The Use of Hate Speech in Egyptian Arabic Language Newspapers

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ABSTRACT

This research examines hate speech in the front pages of three Egyptian Arabic language newspapers. These newspapers are the state-owned newspaper *Al-Ahram*, the privately-owned newspaper, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and the partisan newspaper *Al-Wafd*. The period of study covered starts from June 30, 2012 to June 30, 2015. The analysis is structured according to the theoretical framework of the framing theory. A total of 111 pages has been quantitatively analyzed by using a structured content analysis sheet. The results show that hate speech has been used more by *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper followed by *Al-Wafd* newspaper, while the state-run *Al-Ahram* daily is the least focused newspaper on introducing hate speech. The major sources using hate speech are journalists and the major hate speech victims have been Islamists followed by others. Stereotyping has been the major type of hate speech introduced. The results, also, report that the media professionals have not, generally, tried to combat hate speech in their reporting or writing.

*Key words:* Hate speech, Egypt, newspapers, framing, agenda-setting.

Hate Speech in Egyptian Arabic Language Newspapers

Journalism can promote human rights; however, it can violate them when it uses hate speech (Rupar, 2012). Journalism can, also, create biases and violence during wartime (Hafez, 2011). For example, the media in Rwanda acted like a weapon through spreading hate and was a major source for the 1994 genocide (Dallaire, 2007). Similarly, the media had a role in Bosnia's civil war as it was used by some leaders to incite and mobilize ethnic groups towards the war (Taylor & Kent, 2000).

The media in Egypt faces unprofessionalism and as argued, "hate speech," especially with the political turbulence and the highly polarized public opinion. As Egyptians "ended [Hosni] Mubarak's prolonged authoritarian rule" (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2012, p. 195) "many thought that going forward, all of their dreams for the country would come true—including the dream of an independent media" (Abdulla, 2014, p. 13).

However, the political turmoil has continued since then, starting with Mubarak's handing the power over to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) and electing the then President, Mohamed Morsi, supported by the Muslim Brotherhood (MB). Eventually, Morsi was ousted after massive protests on June 30, 2013 with the support of the then head of the Egyptian military, General Abdel Fatah Al-Sisi. Afterwards, the head of Egypt's Supreme Constitutional Court, Adly Mansour, was appointed as an interim president. During the interim presidency of Mansour, the presidential election was conducted and the military-backed candidate, General Al-Sisi, was elected. Under the succeeding governments, the political scene has witnessed different protests and many human rights' violations.

The MB has history of struggle with the government, too. In 1947, the police discovered weapons and explosives that belonged to the MB and many of its members were imprisoned,

which led to dissolving the group in 1948 (Munson, 2001). They murdered the Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi, and tried to kill the former Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. As a response, many were arrested, executed, and even tortured at Nasser's prisons (Munson, 2001).

After the ousting of Morsi, the majority of private and state-owned media outlets have started to advocate a "pro-military propaganda" and extreme patriotism (Webb, 2014). State and some private TV channels "ran a graphic banner with the Egyptian flag that stated 'Egypt fights terrorism' in reference to the struggle between the new government and the MB" (Abdulla, 2014). Freedom of the press has become unstable and witnessed polarization and politicization (Elliott, Chuma, El Gendi, Marko, & Patel, 2016). It has become evident that press freedom is negatively affected during the rule of those successive governments.

This study examines hate speech in the Egyptian Arabic language newspapers using the quantitative approach of content analysis. It, also, investigates the type of hate speech that is mostly used and those who use it (e.g. the sources or media practitioners) as well as the major victims of hate speech and whether they change according to the government. The front pages published from June 2012 to June 2015 in a state-owned newspaper, a partisan newspaper, and an independent/private newspaper were analyzed. As there is a shortage in hate speech studies in Egypt, this study will enable both academics and media professionals to know to what extent hate speech is used and who the most vulnerable groups exposed to such speech are. This will serve as an initial step to help in spotting and combating this negative phenomenon; consequently, preventing the negative outcomes of hate speech.

## Literature Review

### Definition of Hate Speech

The meaning of Hate speech passes through incitement to violence, to kill, to isolate others and to discriminate against them (Zahra, 2014). Dehumanization is used to rationalize the discrimination, isolation, and rejection of others. It attacks other individuals' or groups' dignity and justifies injurious actions against them (Roginsky, & Tsesis, 2016). In the *Glossary of Hate Speech in Egyptian Media*, a brief general explanation has been used to help avoid hate speech. This explanation indicates that "criticizing individuals and groups is allowed, but without incitement to violence, discrimination and rejection of others" (Eissa, Elias & Kasseb, 2016, p. 17).

The Encyclopedia of Political Communication defines hate speech as "the use of words as weapons that terrorize, humiliate, degrade, abuse, threaten, and discriminate others based on race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, national origin, or gender" (cited in Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012, p. 91).

According to Lenkova (1998), hate speech is "the use of very precise discriminatory and selective vocabulary which tries to legitimize negative thinking about all those who are not 'us', those who are the 'others'" (as cited in Sevasti, 2014, p. 26). Hate speech consists of "identity-prejudicial abuse and harassment, certain uses of slurs and epithets" (Simpson, 2013, p. 701).

It is important to note that slurs are sometimes considered as a way of expression. Croom (2013) explains that calling someone an "African American" only describes certain racial groups. Insulting someone is expressive when it is sometimes used to express anger but, without mentioning sex or race or any other descriptive characteristics. On the other hand, a term like "nigger" is considered as slurring because it targets members of certain groups to

offend them based on their descriptive features (Croom, 2013).

For Elliott et al., (2016) hate speech definitions are endless and challenging. Besides, what might be considered hate speech by one person might be considered as just an opinion by another (Zahra, 2014). Therefore, having a concrete definition of hate speech, according to Elliott et al., (2016) will provide "complex philosophical discussions on the meaning of belonging, freedom of expression and dignity" (p. 2) in a certain society and culture; consequently, investigations of hate speech depend on the context (Elliott et al., 2016).

**Is Hate Speech Free Speech?**

There are debates about whether to impose limitations on hate speech or to encourage freedom of speech, which is protected by the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," and consider hate speech a kind of freedom of expression. Regardless of whether this speech affects people's or groups' dignity, which is also protected by the declaration (Elliott et al., 2016). The United Nations (UN) clarifies that dignity is hard to be positioned in a physical form but denotes that people should "treat each other with respect, tolerance and understanding" (United Nations [UN], ND, Dignity & Justice para. 1).

