Egyptian Media & Journalism between Change and Continuity

Conference, Berlin, 12.-14. November 2015

**Organized by the Division of International Communication
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Book of Abstracts & Biographies | Conference Program

DAAD Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst
German Academic Exchange Service

Freie Universität Berlin

Aim of the conference and research project

Over the past four years the Egyptian media landscape varied between change and continuity. The strife of the Egyptian media towards professional autonomy after the January Revolution in 2011 was pronounced. Immediately after the ouster of Mubarak in 2011 the people called for a radical media reform. Its role in misrepresenting the uprising cost the media valuable credibility. Yet, the reform process was turbulent, often mirroring the political, social and professional upheavals in the transformation phase.
The research project **"Journalism in Transformation in Egypt"** examines precisely the questions related to the evolution of Egypt's media during the transformation phase, both on the structural and discursive levels. Egyptian and German media scholars scrutinize the efforts of Egypt's media and journalists towards professional autonomy against constraints from the political, economic and legal spheres.

Distinguished media scholars and experts are invited to the project's first international conference entitled **"Egyptian Media & Journalism between Change and Continuity"**. In the two-day conference an intensive exchange among scholars from Egypt and Germany as well as other Arab and Western countries shall help us to gain a comprehensive picture of current developments in a comparative perspective. Besides academics, experts from think tanks and NGOs, as well as journalists are among the presenters. They will discuss issues like self-regulation of journalists, professionalism, challenges of freedom of speech as well as the evolution of the media landscape and the political economy of Egypt's media.

The research project and the conference are funded by the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service). Responsible for the project are Prof. Dr. Carola Richter (Freie Universität Berlin) und Dr. des. Hanan Badr (Cairo University).

Research Team:

Carola Richter is Junior Professor for international communication at the Freie Universität Berlin. She holds a Master's degree in Arabic studies, journalism and political sciences from the University of Leipzig and obtained her PhD from the University of Erfurt with a thesis on the media strategies of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Her research focuses on media and transformation, protest movements, foreign news coverage and public diplomacy with an emphasis on the Arab World. She is founding member of AREACORE (Arab-European Association for Media and Communication Researchers) and head of the Section of International and Intercultural Communication of the German Association for Communication Studies. Her recent book publications include "Arabische Medien" (edited with Asiem El-Difraoui, 2015) and "New Media Configurations and Social Dynamics in Asia and the Arab World" (edited with Nadja-Christina Schneider, 2015).

Hanan Badr is the Egyptian project coordinator of the Egyptian-German research group in the DAAD project "Journalism in Transformation in Egypt" in cooperation between Freie Universität Berlin and Cairo University. She is a lecturer at the Department of Journalism, Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University. She obtained her PhD degree from the University of Erfurt on media discourses on Terrorism in Egypt and in Germany. Badr obtained her M.A. and B.A. degrees at Cairo University. She was head researcher in the Orient Institut Beirut project funded by the German Federal Ministry of Research and Education on Media, Culture and Transformation. The project scrutinized the Egyptian public sphere and the political communication of social movements after 2011. Her research interests include media and transformation, international communication, comparative media systems and public sphere in the Arab World. She published on contentious politics, regime dilemma and social media.

Eman Soliman graduated from Cairo University, Faculty of Mass Communication in 2004 with honor. Currently she is a teaching and research assistant in Public Relations and Advertising Department at the same Faculty. Her master was on "Good Governance and Media". In 2013 she received the Best Master Thesis Award from Cairo University. Currently, she is a PhD candidate studying the media reform process in Egypt during the transition period in relation to the political system actions after the 25 January 2011 Revolution. She participated in many conferences, i.e. IAMCR 2006 with a paper that focused on the impact of news coverage of 2005 election on Egyptian voting behavior.

Walid Osman studied Journalism and Mass Communication at the American University in Cairo and completed his Master's Degree at the Deutsche Welle Akademie in Bonn. He began his career in a UNDP Project in the field of social marketing. In 2008, he was appointed as Communications Officer for the ILO Sub-regional Office for North Africa. Furthermore, Osman worked in the field of advertising and media planning at Starcom MediaVest Group. Today, Walid Osman works in the field of public diplomacy besides working as a Senior Researcher in the Egyptian-German research group in the DAAD project "Journalism in Transformation in Egypt" in cooperation between Freie Universität Berlin and Cairo University.

Sara Khorshid is a member in the Egyptian-German research group in the DAAD project "Journalism in Transformation in Egypt" in cooperation between Freie Universität Berlin and Cairo University. She is a columnist and journalist who has extensive experience in covering Egypt and the region, as well as Arab-Western relations. Her articles have been published in The New York Times, The Guardian, Huffington Post, Jadaliyya, Al-Monitor, Al-Shorouk, Mada Masr and numerous other media outlets. She received a Bachelor's degree in political science from Cairo University in 2002 and she is currently working on an MA in Euro-Mediterranean Studies, her dissertation-in-progress being about the European Union and multilateralism in international relations.

Conference Program

Thursday, 12th of November 2015	
Venue: room 116, Seminarzentrum, Freie Universität Berlin, Silberlaube, Otto-von-Simson-Str. 26, 14195 Berlin	
18.00-20.00	**Public Keynote** Yosri Fouda: Autumn of Nasser's Media State

Abstract:

After the January 25 revolution in 2011, Egypt was introduced to a huge dose of press freedom which quickly moved from pluralism to polarization and arguably chaos. Fear of islamization of the state would soon lead to a sharp u-turn orchestrated by the deep state on a scale never experienced before. Yosri Fouda traces back the roots to Nasser's era that explains today's media scene in Egypt. He argues that this situation will not last for long.

