy and hate speech. Afterwards, the data analysis will help fill the gap in the literature as it will examine how hate speech in Egyptian broadcasts is conceptualized. The data analysis includes the factors, triggers, forms, and reasons of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows. It also looks at how hate speech should be regulated and describes the role of media literacy in combating hate speech.

Chapter 3: Conceptual framework and methodology

The study focuses on the phenomenon of the spread of hate speech in Egyptian TV talk shows. There is a main argument among media scholars, experts, and policy/decision-makers on the difference between the right to free speech and its limits and boundaries. Therefore, this conceptual framework will assist in understanding the fundamental differences between freedom of speech and hate speech, since it has become a subject of debate among scholars (Gelashvili, 2018). Therefore, the following conceptual framework will support the structure of this study (Maxwell, 2013) as well as the correlation between the literature review discussed in the previous section and the data analysis of the next chapter.

Due to the confusion between freedom of speech and the concept of hate speech, it is important to look at how both are addressed within the international framework as well as within the Egyptian legal framework. Moreover, since there is a lack of a clear agreement on what should be defined as hate speech and what should be considered as freedom of expression (EJN, 2017), it is also important to look at how the concept of hate speech is addressed, as in the previous section of the literature review. Further, the next section on data analysis will help the reader to understand how these concepts are understood, and dealt with, by Egyptian media practitioners, experts, decision and policymakers, as well as the members subjected to hate speech. Then, the data analysis will examine how hate speech in Egyptian talk shows should be regulated and to what extent.

4.1 Concept Structure

This study, firstly, reviews how both the freedom of speech and hate speech are approached in the ICCPR, UDHR 1984, the Egyptian Constitution of 2014, the Egyptian Press

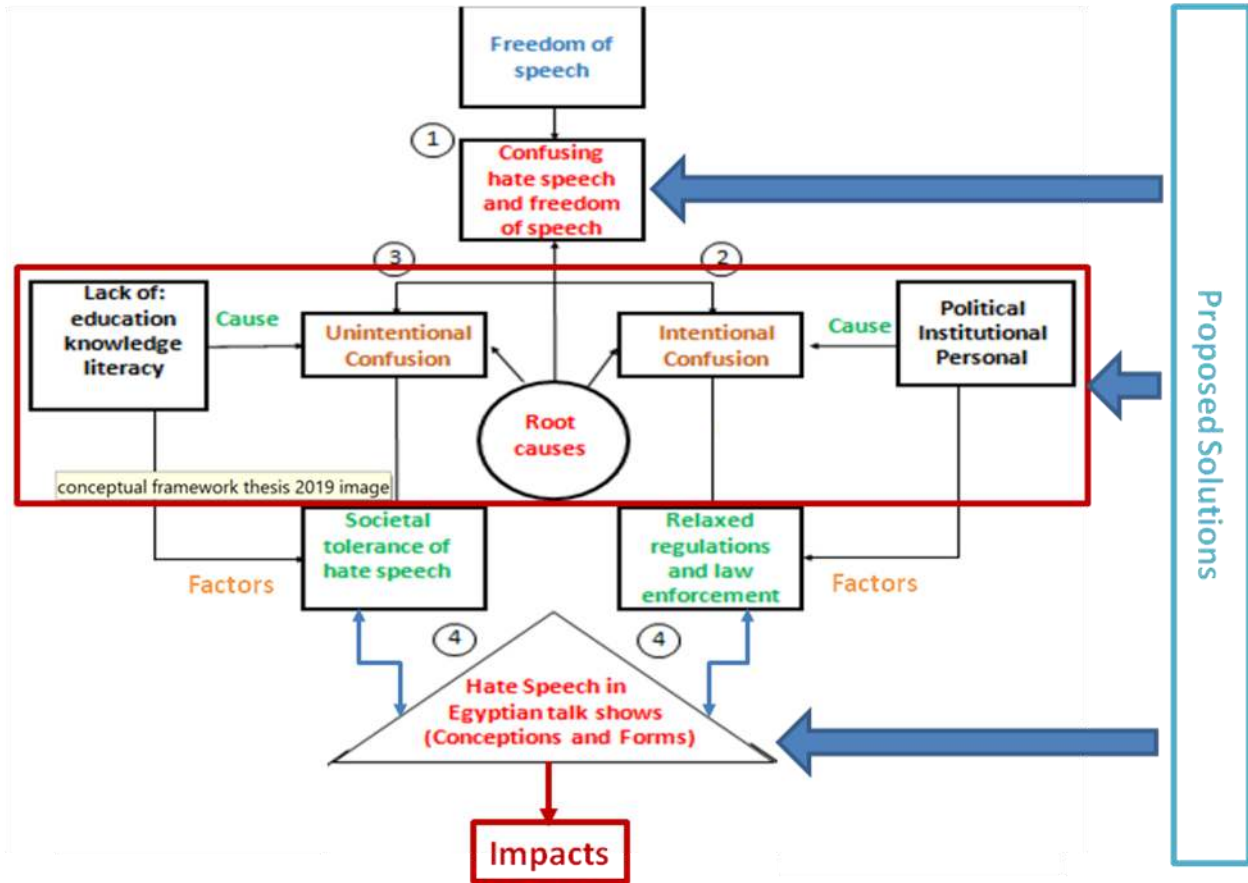
Code of 2011, the Egyptian Media Code of 2017, and the Egyptian Law on Regulating the Press and Media 2018.

Secondly, a review of the statutory system shows that the Egyptian legislative system guarantees freedom of expression; however, at the same time, Egypt is considered to be one of the least free countries for journalists (Reporters without Borders, 2018). Moreover, Egyptian laws set certain limits to freedom of expression in order not to reach the extent of discrimination. However, most cases of journalists' detentions are not due to their practice of hate speech. The authorities continue to penalize critics by providing unreasonable prosecutions. The authorities are not in fact protecting the rights of the minorities by the anti-discrimination laws; but instead, they misuse them by acting against artists, activists, self-described atheists, women, and LGBTs (Desouki, 2018). This raises the hypothesis that hate speech in Egyptian talk shows is an intentional one, to a great extent, and it follows specific political agendas which may make the task of combating hate speech harder. In order to investigate this issue, we should look at how hate speech is perceived and understood in Egypt. It is also important to examine whether hate speech regulations in Egypt are set to protect people's dignities, or to be misused in order to unjustly prosecute critics for their peaceful criticism (Desouki, 2018).

This paper investigates the issue of hate speech since 2011. Recently and more specifically after the 25th of January 2011 events in Egypt, there has been a clear indication that the phenomenon of hate speech is in continuous increase. Hate speech has been commonly practiced amongst the talk shows hosts and their guests on TV. Since 2011, Egypt's political disorder has coincided with hate speech in the media. This spread of the hate speech phenomenon in Egyptian talk shows is believed to be due to a major confusion between the concept of free speech and its limits. This confusion is believed to be the fruit of many root

causes, such as social ignorance, lack of social awareness, social illiteracy, corrupt educational system and a misunderstanding of the meaning of freedom. Therefore, this ‘damaged’ environment has produced two kinds of hate speech practices. The first one is an unintentional hate speech practice, which is a result of media illiteracy, lack of awareness of media ethics and lack of differentiation between what should be said on TV and what should not. The second one is an intentional hate speech practice, which means that a TV presenter does know what respectful free speech is and its limits, but he/she tends to insult or incites against a person or a group of people to serve a specific agenda. This agenda could be political, personal or institutional. The hypothesis of this paper argues that the political reasons for hate speech are portrayed in the relaxed enforcement of law and media regulations against hate speech cases. In brief, intentional hate speech means that the person who makes it is fully aware of the ‘hate speech’ concept and has chosen to ignore it, while unintentional hate speech means that the practitioner does not know that the speech he/she says falls under ‘hate speech.’

Therefore, the data analysis looks at the root causes and factors of hate speech. It also looks at how hate speech is interpreted among media experts, practitioners and policymakers, which will assist the researcher in investigating the existing laws and regulations, and examining to what extent they are fairly enforced. Accordingly, proposed solutions to the problem will be discussed in order to combat hate speech or at least to dilute its practices and effects. The conceptual framework of this paper is clarified in the following figure that is demonstrated by the researcher.



4.2 Methodology

This research is based on qualitative methods which depend on in-depth interviews. The qualitative research design is usually called Phenomenological; it is a systematic investigation of a particular phenomenon aiming at discovering new facts or gathering and comparing old facts. This research method seeks to answer questions and find a solution to a problem. Qualitative methods are the most appropriate technique for collecting data on social phenomena. The information in a qualitative research can be collected through discourse and conversation analysis, analyses of texts, and other documents, ethnographic and participants' observations, focus groups and qualitative interviews (Bryman, 2008).

Therefore, a qualitative analysis is the main approach used for this research study, since the issue of hate speech requires in-depth interviews and conversational analysis in order to be

well-understood in relation to its nature and the factors underlying its noticeable increase. This research study will attempt to highlight how hate speech is conceptualized in Egypt, its reasons, and its repercussions on the Egyptian society.

Data Sources: There have been four major sources for collecting the data in this study. At first, the previous studies on the issue were reviewed in order for me and the readers to have a solid background and a full image of what the scholars have touched upon so far. The second source was International Human Rights framework on freedom of expression and hate speech, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in addition to the Egyptian legal framework, such as the Egyptian constitution of 2014, the Egyptian Journalism Charter of Honor, and the Egyptian Media Charter of Honor in Egypt. The third source was the online-documented hate speech cases in the Egyptian broadcast, which will be reviewed and discussed as examples when elaborating on the ideas mentioned during the interviews. These cases of hate speech are available online, which means that the research will not be invading any privacy. Lastly, the data collected from the in-depth interviews will be analyzed.

4.3 Sampling

Purposeful sampling was used in order to select the participants of this research study. Purposeful sampling is a widely-used technique when conducting qualitative research studies. It has been regularly used for the classification and selection of cases and/or the persons who would have rich information for the most efficient use of the limited resources of information (Patton, 2002). It includes distinguishing and choosing people, or groups of people, who are particularly well-informed on the issue being discussed. It also helps to find experts who can add valuable information when investigating the phenomenon of interest (Cresswell and Clark, 2011). In addition to knowledge and experience, Bernard (2002) and Spradley (1979) highlight

the necessity of participants' availability and willingness to contribute to the research study. Furthermore, their ability to share their experiences and concepts on a specific phenomenon or issue in a clear, meaningful, expressive, and insightful method is also very important (Duan, Green Palinkas, Hoagwood, Horwitz, & Wisdom, 2015). For this reason, purposeful sampling gives the researcher the ability to select those who add value and raw information to his/her research.

Interview Sampling: Participants from diverse backgrounds, ideologies, and perceptions are included in the study. This approach is taken in order to guarantee, to some extent, collecting balanced and unbiased perceptions on the issue from different angles.

Interviewees Categories:

Media professionals: Interviewing media professionals in the field helps to get insightful data on the media field in Egypt.

Policymakers in the media field: Media decision-makers are interviewed in order to explain the current policies and regulations on hate speech in Egypt, and to elaborate on the procedures of taking such decisions.

People subjected to hate speech: Data from those people will help to understand how they react when being subjected to hate speech. It will also highlight how hate speech affects them.

University professors and media development experts: It is important to understand how academic institutions teach and approach this issue. Media development experts share their experiences and efforts in conceptualizing and combating hate speech.

