



PROJECT ALBATROS II MENA

COUNTERING INFORMATION THREATS IN EGYPT,
LEBANON, AND IRAQ

Information environment analysis:

EGYPT

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THE STUDY OF EGYPT'S INFORMATION ENVIRONMENT

Warsaw 2024

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CHAPTER 1. Characteristics of Egypt's information environment

The Egyptian media landscape is complex and encompasses a wide range of traditional and modern forms of information transmission. Over the years, especially since the 2011 revolution, the media in Egypt have undergone many changes, some of which resulted from political upheavals and pressures. Currently, the media in Egypt can be divided into state-owned, private, regional, and those associated with specific social, political, and religious groups. This report analyzes Egyptian media by category, taking into account both traditional media (television, press, radio) and modern forms of communication such as blogs, YouTube channels, and social media.

The Egyptian information environment is characterized by strong state control over key media, especially public ones, as well as regular repression of independent journalists. Traditional media remain an important source of information, although modern forms of communication such as social media and online news services play an increasingly significant role. Foreign media operating in Egypt are under strict control and subject to rigorous regulations regarding the content published in the country

1.1 Traditional media outlets

1.1.1 State media

1. Al-Ahram

Al-Ahram ("Pyramids")	
Official website: • Al-Ahram (Arabic) • Al-Ahram English	Al-Ahram is one of the oldest and most influential newspapers in the Arab world. It was founded in 1875 by two brothers—Beshara and Salim Takla. Since then, it has undergone many changes, both in form and content, adapting to the evolving political and social situation in Egypt and the Middle East. Today, Al-Ahram is part of the state media foundation Al-Ahram Establishment, which also controls other titles such as "Al-Ahram Weekly," "Al-Ahram Hebdo" (French-language), and various thematic publications.

Contact data and social media:

- Twitter: @AlAhramGate (562,000 followers)
- Facebook: @alahramgate (826,000 followers)
- Instagram: @alahramGate (507,000 followers)
- YouTube: No dedicated YT channel
- E-mail: No information available on the official email address

Staff:

- Chairman: Mohamed Fayez Farahat
Mohamed Fayez Farahat has served as the Chairman of the Board of Al-Ahram since 2024. He is affiliated with Al-Ahram and the Middle East Institute, where he publishes analyses on Middle Eastern politics. (View [Mohamed Fayez Farah](#)'s profile)
- Editor-in-Chief: Ezzat Ibrahim
Ezzat Ibrahim is a longtime journalist and publicist responsible for the editorial management of Al-Ahram's English-language edition. He serves as the Editor-in-Chief of both the Al-Ahram website and newspaper.
- Deputy Editor-in-Chief: Dina Samak
Dina Samak has experience working with various editorial teams and primarily focuses on political and social issues in Egypt.

Content Analysis

Range of topics:

Al-Ahram publishes a wide range of content covering domestic and international politics, economy, culture, arts, sports, as well as technology and social news. The content is presented in a balanced manner but clearly oriented toward supporting the current Egyptian authorities. Articles often include praise for the actions of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi and government initiatives, making Al-Ahram a pro-government media outlet.

Political narrative:

Al-Ahram's coverage shows a positive attitude towards Egypt's foreign policy, including the development of cooperation with Russia and China. In particular, relations with Russia are presented as a strategic partnership, both in military and economic contexts. An example is an article published following an interview with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, which appeared in Al-Ahram in March 2023. Topics related to Russia and China, including articles translated from Russian news agencies such as Sputnik, often focus on supporting anti-Western narratives and criticizing the policies of the USA and European Union countries.