Biographical Note:

A graffiti of his face in Tahrir Square reads: "The Eloquent Voice of the Revolution". But after the decline of press freedom, Yosri Fouda had to suspend his popular ONTV show, *Akher Kalam* (Last Word), in September, 2014. Starting his career in 1994 as a roving reporter with the BBC, he moved on to Al-Jazeera channel to pioneer an Arab concept of investigative journalism. Through his show, *Sirri Lilghaya* (Top Secret), he broke many stories, including how al-Qaeda planned for 9/11. Author of "Top Secret", "Masterminds of Terror", "In Harm's Way", his new book, "Last Word: A Testimony of Hope in Egypt's Revolution", will be published before the end of this year .

Friday, 13th of November 2015 Venue: room 113, Seminarzentrum, Freie Universität Berlin, Silberlaube, Otto-von-Simson-Str. 26, 14195 Berlin	
09.30	**Welcome** Hanan Badr & Carola Richter
10.00-12.00	**Panel 1: Media Landscapes in Transformation** 1. Fatima El-Issawi, London School of Economics, UK: Overview of Arab Media Transformation 2. Ayman Al-Sayyad, Egypt: The Egyptian Media Landscape in 5 Years: From Revolution to Diversity to Conformity 3. Heba Raouf Ezzat, Cairo University, Egypt: The Blind and the Elephant: End of Journalism and Birth of Liquid Media

Fatima El-Issawi: Overview of Arab Media Transformation

The relative openness of the traditional media sector post Arab uprisings was reflected in an expansion of media outlets that remained unmatched by any radical change in the practices or values of Arab journalists. The media change reflects huge challenges such as the lack of agreed professional standards, state control and self-regulation, and a blurred identity between reporting and advocacy, among others. The enthusiasm that prevailed in the immediate aftermath of Arab uprisings for the rise of an independent national media industry regressed with the consistent misuse of media platforms in raging ideological and political battles. Led by the media elites, the political alignment of national Arab media post uprisings has reduced the media again to the role of a powerful platform to convey the ruler's message. Although the issue of drafting ethical codes has occupied much of the debate about the media reform, these codes will have little effect if not accompanied by a comprehensive regulatory and structural reform of this redundant sector.

This paper is based on the main findings of the research and policy project "Arab Revolutions: Media Revolutions", which looks at the transformations in traditional newsrooms under the complex and shaky political transitions in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. It looks into the major trends in the new/old traditional media under the political transition in these three countries in an attempt to map common challenges and trends as well as main obstacles facing media reform in these countries.

Fatima El-Issawi is Senior Lecturer in Journalism in Essex University and Assistant Professorial Research Fellow for the Middle East Centre at the London School of Economics. Her expertise in the media industry with a specific focus on Middle East and North Africa (MENA) crosses journalism, public communication, policy and academia. Between 2012 and 2014, Fatima was leading the project "Arab Revolutions: Media Revolutions" funded by the Open Society Foundation. The project provided in depth empirical analysis on the transformations in media practices and values brought by the transitional political landscape to traditional media in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. She is currently leading the

project Arab National Media and Politics: Democracy Revisited, looking at changes in media practices in traditional media industries in Morocco and Algeria.

Ayman Al-Sayyad: The Egyptian Media Landscape in 5 Years: From Revolution to Diversity to Conformity

Since the revolution in 2011 media images of the public became iconic; pictures of people in protests and voting queues became a relevant force to reckon when explaining the turbulent political path. Accordingly the people became a determinant that has potential to set the media landscape. In addition, media became an important tool in societal debates. Over the past five years the media landscape reflected the radical polarization in the Egyptian society. Professional values were non-existent in all ideological camps, except for a few media outlets that pursued objectivity in their coverage. Yet the majority of the media published blatant lies, aimed to mobilize the public and spread the conspiracy theory in their coverage. The post-revolutionary transitional period witnessed a complex relationship between media and politics, yet the lack of a clear process towards true transitional justice stalled any possible reforms of the media system. The paper diagnoses the ailments of the media systems in Egypt after the revolution and describes the status quo.

Ayman Al-Sayyad is an Egyptian journalist, writer, magazine editor and political commentator. He has been editor of the periodical Weghat Nazar since 2000, and has a weekly column in Al Shorouk Newspaper. In addition to his journalistic career, on August 27, 2012, Al-Sayyad was chosen as a senior advisor to the first elected Egyptian president after the January 25 uprising, Mohammed Morsi but he resigned later in protest over the constitutional declaration of November 2012, which he considered a key failure of the Muslim Brotherhood to govern inclusively. Currently he is board member of the Arab Journalism Award, a member of the advisory board for the UNDP's Arab Human Development Report (AHDR), and a member of the board of trustees for the Strategic Documents Centre, Egypt.

Heba Raouf Ezzat: The Blind and the Elephant: End of Journalism and Birth of Liquid Media

Print, broadcast and digital journalism have changed in form and content in Egypt in the last two decades. The content of news narratives has been diversified, and new media production vehicles such as blogs and newspaper websites, including their associated audio and video podcasts, became platforms for reporting as well as expression and analysis.

The story-telling skills of trained and experienced journalists were not undermined by citizen journalism or youth new media platforms, but rather altered. New media platforms add a powerful dimension to the way in which news narratives are delivered and the socio- political scene is covered.

One can see the parallel changes taking place on the political scene: The decline in professionalism in journalism reflects a trend in the political sphere: The comparative

approach in order to track the emerging forms and contents of "journalisms" can highlight new forms of political expression and formation of views. The "public opinion" is segmented and divided between generations, spaces and views. The assessment of objectivity, truth, balance, impartiality, accuracy, fairness and lack of bias is becoming more difficult.

This paper will describe new forms and platforms of journalism, from local "neighborhood newspapers", across political videos to news websites that attract young political analysts. It explores how these are manifestation of changing maps of the public domain. Furthermore, it reflects upon their impact on the current public debate in a political environment witnessing shrinking access to information and diminishing freedom of opinion.