Interview methods and procedures:

- First, a list of the names of intended interviewees was prepared, then, emails or messages were sent to them in order to ask whether they could participate in the study.
- Reasons and purposes of the study were clearly explained to the members who agreed to participate.
- Interviews with foreign members were held via Skype or phone.
- All interviews were audio-recorded, after obtaining their permission.
- Face-to-face interviews were held with Egyptian members. The interviews were held wherever the interviewees preferred.
- Questions were sent to the interviewee, when requested, prior to the interview.

4.4 Participants' profiles for Reliability

1. Abeer Ismail, M.A (Palestinian Media Expert / Media Practitioner / Representative of a group subjected to hate speech): A Palestinian journalist and professor, she has been working in the field of journalism and the media for 15 years. She holds a Master degree of democracy and human rights from Birzeit University. She worked in various Palestinian newspapers as a reporter. She also worked in the government media office for more than four years, and in the Media Development Centre of Birzeit University for four years as well. She has lectured in the media in several Palestinian universities since 2014.

2. Atef Kamel (TV Presenter, Egyptian National TV): A TV presenter in the Egyptian National TV, Channel 1. He is well-known for his respectful way of discussing sensitive and daring topics on TV. In 2017, Kamel discussed the problems that the Maspero Television Building, the headquarters of the Egyptian Radio and Television Union, is facing on air on

national TV. He is known for his controversial arguments, which are not common in national TV.

3. Dina Abdelkarim (TV Presenter/ Owner of a media academy / Private decision maker): A presenter on “AlKahera Walnas”, an Egyptian TV station, she comes from a pharmaceutical background. She is the founder/CEO of “Mediology”, a media production agency and academy. One of the fields she focuses on is training public figures, politicians and business people to better perform on media platforms and better communicate with public communities in a professional and ethical manner.

4. Dr. Khaled Montaser (TV Presenter / Author): Khaled Montaser, the Head of the Department of Dermatology and Genetics in the Suez Canal Authority, is a TV presenter in specialized TV shows on Dream Channel. He is also a TV talk show presenter on “AlGhad TV,” the first Egyptian enlightening TV station. Montaser is also in charge of the Department of Sexual Education website “Elaph,” and he writes for “Al-Masry Al-Youm” newspaper. He authored approximately 10 books, one of the most important of which is "Female Genital Mutilation and Violence against Women." Besides his professional profile, Dr. Montaser is also one of the figures that are most subjected to hate speech in Egyptian Talk Shows because of his courageous and uncommon opinions.

5. Hassan Ali, PhD (Policymaker / Expert): Ali, one of the committee members who formulated the Egyptian Media Charter of Honor in 2017, is Dean of the Journalism and Mass Communication Faculty, Suez University. Ali was the head of the Radio and Television Department at Minia University. Then he worked for the Egyptian Radio and presented many programs. In 2011, he served as Dean of the Higher Institute of Media and

Communication Arts. In 2012, he founded the Society for Audience and Listeners Protection and also served as the Chairman of the Media Center for Strategic and National Studies.

6. A Syrian Immigrant in Egypt (Chose not to mention the name):

A female young Syrian immigrant, she studied Journalism and Mass Communications at the American University in Cairo.

7. Hussein Amin, PhD (Policymaker/Expert): Amin, the director of the Kamal Adham Center for Television and Digital Journalism at the American University in Cairo, is also a Professor at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communications at the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy. In addition to his academic work, he has been recognized for his media projects and professional work. Amin's research is mainly focused on global media systems with an emphasis on media law, regulations and policies in the Middle East. He is a member of the board of trustees of the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU), the governing body of Egypt's radio and television broadcasting where he leads many aspects of the restructuring of broadcasting in the state. He has developed media strategies for organizations and governments in the Middle East, including Egypt's Media City, NileSat, Arab Women's Media Strategy, the Arab Satellite Charter, Media Assessment in Egypt, The International Academy for Engineering and Media Science. Amin has extensive experience in media strategy formulation and implementation, media law and regulations, communication planning and policies.

8. Inas Abdou (National Consultant, UN Women): She shares her personal experience as a victim of hate speech and also reflects on some cases she has been exposed to during her work for the UN Women.

9. Magda Abou-Fadil, M.A (Media Development Expert and Media Practitioner)

Magda Abu-Fadil is the director of Media Unlimited and Abu-Fadil conducts seminars and workshops for professional journalists, as well as strategic communications for professionals, across the Arab World and beyond. She collaborates with international organizations on media projects and is a consultant on media education and curricula, and on media and information literacy. She speaks regularly at international conferences, publishes extensively on media issues, journalism education and training and writes blogs.

10. Mohamed Saad (Policymaker/ Expert): Saad is a member of the Council of the Egyptian Journalism Syndicate. He is also the Editorial Manager of Al Shorouk Newspaper, a prominent Egyptian newspaper which is one of the most trusted in Egypt.

11. Naila Hamdy, PhD (Media Development Expert): Associate Dean for Graduate Studies and Research at the school of Global Affairs and Public Policy (GAPP), Naila Hamdy is also Associate Professor of Journalism at the Journalism and Mass Communication department, at the American University in Cairo. A member of the Broadcast Educators Association (BEA) amongst other international associations, she is also a member of the steering committee of the Egyptian Editors Forum (EFF), and a member of the advisory board to the Ethical Journalism Network (EJN) as well as a member of the Global Network of Editors (GEN). She is well known for her desire to raise journalism and media standards in Egypt and the region and spends time on projects with that goal in mind. Her book chapters and articles focus on the journalism culture, and the role of the media in the region, as well as on news production and social and digital media impacts.

12. Passant Hassan (TV presenter, Egyptian National TV): A TV presenter in the Egyptian national TV. Hassan is one of the most recognized TV presenters. She is known for her stand for human rights. Hassan authored a book called “The Religious Gland – Alghoddah

Aldeneyah. She is well-known for her belief in the secularist movement in Egypt and for fighting extremism.

13. Ramy Radwan (TV Presenter): He is a TV presenter on DMC TV Station. DMC TV Channels were announced to be owned by the Chairman of Egyptian Media Group (EMG) Tamer Mursi, in April 2019. EMG also owns ON channels network, Al-Hayyah channel networks, Al-Youm7 newspaper, Sout Al-Omma, Dot Masr and Al-Nile radio among other Media platforms (Egypt Today, 2019).

14. A Sudanese Refugee (Chose not to mention the name): She is a female case worker in the Psycho-Social Services and Training Institute in Cairo (PSTIC.) living in Egypt since 2000. She works with refugees of different nationalities. A psychosocial worker who works with refugees subjected to violence, discrimination and harassment, she provides them with psychosocial and mental health support.

15. Tara AlKadi (Media Development expert/ Media Professor): Al Kadi has created the Egyptian Media Ethics Society group. She is an adjunct Professor of Media Ethics at the American University in Cairo. She is also a member of the Public Relations Society of America and works as a professional trainer for Media Ethics at ONA Academy.

16. Tarek Atia (Media Development Expert): CEO of the Egypt Media Development Program (EMDP), Atia is a communications specialist with experience in building strategy and implementation capacity at government and corporate entities. He is also a media development expert with a “stellar record of training and consulting for major Middle East media outlets and professionals. Atia is a print and digital publisher with a unique global perspective and intense knowledge of Egyptian politics and society.

17. Tarek Saeed (Media Development Expert/ Journalism Practitioner):

Journalist at El Shorouk Newspaper, he is the Egyptian Editors Forum (EEF) Coordinator, an organization which creates professional cooperation between opinion leaders and decision-makers in the various media, while preserving the independence of outlets, whether printed newspapers or television channels or websites, and sharing knowledge and training that contributes to the upgrading of the media product presented to the public.

18. Tom Law (Media development experts): The Director of Campaigns and Communications at the Ethical Journalism Network which he joined in December 2015 to lead the organization's international media ethics campaigns with a focus on challenging hate speech, migration reporting, media literacy, and promotion of good governance and self-regulation.

Retrieved from <https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/who-we-are/our-people/tom-law>

19. Wael Al Ebrashy (TV Presenter, ON E TV): Al Ebrashy, one of the most famous Egyptian TV presenters, used to work for Dream 2 satellite channel, and later moved to work for ON E TV. He was a journalist in Rose Al Yusuf newspaper. Al Ebrashy is well-known for presenting investigative content on social and political cases in Egypt.

4.5 Ethical procedures

Ethical procedures in this paper were considered for two reasons. First, any type of research should follow ethical and moral standards in order to gain trustworthiness/reliability and avoid causing harm to the participants. The second reason is that the research is, basically, about a phenomenon of practicing an unethical behavior within the Egyptian media, the hate speech. Faking information or invading someone's privacy and causing them harm, during the data collection process, is in itself considered unethical.

Therefore, the following procedures were taken into consideration:

- It was up to the participants to choose to have their names mentioned in the thesis or not.
- Consent forms were signed before holding the interviews.
- Some interviewees accepted to have their names mentioned in the thesis, but they did not want their names to be mentioned in specific sensitive quotes.
- In some cases, an interviewee mentions a person, but he/she demands that the researcher not mention the name of that person. Therefore, some comments were quoted in the data analysis section without mentioning names in-text.
- Voice signature or a telephonic signature was taken when interviews were held on the phone or when it was not convenient for an interviewee to sign a paper.
- Approvals were taken for the audio-recording.
- Personal information that may identify the interviewees was kept confidential, upon their request.
- No financial gains were received from any party for holding the interviews.
- IRB approval was taken before collecting any data.

The following data analysis answers the three research questions. The first main research question is: How is the concept of hate speech interpreted in Egypt? This question is divided into two sub-questions: 1. where does freedom of expression stop and hate speech start? 2. how is 'hate speech' conceptualized among media professionals and the people subjected to it? The Second main research question is: To what extent is hate speech presented in Egyptian broadcasts, intentionally practiced? And the third main research question is: What are the actions or procedures that are taken, professionally, to limit hate speech in Egyptian broadcasts?

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Findings

The first section in the data analysis answers the first research question. The first question mainly requires an answer on the cause of the confusion between free speech and hate speech, and where free speech stops and hate speech starts. Since this confusion is one of the main origins of the problem, the first section explains, briefly, the root causes of the spread of hate speech phenomenon in the Egyptian media. There are two perceptions regarding this phenomenon. The first perception is that there is an unintentional confusion among media practitioners about the limits of free speech, and therefore they unintentionally practice hate speech while the second opinion, shared by the majority, states that free speech cannot be confused with hate speech, and therefore, whoever practices hate speech is aware of the limits of free speech and intentionally breaks them. The second section of this data analysis answers the second part of the first research question which investigates how hate speech is interpreted among Egyptian media experts and practitioners

The third section tries to answer the second research question and investigates the reasons behind the spread of this phenomenon in Egyptian talk shows, and therefore, examines to what extent Egyptian talk shows practice intentional hate speech. The fourth section answers the third research question which looks at the current regulations on hate speech. The fifth section discusses the solutions recommended by media experts and media policymakers in Egypt. The solutions recommended by the data analysis are, then, followed by the researcher's recommendations for policies combating hate speech in the Egyptian media.