Cooperation with Russia:

In February 2015, Al-Ahram signed a memorandum of cooperation with the Russian media giant Rossiya Segodnya, owner of, among others, the news agency Sputnik. Under this agreement, Al-Ahram publishes translated articles from Sputnik and RT on its digital platform Bawaba Al-Ahram, alongside materials published by reputable news agencies such as Agence France-Presse (AFP) and Reuters. This kind of cooperation is controversial because Sputnik and RT are considered tools of Russian propaganda, promoting pro-Russian narratives and disinformation on the international stage, including describing the war in Ukraine as a 'conflict' and promoting pro-Russian perspectives in the context of international relations. The coverage of events in the Middle East, including in Syria and Lebanon, often aligns with Kremlin interests.

Articles translated from the Russian Sputnik regularly appear on the front page of Al-Ahram, which may influence public opinion in Egypt, especially in the context of Egypt's political and economic cooperation with Russia.

Link to article: [Egypt Latest Target of Russian Influence](#)

Coverage on the Middle East issues:

Al-Ahram often reflects anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist views in its articles, which is characteristic of many Egyptian media outlets. Regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Al-Ahram uses language that supports the Palestinians, describing the IDF as an "occupying army" and criticizing Israel's actions.

Approach to the policy of China:

Al-Ahram regularly publishes positive articles about Chinese investments in Egypt, economic cooperation, and joint infrastructure projects such as the Belt and Road Initiative. The newspaper also features translations of articles promoting the Chinese perspective on international issues, as well as presentations of the achievements of the Chinese economy and social policy.

Cooperation with press agencies:

Besides cooperating with Rossiya Segodnya, Al-Ahram uses materials from reputable news agencies such as Reuters, Agence France-Presse (AFP), and Associated Press (AP). However, the content published in Al-Ahram is often adjusted to align with narratives consistent with Egyptian national interests and the political line of the government.

Affiliated outlets:

- **Bawaba Al-Ahram:**

It is a digital version of the newspaper that is continuously updated. This platform features content in both Arabic and English, as well as columns by well-known political analysts and experts.

- **Al-Ahram Weekly:**

A weekly newspaper issued in English, focusing on international events and political analysis from the perspective of Egypt and the Middle East. It aims to reach a broader international audience.

- **Al-Ahram Hebdo:**

The French-language version of the newspaper, aimed at the Francophone Egyptian diaspora as well as readers in France, Belgium, and Switzerland.

Contact data:

- **Phone no. (office):** +20 2 25781515
- **E-mail:** gate@ahram.org.eg

Al-Ahram's future:

Al-Ahram, as one of the most significant press titles in Egypt, has a strong influence on shaping public opinion both within the country and across the region. The newspaper also serves as a tool to support the policies of the Egyptian government and promote its actions on the international stage. Its cooperation with Russian and Chinese media suggests a desire to strengthen Egypt's influence and build alliances with countries that do not always share Western views. In the future, further intensification of such cooperation can be expected, especially given the changing geopolitical situation and rising tensions in the Middle East.

2. Al-Gomhuria

Al-Gomhuria ("Republic")	
Official website: • algomhuria.gomhuriaonline.com • gomhuriaonline.com	Al-Gomhuria is one of the oldest and most influential Egyptian media outlets, founded in 1954, two years after the revolution in Egypt. The newspaper was printed using the infrastructure of the defunct Al-Misri, and one of its most important editors was the future president of Egypt, Anwar Sadat. Al-Gomhuria is published by Dar Al-Tahrir, a media institution established in 1952.

Publisher and top management:

Dar Al-Tahrir, the publisher of Al-Gomhuria, has several other titles in its portfolio, such as Al-Mesaa, Aqedati, Egyptian Gazette, and Le Progres Egyptien. The current chairman of the board is Tarek Lofty (since April 2024), who replaced Eyad Abul-Haggag.

Editorial team

- Editor-in-Chief of Al-Gomhuria: Ahmed Ayyoub (since April 2024).
- Online Editor-in-Chief: Ahmed Soliman (since April 2024).

Before Ayyoub, the position of Editor-in-Chief was likely held by Abdel Razek Tawfiq.