Heba Raouf Ezzat has taught political theory at Cairo University since 1987 and was an adjunct professor at the American University in Cairo from 2006 till 2013. Currently she is a visiting scholar at London School of Economics (2015/2016). She wrote her MA thesis on women and politics in Islam (1992), and her PhD on the history of the liberal concepts of citizenship. Her academic interest is multi-faceted and includes: notions of citizenship, multiple modernities, urban politics, sociology of the cyberspace, violence: hegemony and sovereignty, global democracy and global civil society, history of Islamic political concepts, and the implications of political informality. She published widely in Arabic, English and German. In 2014 she was awarded by the German Academic Exchange Office in Cairo for her efforts in fostering academic cooperation between Egypt and Germany. Her most recent work was co-editing the Oxford Encyclopedia on Islam and Women (2013). She has two books published in Arabic 2015 which are entitled The Political Imagination of Islamists and Towards a New Civility. In recent years, Ezzat was a visiting fellow at UC Berkeley 2010, Georgetown University (2011), Oxford Center for Islamic Studies (2012) and Maastricht (2013). In addition to her academic career, she was a co-founder of Islamonline.net, a website that was rated one of the most important Islamic websites (1999-2009), and was a columnist at Al-Sha'ab then Al-Dustur opposition newspapers between 1992 and 2010. She is also known as a public commentator and lecturer on Islamic social theory and ethics.

13.00-15.00	**Panel 2: Freedom of Speech and Other Challenges to Media Freedom**
	1. Magued Osman, Cairo University, Egypt: The Role of Freedom of Information in Transition to Democracy: The Case of Egypt
	2. Reem Magued, ONA Academy, Egypt: Freedom of Speech in Egyptian Media
	3. Mostafa Shaat, American University in Cairo, Egypt: Augmented Challenges and Ongoing Hardships: Egyptian Journalism after June 2013

Magued Osman: The Role of Freedom of Information in Transition to Democracy: The Case of Egypt

Freedom of information is a cornerstone to a smooth transition to democracy. The lack of information has a negative impact on both economic, political and social aspects. The link between freedom of information and transition to democracy evolves through three factors: good governance, sustainable development and necessity of economic growth. *Good governance* requires an environment conducive to transparency and accountability. Such environment allows the society to fight corruption and to improve performance. Without freedom of information such environment cannot exist and is likely to generate distrust in institutions and will impede the ability of government to respond to public criticism. For development to *be sustainable*, it requires comprehensive programs to face challenges such as poverty alleviation, women empowerment, youth participation, and better education and health services for all. Inequality and geographical disparities within countries require a more sophisticated statistical system to produce indicators not only on the national level but also on the local level. In many developing countries, *economic growth* is the only way to generate enough jobs. Economic growth cannot be achieved without trust of local and foreign investors. Trust can be created and maintained throughout stable and transparent macro-economic policies and throughout accessible relevant and timely information related to business development. The government should perceive freedom of information as an opportunity to secure growth rather than perceive it as a threat. The three factors (good governance, sustainable development and necessity of economic growth) are a necessity for Egypt even though transition to democracy is becoming a controversial term. One important opportunity is Article 68 in the Egyptian constitution. The article started by stating that information is a public good. It provides the opportunity for public accessibility to information. To benefit from this opportunity, advocates for freedom of information should explain the economic and social needs for access to information, not overemphasize its political necessity. A recent analysis of accessibility to public information in seven sectors shows a number of bottlenecks and suggests to the government a set of actions to increase transparency. Such actions can help making Article 68 an agent of change.

Magued Osman is the managing director of the Egyptian Center for Public Opinion Research (Baseera). He is also a professor at Cairo University. Osman is the founding chair of the Arab Network for Public Opinion Polling Centers and the vice chair of the Arab Union for Statisticians. He also served as the Minister of Communications and Information Technology in the post-revolution caretaker government. Osman has led a number of national surveys in the Middle East and he is currently the lead author of the Egypt Human Development Report.

Reem Magued: Freedom of Speech in Egyptian media

There is a very famous Egyptian proverb that can literally be translated as "Is the question forbidden?!" or "Is there any shame about asking?!" It is usually used when someone asks a question and faces an outrageous, offensive, unreasonable reaction denouncing the very act of asking in principle. So the person who "dared" to ask usually uses this proverb in counter-challenging the denunciation by rejecting this sort of "intellectual terrorism". I call it "terrorism" because it does not only forbid the act of asking, but most importantly the act of thinking. This proverb can be perfectly applied on the current situation in Egypt at large, and on the Egyptian media landscape in particular.

Today, daring to ask can easily be considered as a disgraceful act. Current laws can easily turn the mere question into a criminal act. Asking questions is the cornerstone of journalism. But today, "freedom of speech" does not exist in Egyptian media in general and in TV in particular. Instead, Egyptian media are so much shaped by taboos, polarization, auto-censorship, dictations, unprofessional/unethical practices, partiality that they actually play the role of "The Ministry of Truth" in George Orwell's 1984.

Various violations of freedom of speech in Egyptian media are much more flagrant in television than in any other medium in Egypt. Same for its consequences; television is still the most influential medium in Egypt and the Arab world, not only because of poverty and illiteracy, but also because of an extremely oral and a specific family culture in Egypt and the Arab region. Lacking freedom of speech in Egyptian media and TV comes from many reasons: absence of any transitional justice programs after the January Revolution, the ownership structures of TV stations, the laws and the regulations that control the profession, lacking professional standards, and finally the widespread irresponsible and unprofessional conduct of the most influential players and personalities in the field. As for the repercussion on the society, it is "Orwellian" par excellence.