The data analysis is divided into six themes. This first theme discusses the confusion about the limits of free speech, and how the misunderstanding between free speech and hate speech originated in Egypt. The second theme examines how hate speech is, therefore, among media

practitioners, policy makers and experts in Egypt. The third theme discusses the forms of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows and the social groups most subjected to hate speech; then fourthly the data analysis section studies the root causes and factors behind the spread of this phenomenon in Egyptian talk shows. The fifth theme discusses the impact of hate speech on Egyptian society. Lastly, the analysis discusses the current procedures for regulating hate speech and their weaknesses, and therefore it studies suggested solutions by media experts and policymakers in order to combat hate speech in Egyptian TV broadcasts.

Theme 1: Confusion over free speech limitation

The concept of freedom of expression is not fully separate from the concept of hate speech as hate speech is a result of irresponsible freedom or misuse of the right to free speech. The literature review has pointed out that there is a major confusion between the right to free speech and the right to “complete” and unregulated speech (Rutherglen, 1987) that could appear in the form of irresponsible speech or hate speech. Therefore, the data analysis starts by discussing both concepts together and the relationship between them. According to this data, the researcher has concluded that when freedom of speech is glorified as a concept, hate speech appeared in parallel. That is why freedom of speech activists and supporters should have considered the consequences resulting from their movement. Accordingly, anyone, any country or any movement that supports the right to free speech should consider and study its negative consequences in order to be able to avoid them.

“Hate speech appeared as a result of irresponsible free speech...a misconception that there is something called an absolute right to freedom.” Hassan Ali

“Freedom of speech is an idea that we should, maybe, strive for but it has to take into account speech that can lead to danger! Yes, there's freedom of speech, but only if you use that speech in a way that will not wreak havoc. I mean if you scream fire in a theater, people are going to start

jumping all over each other. There's going to be a stampede, you know, and people will get hurt and maybe even die. So I think we have gone beyond that kind of philosophical question about ideal freedom of speech.” Tarek Attia

The concept of freedom of expression has been interpreted differently among media practitioners, experts, and media policy makers in Egypt. However, most of the perceptions around freedom of expression have revolved around the concept of ‘responsible freedom.’ Responsible freedom means that a person should have the right to practice freedom of expression as long as this freedom does not cause harm by any means. When freedom of expression or freedom of speech exceeds the limits of responsibility, it turns to be “hate speech,” subsequently.

“If the TV presenter’s free speech would hurt others, so it is not freedom but if his/her free speech would benefit the public good, so it is freedom. If freedom destroys achievements so it is a dangerous kind of freedom. Freedom is a responsible doctrine...hateful speech or absolute free speech that hurts others is not responsible so that it is not freedom” Atef Kamel

Therefore, what separates freedom of speech from hate speech in Egyptian TV talk shows are both the type of topic and the way it is discussed. Some media experts and practitioners have interpreted the two concepts as ‘elastic terms.’ However, the fine line between freedom of speech and hate speech depends on many factors. They believe that a TV presenter should have the freedom to say whatever he/she wants, but it depends on many aspects, such as the way they say it, the context, and the way of “*articulation of the question, and above all the purpose of your question.*” Atef Kamel. According to the data, although there is no explicit list of all ethics that media practitioners should follow, most talk shows presenters have always agreed on the concept that media has to have a value.

“This is the one big thing; you have to have a valuable message to deliver in a respectful way...” look, if you use a suitable proper way of criticizing, I think you would be able to criticize everyone, freely.” Dina Abdelkarim

“There are some Egyptian laws that criminalize hate speech, incitement to violence and discrimination, but what is more important is the codes of ethics that regulate us as media professionals... media principles and ethics are our regulations that we should follow by heart... you can say whatever you want, express your opinion, and deliver it to the mass but without insulting or humiliating anyone.” Wael Al Ebrashy

Misunderstanding the concept of freedom, in general, is one of the main factors behind hate speech problems in Egypt, whether hate speech in daily life or hate speech that occurs in the media. The first reason for this misunderstanding in Egypt is that many individuals in the society do not properly differentiate between the two terms “freedom” and “absolute freedom.” Therefore, most people, including media practitioners, fall into the trap of this misconception. They assume that the right to free critique is open to the extent of offense, insult, or revealing information that may threaten national security. Individuals who call for absolute protection of freedom of expression do not realize that some free speech cannot be protected as it may lead to negative and harmful effects.

“I think that it stems from a lack of understanding of the concept of free speech, and what speech is protected under international law and what speech is not.” Tom Law

The second reason for the confusion between the two concepts originates from the tension between international law and the way it deals with freedom of speech versus national constitutions and laws in each country. Therefore, some media practitioners in Egypt cannot actually put their hands on a specific way to deal with freedom of speech or to determine its limits and regulations.

“When things do get slightly confusing from a legal sense, internationally, but also on a national level when there are these tensions between international law and speech, but then also on a national level between constitutions and between laws that specifically referred to cybercrime, terrorism, and the security services, I think that often misunderstanding was one of those issues why broadcasters on talk shows, for example, misunderstand the concept of free speech.” Tom Law

The third main reason that is believed to be behind this confusion is that Egyptian society is not well prepared for a real social uprising. According to the data, a real social uprising does not only mean a change of a regime but a deep understanding of what freedom is, as well. Egyptian TV presenters are accused of having a lack of awareness of what the Egyptian society is truly suffering from. They are blamed for not knowing the true meaning of freedom and revolution and that is why they misuse their media platforms and act unprofessionally.

“Our media will always suffer as long as we do not understand the real meaning of responsible freedom. For this reason, in 2011, I said that the real revolution would occur when an Egyptian Christian doctor is allowed to be a professor at the Faculty of Medicine, in the Obstetrics and Gynecology department...When the Nikab (a veil that covers the whole body of a woman) becomes a religious disgrace for women in our society; this is the real revolution, not just a ruler’s change. Unfortunately, media practitioners thought that the meaning of revolution is limited to changing the ruling regime.” Khalid Montasser

“It depends on the country. When it comes to a country like Egypt, of course, we don't have the same value for freedom of press or freedom of expression that other countries do, and it is not valued by our society in the same way. Besides, we have a lot of problems, a lot of ignorance and a lot of violence.” Naila Hamdy

To conclude on how this confusion between freedom of speech and hate speech originated, we have to acknowledge the fact that the Egyptian society, including the Egyptian media, has misunderstood the concept of freedom as a whole. Accordingly, the Egyptian media has broken the limits of free speech and practiced hate speech, thinking that it falls under the right to free speech. In addition, the tension between international law, local constitutions, and national laws in Egypt regarding the issue of free speech and hate speech has made it difficult for media practitioners to have a clear understanding of their limits to practice free speech.

There are some factors, not reasons, which increased this confusion in the Egyptian media. One of them is the lack of awareness of the consequences of irresponsible freedom. The

literature review has referred to an important concept that Holmes highlighted in his research. According to him, any kind of speech should be protected unless it creates a "clear and present danger to people", such as falsely shouting "fire" in a crowded theater and thus causing panic." (Rosenfeld, 2003, p.1534) Therefore, in the Egyptian case, when sensitive topics like religion are discussed on TV in a way that may lead to hatred and intolerance, this content, therefore, may fuel extremism and racism among Egyptians, leading to national unrest.

"Some disregard media practitioners who do not have any idea about what national security actually means...for example when a TV presenter says "I am free to say whatever I want on air" and starts to harshly criticize Christianity to the extent of insult or accusing Christians of being infidels, then the opposite may happen. A Christian guest may appear on air to reply and criticize Muslims harshly as well, and that would lead to national unrest due to the irresponsible freedom that led to hate speech."
Hassan Ali

The point of view that describes media practitioners who practice hate speech as just 'disregard' leans more towards the idea that the confusion between the two concepts is unintentional. This point of view translates 'hate speech' as an act of ignorance from a talk show presenter's side. Some media experts believe that TV presenters practice unintentional hate speech, and they believe that the more a TV presenter gains knowledge, the less hate speech he/she practices, over time.

"In many cases, TV presenters are not aware that what they say is hate speech. Sometimes it is just a slip of the tongue" Wael Al Ebrashy

"We are all human beings...we all make mistakes and learn. Hate speech is unintentional due to many factors, such as the lack of awareness."
Hussein Amin

"I think if people realized how much damage they can cause, they will step back a bit because I don't think they're fully aware of how negative the impact would be. I think they just want to be heard and they don't think hard enough. So, if we educate them, that is a very big step." Tara Alkadi

There is a counter view on how hate speech originated in the Egyptian Media. It is believed by some media practitioners and media experts that there is no confusion between free speech and hate speech, but free speech is just intentionally misused. Although hate speech in some cases, originated from the irresponsible or ignorant practice of free speech, some media experts and practitioners believe that the two concepts cannot be confused by any means; and that the fine line between them is clear. According to them, media practitioners in Egypt are fully aware of the difference, but they intentionally misuse their right to free speech for many reasons or for serving different agendas.

“All media practitioners in Egypt are well- educated, and they are aware of media ethics.” Naila Hamdy

“I believe there is no way to compare this to that as they are not related by any means. (Comparing apples to oranges). Some adopt hate speech though not out of believing it’s freedom of speech, but out of pretending as if it’s out of patriotism.” Ramy Radwan

“Any educated person who is working in the media and perpetrating horrible hate speech is aware of it.” Naila Hamdy

“I believe that the cons of free speech are not for of freedom of speech but in the application because a lot of people take it too far and they take it to mean “ I want to be different, so I will say whatever it takes, and even if this means being obscene or hurting people or offending people or whatever! I’m going to do it.” Tara Alkadi

Therefore, according to the data, the researcher has found that there are two counter opinions around the causes of confusion concerning the limits of free speech. The first opinion is that media practitioners in Egypt unintentionally confuse the two concepts of free speech and hate speech because of their lack of knowledge or the uncertainty of the rules that regulate freedom of speech. The second opinion states that the confusion between the two concepts is intentional. It is believed that media practitioners are aware of what responsible freedom is, but

they intentionally ignore the rules and misuse their right to free speech in order to serve specific agendas. According to the data, these agendas are political, personal or institutional.

In order to understand the reasons behind the misuse of the right to freedom of speech in Egyptian talk shows, and therefore the aggravation of hate speech, an analysis on how hate speech is interpreted among Egyptian media practitioners and media experts should be looked at. Therefore, the next section is an analysis of how hate speech is viewed among Egyptian media experts and practitioners.

Theme 2: Interpretation of hate speech in Egypt

The literature review has discussed how hate speech elements are interpreted in different countries, such as Germany and the USA; however, there is a lack of research on how hate speech elements are analyzed in Egypt. The majority of studies on hate speech in Egypt have only touched upon the three criminalized practices of discrimination, incitement to crime and religious blasphemy (Elliott et al., 2016). Therefore, this section is trying to fill this gap and study how hate speech is interpreted among the four major parties who are concerned with the media and these are media practitioners, media development experts, media policy and decision makers. Moreover, it is important to study how hate speech victims in Egypt perceive it. First, the data analysis has found that hate speech has been viewed as a political global tool in history.

“Hate speech mostly appears with sectarian strife that occurs during major political events in Egypt and outside Egypt such as hate speech that appeared during World War Two, with the emergence of capitalism, the cold war, the conflict between Russia, the Soviet Union, and the USA. When the USA wanted to combat communism, hate speech appeared and it was very obvious that it had cost the USA a huge loss.” Hassan Ali

In the Middle East, hate speech is interpreted as the spices that TV presenters add while broadcasting facts. They do not cover or broadcast events as they are, but they fill them with hatred, racism, humiliation or insult in order to create “thunder.”