Sikorskaya and Gafarova (2014) explain that obligatory speech limitations can harm the essential right of freedom of expression, while those in favor of applying limitations on hate speech believe that "freedom of speech is not absolute" (p.6). This claim is supported by Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), as freedom of speech could be faced by limitations due to its "special duties and responsibilities" (Sikorskaya & Gafarova, 2014, p. 6).

Another argument states that if hate speech is considered as freedom of expression; then, people using it will be encouraged to use it more and might use physical violence against

groups targeted by such speech (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012). Additionally, arguments for banning hate speech might be used by dominating groups in a society and by some governments to prohibit speech that they do not like (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012).

These debates are ongoing and as freedom of expression is an important asset that is protected by "major international covenants of human rights." These covenants place some boundaries on freedom of speech to combat hate speech (Rosenfeld, 2003).

It is important to note that hate speech can produce different effects to the victims including short-term effects such as "embarrassment, humiliation, mortification, intimidation, isolation, frustration, anger, fear, helplessness, shame, hurt, anguish, and anxiety" (Leets & Giles, 1997, p. 264). There are also long-term effects including "debilitating depression, sleeplessness, nightmares, withdrawal, loss of confidence, loss of self-esteem, psychosis, hypertension, and post-traumatic stress disorder" (Leets & Giles, 1997, p. 264). The effects can also be physical, including "fear in the gut, rapid pulse rate and difficulty in breathing….and suicide" (Holschuh, 2014, p. 958). Insults might also cause high blood pressure (Delgado, 1982).

**Freedom of Speech and Laws Combating Hate Speech in Egypt**

The Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt 2014 guarantees freedom of expression. However, Article 67 states that "for crimes related to incitement to violence, discrimination between citizens, or impingement of individual honor, the Law shall specify the penalties" (State Information Service, 214, p. 20). This article might be used as a tool against hate speech; however, it is broad and can be abused to limit freedom of expression by the government.

Article 51 of the constitution indicates that "dignity is the right of every human being

and may not be violated. The State shall respect and protect human dignity" (p. 17). It, also, focuses in Article 53 on equality between citizens and states that "discrimination and incitement to hatred is a crime punished by Law" (State Information Service, 2014, p.17).

Besides the constitution, the law regulating the Egyptian press and media prohibits, in Article 4, any media outlet, including websites, from broadcasting any content that incites discrimination, violence, racism, or extremism. The Article, further, gives the power to the "Supreme Council for Media Regulation" (SCMR) to prevent the entry, dissemination and circulation of any publication from abroad to Egypt based on national security concerns. It can also prevent publications that have explicit sexual content, attack religions or sects, which can upset the public order, or content that incites discrimination, violence, racism, hatred, or extremism (Supreme Council for Media Regulation, ND).

The law further prohibits, through Article 5, licensing or authorizing the establishment or continuation of any media outlet, including websites, that discriminates based on religion or sect; gender or origin; ethnicity or sectarianism; political bias, or for practicing activities against the democratic principles or activity with a secretive nature, or incites for pornography, hate, violence or that calls or allows any of these prohibited factors (Supreme Council for Media Regulation, ND).

Article 19 prohibits media outlets and websites from publishing false material or inciting the disobedience of the law, violence, hate, racism, discrimination between citizens, or calling for discrimination, extremism, using defamation or slander against others, or insulting other Abrahamic religions and religious beliefs (Supreme Council for Media Regulation, ND). The Article includes limitations on personal websites, blogs and electronic accounts [social media] that have users with 5,000 followers or more. The SCM, also, has the right to block or suspend any of these websites (Supreme Council for Media Regulation, ND). This article,

however, is criticized for being vague and for attempting to control personal websites and "to prosecute citizens who express their views online (Nagy, 2018, p. 5). Article 29 further states that people who incite to violence, discrimination or slander individuals could be imprisoned (Supreme Council for Media Regulation, ND). The law is generally criticized for being vague and attempting to limit freedom of expression.

There are also laws against certain acts such as "religious blasphemy" which "is an offence under the Penal Code." However, since this law "protects Judaism, Christianity, and Islam" only (Elliott et al., 2016, p. 14), it is criticized for being discriminatory (Ezzat, 2014). It is, also, argued that it is discriminatory against Christianity and Judaism too because, in practical terms, only Islam is protected against slurs or criticism, unlike what its text implies (Elliott et al., 2016).

While some believe that extreme religious criticism is free speech as long as it does not incite violence against a group of people, others believe that it might cause hate and hostility on religious bases (Ezzat, 2014). Nevertheless, blasphemy law is considered to be limiting freedom of expression and speech, opposing international conventions and failing to protect minorities and marginalized groups (Elliott et al., 2016; Ezzat, 2014).

 "Hate speech may sometimes be prosecuted if it includes incitements to commit a crime" (Elliott et al., 2016, p. 15) but offences must take place or it will not be penalized by the penal code (Elliott et al., 2016). Besides, the penal code can be used to limit freedom of speech as its definition to incitement is too broad (Elliott et al., 2016). It can include incitement for murder, for toppling the regime, for disobedience of orders by soldiers, for discrimination and for violating laws (Elliott et al., 2016).

Due to the absence of a concrete definition of hate speech, Egyptian laws are used to restrict freedom of expression and not to limit hate speech (Elliott et al., 2016). In addition, the

government uses laws such as "emergency laws and articles from the Penal Code" to hinder freedom of expression and censor media content, which gradually causes self-censorship and creates "redlines" on sensitive topics (Abdulla, 2014).

**Hate Speech in the Egyptian Media**

Political hate speech has been used in the Egyptian media against activists and members of the opposition during the ruling periods of Mubarak, the SCAF, MB (El-Sherif, 2014) and president Al-Sisi. Political hate speech is mainly directed against political groups and Egyptian oppositional figures due to their political views (Elliott et al., 2016). Similarly, the nationalist hate speech that targets nationalists from Arab countries because of their views about the Egyptian politics includes "conspiracy theories" and describes people as "enemies of the nation" (Elliott et al., 2016). Xenophobic hate speech has, also, been used since the 25th of January revolution and part of the reason for practicing it has been to claim that both the revolution and democratic ideas are western-made (Elliott et al., 2016). Polarization in the media leads to hate speech against religious groups too, especially Christians. This has led to different attacks against them. Another type of hate speech is directed against ethnic groups and members of certain communities such as the "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) community" (Elliott et al., 2016, p. 9).