Reem Magued works as TV Journalist and Media Trainer. She graduated in the TV Journalism Department from the Faculty of Mass Communication at Cairo University. She started her professional career in 1995 at the Egyptian State Television (NileTV, French service). Since then she has been working in the fields of news editing, news reporting and presenting, documentaries, and talk shows. Reem Magued holds media trainings for the ONA Academy, ON TV, Deutsche Welle Arabic, Al-Jazeera and Al-Jazeera Children. Her main hosted shows include Woujhat Nazar (Point of view) on Al-Jazeera; Baladna bel Masry

Mostafa Shaat: Augmented Challenges and Ongoing Hardships: Egyptian Journalism after June 2013

The journalism scene in Egypt faced dramatic changes during the last few years. In particular, the different newspapers in Egypt (the government-owned as well as the privately owned) became directly affected by the strident socio-political divisions that struck Egypt after the ouster of Mursi after June 30, 2013. The media were allegedly forced to propagate the regime's policies and to support the measures taken afterwards in the government's "war on terror". The government, in turn, sought to "nationalize" journalism in Egypt by creating a hostile working environment for journalists and imposing several security restrictions and as well as defying the principles of the freedom of press.

This is largely believed to be the product of the commonness, and almost voluntary, propagation of the government policies by the "independent" or "secular" newspapers that became largely affluent and dependent on the heavy political investment by the regime and its political proponents.

In parallel, the government's intensified campaign against freedom of speech in the country began by shutting down several newspapers, best known for their Islamist backgrounds, then by targeting the field journalists covering the bloody dispersal of the Raba'a campaign, and last but not least by harshly sentencing several journalists for long periods in jail.

This paper aims to examine the transformation of the journalistic scenery in Egypt throughout the past two years from the diverse environment largely created in the aftermath of the 2011 uprising to the current bolted climate. In doing so, the paper will address the issues of the increasing security encroachments on journalists and their newspapers, the recent imposition of restrictive laws and regulations that aimed to justify the incessant targeting of the field correspondents and journalists, the strife for new regulatory legislations, and finally the impact of the financial crisis that hit the vast majority of the popular newspapers and the anticipated structural reformation that awaits these venues.

***Mostafa Shaat** is a legal and human rights researcher based in Cairo who holds an LL.M. degree in "International Law of Human Rights" from the Law School of Notre Dame University, Indiana. Since the popular uprising of 2011, he joined a number of local NGOs, such as the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies and The Association for Freedom of Thought and Expression as a junior researcher focusing on issues of transitional justice, freedom of speech and expression, and also on criminal justice. He currently works as a researcher in the newly-founded Law and Society Research Unit (LSRU) in the "law and security" team at the American University in Cairo.*

15.30-17.30	**Panel 3: The Political Economy of Media in Transformation**
	1. Adel Iskandar, Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada: Deregulation and Conformity: How Privatization of Media in Egypt Produced Less Not More
	2. Hafez Al Mirazi, American University in Cairo, Egypt: Reforming the Structure of the Broadcasting Sector
	3. Souraya El Badaoui, Cairo University, Egypt: Pluralism in a Contested Public Sphere

Adel Iskandar: Deregulation and Conformity: How Privatization of Media in Egypt Produced Less Not More

This paper will address the proliferation of private media – both print and broadcasting – over the past decade and the dual promises of content diversification and critical journalistic practice. By examining how deregulation, privatization, and function outsourcing have impacted the media production sector, I analyze how in conjunction with a turbulent political and economic milieu, these transformations precipitated a comparative decline in both media content and substance, despite aesthetic and stylistic change. The paper will also discuss the commodification and consumerization of content in light of corporatized media imperatives and the increasingly interwoven state-private sector interests.

Adel Iskandar is Assistant Professor of Global Communication at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada. He is the author, co-author, and editor of several works including Egypt In Flux: Essays on an Unfinished Revolution (AUCP/OUP); Al-Jazeera: The Story of the Network that is Rattling Governments and Redefining Modern Journalism (Basic Books); Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation (University of California Press); and Mediating the Arab Uprisings (Tadween Publishing). Iskandar's work and his lectures deal with media, identity and politics. His latest publication is the co-edited volume Media Evolution on the Eve of the Arab Spring (Palgrave Macmillan). Iskandar taught previously at Georgetown University, the University of Texas-Austin, and the American University in Washington, DC. He is a co-editor of Jadaliyya and a host of the audio journal Status Hour.

Hafez Al Mirazi: Reforming the Structure of the Broadcasting Sector

Since the introduction of radio in 1934, followed by television in 1960, the system governing Egyptian broadcasting has been highly centralized. The national broadcasting body, the Egyptian Radio and Television Union, or ERTU, has a monopoly on the operation of all radio and terrestrial TV frequencies in the country. Despite an ambivalent relationship between the Egyptian society and its national broadcaster, and an overall decline in trust that first emerged prominently as a result of inaccurate coverage of the 1967 war with Israel, this domination ensured control of the national narrative until the introduction of pan-Arab satellite in the 1990s. Since the proliferation of foreign content, the ERTU has struggled to remain competitive and relevant.

Today, Egypt's national state-broadcaster employs roughly 40,000 people and operates almost exclusively out of Cairo. Despite a bloated bureaucratic structure, challenges with performance and financial debt, the ERTU possesses extensive infrastructure and remains a valuable source of human capital.

The most viable solution to the issues facing Egyptian broadcasting is gradual restructuring that focuses on decentralization and a general opening up of the system. This would include the establishment of local broadcasters in every urban area in the country. If the existing relay stations and repeaters (currently used to deliver Cairo-produced content nationally) were converted into local public and private stations, each city could have several TV channels and radio stations broadcasting both local and national content. By permitting some private licensing of frequencies, the ERTU could establish a semi-corporate structure that would offer its employees growth and ownership opportunities, and offer the country valuable, competitive, and relevant content.

Establishing radio and television networks would guarantee keeping various regions of the country attached to national news and identity while serving the local needs of its audience. Encouraging local and regional cable and terrestrial broadcasting will diminish the influence of satellite broadcasting from abroad. Indeed, decentralization might be less threatening to the centralized political system than its perceived threat of the effects of foreign broadcasters on its citizens.