"I always quote a great Palestinian writer when he said that a journalist's task is to be a postman. You should say the fact as it is and then leave your audience to judge. But the spices that Middle Eastern broadcasters add to facts, we, as Palestinians, call the poisoned spices." Abeer Ismail

"We look for media bombs, not the content. This is hate speech." Khalid Montasser

In Egypt, specifically, hate speech has been viewed in two different ways. Some media experts and practitioners believe that hate speech is unconditional and non-negotiable, which means that any kind of speech that degrades, insults or incites to violence or discrimination should be called "hate speech." According to this opinion, hate speech includes libel crimes, defamation and intentional spread of false news. Some Egyptian media experts believe that if a TV presenter refers to certain people in a way that incites to violence against them, that is definitely considered hate speech. According to them, if any speech could stereotype social groups, there is no doubt that this speech is hate speech. Homophobia is, also, believed to be a part of hate speech if a TV presenter talks about homosexuals in a certain manner that would incite hatred towards those groups of people.

"When our media depend on punches, not words, I call it hate speech, which has recently been the case in many of the Egyptian talk shows." Wael Al Ebrashy

"When we degrade someone's religion, someone's ethnicity, someone's background, someone's families... this is hate speech." Magda Abou Fadil

"Speaking negatively about a group of people because of their ideology or affiliation or their looks or their religion or their sexual identity or gender or whatever in a negative way that could lead to people harming them physically or emotionally or even harming you... or by speaking that way you might harm them and psychologically do some damage." Tara Alkadi

"Why do we call it "hate"? Is it attacking someone to discredit that person or to make that person seem ugly...it is defamation, and to ruin his reputation, it also depends on what the purpose of it is. If you're

fabricating something or information, that is also considered inciting against someone.” Magda Abou Fadil

However, the experts who take this stand argue that libel is not a form of hate speech. They believe that in libel cases, when there is clear evidence against someone, such as, for example against a public or a political figure, it is not considered as defamation or hate speech, but it is revealing corruption. Accordingly, defamation is considered hate speech unless it is a corruption case and should be revealed to the public. In this case, it should not be considered as hate speech when a TV presenter has documents and actual proofs of a corruption case. In the presence of such evidence, a TV presenter should discuss the case on TV and reveal it as it serves the public good.

“We should have evidence in order to attack and reveal corruption.”
Dina Abdelkarim

“But in case we don’t have evidence on a corruption case, it is considered false information that may incite to harmful consequences.”
Atef Kamel

Hate speech could also be interpreted in Egypt as any kind of speech that threatens Egyptian national security. When hate speech threatens national security, it means that it causes national unrest. National unrest that hate speech may cause, according to the data, includes revealing confidential information about the military or any speech that may cause sectarian strife in the society.

“They perhaps have interpreted hate speech to be something against the military or against issues of national security.” Tom Law

“Any speech that may lead to destroying our country, or threatens our national security is hate speech against the country, and we should not fight back using the same way” Atef Kamel

“You may find a TV presenter who broadcasts confidential information about the government or the military behind the curtain of

“transparency,” while actually, such information may cause national unrest.” Hassan Ali

Revealing corruption, combating terrorism or defending the national security, for example, should be discussed in a respectful and professional way. Fighting terrorism does not mean insulting groups or individuals, but criticizing their actions in a professional way and leaving the judgment to the law and the judiciary. Fighting terrorism or corruption in Egyptian talk shows should be practiced in a professional way as inciting the public against violent groups or corrupt individuals is considered in itself “hate speech,” according to media ethics. There are numerous topics discussed in the Egyptian media in an unprofessional way that may incite to violence or hatred. Some media professionals face problems in discussing sensitive topics in a peaceful way, even if those cases or topics are related to violence. For example, covering terrorist attacks is a critical topic that supposedly people and media professionals are against. However, even such topics should be covered and discussed professionally on TV.

A TV presenter could be completely against terrorism, but at the same time, he/she should discuss this issue in a professional way, without using insulting and offensive language that may shock public modesty. Although terrorist groups have clear violent messages, and their agendas are full of blood, the media should cover this in a balanced way that should not be seen as supporting terrorism and also should not offend any TV audience. Wael Al Ebrashy pointed out that TV presenters should fight terrorism and extremist ideas in a professional way. Anchors should also leave the task of punishment to the government, and they should not pass judgments.

“For example, I have a stand against terrorism, I would criticize it and call for using the law and the judiciary to put them in jail or whatever the punishment is according to our laws; but of course we can’t shout “kill them” on TV. It is the task of the government’s entities and authorities that we should not interfere in. Although covering terrorism is related to groups that do know nothing except violence, the media professional’s

mission is to speak about those dark ideas and develop awareness against them” Wael Al Ebrashy

“Our task as media professionals on TV and journalists is to stand against terrorism and call for its elimination. But by all means, only our government and its judiciary system have the power to judge and decide what should be done to terrorists. The punishment should be set according to what the government decides while facing security confrontations. It is not the media’s task to punish, but to call for punishment, and there is a fine line between them that should always be considered by a presenter. When some people violently criticize the government for putting someone in jail, this is also, in my opinion, an incitement to violence against the government itself. Although terrorist groups follow only violent agendas and aggressive programs, I believe that the TV presenter’s task is to fight the extreme and obscurant ideas and mentalities. A TV presenter should stress on how the State’s law should be followed in order to fight terrorism. I should not use any expression that incites to hatred or violence or killing against anybody or any entity whatever it is.” Wael Al Ebrashy

“When a presenter appears on his TV talk show and calls members of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization as “pigs.” I mean, we can criticize their actions, and we should, but without cursing or insult, for the respect of the screen and the audience.” Tarek Saeed

“Some talk shows presenters tend to use a different way to prove their loyalty. They do this by insulting other countries, such as Turkey or Qatar. In fact, this is not the role of the media. The media should be the link between countries, not something that promotes conflicts between countries or nations.” Dina Abdelkarim

“Although I am against what Amr Waked and Khalid Abu Elnaga did, for example. I don't think involving the American Congress in a purely Egyptian matter is acceptable; however, if you disagree with their stand, it does not give you the right to demean them. The way our media reacted to the case was full f hate speech.” Tara Alkadi

The second opinion argues that the kind of speech depends on who is subjected to it. It depends on the case whether the speech is considered hate speech or not. If the victim subjected to hate speech is an enemy, or someone or a group that is socially unwelcome, that would not be considered hate speech. Accordingly, in this case, hate speech is variable.

“I believe that hate speech is rejected by the audience. Yet sometimes it is accepted when it clicks with something they personally hate. I cannot generalize, but I’d say that it’s a relative issue to some people, not a principle or belief they would adopt impartially all the way.” Ramy Radwan

Variable hate speech means that when harsh critics target terrorist groups, hostile countries or negative social movements, for example, this kind of speech is not considered hate speech. The reasons behind this stand are that its followers believe that some groups practice hate speech, violence and crimes against humanity and they, therefore, should be attacked back with the same attitude or weapon. Media experts and practitioners who take this stand believe that they should not be blamed if they speak out against ISIS, for example, and they attack them with a hateful attitude. They, also, believe that this should not count as hate speech, first for humanitarian approaches and secondly for national ones. According to them, attacking a group that practices violence is not considered hate speech. However, the research does not support this opinion as the term ‘hate speech’ should not be inconsistent in order not to be misused. The research encourages that critiques against terrorism should take place in a professional and ethical manner, in support to the first opinion, because if the door is opened to variable hate speech, it will make the task of combating it harder. Attacking terrorism, for example, should occur in a professional way in order to give the government a chance to respond with fair judgments and procedures against terror attacks.

“Attacking some countries, harshly, for their national stands, like Turkey, Erdogan, Qatar, Israel is not hate speech...they are enemies and there is blood between us ...That does not count as hate speech.” Passant Hassan

“During Morsi’s regime, there were major political, economic and social disasters. There were hate speech and discrimination against women from the Brotherhood’s side. Hate speech against them was an acceptable, required and objective hatred back then, in the stage of rebuilding the country...but it has now passed.” Atef Kamel

“The media is not the right place to discuss atheism. However, even if discussed we should not talk about atheist thoughts and beliefs on TV or defend their rights; defending their rights means that we are giving up social unity in Egypt.” Hassan Ali

*“I cannot be objective while discussing humanitarian cases, such as the New Zealand terrorist attack, the Libyan case and the massacre that is happening there, Muslim Brotherhood, ISIS, or the Qatari government...objectivity in covering such crimes is a crime in itself.”
Passant Hassan*

In conclusion, there are two schools of thought regarding what hate speech is and what it is not in the Egyptian broadcasts. However, there is an agreement that Egyptian talk shows are full of incitement to violence, insult, and discrimination, whether these actions are considered reasonable or not. The majority of Egyptian media experts and practitioners who participated in this study agree that those elements fall under the umbrella of hate speech. Therefore, the next section discusses the forms of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows, highlighting those subjected to hate speech the most.

“The meaning of hate speech depends on the country. When it comes to a country like Egypt, of course, we don't have the same value for freedom of press or freedom of expression that other countries do, and it is not valued by our society in the same way. Plus, we have a lot of problems, a lot of ignorance and a lot of violence.” Naila Hamdy

Theme 3: Forms of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows & the social groups most subjected to hate speech

The literature review has discussed earlier that hate speech does not stop with words, but it includes actions or other signs (Huhn, 2009). According to the data analysis, the researcher has found that hate speech takes many forms or shapes in Egyptian talk shows, whether direct or indirect. Direct ways include the obvious insult or verbal offense on TV. Indirect ways include an intentional spread of false information about an individual or a group of people, defamation

and sending coded messages which are called “a dog whistle.” Hate speech could take place against an individual, a celebrity, a political figure, a country or a group of people.

"What I know about hate speech is when someone talks about a person or a group of people negatively or generalizes negative information....Hate speech is also about other topics, like if they are talking about a known figure or a celebrity, I think there is a certain goal to achieve through what they are saying about him/ her." Syrian immigrant in Egypt

"Once I saw an interview with an AUC student in an entertainment show, and the anchor was trying to push the guest to react in a specific negative way that would benefit the show. So they were encouraging the guest to say something negative about someone who completed a specific achievement, especially that that person was young. I remember something similar happening in an online broadcast channel against "N.K". Their followers shared what they said exactly as it was." Syrian immigrant in Egypt

"For example, when a TV presenter appears on TV and says that Syrians take our jobs (Egyptians' jobs), it may lead to violence against Syrians on Egyptian streets." Tara Alkadi

‘Dog-whistle’ is an indirect form of hate speech that is commonly used in Egyptian talk shows. The term “dog-whistle” means an incitement to violence against an individual or a group of people in an indirect way. It is elaborated as sending a “coded message” that may sound normal or regular to the audiences, but it has a specific meaning to a specific entity, inciting them and calling them to perform a specific action against the victim.