Research conducted by "MENA Media Monitoring" (2015) has investigated hate speech in the press of different countries in the Arab region. In Egypt, the research has focused on a period of three weeks from June 5 to 26, 2014 and has examined *Al-Dustour*, *Al-Watan* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm* which are private daily newspapers, in addition to the state-owned daily newspapers, *Al-Gomhouria* and *Rose-Al-Youssef*. It has, further, examined the weekly private newspapers, Al-Isboa, Sawt-Aloma and Alfagr.

For daily newspapers, Al-Dustour has used hate speech the most, followed by Al-Masry Al-Youm, Al-Watan, Rose-Al-Youssef, and finally Al-Gomhouria. The Major type of hate speech used were incitements but the research has not mentioned the incitement type, followed by slurs, stigmatizations, incitements to kill, discrimination, and incitement to violence.

The sources of Hate speech were mainly both Op-Ed writers and journalists. People presented as religious scholars and as Salafists have also been the most outstanding performers of hate speech. Most of the hate speech have targeted MB members, followed by western countries, especially the US, then civil society and activists.

The weekly newspaper *Al-Isboa* has used hate speech the most, followed by *Sawt-Aloma* and finally, *Alfagr*. The most type of hate speech used was incitements (with no mention what type of incitement), followed by stigmatization, slurs, then discrimination.

Most of the hate speech was found in opinion pieces followed by news stories and reports, then headlines, followed by interviews, and finally caricatures and images. MB members were the most targeted group by hate speech followed by former political systems and presidents.

Another study by *Al Sawt Al Hurr*, the Arab Network for Media Support, has examined the *CBC*, *Nile News*, *Al-Hayah* and *Al-Jazeera Mubashr* satellite TV channels in the time span of 15 days, starting from the 10th to the 25th of September 2013, aiming at measuring the ethical standards and professionalism of different segments of the programs aired by these channels. The study has focused on prime time which is operationalized between 7:00 pm until midnight. The research has found that all the channels under investigation have used hate speech at different degrees, and hate speech sources were sometimes the guests and not the anchors as in *Al-Hayat Al-Youm* talk show (Zahra, 2014). However, the operational definitions in this study have not been clear.

**Use of Hate Speech in Other Countries**

Similar to Egypt, hate speech is also used through different media outlets in other countries. For example, it was used in the "*Don Imus in the Morning*" a famous morning radio program in the US including variety of subjects such as entertainment and politics (Margolis, 2017). The presenter, Don Imus used "offensive comments" like "referring to Palestinians as "stinking animals" (Margolis, 2017, p. 2). In 2007, the show also offended "the National Collegiate Basketball Association (NCAA), which resulted in suspending the program (Margolis, 2017). However, later in the same year the program was aired through another radio channel but it was closed when the new channel announced bankruptcy in 2018 (Brown, 2018).

Like traditional media, there is also online hate speech, Meza (2016) has studied online hate speech in Romania through analyzing users comments on Facebook, blogs, and news websites. Starting from January to June 2015. The study has found 2% "offensive language" on Facebook, 6.3% on blogs and 8.3% in news websites. Another research by Erjavec and Kovačlč (2012) has studied users comments in three Slovenian news websites, from the beginning of December 2009 until the end of June 2010 and has found that hate speech is used in almost all the internal political news, and when there was no internal political news or they were lesser, hate speech was used in at least one nonpolitical news. However, the study has not provided the exact percentage of using hate speech as "it is difficult to evaluate the number of hate speech comments on the news websites" (Erjavec & Kovačlč, 2012, p. 905).

The researchers have further conducted 20 in-depth interviews with hate speech users in the websites' comments and have found that each one uses hate speech for different reasons. Some users direct hate speech towards others who think differently to disseminate hate against them. They either act individually or serve orders by other nongovernmental organizations or political parties (Erjavec & Kovačlč)

Other hate speech users believe that they are the only people who know the ultimate truth; therefore, they try to spread it through using hate speech. One of the groups using hate speech has no ideology to defend but they think humiliating others is fun. They use hate speech as a game, whereas they reply to others' comments to win over them. Conversely, another group uses hate speech to attract attention to social problems.

**Theoretical Framework**

**Framing Theory**

Framing is how journalists describe the political world through their choice of words and images in a way that affects how the audiences understand the message (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). The present study adopts the framework of the framing theory since hate speech is a form of framing through which a communicator chooses certain words to frame hate messages and determines what to highlight and what to obscure. Framing includes the ways of selecting and highlighting some issues and, therefore, their salience (Entman, 1993), while obscuring other information (Lecheler, Keer, Schuck, & Hänggli, 2015). The theory suggests that the same topic can be perceived through different ways and accordingly can be interpreted differently (Chong & Druckman, 2007). It is not necessary that the audience approve the frame but it acts like guidelines that indirectly outline how the audience will understand and interpret the message (Batziou, 2011). Framing is determined by a communicator's beliefs, either intentionally or unintentionally, which shows up in the existence or absence of "certain key-words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically-reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman, 1993, p 52).

Framing, also, consists of frame-setting, which is the interaction between the frame and the audiences' pre-existing knowledge and attitudes (De Vreese, 2005). There are, also, different aspects that affect the interpretation of the frame. The "frame in thought," for

example, is a "set of dimensions" that affects a person's appraisal of a certain subject (Chong & Druckman, 2007). For instance, if a person is asked about the right of hate group to demonstrate in a way that stresses the prominence of free speech then 'the frame in thought' that the person will embrace is free speech (Chong & Druckman, 2007). On the other hand, if prominence is given to "free speech, public safety, and the effect of the rally on the community's reputation"; then, the individual 'frame in thought' will constitute a mixture of thoughts (Chong & Druckman, 2007). This is why politicians try to highlight specific characteristics of their policy to encourage people into thinking in a certain way (Chong & Druckman, 2007). As framing affects the audience, journalists are affected too. Scheufele (1999) has found that when some newspapers frame an event in a certain way, other newspapers follow the same framing, which is as "news wave."

Framing also consists of Frame-building, which is about the internal and external features that affect the news frame (De Vreese, 2005). The internal ones are the influences that affect journalists and their organizations (De Vreese, 2005). Journalistic frames are affected by their "ideology, attitudes, and professional norms" (Scheufele, 1999, p. 115). The frame is further affected by the political orientation of the media outlet transmitting the information (Scheufele, 1999). The external factors include "political actors, authorities, interest groups and other elites." Therefore, frames suggested by these groups are reflected through journalists' frames (Scheufele, 1999).