Hafez Al Mirazi is Director of the Adham Center for Television and Digital Journalism at the American University in Cairo (AUC) and Professor of Practice in the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication. He has worked in American and Arab broadcasting as anchor of Egypt Time (Bi-Tawqeet Masr) on BBC Arabic and of the weekly news program Cairo Time (Bi-Tawqeet El Qahera) on Dream 2 TV and he also hosted the talk show Studio Cairo on Al-Arabiya TV. He helped founding the Egyptian satellite channel Al-Hayat. In his time in Washington D.C. he served as Al-Jazeera's U.S. bureau chief and hosted the channel's weekly news program From Washington (2000-2007). While in Washington, Al Mirazi also held positions as correspondent and broadcaster at the Voice of America's Arabic service, the BBC Arabic/World Service and the Arab Network of America (ANA). He started his career as a radio journalist with Radio Cairo's Voice of the Arabs in 1980.

Souraya El Badaoui: Pluralism in a Contested Public Sphere
The Egyptian media landscape is characterized by pluralism in terms of media ownership patterns that range from national (governmental) over partisan (liberal, communist) to private and religious (Islamic, Coptic).

The presentation departs from the question how the Egyptian media elite's discourse treats the "other", i.e. Islam or the Coptic religion respectively in the public sphere. I focus on the extent of activation on both the structural & the performing level of the different media outlets (governmental, partisan or private) for promoting dialogue. Finally, media standards of governance from a community perspective are promoted.

On the intellectual level, the study will be based on the concepts of "world view", and the social construction of reality as provided by the media. Methodologically, the study will rely on a media discourse analysis of the different religious Egyptian groups (the Muslim Brotherhood, the Salafis and the Copts) during the parliamentary elections in 2012 in several Egyptian newspapers that represent different forms of ownership and thus reflect different ideological, political and economic trends and attitudes. The study's findings reveal that there is a lack of media governance standards in the partisan newspapers represented by Al-Wafd, Al-Ahali and Al-Fath newspapers, and even the private one represented by Al-Masry Al-Youm.

I argue that the Egyptian media landscape tends to address the audience's feelings with vague concepts of governance, modernization, subjectivity and dialogue. So, partisan and private newspapers with Islamist orientation supported the concept of social responsibility, which is one of the media governance standards. Media ownership is not the only influence on the governance process, but the ideological orientations of the media elite and their mutual perceptions and images of the other also play a role. The results will be explained in light of the polarized public sphere in Egypt, as shown in the civic and the Islamic movement.

Souraya El Badaoui, *is Professor of International Communication at the Department of Public Relations at the Faculty of Mass Communication at Cairo University. She received her PhD from Quebec University, Montreal in Canada. Her research interests include international communication, media and citizenship, media and intercultural dialogue, media reforms, media theory and qualitative research techniques. She published numerous articles in the Egyptian Journal of Mass Communication Research. El Badaoui has participated in international conferences. She also co-organized conferences in collaboration with international organizations including the UNESCO. Her most recent book is entitled Internet users: Reflecting on Theories of the New Media (Cairo, 2015).*

Saturday, 14th of November 2015	
Venue: *room 116, Seminarzentrum, Freie Universität Berlin, Silberlaube, Otto-von-Simson-Str. 26, 14195 Berlin*	
10.00-12.00	**Panel 4: Structural Reforms: The Case of TV and Public Service Broadcasting** 1. Sarah El-Richani, Berlin, Germany: Public Service Broadcasting in the Arab World: prospects and hurdles 2. Naomi Sakr, University of Westminster, UK: Egypt's Media Ecology: Help or Hindrance to Public Service Broadcasting? 3. Hussein Amin, American University in Cairo, Egypt: Reforms of the Egyptian Radio and Television Union

Sarah El-Richani: Public-service broadcasting in the Arab World: prospects and hurdles

Several state-owned broadcasters in the Arab world have announced their intention to transform their institutions into public service broadcasters. Other state-subsidised media corporations, exaggeratingly, claim that they do in fact play the role of a public-service broadcaster. This presentation shall argue that a number of political and socio-economic factors hinder this process. However, this does not mean the existence of public service values and content are entirely amiss. The question is if the tangible expression of these values is sustainable and viable in light of a number of challenges facing the Arab media landscape, not least political and commercial instrumentalisation.

In addition to probing the hurdles facing public service broadcasters in the four cases of Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Lebanon, this presentation shall also consider attempts at overcoming these obstacles. The presentation shall first assess the notion of public-service broadcasting and their resonance in the Middle East. Attempts to emulate public service broadcasting in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Lebanon will then be discussed. Some light shall be shed on alternative conduits that may fulfil public service values.

This presentation draws on the findings of a BBC Media Action policy briefing co-authored by El-Richani and published in September 2015.

Sarah El-Richani completed her doctoral studies in 2015 at the University of Erfurt, Germany with a DAAD scholarship. She obtained her M.A. in Journalism from the University of Westminster courtesy of the Quintin Hogg Scholarship and her BA from the American University of Beirut, Lebanon. She served as lecturer in the Department of Mass Communication at Qatar University from 2014-2015. She worked for two years as MENA programme officer for the London-based NGO Article 19 and has carried out consultancies for a number of media development organisations such as BBC Media Action, IFEX and MICT. Her monograph Lebanon: Anatomy of a Media System in Perpetual Crisis will be published in 2016 by Palgrave Macmillan. Sarah is on Twitter (@srichani) where she tweets on Middle-Eastern politics, the media and most else.

Naomi Sakr: Egypt's Media Ecology: Help or Hindrance to Public Service Broadcasting?