"So you know, dogs, they can hear very high pitched noises, which humans can't. So if a politician is indulging in dog-whistle politics, it means that they are using words and phrases that only a certain group of people really understand the true meaning of." Tom Law

"A TV presenter appeared in his talk show and claimed that I had invited him over for a drink, which was not true. He wanted to send a message to the audience in an indirect way that I was an alcoholic and that I was not religious and so on. He did not accuse me directly, but he sent a coded message to convey this meaning." Khalid Montasser

The data has shown that hate speech is practiced in Egyptian talk shows mostly against vulnerable or marginalized groups. These groups are females, people with disabilities, LGBTs, homosexuals and anyone who believes in a different religion other than Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Some sects of these religions are, also, subjected to hate speech, such as Shia Muslims and Protestant Christians. Sudanese, Syrians, and Palestinians refugees and immigrants are also subjected to hate speech in Egyptian talk shows.

“I wouldn't say honestly that omission on its own can be classified as hate speech. Discrimination by ignoring the concerns of a specific part of the population based on their ethnicity, based on other characteristics like that, I think that kind of omission can contribute to the wider environment where discrimination against certain groups is allowed to flourish through ignorance, or stereotypes being allowed to flourish, etc. So I think that neglect has a role, absolutely. Ignoring discrimination against refugees, for example, helps to create an environment where that kind of discrimination is accepted and normalized. So I think it's a contributing factor.” Tom Law

“Some TV presenters and journalists insult people who hold different opinions from those of the society. Some media professionals insult atheists, transgender individuals or anyone who has an unusual social problem in order to exculpate him/herself from defending them.” Wael Al Ebrashy

“Sudanese refugees are the most marginalized group that is subjected to hate speech on streets and sometimes in the media. Also, Syrians are subjected to hate speech in Egyptian talk shows, you may find them saying “we feed them,” “they take our jobs,” for example. It has happened many times. It caused frustration among Egyptians.” Dina Abdelkarim

“Christians were subjected to hate speech to a large extent, before, but now it is regulated. The media is regulated to a high extent now in Egypt. We may find this rather annoying as media practitioners, but to be honest, this control has its advantages. At least we are not suffering from TV presenters who used to exploit the chaos that occurred after the revolution.” Dina Abdelkarim

“Homosexuals for sure...they are subjected to hate speech...Females, in general, are subjected to hate speech in the Egyptian media. So sometimes a TV presenter, like A.A, is talking about a housewife that wants to work but her husband comes home and doesn't find dinner on the table. This is

stereotyping and is promoting conflict. It is not the cause of violence against women, to be fair. It doesn't have to be physical violence and I'm saying it could be demeaning or insulting. It could be making someone feel inferior, so that, to me, is a hate speech. I mean bullying, you know. So it does not have to be physical all the time, does not have to be real violence but it could be emotional damage too.” Tara Alkadi

Theme 4: Causes and factors of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows

There is a lack of research on the main reasons or root causes of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows. Some research studies such as those conducted by Al Aswad on the phenomenon of hate speech in the Egyptian media have touched upon observable reasons for hate speech. Therefore, the data analysis in this section tries to understand the root causes behind the issue which will help later in combating those root causes to combat their consequences. Hate speech, as a phenomenon, does not stand alone. It grows in a toxic environment of ignorance and an absence of law and regulations enforcement. Hate speech is not self-created; it takes this kind of speech numerous layers to appear. The insult we hear or see on the TV has root causes that originated in the society. Lack of law enforcement against those who degrade females and those who insult LGBT or atheists on Egyptian TV, omitting to discuss refugees' issues in Egypt, and not understanding our history are all factors that generate the spread and the flourish of the hate speech phenomenon in Egyptian talk shows.

Both intentional and unintentional hate speech are caused by lack of knowledge of social issues, lack of education and lack of law and regulations enforcement. The reasons behind intentional hate speech in Egyptian talk shows fall under three agendas. Intentional hate speech occurs due to either political agendas, institutional corruption or personal agendas.

The first root cause of the hate speech issue is that the Egyptian media is part of a corrupted segment of the Egyptian society. Besides, the Egyptian society suffers, to a great

extent, from lack of literacy, lack of awareness, and therefore lack of an ability to accept social differences.

“The first cause behind the disaster of hate speech in talk shows is that TV presenters themselves lack knowledge, just like the majority of the Egyptian society.” Hassan Ali

“We are not well prepared as a society to respect “the other” and we think that practicing hate speech against “the other” who is different makes us appear more respectful and humble.” Khalid Montasser

“Ignorance is the reason number one behind hate speech. It is the presenter’s ignorance. It’s about culture, not education. Lack of civilization, let’s say.” Dina Abdelkarim

“I say that this society, including our media, suffers from ‘the great darkness.’ This darkness occurs when none of the TV presenters has the courage to call for the cancellation of teaching religion in schools. The danger of teaching religions in school is that they don’t bring someone experienced in religion to teach it to children, but you may find an Arabic teacher teaching Islamic religion or a Christian chemistry teacher teaching Christian religion only because he/she is Christian.” Atef Kamel

“A corrupted educational system...the division of Christian students and Muslim students in schools creates the concept of difference, division, and therefore racism and retroactive culture.” Atef Kamel

“The educational system in Egypt is terrible; it needs to be fixed. The cultural system in Egypt is also corrupt and terrible. The country has given up its main task in governing to direct the cultural, educational and civilization systems, and it focuses only on security. Security is part of handling hate speech issues, but it is not the main and only way to fix hate speech and extremism. How many times did the pope of the Copts, Al Azhar and the minister of education in Egypt meet to discuss a way to limit extremism?” Hassan Ali

The lack of proper education, adequate cultural systems, and literacy leads to disturbance in the Egyptian social structure, and therefore to the appearance of different extreme ideologies and social sects. Each group in the society, including the media, tends to practice hate speech, racism and sexism against the other due to negative labeling and social division.

“I think the main factor here is that Egyptians are divided into teams. So for example, if I'm pro-government, anybody that says anything against the government is blacklisted and considered unpatriotic ... or the other way around, If you have issues concerning certain things regarding the government, then you're labeled as if you're a Muslim Brotherhood member or you're an extremist. The problem is that people have ideologies and they believe that they cannot listen to others' point of view. So I think this is the main problem. It's always teams. Even if you belong to a certain team, it's OK if you can listen to some arguments and some arguments made by other people who do not necessarily belong to your team could be valid. They're very biased. And this is the core of their lack of education and their ignorance.” Tara Alkadi

Lack of knowledge and awareness also leads to religious misunderstandings that are one of the main root causes behind hate speech in Egyptian talk shows and therefore in the society. For example, when a male TV presenter commented on a terrorist attack in his talk show by saying “it would have been more acceptable if you sexually harassed a woman than killed people.” His comment on a terror attack shows how social morals and religious beliefs are not well-understood, and therefore not respected or protected, to an extent, by some talk shows presenters.

“The media suffers from what society suffers from. There is general illiteracy, which I refer to as “mental tramadol”. We usually pretend that we are a religious society, but in fact, we rank number one in harassment and in watching pornography. The government has withdrawn from the press and media syndicates, and the extremists like Muslim Brotherhood are the ones controlling the media's ideologies indirectly, which have created sick conservative ideologies reflected in the media now.” Atef Kamel

“Another cause of hate speech in the Egyptian talk shows is misunderstanding religion.” Tara Alkadi

“Our problem is that social duties are mixed up. TV presenters are not clergies; when they discuss religion in their TV shows, they reflect on any problem from their point of view, and here is when hate speech appears. Religion is a(n interpersonal) personal? belief, different religions create social harmony, but when it is discussed in the wrong place in the wrong way, it causes social hostility.” Hassan Ali

Therefore, there are some root causes of hate speech that exist in Egyptian society, Egyptian ideologies and education. Those root causes reflect their toxicity on the Egyptian media. According to the data, the non-intervention of clergy in politics, as well as social secularism is a form of the acceptance of the other, which is not the case in the Egyptian society, including Egyptian talk shows.

“The other is not only politically different. Democracy is to accept the politically different, but secularism is to accept the ethnically different, religiously different sects in the same religion.” Khalid Montasser

“Our society is woman-phobic. It appears in our media. A woman constitutes major psychological problems to some Egyptian men; she poses as a kind of a psychological challenge that an Egyptian man hates. He still has the instinct of a hunter deep inside. So we would find a male TV presenter like “...” who derives his fame from attacking famous women and the way they dress. An example is what he said about the actress Rania Youssef and the way he insulted her ... many other famous women have been aggressively attacked on TV, not just her. He is well-known for that attitude, but it is not only him but many others.” Khalid Montasser

Minorities’ marginalization, stereotyping, racist and sexist acts take place in Egyptian talk shows. It is believed that some media practitioners generalize and spread negative stereotypes about others because of the way they are raised in their societies. At the end of the day, media practitioners are members of Egyptian societies and they were raised with a lack of awareness for certain important aspects.

“Don’t make the external appearance cheat you. Although all of them are well educated and you may see them wearing the best brands and the most expensive clothes... their ideologies in many cases suffer from extremism, unfortunately.” Khalid Montasser

“The TV presenter who insulted Moroccan women did that because in this culture you hear it often or because a few Moroccan women, who do come to Egypt, may be sex workers. So this is our stereotype of Moroccan women, so I think part of it is the way you grow up and what you hear... stereotyping is one of the terrible things... stereotypes and hate speech can

be very well connected and unfortunately, the media perpetuate stereotypes everywhere else in the world.” Naila Hamdy

“First, we understand that freedom, struggling and striving is linked only to political issues; and that progress is going to happen by the political striving and by reducing the political struggle, in the case of the Palestinian issue, issues of the Middle East or the liberation of Palestine for example; and his/her humanity is, then, based on his/her support for such issues. On the other hand, the same parliamentary, political or media person may refrain from discussing issues such as female circumcision (FGM) or we may find him even a supporter of FGM.” Khalid Montasser

“They insult atheists on TV just to prove that they are religious.They invite them to their shows intentionally just to attack them.” Khalid Montasser

“Here is the case for the media, when will it be a distinguished program? When I agree with the political issues adopted by the government, but when it comes to social enlightenment- there is a defect not only in the media but in the Egyptian intellectual mentality in general. An Egyptian intellectual has been able to be enlightened or has become a political activist, but at the level of social awareness, he/she has been completely quirky, not defending many issues such as female rights, LGBT issues or atheism.” Khalid Montasser

Women, LGBTs, atheists, and refugees are subjected to hate speech to a great extent in Egyptian talk shows. Stereotyping and discrimination against some nations do also exist in Egyptian talk shows, such as against Moroccan women as mentioned earlier. The most recent case was on the 19th of May, 2019; when the TV presenter Basma Wahba committed moral and professional violations in the “Sheik al-Hara” TV program. The talk show aired an episode with the actor Maged Al Masry. The actor uttered offensive words against a group of African women (Egypt Independent, May 28, 2019).

This toxic environment by which hate speech has spread has led Egyptian talk shows to fall into an intentional hate speech trap for three reasons or agendas. The first reason is a political one; Egyptian talk shows follow either external political agendas or internal ones. Lack of law enforcement and lack of application of hate speech regulations fall, also, under political reasons.

The second reason is institutional corruption, which means that media institutions in Egypt sometimes practice intentional hate speech as a tool in their media war. The lack of respect to media ethical codes in the Egyptian media institutions and conditional regulation enforcement fall under the umbrella of institutional corruption. The third agenda is the personal agenda of TV presenters, which means that a TV presenter would intentionally practice hate speech for personal gains.