Based on this theoretical framework, the following research questions were identified:

RQ1. What types of hate speech in the Egyptian Arabic language newspapers are used and to what extent (quantity)?

RQ2. Who is the source of hate speech?

RQ3. Do the media practitioners try to combat the speech when used by the source?

RQ4. Do the victims of hate speech differ according to the variation in political regimes (Morsi's, Mansour's and Al-Sisi's) and how?

**Method**

This study examines hate speech in the Egyptian Arabic language newspapers using the quantitative approach of content analysis. The span of the study was from June 30, 2012 to June 30, 2015. This period starts when the ousted President Morsi has become the President of Egypt, followed by former President Mansour and ending with the current President Al-Sisi's rule. Morsi ruled from June 30, 2012 to July 3, 2013, Mansour ruled from July 3, 2013 to June 8, 2014, and Al-Sisi ruled from June 8, 2014 until present. Around one year of Al-Sisi's ruling period was examined despite the fact that he has been in office for a longer period. This is to ensure investigating similar length of time that is examined for Morsi and Mansour, as both stayed in office for around one year.

The starting point in the analysis was when Morsi became the president, because media polarization increased during this period and has later been deepened (Abdulla, 2014), which might have increased hate speech.

The newspapers examined were the state-owned daily newspaper *Al-Ahram* which is the top selling state-owned newspaper (Egypt Today, 2017). The other two newspapers were the independent daily newspaper *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, which is the most successful and most widely read independent newspaper and the partisan daily newspaper *Al-Wafd*, which has the highest circulation among partisan newspapers (Allam, ND).

**Sample**

This research uses a composite week approach for each newspaper for the time span of the study. It is an efficient approach for analyzing large amounts of newspaper content (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). However, sometimes the month spent in office overlapped between two presidents. For example, Morsi was ousted on July 2013 then Mansour was assigned on the same month. Likewise, Masour left the office on June 2014 and Al-Sisi stepped in on the same month. To overcome this dilemma, the researcher randomly chooses the days of the month (that differs which president is in office) using the composite week approach. This has resulted in a final sampling consisting of 13 months of Morsi's rule, 11 months of Mansour's rule and 13 months of Al-Sisi's rule.

The front pages of each newspaper were analyzed because they include the most prominent and salient news and summary of the news or feature stories inside the paper. Opinion articles and caricatures were excluded because they are rarely found in the front pages. Also, advertisements were excluded from the analysis because they are out of the study's scope. The total number of front pages analyzed from the three papers is 111 and the total number of texts analyzed is 1127.

The coding was conducted by the researcher and an independent coder who was introduced to the operational definitions, codebook and code sheet. Both coders have conducted a pilot study. Upon reaching an appropriate agreement, the coding has been divided between them. A third independent coder was trained and introduced to the operational definitions, codebook and code sheet to measure inter-coder reliability, which was 97%, using Holsti (1969) formula (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

**Unit of Analysis and Operationalization**

The unit of analysis is the whole story, while taking into consideration the speech context. The unit of analysis is based on the literature review and previous research examined hate speech.

The following operational definitions were constructed to avoid any potential bias by the coders and to minimize subjectivity.

*Hate speech.* This term refers to "incitement of violence, discrimination and rejection of others" (Eissa, Elias & Kasseb, 2016, p. 17). It, also, consists of the following variables:

- *Violence/ Incitement of violence.* This refers to speech that advocates or incites violence (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012), such as threats, beating, robbery, rape and killing [executing] others (Besemer, 2012).

- *Slurs.* This refers to speech that contains insults or offensive terms (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012) which target people based on their descriptive features like their race or sexual identity (Croom, 2013).

- *Threats.* This refers to speech that includes threats without clearly inciting to violence, for example, "You should stop what your group is doing or else...," "…our patience is coming to an end" (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012, p. 93).

- *Stereotypes.* These are generalizations about certain groups, for example, saying that all members of a certain group are terrorists.  Equivalently, statements like we should be doubtful about group A because they want to destroy the country. "All of group B are criminals" (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012, p. 94). It implies that a certain group should not be trusted because of certain characteristics (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012)

- *Isolation, rejecting or excluding others.* This refers to the claim that other groups do

not have the right to live in this country or abide by its traditions (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012). ⌈SEP⌉

- *Conspiracy/Foreign interests/Enemies*. Implying that others "are part of a conspiracy against the country/society, serving some foreign or malicious interests" (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012, p. 94). It, also, implies that if a person is a member of a certain group or seeking rights for that group, or for its members or leaders; then, this person is an enemy of the state/people/society, and/or is a threat (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012).

- *Shame of the country*. This refers to arguing that certain groups or individuals are a shame for the country and blaming them for the negative image of the country (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012).

- *Discrimination.* It is any speech that discriminates, advocates, or rationalizes discrimination, which is "any differentiation, exclusion, restriction or preference based on group appearance and any other criteria" (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012, p. 95). *Race and ethnic group*. These are, for example, Bedouins and Nubians (Abdulla, 2013).

*Xenophobia.* This refers to speech that is spreading fear of foreigners (Sundstrom, & Kim, 2014) and inciting hatred or rejection of them, especially Westerners (Elliott et al., 2016).

*Nationalist hate speech.* This refers to hate speech targeting citizens from Arab countries because of their opposing views on Egyptian politics (Elliott et al., 2016).

*Dehumanization*. Portraying others as animals, less human than others (sub-human), denying their identity as being independent and can make decisions (Haslam, 2006). Dehumanization takes the form of attacking other individuals or groups' dignity and/or rationalizing injurious actions against them (Roginsky, & Tsesis, 2016).

*Religious Minorities*. These are, for example, Christians, Jews, Baha'is (Abdulla, 2013), and others.

*Religious extremism*. Speech that threatens others and limit their rights based on religious arguments (Ianto-Petnehazi, 2012).