Contact data

- X (Twitter): @agomhuriaonline - active (158,000 followers, 500,000 posts).
- Facebook: facebook.com/algomhuriaonline - active (448,000 followers).
- YouTube: YouTube Channel - active (30,000 subscribers, 3,200 videos).
- Telephone no.: +20 2 25781515
- Email: info@gomhuriaonline.com

Characteristics of the editorial line:

Al-Gomhuria regularly publishes content that closely aligns with Russian propaganda narratives, such as articles suggesting that the USA, the United Kingdom, and Ukraine are provoking Russia and threatening to start World War III. An example is Ahmed Al-Bardisi's article from September 19, 2024, titled "America risks direct war with Russia... and Israel threatens Iran with nuclear weapons," which portrays the USA and Western countries as sleepwalkers seeking to escalate the conflict.

Main topics covered:

- Anti-Zionist content emphasizing the agency of Palestine, as well as criticism of Israel's actions in the region. The IDF is described as an "occupying army" or "occupying forces."
- Emphasizing the positive relations with Russia and cooperation on many levels, as can be inferred from statements such as that of Egypt's Foreign Minister Dr. Badr Abdel Aati on September 16, 2024: "Russian-Egyptian relations are strong and date back decades; they have been honored by President el-Sisi and President Putin."
- Propaganda supporting the current government of Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. Articles that praise Egypt's domestic and foreign policies, portraying the country as a peacemaking force in the region, appear on regular occasions.
- Anti-Western content accuses the West of hypocrisy and deceit in the context of international politics. The criticism mainly targets the USA and the United Kingdom, but also includes the European Union.

Examples of narratives:

- In the article dated September 19, 2024, authored by Ahmed Al-Bardisi, Russia is described as the greatest nuclear power, and it is suggested that the USA wants to provoke World War III before the end of Biden's term.
- Other pieces emphasize Egypt's role as a mediator, for example, the article by the Editor-in-Chief Ahmed Ayyoub from August 5, 2024, titled "Historic visit... and strategic partnership," where Egypt is portrayed as a country striving for peace and stability in the region.

- Ahmed Ayyoub's articles often praise the "Liberation Revolution," which refers to the overthrow of Muhammad Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood. This revolution is described as necessary to restore the rule of law and eliminate Islamist influence.

Content analysis:

Al-Gomhuria is a staunchly pro-government media outlet, loyal to the government of Abdel Fattah el-Sisi and openly supporting its policies. The published content aligns with government narratives, often ignoring social criticism and focusing on a positive portrayal of the authorities' actions. The outlet also promotes positive nationalism, pride in Egypt, as well as anti-Western and anti-Israeli sentiment.

3. Al-Akhbar ("The News")

Al-Akhbar ("The News")	
Official website: • akhbarelyom.com	This daily newspaper, founded in 1952 by Mustafa and Ali Amin, is a sister publication of the weekly Akhbar El-Yom, which was established in 1944. In 2000, an online version of the newspaper was launched. The editorial line of the outlet has been influenced by various Egyptian governments, including Morsi's, which was reflected in the dismissal of journalists critical of the Muslim Brotherhood (e.g., Islam Afifi). Al-Akhbar is a government-controlled media outlet, overseen by the Akhbar Al-Youm Foundation, whose board and editors are appointed by the state institution, the National Press Authority. In practice, this means control by the Egyptian authorities.

Publisher and foundation:

The owner of Al-Akhbar is the Akhbar Al-Youm Foundation, which also manages other titles, publishing agencies, and media organizations. The foundation's authorities are appointed by a state institution, and the entire operation is overseen by auditing bodies. This makes Al-Akhbar a government-controlled media outlet.

Editorial team:

- Editor-in-Chief of the daily Al-Akhbar: Dr. Osama Al-Saeed (he began his career in the investigative department and later worked in the parliamentary and presidential departments). Previous Editor-in-Chief: Khaled Miry.
- Editor-in-Chief of the Al-Akhbar online version: Mostafa "Momo" Abdo (specializes in education).
- Editor-in-Chief of the weekly Akhbar Al-Youm: Mahmoud Bassiouni. Previous Editor-in-Chief: Amr El-Khayyat.