Although the Egyptian constitution and Egyptian laws include some articles that prohibit religious blasphemy, incitement to crime and discrimination (Elliott et al., 2016), these are criticized for being too broad which may lead to their being misused (Ezzat, El-Banna, & Aboud 2013). The data analysis is in harmony with the opinion that hate speech in Egyptian talk shows is politically driven in most cases; and it is believed that setting broad laws and constitutional articles is intentional, to an extent, in order to be misused. The main reasons behind the spread of hate speech are mostly political whether by intentional political incitement against something or a group of people or by inconsistent law and regulation enforcement policies.

“Well, that is very clear if we’re talking about some of the shows broadcast from outside Egypt for example. It’s a clear agenda.” Ramy Radwan

“Political purposes... Hate speech is not just here, but everywhere around the world. It is, of course, very political. They use hate speech to serve their political agenda.” Naila Hamdy

“Hate speech is politicized and has an agenda depending on the timing. We should notice the timeline of hate speech occurrence in parallel with political events.” Abeer Ismail

“So they're using hate speech to fulfill a political or social goal or in times of conflict, it is actually used, you know, to justify military action or actions that they're taking as part of the security operations.” Media Expert

“The problem is that when the penalty for those three crimes (incitement to violence, discrimination and libel crimes) was left to the law, the law put regulations that violate freedom of the press. We have laws to combat terrorism and these laws look as if they were fighting terrorism but the core of them is just an attempt to restrict freedom of press and freedom of expression.” Mohamed Saad

The research data has confirmed the research hypothesis that the current Egyptian TV talk shows are directed by the political flow as was mentioned earlier in the literature review section about the media being the government’s tool. Some media experts have agreed that harsh critiques could be used in an indirect way in the cold war between countries. However, this kind of hate speech should be smartly used, according to them. In some cases like criticizing Qatar or Turkey, Egyptian media could harshly criticize their policies or reply back to their hate speech against Egypt, but in a smart way in order not to be considered as practicing hate speech in the Egyptian media. The researcher considers this type of ‘disguised’ hate speech is dangerous because TV presenters take it as an excuse to practice hate speech.

“Harsh critique could be the Government’s tool if the government is smart enough to use it. Given what Al Jazeera is practicing against Egypt.... The BBC, for example, is directing aggressive media content full of hate speech against Egypt, but unfortunately, it does this in a professional way. We do not want hate speech, but if I want to direct my audience’s eyes to the negative political practices that Qatar is committing, I cannot insult the people of Qatar instead of professionally criticizing those political practices of the Qatari government.” Dina Abdelkarim

“I believe that the Egyptian authority is the one directing its media tools against oppositionists. The proof is that none of the media practitioners who commit hate speech crimes get punished...very rarely.” Mohamed Saad

“Since 2013, most of the Egyptian media platforms have become directed and regulated. The authorities have taken over most of the Egyptian media platforms. Around 90% of the Egyptian satellite channels and newspapers have become owned in direct or indirect ways by the government, such as DMC, CBC, Al Nahar, ON TV. Alqahira Walnas, I think, is the only one left that is not regulated by the government.” Mohamed Saad.

“Incitement against oppositions has been the trend in Egyptian talk shows.” Tarek Saeed

“Anyone who would disagree with the current politics or have any critical opinion on the country’s policies, he/she gets accused of being supportive to Muslim Brotherhood, or they have a relation with a terrorist group. This kind of accusation occurs through Egyptian media. The task now of the talk shows is to attack anyone who disagrees with the government by accusing him/her of being an unfaithful civilian...Just like what happened with Khalid Abounaga, Amr Waked, Khaled Youssef, Hamdeen Sabahy, and Albaradeey. All of this has happened based on instructions. A specific entity directs the media in order to incite and spread hatred against whoever is against the government.” Mohamed Saad

Relaxed law and regulations enforcement is one of the political practices that increases hate speech and helps it to grow. When TV presenters are aware that law and media regulations are conditionally implemented and are not fairly enforced, they will act in an unprofessional and unethical way on TV. The collected data has pointed out that the authorities can regulate the media, given that it highly restricts freedom of speech despite the constitutional articles and laws that guarantee it. This means that some authorities have the power to regulate hate speech, but in most cases, it only regulates the content that does not go with its current agenda or national curriculum.

“The media is not allowed, to a great extent, to discuss any topic that would cause sectarian arguments. When a TV presenter hosted an atheist to talk about her/his rights in the society, public opinion got enraged and the presenter got punished, but when a TV presenter insulted an atheist or kicked him/her out of the studio, she was considered heroine who defends morals and she was not punished.” Mohamed Saad

The literature review has pointed out, earlier, that when a law indicates that libel toward the President will be punished more severely than libel practiced against anyone else (Sunstein, 1993), this kind of political agenda is referred to as “Viewpoint Discrimination” by Cass

Sunstein. Therefore, laws against libel crimes, discrimination, and incitement to violence are sometimes intentionally misused to serve political agendas or to punish oppositionists.

“Magdy Shandy the editor-in-chief of Al Mashhad newspaper got punished, based on the sanctions regulations of March 19th, 2019, by blocking the newspaper’s website for six months and charging the newspaper a penalty of 50,000LE, claiming that the journalist had committed a libel crime against a female TV presenter and had published some obscene pictures of some actresses. When you go back to the newspaper and review all the news issues that were published in the indicated period, you would not find any pictures or news about what was mentioned in the report issued by the Supreme Council for Media Regulation. In fact, based on what we sensed in the field regarding that matter, what happened to our colleague Shandy has something to do with his clear stand against the new constitutional changes; and his position was the real reason behind the penalty, not the claimed reasons.”
Mohamed Saad

On the contrary, some media experts and practitioners argue that hate speech in Egyptian talk shows is not politically driven, but it is just practiced unintentionally for other reasons. According to them, as long as hate speech is theoretically regulated by the Egyptian constitution and media regulatory laws and charters, it means that hate speech cannot be politically driven by any means.

“We have laws against discrimination, and constitutional articles that counter such problems.” Atef Kamel

“It is not political at all...lack of education and awareness is the reason behind hate speech...we all make mistakes. Many TV hosts in the field had no journalism background or they are not media educated, that is a big problem.” Hussein Amin

There is a neutral opinion of whether hate speech is political or personal. This opinion leans towards the idea that hate speech sometimes occurs when a TV presenter wants to please the regime or the authorities. Therefore, he/she does not get direct orders to incite others, but he/she knows what should be said.

“This is like when you know what kind of food your husband likes, so you make it without him asking you to. The same thing in the media, we know what should be said and what should not, automatically.” Passant Hassan

“Sometimes it's understood. So it's not a direct order but you know what to do. And sometimes it's the presenter or the talk show host himself trying to play as a flatterer which is basically “I want to score points,” but nobody asked him to do so. So the governments could purely not be involved in this and nobody told the presenter or implied that he should do this. But he wants to be recognized. I think so, in most cases... It's not that you're given a direct order.” Tara Alkadi

And sometimes TV hosts are serving their own personal agendas to prove their loyalty to Egypt by practicing hate speech against oppositions. This form of hate speech is believed to be one of hate speech forms that leads, the most, to a harmful division among Egyptians. Talk shows presenters who practice this form of hate speech choose to insult whoever against the country instead of positively supporting the government's side.

“Proving loyalty to Egypt in the wrong way is one of the trendiest forms of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows. For example, if I want to show to my audience that I love the president, I insult anyone who disagrees with the constitutional changes of 2019, and accuse them of being unfaithful to Egypt. Many TV talk show presenters are taking this direction, while, instead, they should have just discussed the advantages of the new proposed changes and leave the decision to the audience.” Dina Abdelkarim

Some TV presenters practice hate speech against other TV presenters, celebrities or public figures for personal gains. A TV presenter may attack female celebrities and insult them for wearing clothes that “threaten public modesty” in order to appear humble and religious to the audience.

“A reason behind it sometimes is when a male TV presenter desires a famous woman like a belly dancer or so, and he can't have her in order not to ruin his reputation, so he tends to act against her to appear humble and to hide his desires. That's why you would see a male TV presenter committing hate speech against belly dancers for example and insulting them on TV, so he would appear to his audience as a very religious person actually protecting the Egyptian society ” Khalid Montasser

Others may attack LGBTs, atheists, and homosexuals to “clean” their reputation. In their theory, if they attack and insult atheists, they would appear more religious than others; if they insulted homosexuality, they would appear as public morals’ defenders. TV hosts sometimes tend to ‘clean’ their own reputation by ruining others’ reputations. In addition, some media hosts tend to avoid defending some religious sects, such as Shia in order not to get attacked by public opinion.

“A TV host kicked an atheist out of the studio, intentionally, in front of the camera in order to appear humble.” Khalid Montasser

“In particular, the way the Egyptian media dealt with the killing of Sheikh Hassan Shehata, a Shia sheikh, always started by blaming and condemning him for being Shia, not belonging to Islam, and so on... and we were looking for justifications to kill this man in such a hideous way. A few days before the incident, former president Mohamed Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafis came out in the Cairo stadium to incite against the man and said the Shias were more dangerous than the Jews. Hassan Shehata was killed in a horrific scene in the village as if nothing had happened... the media did not take a proper stand against what happened, and only a couple of programs talked about the incident in a very weak way...” Khalid Montasser

Some talk shows hosts use hate speech to flirt with the public. Media experts refer to this school of thinking as “street flirting,” which means that if the public is against a specific minister, for example, and even if this minister is doing great work; the TV host would insult him/her to *“please the public and to become a star.”* Atef Kamel

The third cause behind intentional hate speech practices is media institutional corruption. Some media institutions or channels tend to practice hate speech to spice up the content, seeking higher viewership rates. High viewership rates are important for TV channels to bring more advertisements and therefore more revenue to the channel; therefore some channels’ owners follow hate speech agendas to add spices to their content.

“There is a famous saying among talk shows writers’ teams that says “who are we going to defame today? Or who are we going to slaughter today?” It means that the “party” should be on someone or an event to add spices to the episodes to gain more viewers.” Khalid Monatsser

“Ownership and I think there is this monopoly and there's this competition amongst certain channels and owners of certain channels who are their media conglomerates in Egypt and I think that smaller people don't get a chance as much. I think that because of the competition. People might use hate speech or elements of hate speech or spread rumors to kill the competition or decrease their opponent's popularity.” Tara Alkadi

“Looking for media booming...” Tarek Saeed

“They tend to talk about anything related to sex, obscenity or slander for more viewers. There was a campaign against Rania Youssef, in my opinion, there was nothing important or was a disaster in what she was wearing, but channels were competing on ratings.” Passant Hassan

However, some media experts believe that seeking high viewership rates was an old cause behind hate speech that is not currently used in the Egyptian media. They believe that the current phenomenon of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows has many other causes than seeking high viewership rates.

“Well, that is an old school...it has nothing to do with viewership rates nowadays.” Wael Al Ebrashy

The second form of media institutional corruption is formed in the presence of unclear media and press regulations about the term ‘hate speech.’ In addition, even when there are some codes of ethics that combat crimes, such as discrimination and incitement to violence, they are not properly enforced. Conditional actions against TV hosts who practice hate speech take place, therefore. Moreover, Sanctions Regulation that was issued by the Supreme Council for Media Regulation on the 18th of March 2019, for example, has no direct articles about the term ‘hate speech;’ however, it includes clear articles that are related to crimes that may fall under the concept of hate speech. Accordingly, such media regulations get misused by TV presenters as a

tool in their Egyptian “media war” between different talk shows. Some media practitioners tend to use hate speech in order to satisfy the TV station they are working for.