## Findings and Discussion

"Hate speech" does not seem to exist remarkably on the agenda of media studies in Egypt. The aim of the present study is to identify the hate speech used in specific Egyptian newspapers and provide a ground for further explanatory research that tests hypotheses about the relationship between variables. Therefore, the results are based on descriptive characteristics which is one of the content analysis tools aiming "at identifying what exists" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

**RQ1: What types of hate speech are used in the Egyptian Arabic language newspapers and to what extent**?

The results show these types of hate speech: direct hate speech; nuanced hate speech, which means that the text has been leaning toward hate speech with no clear hate speech type used; and no hate speech. For example, nuanced hate speech described how Morsi's wife has travelled to Alexandria and stayed in Al-Montazah palace to avoid both the protests surrounding Al-Ouroba palace in Cairo and the hot weather. The news added that MB members were protecting her and the palace. The news piece has, also, mentioned that Morsi will spend the last ten days of Ramadan in Al-Montaza palace. The story explained how they were spending their time in a relaxing, luxurious environment. The story was coded as "nuanced hate speech" because there was no clear hate speech type. Moreover, the story has not been supported by any facts or source(s) and has been framed in a provocative way, especially that at this period there were many protests by different sects in the society. An example of direct

hate speech when some Islamist protestors have warned about their revenge and that the country will witness bloodbath stage. Another example was accusing Turkey, Qatar, Western and Arabian intelligence agencies of intending to destroy Syria without providing any facts to support the accusations. A further example was considering all university Islamist students to be practicing violence, inciting unrest at universities, and trying to threaten other students and spread chaos.

   **Hate speech usage.** As shown in figure 1, the sample contains 3.6% of direct hate speech, 2.5% of nuanced hate speech, while 93.9% of the analyzed text does not use hate speech.

   Hate speech was found more in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper by 4.6%, as shown in table 1, followed by *Al-Wafd* newspaper by 3.8%, and finally in *Al-Ahram* newspaper by 2.6%. Since hate speech naturally has negative implications, the framing and attributes of the text including hate speech are negative. The results show that state-owned *Al-Ahram* was more careful when using hate speech, unlike the privately-owned *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and the partisan *Al-Wafd*. Similarly, *Al-Sawt Al-Hurr* study shows that the state-run newspaper Al-*Gomhouria* has used hate speech at lower rate (only 3% of its content).

   Nuanced hate speech is used on the front pages of the three newspapers at these rates: *Al-Masry Al-Youm* (3.3%); *Al-Wafd* (2.4%); and *Al-Ahram* (1.8%).
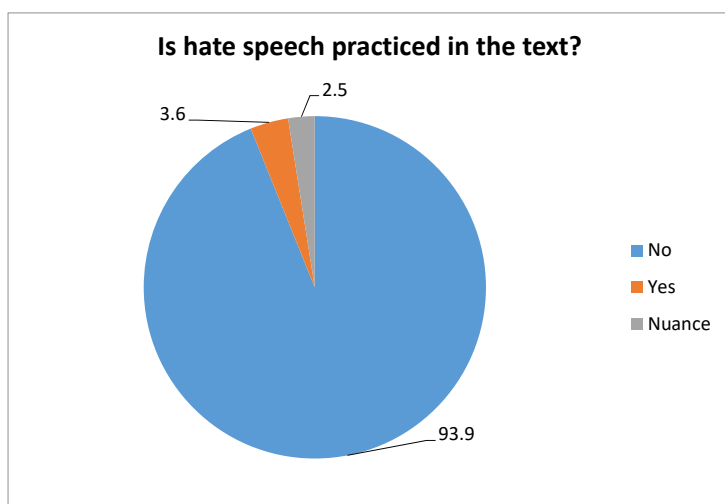
Figure 1: Hate Speech Overview



Table 1

*Hate Speech (HS) According to the Newspaper*

| Newspaper | *Al-Ahram* | *Al-Masry Al-Youm* | *A-lWafd* |
|---|---|---|---|
| HS Not used | 95.6% | 92.1% | 93.8% |
| HS used | 2.6% | 4.6% | 3.8% |
| HS Nuanced | 1.8% | 3.3% | 2.4% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% |

The coding was divided into several subcategories. The first subcategory is the major theme of the text where the coders select the dominant topic of the text. This is divided between Arab countries and/or Arab citizens living in Egypt or abroad, Western countries and/or Western citizens living in Egypt or abroad, Egyptian affairs and Other. "Other" was chosen when the major theme of the text is not among the codebook choices or about topics not related

to a specific country, such as, entertainment or religion. Second, the coding is divided according to the government where the coders identify who was the president during the period the text is published.

**Arab Countries:** Results show that Arab countries (and/or Arab citizens living in Egypt or abroad) has been the major theme of the text for a total of 5.8% of the sample under Morsi's rule. Hate speech used in *Al-Ahram* has been 4.3% targeting Arab governments and considering them to be either a part of a conspiracy or as enemies. This shows that Arab countries have made the major theme during Morsi's ruling period. Most of the hate speech has been used against those countries.

*Al-Wafd* has used nuanced hate speech against Arab governments in 4.3% of its front pages, while no direct or nuanced hate speech has been found in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. Like *Al-Ahram*, the results show that *Al-Wafd* has, also, targeted Arabs generally with nuanced hate speech in most of the text with the major theme of Arab countries.

Arab countries (and/or Arab citizens living in Egypt or abroad) have been the major theme of the text for 3.8% of the text during Mansour's ruling period and no hate speech is found in the whole sample. This shows that during this period media professionals have been keen not to use hate speech against Arabs in general.

 The total of the text with the major theme of Arab countries (and/or Arab citizens living in Egypt or abroad) during Al-Sisi's ruling period has been 10.2%. Only 2.4% of discriminative hate speech used in *Al-Ahram* newspaper and has been coded "other" (Hamas Leaders). On the other hand, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* has directed 2.4% of nuanced hate speech generally against Arabs or Arab countries without specifically mentioning a country or specific nationals, while it has once targeted Houthis. This shows that during Al-Sisi's ruling period, the media has tended to reduce the use of hate speech against Arabs than during Morsi's rule. During Mansour's rule, they have not used hate speech against Arabs.

**Western countries:** Western countries (and/or Western citizens living in Egypt or abroad) are the major theme in 2.7% of the text during Al-Sisi's rule. *Al-Wafd*  has used hate speech in 9.1% of its front pages in that period. The type of hate speech has been discrimination targeting Western countries generally. Western countries are the major theme of the text during Morsi's rule by 3.0% and 3.8% during Mansour's rule.  No direct or nuanced hate speech has been found, which shows that during this period media professionals have been more cautious while using hate speech against Western countries than during Al-Sisi's ruling period.

**Egyptian affairs:** Egyptian affairs text has made the major theme during the rule of the three presidents, as follows: Morsi's rule (83.4%), Mansour's rule (87.7%), and Al-Sisi's rule (77.0%).