There is a simple reason why power-holders in democratic countries accept public service media and those in non-democratic countries do not. The reason lies in free and fair elections. If those in government one day know that they could be out of government and in opposition the next, they have self-interest in ensuring that there is space for all voices to be heard in public, government and opposition alike. Where elections either do not take place, or are neither free nor fair, the reverse is true and the incentive for political leaders to control public media is overwhelming. Despite this, the idea of public service media, after being derided by some as redundant in an era of proliferating digital platforms and an apparent crumbling of the barriers to media content creation, has lately enjoyed a renaissance. Organisations interested in media development, from Deutsche Welle Akademie to BBC Media Action have produced policy advice about transforming national or state broadcasters from government mouthpieces into forums for unfettered and pluralistic public debate and culture.

This presentation takes issue with the implication inherent in such studies that public service media is a matter of organisations rather than environment. Although one or more public service broadcasters with an online presence are an essential element in a media ecology that supports public service, the broadcaster and the ecology are two different things (Barnett 2011), with the design of the latter deserving far more attention than it currently receives. Taking Egypt as a case study, this talk considers the legal and regulatory reforms needed to create the right kind of environment for public service media, as distinct from the right kind of organisation.

It starts by exploring the chances of creating a regulatory body independent from government that is authorised to apply certain basic principles to all broadcasters, commercial or publicly-owned, through licensing arrangements. In theory, Egypt's 2014 constitution, by establishing the legal basis for three bodies with different types of remit for privately-owned media, publicly-owned newspapers and publicly-owned broadcasting, potentially steered the country away from a licensing system geared to shared principles and obligations intended to inspire public trust in audiovisual media through provision of locally-created content that is relevant to all sections of society in all parts of the country. The study goes on to consider labour laws and arrangements for representing the interests and aspirations of media practitioners specialised in broadcasting and online content. It looks at the culture of handling complaints against misrepresentation and at the precedents set for controlling election coverage on television, including during the elections in October 2015. It looks at the country's openness to a range of ownership models in audiovisual media, such as cooperatives, trusts or publicly-owned operations run on commercial lines. Drawing on work by Ramy Aly (2011) it concludes by considering whether Egypt's media history to date serves public understanding and acceptance of the public service concept as practised in other parts of the world.

Naomi Sakr is Professor of Media Policy at the Communication and Media Research Institute (CAMRI), University of Westminster, and former director of the CAMRI Arab Media Centre. Her study Good Practice in EU Public Service Broadcasting and Contemporary Practice in Jordan: A Comparative Analysis was recently published by UNESCO-Amman. Her 2013 monograph Transformations in Egyptian Journalism includes a chapter on 'Stimuli for a Public Service Ethos'. She is currently leading a research project on children's screen content in the Arab world and her research interests more generally include the international political economy of Arab media and observance of human rights.

Hussein Amin: Reforms of the Egyptian Radio and Television Union

Hussein Amin is Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication at the American University in Cairo. He earned a PhD degree from The Ohio State University. He has been an invited lecturer to many universities around the world and has presented keynote addresses to different international media organizations and communication associations. Dr. Amin is an active contributor to an extensive list of communication journals and internationally recognized media publications. In addition to his academic work, he has been recognized for his media projects and professional work. Dr. Amin has also received numerous awards in recognition for his contributions to the field. Dr. Amin's research is mainly focused on global media systems with an emphasis on media law, regulations and policies in the Middle East.

13.00-15.00	**Panel 5: Role Perceptions of Journalists** 1. Naila Hamdy, American University in Cairo, Egypt: Self-perception of Egyptian Journalists 2. Indira Dupuis, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany: Latvian Journalists' Self-perception in Transformation 3. Hossam Bahgat, Mada Masr, Egypt: Investigative Journalism

Naila Hamdy: Self-perception of Egyptian Journalists

Experiencing the January 25 revolution and consequent political changes have shaped journalists' professional work and self-perceptions: Forgotten ideals of good practice such as accuracy, truthfulness, informing and enlightening the public, exposure of political corruption and corporate wrongdoing, exposure of social injustices, defense of human rights and acting as agents for social change reemerged and were to a certain extent consolidated despite constraints from the political, economic, legal environments and in some cases the public. In short, the question is, "Do Egyptian journalists have the desire to maintain the drive for professional autonomy so strongly witnessed after the revolution?"

Studies on normative theories of the press, journalism culture and the perceived influences on journalism practice in a democracy will be considered to answer this question. Additionally, qualitative in-depth interviews and participatory observation

will be used to examine journalists' attitudes, ideas of democracy, socialization, definitions of professional norms and most significantly their identification of journalistic aspirations.

Naila Nabil Hamdy is Associate Professor and Chair of the Journalism and Mass Communication Department at the American University in Cairo. Her teachings and research include the journalism profession in Egypt and regionally, investigative journalism and networked journalism, media and political participation, and media development. She has published articles in the International Communication Gazette, the Journal of Middle East Media, the Global Media Journal, the Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research, the Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture and the Journal of Communication. Hamdy is a board member of the Arab-US Association for Communication Educators (AUSACE), and a member of several international academic and professional associations. She is also a founding member of the Egyptian Editors Association (EEA).

Indira Dupuis: Latvian Journalists' Self-perception in Transformation

Latvia is a small state of about 2.4 Million inhabitants in the North East of Europe, which was part of the Soviet Union during the Cold war. Already in the end of the 1980ies the Latvian mass media system underwent first changes before Latvia's conversion to democratic rule and the declaration of national independence. The first legal settlements were fixed in 1990, the journalists' independence from state was granted in the law "On the Press and other Mass Media". After this, one could observe relatively few interventions by politicians, but the change from state-directed economy to a free market economy caused most likely more pressure on journalism as a system than the state. Journalists had played a very important role in the transition process and after in democracy building. Some journalists working in public service broadcasting utilized from the beginning the relaxation of regulation, due to ambiguity in the political transformation phase, and developed very popular informatory broadcasts. The most important print media, "Diena", owned by a Swedish media company, served the public from the very beginning of the democratic rule as a successful and serious newspaper in Latvian and Russian language. Otherwise, due to social cleavages between the Russian speaking and the Latvian population, two information flows developed within the country, which last until today. Latvian journalism still inherited a culture of self-censorship and new journalists lacked a solid journalistic training. In the presentation I will give an overview about the developments of journalism in Latvia with an emphasis on the journalists' self-perceptions and professional orientations from transition until today and present some insights from interviews with journalists, which were conducted in 1999 and 2005.