“Media institutions themselves do not have codes of ethics. None of the channels actually follow the media charters, but we do have something called Editing Policy which is about hosting technicalities, not ethics. Most of the time, some TV presenters tend to prove their loyalty to the station they work for by insulting or defaming other institutions, and that is the most famous media war we have in Egypt.” Dina Abdelkarim

“There is no explanation in the press legislations for something called “hate speech,” which means that there is no such crime in our Charters of Honor or the Press Code of Ethics. Until now, we do not have a definite explanation of the term “hate speech” from experts in issues related to the press, or from press authorities, like the Press Syndicate, Media Syndicate, the Supreme Council for Media Regulation, the National Media Authority nor the legislature in charge. A clear definition should have been explained.” Mohamed Saad

“Not all journalists or TV hosts who practice hate speech get warnings from the syndicates, and sometimes a journalist who made no hate speech gets a warning.” Mohamed Saad

Unprofessionalism and TV hosts who get registered in the Syndicate of the Media without meeting the required criteria; or those who work for the media without even being registered in the Syndicate of the Media are the main corruption problem. The absence of a strong media regulatory system in Egypt increases the hate speech phenomenon in Egyptian talk shows.

“Many TV hosts are in the field because of their connections –واسطة– and they are not professional at all.” Hassan Ali

“They just appear on TV and they think that they understand everything. They are not even willing to learn...many of them.” Hussein Amin

“We do not have a crisis management team. Look at how the media handled the situation in New Zealand...we do not have this.” Hassan Ali

“Not having a ministry for the media and press is a disaster.” Hassan Ali

Theme 5: Hate speech impact

According to the literature review, the Egyptian media play a vital and very effective role in the Middle East as a whole (Abdulla, 2014); however, there is a lack of knowledge of the consequences and the impact of hate speech in Egyptian talk shows on the Egyptian society and the Egyptian global affairs. Therefore, this section discusses some consequences that hate speech in the Egyptian talk shows have actually caused. The effects of the hate speech phenomenon in Egyptian talk shows are unfortunate and catastrophic. Due to the disastrous presence of racist and sexist contents in the Egyptian media, many Sudanese and Syrian refugees are suffering from hate speech on the Egyptian streets.

“Hate speech could be a deadly weapon, and it could harm others emotionally, and it could also lead to physical harm as a consequence.”
Wael Al Ebrashy

“Women suffer from hate speech in the Egyptian media in such an obvious way that you may find a female TV host insulting women or encouraging hate speech against them instead of defending their rights. My male colleague at work left the job when he learned that I was going to be his manager. He asserted that women should not be managers.” Inas Abdou

“When Egyptians hear that we take their jobs in the media, they practice hate speech against us and they treat us badly. I have to explain my situation to each person I meet to avoid this stereotyping.” Syrian Immigrant

“They say that the government gives us money, while it is not true.”
Sudanese refugee

“I got threatened to be killed and received threatening messages on my mobile phone after the episode in which a TV presenter “...” claimed that I was an alcoholic in an indirect way. It was not only that time, but I am always subjected to hate speech in Egyptian talk shows because I defend human rights...they say I am an atheist and so....” Khalid Montasser

“Due to the conflict that happened between Egypt and Sudan, the Egyptian media were practicing hate speech against us, which was reflected on the streets...we get harassed on streets and worse” Sudanese refugee

“We are also marginalized in the Egyptian media...they never talk about our situation, and that is why no one is aware of our real situation in Egypt. This is an omission.” Sudanese refugee

“I will give you an example, In Jordan if we hear statistical reports saying that employment among Jordanians has decreased 5% while employment among Palestinian and Syrian refugees in Jordan has increased 10%, we know that that may happen for many reasons; while if someone is trying to incite hatred against refugees, they will interpret it as ...‘refugees are taking Jordanians’ job opportunities and we should fight against it...that is what happens in Egyptian broadcast sometimes when they interpret facts according to their own understanding of the situation. And that may lead to hatred against refugees.” Abeer Ismail

“I know a lot of Syrians who actually left Egypt because they were so miserable and because the media focused particularly on the success of the Syrians in creating jobs. This has angered a lot of Egyptians. So Syrians get harassed on buses and are treated badly. I mean there has been a lot of hate speech about Syrians actually. So even when the Syrian refugees talk about their success, the media have managed to turn it into something negative. I have seen hate speech on Syrian women and how they marry them off.. Just imagine how much they get harassed because of that. They are like available to marry any guy, just to survive. This actually is not even true.” Naila Hamdy

In addition, hate speech also affects Egyptian diplomatic relations and foreign affairs. A good example of this issue is the violent incidences of two football matches between Egypt and Algeria in 2009 that caused severe diplomatic tensions between the two countries back then. According to the data, these incidents are considered ones of the most aggressive events that included severe hate speech from both Egyptian talk shows and Algerian media.

“Hate speech was practiced from both sides on TV; which led to a psychological barrier in the relationships between the two nations of the two countries. Thank God it has been healed now, because of the kind relationship between the two nations and their history. But still its remains are left.” Wael Al Ebrashy

Theme 6: Combating hate speech: current procedures and suggested solutions

According to the data, the researcher has found that the current hate speech content in the Egyptian media is the result of many factors. First is the lack of awareness and education in the Egyptian society as a whole. This lack of awareness has generated a social refusal of understanding issues of “the other,” and therefore not accepting social differences. This lack of social awareness has been reflected in the Egyptian media. Accordingly, a lack of media literacy and proficiency has taken over the media scene. As a result, two kinds of hate speech practice have occurred. The first one is an unintentional practice of hate speech due to the lack of awareness of the limits of free speech and what should be said and what should not. The second type is an intentional one that is shaped by political reasons, institutional corruption, and personal agendas being served.

Therefore, media practitioners, experts and policymakers have suggested a number of ways to combat hate speech in Egyptian talk shows. Media experts and policymakers have stated that it is hard just to erase hate speech from the media scene at once, but at least we can start with diluting hate speech by working on the root causes and on the most observable ones. Media experts and media policymakers have suggested the following steps and solutions in order to combat the hate speech phenomenon in Egyptian talk shows.

The plan should start with a real revolution for basic awareness and education. It is suggested that school curricula should include subjects about social ethics, principles of acceptance, learning the concept of the “other.” School curricula should include media literacy programs to teach students how to deal with the media content they receive, create or share. They should learn how to differentiate between media content that contains hate speech and that which

contains respectful criticism. It is also suggested that any content that includes violence should be banned from their books.

“The story of “Wa Islamah” teaches the students about murder, violence, hatred...that is where terrorism starts from.” Khalid Montasser

It is also suggested that religion as a school subject should be replaced by subjects about culture, ethics, national security, acceptance, and respect.

“I believe that religious education should not be taught outside churches and mosques.” Atef Kamel

“A wrong interpretation of religion or an advisory opinion (fatwa) on TV could be more harmful than fire.” Wael Al Ebrashy

“Religious subjects are taught in a wrong way in schools. You may find an Arabic language teacher teaching Islam and a Christian Math teacher teaching Christianity. The idea of dividing a class into Muslims and Christians is a disaster.” Atef Kamel

“The educational system is corrupt and should be reshuffled...roots should be changed.” Hassan Ali

The change will come from working on the media system in Egypt. It is believed that media proficiency is lagging behind due to lack of education, lack of training and lack of media literacy. Therefore, media practitioners should be media or journalism educated. If they are graduates from mass communication faculties or institutions, they should go through proficiency and ethics tests and continue training in order to work in the field. If they are not educated in mass communication faculties, and they want to work in the field, they should study first the field (self-education), and then they go through training programs, then proficiency tests.

“They should always learn. They should attend training programs and media conferences all the time. An educational process takes a life time. The problem is that some of them think that they know everything once they appear on TV.” Hussein Amin

Media and press syndicates set up proficiency tests for the practitioners in order to be accepted as members of the Syndicate. However, the Syndicates do not require the applicants to

study media ethics or to test their full awareness of the media and press Charters of Honor. Therefore, intensive programs on media ethics and combating ‘hate speech’ should be implemented as a requirement. Media training programs should not be limited to media practitioners, but should also be offered to guests who appear on TV, such as political figures and celebrities.

“We should train politicians, business men and high profile individuals, so the audiences don’t get shocked at their aggressive or offensive way of talking on TV. We should teach them how to handle criticism, how to manage a crisis and how to control anger, how to control their performance, how to control the desire to attack someone and how to offer criticism properly.” Dina Abdelkarim

It is suggested that any channel should refrain from discussing religion or taboo topics, unless it’s a specialized channel. For example, medical channels would discuss issues related to AIDs, LGBTs, and homosexuality. Religious channels are the only channels that should be allowed to discuss issues related to religion, but content should always be monitored to avoid extremism.

The term ‘hate speech’ is not commonly acknowledged among media and press practitioners. According to Mohamed Saad, there is no crime called “hate speech” stated clearly and precisely in the laws regulating the press in Egypt, the Media and Press Charters of Honor, nor in the Egyptian Penal code. However, only some elements of hate speech, such as incitement to violence and to crime, libel, discrimination between civilians can all fall under hate speech laws, but unfortunately, they are sometimes misused or abused. Therefore, it is proposed that the term “hate speech” should be mentioned and implemented in the media and press Charters of Honor as well as the laws regulating the media and the press. The term should be implemented because hate speech includes more crimes than the three crimes stated above.

Three schools of opinions exist regarding the presence of constitutional articles and laws that govern the media and the press in Egypt. It has been mentioned earlier in the literature review that the major source of the problem is not only in the delay of law enforcement but also in the obvious lack of self-regulation (Al Aswad, 2017). This point of view has been confirmed by the data analysis. Therefore, the first school suggests that the government should not interfere in governing the media as this interference can lead to misusing such laws to restrict lawful free speech. According to them, the media and the press should only be regulated through the Syndicate of the Media, the Press Syndicate and the Supreme Council for Media Regulation. This school is a supporter of developing self-regulation skills through media literacy programs and through self-monitoring training. The supporters of this discipline argue that self-regulation is the best solution to combat hate speech; they believe that a journalist or a TV presenter should have a built-in system that regulates his freedom.

The second school suggests that laws should remain as they are. Each civilian should always have the right to seek refuge to the judiciary system, the Syndicate or both. When the Syndicate receives any complaint about a journalist, it applies the rules stated in the press Charter of Honor and the Sanctions Regulation during any investigation in any case. Then the Syndicate refers the journalist to an investigation committee. Then, he/she is transferred to a judicial committee called the Disciplinary Committee headed by a judge and two board members from the Syndicate. The penalty starts with a warning and it may end by revoking her/his membership from the Syndicate. The penalty depends on the extent of the crime. It is usually better to include a judge in the committee as well as two members from the Syndicate board in order to guarantee the reliability of the verdict and to make sure the members are aware of the

case. The judge in the committee should have a well-established background and education about the field of the press and its codes of ethics.

“Your right to sue the journalist should be granted to you as a civilian. If a journalist practiced hate speech against you directly, you have the right to sue this journalist or the media platform that the content is published through. No one can dispute your right for this”. Mohamed Saad

According to this school, every civilian should have the right to follow the judicial way in order to file a complaint. A civilian should also have the right to go to the Press, to the Media Syndicate or to the Supreme Council for Media Regulation or even, to file a complaint in both.