Hate speech has been used the most during Mansour's rule by 6.1%, followed by Morsi's rule for 3.3% and finally in Al-Sisi's rule for 2.5%. The three periods have faced political turmoil and the media's freedom and professionalism have been negatively affected. However, after few weeks of Morsi's isolation, the majority of private and state-owned media have been advocating "pro-military propaganda" and extreme patriotism (Webb, 2014), which might explain why hate speech has been used the most during Mansour's rule when Egyptian affairs was the major theme.

During Mansour's rule, hate speech has been found mostly in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 3.2% followed by *Al-Wafd* by 1.8% and finally *Al-Ahram* by 1.1%. The total percentage of nuanced hate speech used has been 2.2%; mostly found in *Al-Ahram* by 1.1% followed by *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 0.7% and finally *Al-Wafd* that has used it for 0.4%.

During Morsi's rule, most hate speech has been found in *Al-Wafd* by 1.8% followed by *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 1.2% and finally in *Al-Ahram* by 0.3%. The total percentage of nuanced hate speech has been 3.6%. Most of it has been used in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 1.8% followed by *Al-Wafd* that uses it for 1.5% and finally *Al-Ahram* using 0.3% of hate speech.

During Al-Sisi's ruling period, *Al-Ahram* has used hate speech the most for 1.3% followed by *Al-Wafd* for 0.9% and finally *Al-Masry Al-Youm* using it by 0.3%. Nuanced hate speech has been used the most in *Al-Wafd* by 0.9% followed by *Al-Ahram a*nd *Al-Masry Youm* that use it equally for 0.6%.

 **"Other:"** Countries and topics that have not been among the choices given in the codebook have been coded as "others." This theme represent 4.8% of the text in the whole sample. Hate speech has been used by 1.9% under Morsi's ruling period in *Al-Wafd* newspaper, 2.6% nuanced hate speech has been used under Mansour's rule in *Al-Ahram* newspaper and 1.8% hate speech has been found in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper under Al-Sisi's rule.

**Types of hate speech**

Stereotyping has been the major type of hate speech used during the three governments. An example of stereotypical hate speech has been considering a whole Islamist group as terrorists and accusing them for a terrorist attack in Egypt, without any supporting information. Another stereotypical hate message has been considering all "revolutionaries as infidels."

Threatening has also been used during the rule of the three governments. For example, saying "revenge is coming-up" where the hate speech sources have been  implying that if their demands are not met they will revenge. Dehumanization has been used during Morsi's and Mansour's governments. For example, saying "media professionals are such waste pipes that are overflowing."

Religious extremism has been used only during Morsi's rule, which is clear since the government has been backed by the MB and there has been polarization between Islamist and secularist media, according to El Issawi (2014). An example of religious extremism has been reflected in saying that all "liberals and secularists are infidels; executing them for apostasy is a must." The hate message source has been attacking others based on religious arguments according to the source's claim.

Discrimination has been used during Mansour's rule, for example, as reported in stating that Americans should get out of Egypt. This message is considered discriminative because it calls for the exclusion of a certain group from the country and might incite hate towards members of this group.

The sources of hate speech during Mansour's and Al-Sisi's rule have used the conspiracy/foreign interest/enemies type of hate speech, framing hate speech victims as people working against the country's or society's interests and serving foreign, evil interests against their own country. For example, one of the texts has considered those calling for protesting to be implementing a conspiracy that is supported by "international terrorist and Zionist groups." This gives negative connotations that they are serving foreign and evil interests, especially that the text has used words that might have strong negative impact like "terrorism" and "Zionism" and the claim has not been, supported by any facts.

In addition, using violence and isolation types of hate speech during Mansour's and Al-Sisi's rule shows that hate messages framing has been extreme against the victims and has suggested that they do not have the right to live in the country and in some cases, violence against them has been justified or even encouraged. For example, a text stated that some people were holding discriminatory signs including one that states "whoever will burn our Holy Book, we will burn their Holy Book and heart."

The following paragraphs elaborate more on the types of hate speech used and their percentages.

Stereotyping is the major type of hate speech used during Morsi's rule by 26.1% followed by dehumanization by 13%, then religious extremism by 8.7%, and last is threaten by 4.3%. *Al-Masry Al-Youm* has used stereotyping for 8.7% and *Al-Wafd* used it for 17.4%. Dehumanization has been used in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* for 4.3% and in *Al-Wafd* by 8.7%. Religious extremism, however, has been used equally in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and *Al-Wafd* by 4.3%. Finally, threaten has been used in 4.3% in *Al-Masry Al-Youm's* sample.

The major type of hate speech used during Mansour's ruling period has also been stereotype by 47.8%, followed equally by threaten and violence by 13%, conspiracy, foreign interest and enemies by 8.7%, then 4.3% for each of dehumanization, discrimination, isolation, and other which has been xenophobic hate speech against Americans. Stereotype has been used in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* for 26.1%, *Al-Ahram* 13.0%, and *Al-Wafd* 8.7%. Threaten has been utilized in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 8.7% and in *Al-Wafd* by 4.3%. Besides, violence has been employed in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 8.7% and 4.3% in *Al-Wafd*. Conspiracy/foreign interest/enemies has been used in *Al-Wafd* by 8.7%. At the same time, all the percentage of dehumanization has appeared in *Al-Wafd* by 4.3%. Further, all the percentage of discrimination was in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 4.3%, isolation in the same newspaper by 4.3% and "other" xenophobic hate speech has also been found in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 4.3%.

During Al-Sisi's ruling period, stereotyping has been the major hate speech used by 33.3% followed by conspiracy/foreign interest/enemies used by 20.0%, then violence, threaten, and isolation which have been used equally by 6.7%. Stereotype has been employed by 26.7% in *Al-Ahram* and 6.7% in *Al-Wafd*. Violence has been utilized by 6.7% in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. Isolation has been employed in *Al-Wafd* by 6.7% and threaten has been used by 6.7% in *Al-*

*Masry Al-Youm*. Conspiracy/foreign interest/enemies has been utilized by 20.0%, divided between *Al-Ahram* by 6.7% and *Al-Wafd* by 13.3%.

**RQ2: Who is the source of hate speech?**

Egyptian journalists (including wire service professionals and reporters) have been at the top of the list as hate speech sources in the three newspapers and during the ruling period of the three successive governments followed by other sources. Journalists have used hate speech in their own words while reporting, which shows that they are the major source in setting a hate agenda towards others. Besides, as previously mentioned, political turbulence, polarization and politicization used by the media might increase hate speech; thus, is could encourage journalists to use it.