Indira Dupuis studied Eastern European Sciences and Media and Communication Studies at Freie Universität Berlin. She worked for several years in media, among others news broadcasting. Thereafter she returned to academia for conducting research about journalism in Latvia within the international research programme "Baltic Sea Area

Studies: Northern Dimension of Europe". She earned her doctorate at Ruhr-University Bochum. Besides her obligations as research and teaching employee she also raised the funds for and established a teaching editorial office for broadcasting journalism. Until the end of September 2015 she held a visiting professorship at Ruhr-University for the summer term.

Hossam Bahgat: Investigative Journalism

Hossam Bahgat *is a journalist and human rights defender with a background in political science and international human rights law. From 2002 to 2013, Bahgat was the founding executive director of the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, where he still remains as chairman. His investigative stories appear in the independent news service Mada Masr. He serves as board chair of the International Network for Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and a member of the board of directors of the Fund for Global Human Rights. In 2010, Human Rights Watch awarded Bahgat the Allison Des Forges Award for Extraordinary Activism and in 2014 he received the Catherine and George Alexander Law Prize from Santa Clara University.*

15.30-17.30	**Panel 6: Self-regulation of Journalists**
	1. Hamida El Bour, La Manouba, Tunisia: Tunisian Journalists and Media Reform
	2. Abeer Saady, University of Westminster, UK: Efforts for a Sustainable Self-regulation Model in Egyptian Journalism
	3. Fatma Elzahraa Mohamed, Cairo University, Egypt: The Role of Social Media Networks in Self-organization Processes of Egyptian Journalists

Hamida El Bour: Tunisian Journalists and Media Reform

The media and the journalists in countries like Tunisia trying to find their own paths towards democracy are subject to a lot of power struggles. The reforms in post-revolution Tunisia in the field of the media demand new laws and new media management methods in order to fit with the liberal context.

These new requirements raise a debate on the role of the actors involved in the media development process: the political system, the journalists and the civil society. Some of the Tunisian researchers analyzing the current situation say that it is "unforeseeable" because the people who are determined "to achieve the democratic transition are obliged to cohabit and to cope with the mentality, the practices and the persons" that ruled the media during the dictatorship era (Chouikha, 2015).

The threats to the freedom of the press are palpable and noticeable in different ways. Journalists – even in the form of new organizations – try to act and react in order not to fall back into censorship or on the contrary – let the money have the lead in the liberal context of the Tunisian media.

In this paper we will analyze the dangers that could affect the freedom of the press and cause a decline of the right to information. We will deal with the Tunisian media coverage of the 2014 elections because many hints to the upcoming challenges are to be observed there. Then we will focus on the role of the Tunisian Journalists' Syndicate (SNJT) and The Tunis Center for Freedom of the Press (CTLP).

The SNJT is represented in the body regulating the broadcast media (the HAICA, High and Independent Authority for the Broadcast Media and Communication). It is also leading two main reform actions: the discussions in order to amend the law on the press freedom issued in November 2011 and the project of the press council which is supposed to be the self-regulation body for the print and the online media. Besides, the SNJT is active in monitoring the media in partnership with NGOs with the support of international organizations.

The case of the CTLP is different. It is the only local organization which issues monthly reports on the aggressions against journalists in the field. So we can speak of the role and perceptions of Tunisian journalists within two frames: the first is based on the individual attitude and behavior, as a part of the threats to the freedom of the press. The second frame is based on the collective action within the civil society and especially the organizations which represent a large number of the journalists and speak on behalf of them as a whole.

Hamida El Bour is Associate Professor at the Université de la Manouba (Tunis), heading as CEO of the public news agency Tunis Afrique Presse (TAP) since February 2015. She is the former Director of the Department of Journalism (2008-2015) and the former coordinator of the professional master in investigative journalism at the Institute of Press and Information Sciences in Tunisia. She is a researcher in the field of media and politics, gender and the media, and she edited many articles about this issues. She has been teaching investigative reporting for many years and she is a trainer for journalists in the fields of journalism practices. In 2011, she was in charge of the media monitoring unit within the Independent Higher Commission for Elections (ISIE).
She is also the editor of a collective book on "The public Arab media and democratic transition" (Tunis, 2013) and co-editor with professor Larbi Chouikha of a collective book titled "To be a journalist, today, in the era of the communication globalization – the examples of the Arab and the African countries" (Tunis, 2014). She worked for more than ten years as a journalist in a Tunisian daily newspaper, Le Temps. Hamida is also a media expert for local and international organizations (CAPJC, SNJT, CAWTAR, UNESCO, UNDP).

Abeer Saady: Efforts for a Sustainable Self-regulation Model in Egyptian Journalism

As Egypt deserves a successful model of media self-regulation, this paper critically assesses the efforts towards establishing this. It elaborates on how the idea of the implementation of self-regulation started, and how it can be accomplished and what went wrong. Creating a self-regulation model was one of the key issues discussed after the 25th of January revolution in Egypt. But introducing the model to the journalists'

community was a challenge. So the Egyptian journalists' syndicate with the support of the UNESCO office in Cairo, started its efforts as soon as March 2011. A series of events, workshops, lectures and training sessions took place to explain the concept of self-regulation as well as spread the awareness on the issue and its importance. Gradually, additional partners joined, including a number of Egyptian stakeholders, representing media community, civil society and regulatory authorities, aiming at revitalizing self-regulatory system of Egypt and strengthening professional ethics and editorial independence of journalists. While the German self-regulation model was an inspiration, experts from other countries including Sweden, Indonesia, United Kingdom, and Pakistan were also invited to introduce their self-regulation models. In addition a comparative study was conducted by Aidan White and Ragaie El Merghani to highlight the world's major self-regulation models. Its focus was its adaptability to the Egyptian media landscape. Against this background a preparatory committee for self-regulation was created, that had the task to facilitate the creation of a self-regulatory body.