The third school suggests that some laws should be changed. They believe that it is fair to have laws and constitutional articles that regulate the media, but they are against jail sentences. They believe that any punishment should be either financial or even be a ban from practicing in the media; but no punishment should reach the extent of putting journalists and media practitioners into jail.

Lastly, both the Syndicate of the Media and the Press Syndicates are advised to implement combating hate speech glossaries such as the ones produced by the Ethical Journalism Network, the American University in Cairo, the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations; as well as language sensitivity glossaries, such as the ones produced by the United Nations and the International Cairo Centre for Conflict Resolution and Peace-keeping. Such glossaries and ethical codes help journalists and media practitioners to become media literate and gain the skills of self-regulation.

Chapter 5: Discussion and conclusion

5.1 Conclusion and policy recommendations

Egyptian talk shows have been full of hate speech, mostly since the 2011 events. One of the root causes of this issue is that the Egyptian society has not been properly equipped to practice freedom of speech and freedom of expression. The lack of knowledge of the real meaning of a revolution and the real meaning of freedom was the root cause of the confusion between the right to practice free speech and practicing hate speech. In addition, when society lacks the knowledge of the difference between free speech and hate speech, they lack the knowledge of the negative effects of hate speech on society.

Egyptian TV presenters are part of the Egyptian society; therefore they are believed to experience, to a certain extent, the same kind of illiteracy that some groups in the Egyptian society suffer from. A counter opinion argues that most Egyptian TV presenters are not as uninformed as the rest of the society about the difference between the two concepts. It is believed that some TV presenters are fully aware of the difference between free speech and hate speech; and that they are aware of the extent of respectful free speech and at what point it turns to hate speech. However, according to the data analysis, the researcher has found that this group of TV presenters intentionally breaks the rule of respectful freedom to serve different agendas.

Two opinions have emerged from the argument. The first point of view states that hate speech is an unintentional practice due to lack of knowledge. According to this opinion, both lack of knowledge and media illiteracy make TV presenters unaware that they are practicing hate speech, and do not know the extent of free speech guaranteed by the Egyptian constitution. Therefore, they unintentionally practice hate speech.

The second opinion argues that hate speech is intentionally practiced in Egyptian talk shows and that the laws and media regulations that govern the media in Egypt are intentionally violated. It is believed that laws and regulations that guarantee free speech are intentionally misused in Egypt to allow the practice of hate speech as a part of this guaranteed freedom while regulations that limit hate speech are not fairly enforced for political reasons or due to corruption in the Egyptian media system.

In both cases, the results are not different. The negative effects on the Egyptian society are the same whether hate speech is intentionally or unintentionally practiced. Hate speech is proven to have serious effects on national security, international relations and social stability. Hate speech targets marginalized and vulnerable groups in Egypt such as women, refugees, religious minorities and political oppositionists. This hate speech reflects its poisonous effects on the Egyptian society, causing sexual harassment, sectarian strife, and personal life-threatening incidents

Therefore, it is recommended by media experts and policymakers that the government and media authorities should work together on raising awareness against hate speech by developing media literacy programs and working on the existing policies that regulate the media to include the term 'hate speech', clearly indicating its forms and effects.

The research recommends the following policy structure, for media policy makers, in order to combat hate speech. First is basic education. Ethics educational programs and curricula are to be embedded in the Egyptian schools curricula in order to educate students and make them aware of the following concepts of freedom of speech, racism, sexism, social responsibility, social ethics, acceptance, bullying, stereotyping, and language sensitivity. In addition, religious school subjects are to be taken off from the school curricula in order to avoid students' division

and to avoid creating extremist ideas. Instead, ethics and national unity topics should replace religious subjects.

Media Literacy programs should then be established as a requirement in Egyptian schools in order to educate Egyptian students about the terms of hate speech, fact-checking, viewership rates, media ownership, agenda-setting, and media evaluation, media creation, media analysis, and media embedded values.

Second is evaluating current policies. In order to create proper policies for combating hate speech phenomenon in Egyptian TV broadcasts, an evaluation of the current media regulations should be held. An examination of the Egyptian Constitution, Egyptian Criminal Law and Media Charters of Honor should be conducted in parallel in order to avoid contradictions.

Third, a review of the UDHR should be studied in order to understand how freedom of speech is dealt with internationally. According to the data collected from the Egyptian media policy-makers and experts in this research, Egyptian media policymakers had checked the international human rights documents before they created the Media Charter of Honor. However, they only extracted what suited the “Egyptian social standards” to create the charter; but unfortunately, the current Egyptian media and press charters do not protect some social minorities from hate speech as they are not “socially acceptable.” Therefore, some Egyptian social sectors should be protected by the law and media regulations in Egypt. Policymakers should accept the fact that those socially marginalized groups are a part of the Egyptian society and they should be protected by law.

Forth, any Egyptian laws that include imprisonment sentences, against journalists or media practitioners for practicing hate speech should be replaced by financial penalties or fines. A TV presenter who practices hate speech, regularly, should get a warning first, then the

Syndicate should revoke her/his membership from the syndicate if he/she practiced hate speech after the warning. Those who practice hate speech that includes revealing military information, confidential information that threatens national security should get their membership revoked from the syndicate.

Fifth, freedom of speech and expression should be actively protected. Therefore, promotion of self-regulation skills and raising awareness of the dangerous consequences of hate speech would help media practitioners to have a built-in system that regulates hate speech. Self-regulation and media literacy are important in order to avoid the misuse of hate speech regulating laws.

Sixth, the Egyptian Law against religious blasphemy in Egypt was criticized by some experts within the Egyptian media for being discriminatory in itself, as it ignores protecting other beliefs such as Baha'ism and atheism, for instance (Ezzat, 2014). Therefore, the religious blasphemy law should be invalidated as it is one of the most misused laws in Egypt, according to the collected data in this research. Instead, laws and regulations that only protect the three main religions in Egypt should be replaced by regulations that require media practitioners to 'respect all kinds of spiritual or religious beliefs,' and not only Judaism, Christianity and Sunni Islam.

Finally, it is strongly recommended that a media practitioner's valid license or a media/press syndicate membership must be checked prior to their practice in the media or the press field. In addition, media practitioners should be completely aware of both the media and press Codes of Ethics in order to start practicing in the field. A media practitioner should be required to attend language sensitivity and media literacy courses or workshops, arranged by the syndicates in order to develop her/his self-regulation skills.

5.2 Future study recommendations

As there is a lack of studies on hate speech in the Egyptian media, further studies should be conducted in order to generate a deeper understanding of the phenomenon from many sides. This thesis aims to be a starting point for further studies to better understand the effects of hate speech. Having a full idea about the serious effects of hate speech would allow media policymakers to rethink and reframe the current regulations and policies, and their implementations

The data analysis has provided a few examples of real-life cases that are victims of hate speech, but the effects of hate speech are wide and include psychological effects, physical effects such as harassment, and societal effects. Hate speech also affects Egyptian diplomatic relations and foreign affairs; a matter which requires deep research and implementations. Hate speech has been interpreted as ‘incitement to violence,’ therefore studies on the relationship between hate speech and terrorism in Egypt should be conducted.

The problem with countless research studies is that they do not get reviewed or studied by policymakers, especially in Egypt. Therefore, research should be done on new policies and regulations to combat hate speech, and most importantly on how these policies should be implemented and enforced.

This research paper is just the beginning and is designed to demonstrate, to the whole media scene in Egypt, how Egyptian talk shows are full of hate speech, racism, and libel crimes. This research sheds light on many root causes and factors behind the spread of such a phenomenon in Egyptian society, including its media. Therefore, research studies should be done on these causes and factors in order to remedy them since rehabilitation of the root causes is the only way to ‘combat hate speech’.

This research has discussed the effects of misusing and abusing current laws and regulations. However, further research studies on laws and regulations concerning hate speech and freedom of

speech in Egypt should be conducted in order to deeply understand the legitimate side of the problem in details. Therefore, when media policymakers use these research studies, they will have a full idea about the problem from the media side, from institutional policies side, and from the constitutional and legitimate side in order to accurately evaluate and analyze the current policies and laws, and accordingly, make new policies or adjust the current ones.

5.3 Study limitations

This thesis has used some previous studies on hate speech and freedom of speech. However, due to the lack of research on hate speech and freedom of speech in Egypt, this research study has faced the challenge of accessing general data, such as talk shows or TV channels viewership rates in Egypt; which were important in order to develop an idea about which channels are viewed the most and which have the most impact.

There is also a shortage of research studies on media laws and regulations in Egypt as well as a lack of research or explanations of how policies and laws, in general, are formulated or implemented. There is also a lack of research on whether media policies in Egypt are regularly evaluated and changed or not, and on what basis. Therefore, the researcher has tried to understand these different views by holding interviews with policymakers to obtain an overview of how policies are created and on the extent of their enforcement. However, the current Egyptian media policy evaluation criteria would have been more accurately elaborated if there were official documents or previous research studies on the criteria for media laws formulation in Egypt.

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Appendix *(Interviews questions)*

General Questions

1. How do you interpret freedom of speech?
2. In your opinion, when does freedom of speech cross the red line?
3. How do you interpret the term 'hate speech'?
 - How is the concept of hate speech interpreted in Egypt?
4. What are the reasons behind the confusion between freedom of speech and absolute freedom that leads to hate speech in Egyptian talk shows?
 - And to what extent do Egyptian TV presenters differentiate between their right to freedom of speech and to practicing hate speech?
5. In your opinion, which media platform carries (encourages) more hate-speech than the other?
6. What are the two major reasons, in your opinion, behind the spread of hate speech in the Egyptian talk shows?
7. What is the impact of the hate speech phenomenon?
8. What are the roles/ responsibilities of media and journalism agencies in combating hate speech?
9. What are the groups/countries/individuals most subjected to hate speech in Egyptian talk shows?

Policy and decision makers

1. What is the process of creating a media or a press charter of honor?
2. What are the references that policy-makers look at while setting media laws and regulations?
3. The Egyptian constitution has articles regulating hate speech; to what extent do you think these regulations are enforced when Egyptian presenters practice hate speech against minorities, women or other countries in their talk shows?
4. Could you evaluate the current regulations on the Egyptian media?
5. If you have to change something about the current regulations, what would it be and why?
6. Are you for or against having a ministry for the media and the press? Why?
7. In your opinion, what is the most case in which you noticed that many anchors practiced hate speech while covering it? What were the taken procedures against them?
8. Why do not we have access to the viewership rates of Egyptian TV talk shows?

TV presenters

1. What are the ethical standards that the channel you are working for follows to guarantee professionalism and avoid hate speech?
2. To what extent does the channel you are working for follow the media charter?
3. What is your limit of freedom?

4. Do you follow any institutional instructions regarding what is permitted to say and what is not (specific media ethics)?
5. To what extent does the channel you are working for require you to be aware of ethical codes?
6. How do you avoid practicing hate speech?
7. What is considered hate speech to you and what is not?
8. How do you discuss sensitive topics or taboo topics?
9. If you have discovered a confidential piece of information about a case of corruption, would you reveal it to the public? Why?

Individuals subjected/represent a group subjected to hate speech

1. What is your experience with hate speech?
2. Have you ever been offended by any Egyptian media content? When?
3. How did you respond to it?
4. How did you feel about it?
5. What is the impact of the way the society deals with you/targeted group?
6. To what extent does omission play a role?