As shown in "Table 2," Egyptian journalists have used hate speech for 2.6%, followed by Egyptian governmental officials using hate speech for 1%; then, Egyptian Islamists totaling 0.6%. Other Egyptian interviewee or quoted sources have utilized hate speech for 0.4%, Egyptian religious scholars have used it for 0.2%, foreign journalists for 0.3%, foreign governmental officials for 0.2%, foreign religious scholars for 0.1%, other foreign interviewee or quoted sources have been the source for hate speech by 0.3% while other sources have counted for 0.1% as the source of hate speech.

Table 2

*Source of Hate Speech in the Front Pages of the Whole Sample*

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptian Journalist (reporter, wire service... etc). | 2.6% |
| Egyptian Governmental official | 1% |
| Egyptian Religious scholar | 0.2% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptian Islamists (including Muslim Brotherhood members and Salafists) | 0.6% |
| Other Egyptian interviewee or quoted source | 0.4% |
| Foreign Journalist (reporter, wire service... etc) | 0.3% |
| Foreign Governmental official | 0.2% |
| Foreign Religious scholar | 0.1% |
| Other Foreign interviewee or quoted source | 0.3% |
| Other | 0.1% |

**The source of hate speech according to the ruling government**

The major hate speech sources during Morsi's ruling period have been Egyptian journalists, (wire service professionals or reporters) who have used hate speech for 1.8% of the times, distributed by 1.5% in *Al-Wafd* and 0.3% in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. They have been followed by 1.5% of hate speech used by Egyptian Islamists, 0.8% in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and 0.8% in *Al-Wafd*.

On the other hand, hate speech has been employed by Egyptian governmental officials by 1% and has been found by 0.8% in *Al-Wafd* and 0.3% in *Al-Ahram*. Meanwhile, Egyptian 'interviewee or quoted sources' have been the source of hate speech only in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and counted for 0.5%. Furthermore, foreign interviewee sources have been found as the source of hate speech by 0.5% in *Al-Wafd*. In addition, foreign governmental officials have been the source of hate speech by 0.3% in *Al-Ahram* and finally foreign journalists, wire service professional or reporters have been the source of hate speech by 0.3% in *Al-Wafd*.

During Mansour's ruling period, the major sources of hate speech have been Egyptian journalists who have used it for 4.7%. It has been found by 1.9% in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, 1.6%

in *Al-Wafd*, and 1.3% in *Al-Ahram*. Journalists have been followed by Egyptian governmental officials employing hate speech for 1.6% equally distributed between *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 0.6% and 0.3% in *Al-Wafd*. Both Egyptian religious scholars and Egyptian Islamists have been the source of hate speech for 0.3% each in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. Both Egyptian interviewee sources and foreign interviewee sources have been the source of hate speech for 0.3% in *Al-Ahram*.

During Al-Sisi's rule 1.7% of Egyptian journalists (wire service professionals, or reporters) have used hate speech. They have been distributed by 1% in *Al-Wafd*, 0.5% in *Al-Ahram* and 0.2% in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. Journalists have been followed by Egyptian governmental sources who have utilized hate speech by 0.5% only in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. Other Egyptian interviewee sources have employed 0.5% of hate speech, equally distributed by 0.2% in *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Wafd*. Foreign journalists (wire service professionals or reporters) have used hate speech for 0.5%, distributed equally in *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Wafd* by 0.2%. Hate speech employed by foreign governmental officials has been 0.2% and found in *Al-Ahram*. Foreign religious scholars have used hate speech by 0.2% in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*. Finally, Egyptian religious scholars have utilized it for 0.2% in *Al-Wafd*.

In short, the results show that disseminating hate against others has been a frame implemented by Morsi's government generally as Egyptian Islamists and Egyptian governmental officials have been the major sources of hate speech after Egyptian journalists. However, it is important to note that Islamists have also been the major victims of hate speech during this period. This can be explained through the failure of Muslim Brotherhood to control and manipulate the media as they have been opposed by many (El Issawi, 2014).

Similarly, during Mansour's period, Egyptian journalists have come first and have been followed by the Egyptian governmental officials as the major source of hate speech, which also

reinforces that the government has been trying to disseminate hate towards others. Nevertheless, Egyptian Islamists, and religious scholars have also used hate speech, which supports the argument that hate speech is used by sources to target those opposing them.

Likewise, during Al-Sisi's rule, Egyptian journalists have been the major hate speech source, followed by Egyptian governmental sources and other Egyptian interviewee or quoted sources. this shows that the governmental sources have been leaning towards using hate speech against others.

**RQ3: Does the media practitioner try to combat the speech if it is used by the source?**

It is important that media professionals try to combat hate speech, especially that it is transmitted through them. Even if their role is to deliver others messages, they should be keen to oppose hate speech or interview other sources to oppose it (Eissa, Kasseb & Elias, 2016). This is also important because some journalists are used by "racist groups" to implement their "political propaganda," which results in turning the media into a weapon for intolerance (White, ND).

Whenever hate speech is used in the text, the coders find if the journalist tries in their own words or interview or quote another person to oppose, criticize or condemn the hate message. For example, if someone states that all group A is terrorist and works to destroy the country and the journalist interview or quote another source to oppose the stereotypical image; then, the coders will consider that the journalist has tried to combat the hate message. If the journalist only mentions the hate message without opposing it, the coders select that they have not tried to combat the message.

Despite the importance of combating hate speech, this study has found that the media professionals generally have not tried to combat it. This is easily predictable as the major

sources of hate speech have been the journalists themselves. As shown in Table 3, they have not tried to combat hate speech during 99.7% of the times when hate speech has been used. They have tried to combat it only in 0.3% of the times when hate speech has been utilized. During Morsi's rule, 99.5% of the times when hate speech has been used, the journalists have not tried to combat it and only in 0.5% of the stories using hate speech the journalists tried to combat it.

Table 3

*Did the Media Practitioner Try to Combat Hate Speech?*

| Ruling regime | Morsi | Mansour | Al-Sisi |
|---|---|---|---|
| No | 99.5% | 100% | 99.8% |
| Yes | 0.5% | | 0.2% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Journalists have tried to combat hate speech in *Al-Masry Al-Youm* by 0.3% of the times and 0.3% of the times has been in *Al-Wafd*, as illustrated in table 4. During Mansour's ruling period, 100% of the stories that used hate speech have not been opposed. During Al-Sisi's ruling period, journalists have not tried to combat hate speech in 99.8% of the times when hate speech has been used and they have tried to combat it only in 0.2% of the times. This has been found in *Al-Ahram*.