In addition to the legal-administrative steps, parallel efforts had to be done: such as spreading the culture of self-regulation inside the media institutions and publishing houses, training middle management of media houses, and extracting ethical rules to be applied in the daily journalistic busy routines. Sustainability of the self-regulation mechanisms can only be achieved through awareness.

However, creating a base for an Egyptian self-regulation model faced many obstacles and challenges. The initiatives that came from the stakeholders, the journalists, were hijacked several times. Until now, the aspired model does not exist. As the presenter was Vice-president of the Egyptian Journalists' Syndicate as well as the syndicate's representative in the first preparatory committee to establish an Egyptian self-regulation model during this period she witnessed the insider debates and challenges first hand. In particular the challenges included the legal challenge since the constitution amendments didn't guarantee creating a suitable self-regulation body for the media. Furthermore, the paper shall highlight other attempts of creating similar models for ethical journalism in war-torn countries. Based on training journalists in conflict zones, as Syria, Libya and Iraq, for the last four years regional initiatives for self-regulation among Arab journalists will be introduced as well.

Abeer Saady is an award-winning Egyptian journalist, consultant and trainer with 25 years of work in the field of media across the Arab world. Reporters Without Borders has chosen her in the "100 Heroes of Information" list as recognition of her work in 2014. She has a distinguished record and an international reputation for her frontline work in the field of media development and training in conflict areas. She has managed and delivered training for journalists and news media in the Middle East, Europe and Asia and has conducted programmes in English and Arabic. She works with international organizations and the media development community and has made keynote interventions at many international conferences and has published extensively on journalism, political affairs and media development. Over the past 15 years she has trained hundreds of journalists and managed numerous projects in crisis and war-torn regions, all of them devoted to the

promotion of ethical and quality journalism in conditions of safety. She was elected three times as Vice president of the Egyptian Journalists' Syndicate for 8 years and currently elected as a member of board of The International Association of Women working at Radio and Television.

Fatma Elzahraa Mohamed: The Role of Social Media Networks in Self-organization Processes of Egyptian Journalists

This research focuses on forms of social media networks used by Egyptian journalists to foster and support their self-organization processes. The Egyptian Syndicate of Journalists is the biggest and oldest one in the Arab region, committed to defend journalists' rights and maintain professional principles and values. This paper investigates the role of the current use of different social media networks that may support or hamper the journalists from achieving a higher level of self-regulation practices to face the critical challenges that surround the Egyptian media industry in general and the journalism industry in particular. The main objectives of the presentation are to answer the following questions: 1- What are the main self-regulation forms of Egyptian journalists? 2- How do these forms use social media networks (Facebook, Twitter, Youtube) to achieve progress in self-regulation processes? 3- What are the relationships between age, gender, newspaper type (national, partial, private), syndicate membership and the existing attitudes towards the possible social media networks applications and uses in self-regulation processes of Egyptian journalists.

The empirical study is based on interviews with journalism professional experts conducted by face to face communication or via telephone and questionnaire that was answered by 100 journalists working in different types of journalism institutions. The data indicates significant relationships between gender, age, syndicate membership and journalists' conviction of social media networks usefulness for supporting relationships among journalists to reach a higher level of self-regulation.

***Fatma Elzahraa Mohamed Elsayed** is Associate Professor at the Journalism Department of Mass Communication Faculty in Cairo University and currently holds the position as head of the Journalism Department at Faculty of Mass Communication at the Ahram Canadian University (ACU) in Cairo. She worked for five years in KAU and KSU universities in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and for two years at Cairo University (2013-2015). Her main research area focuses on electronic journalism. Fatma conducted numerous studies, two of which have been awarded in 2008 and 2012 during the annual conference of the Faculty of Mass Communication at Cairo University. Fatma is a member of IAMCR and participated in conferences abroad.*

17.30-18.00	**Conclusion** Hanan Badr, Carola Richter, Eman Amin, Walid Osman & Sara Khorshid

Conference Program:

Thursday, 12th of November 2015	
Venue: room 116, Seminarzentrum, Freie Universität Berlin, Silberlaube, Otto-von-Simson-Str. 26, 14195 Berlin	
18.00-20.00	**Public Keynote** Yosri Fouda: Autumn of Nasser's Media State

Friday, 13th of November 2015	
Venue: room 113, Seminarzentrum, Freie Universität Berlin, Silberlaube, Otto-von-Simson-Str. 26, 14195 Berlin	
09.30	**Welcome** Hanan Badr & Carola Richter
10.00-12.00	**Panel 1: Media Landscapes in Transformation** Fatima El-Issawi	Ayman Al-Sayyad	Heba Raouf Ezzat
13.00-15.00	**Panel 2: Freedom of Speech and Other Challenges to Media Freedom** Magued Osman	Reem Magued	Mostafa Shaat
15.30-17.30	**Panel 3: The Political Economy of Media in Transformation** Adel Iskandar	Hafez Al Mirazi	Souraya El Badaoui

Saturday, 14th of November 2015	
Venue: room 116, Seminarzentrum, Freie Universität Berlin, Silberlaube, Otto-von-Simson-Str. 26, 14195 Berlin	
10.00-12.00	**Panel 4: Structural Reforms: the case of TV and Public Service Broadcasting** Sarah El-Richani	Naomi Sakr	Hussein Amin
13.00-15.00	**Panel 5: Role Perceptions of Journalists** Naila Hamdy	Indira Dupuis	Hossam Bahgat
15.30-17.30	**Panel 6: Self-regulation of journalists** Hamida El Bour	Abeer Saady	Fatma Elzahraa Mohamed
17.30-18.00	**Conclusion**