Table 4

*Combating Hate Speech According to Government and Newspaper*

| Newspaper | | Al-Ahram | Al-Masry Al-Youm | Alwafd | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Morsi | | | | | |
| | No | 37.8% | 31.0% | 30.7% | 99.5% |
| | Yes | | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.5% |
| Mansour | No | 30.9% | 29.3% | 39.7% | 100% |
| Al-Sisi | | | | | |
| | No | 32.2% | 27.1% | 40.4% | 99.8% |
| | Yes | 0.2% | | | 0.2% |

As argued before, the unprofessionalism of the media in Egypt, might increase the use of hate speech. This is supported by the results, especially that there have been no attempts by journalists to oppose hate speech when it is used by sources.

**RQ4: Did the victims of hate speech differ according to different governments (Morsi, Mansour and Al-Sisi)? and how?**

Islamists, protesters, oppositional parties or groups have been targeted by hate speech during the rule of the three governments, while liberal and/or secularist forces have been targeted by hate speech only during Morsi's and Al-Sisi's ruling periods. Religious minorities, media professionals, Port Said citizens, and revolutionary forces and activists affiliated with the June 30 protests have been the victims of hate speech during Morsi's ruling period in some

of the texts. Ethnic groups have only been targeted by hate speech during Al-Sisi's ruling period. Ain-Shams University students in general, Syrians, a comedy TV presenter, American and Egyptian citizens and workers in American companies, restaurants and embassies in Egypt have been the victims of hate speech in some of the texts during Mansour's rule.

Islamists have been the victims of hate speech with the highest percentage during the rule of the three governments. Liberal and/or secularist political forces have been targeted by hate speech during Morsi's and Al-Sisi's ruling periods. This enforces the argument that hate speech sources direct their hate messages towards those who oppose them and that hate speech in the newspapers has not been targeting only the groups opposing the government.

This means that sometimes hate speech victims have been the same during the rule of the three governments and sometimes they have been different. However, it is clear that mainly oppositional groups and Islamists have been the major targets of hate speech in the whole sample. It is, also, important to note that Islamists might be the major target of hate speech because, during the span of this study, many of the news items have been about them.

Since oppositional groups have been targeted by hate speech during the rule of the three successive governments, the results are in accordance with Elliott et al., (2016) who said that political hate speech is mainly directed against political groups due to their political views and targets Egyptian oppositional figures. The results, also, show that the agenda implemented during the time span of the study has been to direct public opinion towards hating these groups where the groups have been framed in a negative way, directing the audience to think about them negatively. This is, also, supported by Zahra (2014) who said that one of the reasons for using hate speech is the competition to win among political parties and their belief that winning can only be achieved through getting rid of the other.

The following paragraphs elaborate the results in more details.

During Morsi's rule, the majority of hate speech victims have been Islamists, targeted by 13.0%, followed by liberal and/or secularist forces and protesters targeted by 8.7%. Similarly, opposing political parties have been equally targeted by hate speech like religious minorities by 4.3%. Other targets of hate speech have been media practitioners, Port Said citizens, and revolutionary forces (generally and with no mention of affiliation or ideology) each by 4.3%, and nuanced hate speech have targeted activists affiliated with the June 30 protests.

Islamists have also been the major target of hate speech during Mansour's ruling period by 52%. They have been followed by protesters by 8.7%, then opposing political parties by 4.3%. Furthermore, some of the texts have targeted Ain-Shams University students in general, Syrians, a Comedy TV presenter, American and Egyptian citizens and workers in American companies, restaurants and embassies in Egypt by 4.3% each.

The major victims targeted by hate speech during Al-Sisi's ruling period have been Islamists by 33.3%, followed by protesters by 6.7%. Hate speech victims coded as "other" have been targeted by 13.3% and they have been oppositional groups in general and an initiative associated with a Muslim Brotherhood member that allegedly aims at resolving the conflict between MB and the government by 6.7% each. Nuanced hate speech has also targeted Islamists by 28.6%, followed by liberal and secularist forces by 14.3%, then by protesters, opposing political parties, and ethnic groups by 14.3% each.

## Conclusion

The majority of hate speech found in this research is in the privately-owned *Al-Masry Al-Youm* newspaper, then the party-owned *Al-Awafd* newspaper, and finally in the state- owned

*Al-Ahram* newspaper. As hate speech is used against some groups, this reveals the negative impacts of hate speech which may occur.

Moreover, major types of hate speech found are stereotype, threaten, dehumanization, religious extremism, discrimination, conspiracy/foreign interest/enemies, violence and isolation.

Furthermore, the results show that Egyptian journalists use hate speech the most, followed by Egyptian officials and others. Such results might suggest that the governmental agenda leans towards disseminating hate speech. However, other sources including the opposition have sometimes been the source of hate speech. Therefore, this study supports the argument that hate speech sources generally target groups opposing them, regardless of whether the source of hate speech is in power or not.

The major groups targeted by hate speech have not generally been changed through the three successive governments, as they have mainly been Islamists. However, in other cases, the victims have been oppositional groups like protesters. Finally, journalists in general have not tried to combat hate speech.

**Recommendations and Limitations**

As there is a lack of hate speech studies in Egypt, further studies should be conducted to have deeper understanding of this phenomenon. This should include surveys and in-depth interviews to understand the possible effects of hate messages on individuals and groups targeted by those messages and to understand how hate messages affect the audience at large.

While the main focus of this study is newspapers, it is, also, important to analyze other media outlets too. It is important to investigate hate speech in social media and to understand if hate speech in traditional media is reflected in the social media. In addition, a comparative study between newspapers and broadcast should be conducted to understand the overall role of the media, rather than newspapers only.

Among the limitations of the study is the lack of a unified definition of hate speech. What is considered hate speech in one study can be considered an opinion in another one. Thus, if the same sample is analyzed by different researchers, the outcome might differ depending on each researchers' choice of operational definitions. The context of the speech has always been taken into consideration while analyzing the newspapers to avoid confusing hate speech with news or opinions.

The time period of this study has been also critical as it witnessed unprofessionalism in some media outlets, political turmoil, imbalance and the Egyptian streets have witnessed different protests and some have shown anger towards the succeeding governments, which has been sometimes reflected in the media. Newspapers have covered these protests and have had their own negative expressions in describing certain political scenes or figures, as well as the sources that have sometimes expressed their anger. Coders were keen not to confuse unprofessionalism, bias, the negative framing of certain events and expressing anger with hate speech, by adhering to the operational definitions.

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