Islam Afifi, the Editor-in-Chief of Al-Dostour during Morsi's government, holds authority over the Akhbar Al-Youm Foundation. Afifi, who publicly criticized the Muslim Brotherhood, was arrested and later released by Morsi. Currently, Afifi serves as the chairman of the board of the Akhbar Al-Youm Foundation, which suggests his current ties to the el-Sisi government and his favorable position within the pro-government media outlet.

Contact data:

- Facebook: facebook.com/akhbarelyom - active, 5.6 million followers.
- X (Twitter): @akhbarelyom - active, 1 million followers, 1.1 million posts.
- YouTube: YouTube Channel - active, 893,000 subscribers, 40,000 videos.
- Telegram: @akhbarelyomGate - active, 2,240 subscribers.
- Telephone no.: +20 (02) 2578 7211
- Foundation's tel. no. (source: Instagram): +20 2 25782848

Characteristics of the editorial line:

Al-Akhbar is a strongly pro-government publication, with a clear emphasis on promoting the policies of the Egyptian government and President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. The outlet supports the government's messaging, especially regarding domestic and foreign policy, portraying Egypt as a strong state with excellent relations with Russia and other countries that remain in conflict with the West.

Al-Akhbar's messaging is also colored by anti-Western and anti-Israeli narratives. Israel is often depicted as the aggressor in the region, and the actions of the IDF are described as "war crimes" or acts of occupation. This messaging is consistent with the line of pro-government media in Egypt, praising President el-Sisi as a national leader whose policies bring stability and development to Egypt.

Cooperation with China:

On the Al-Akhbar website, there is a dedicated section about China, filled with positive content promoting Sino-Egyptian cooperation and Chinese investments in Egypt. This subsection was first archived in the Wayback Machine on November 16, 2020. The first article, dated November 10, 2020, concerned the Chinese Forbidden City. A post from June 30, 2021, supported the Chinese narrative in response to Western allegations that COVID-19 "escaped" from a laboratory in Wuhan.

The chairman of the Akhbar Al-Youm Foundation, Islam Afifi, actively promotes the China-Egypt partnership, calling it "a model worthy of emulation." In February 2024, during the 10th Akhbar Al-Youm Economic Forum, Afifi emphasized the importance of the China-Egypt partnership in an interview with Chinese media. The foundation also collaborates with the China International Communication Group (CICG), promoting, among other things, Chinese books such as the Arabic version of "Xi Jinping: The Governance of China," which was supported by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China.

Content analysis:

The content published in Al-Akhbar often promotes relations with China and Russia, fitting into the broader context of Egypt's foreign policy aimed at strengthening ties with these countries, especially in the context of conflicts with the West. The outlet praises "positive nationalism" and promotes national pride, while simultaneously emphasizing Egypt's role as a stabilizer and mediator in the region.

Summary:

Al-Akhbar is one of the main pro-government media outlets in Egypt, supporting the narratives of Abdel Fattah el-Sisi and promoting a pro-Russian and pro-Chinese approach in the context of international politics. The outlet is strongly controlled by the state, and its messaging focuses on praising Egypt's domestic and foreign policies, while simultaneously criticizing the West and promoting partnerships with countries such as China and Russia.

4. MISR ALAAN

MISR ALAAN ("Egypt Now")	
Official website: misralan.net	Misr Alaan TV was an Egyptian television channel broadcasting from Turkey, established after the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak in 2011 and the rise to power of the Muslim Brotherhood in 2012. The station, funded by the Brotherhood, aimed to promote a moderate message to Egyptians who opposed the regime of General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who took power following the 2013 coup.

Broadcasting operations and wrap-up:

Misr Alaan TV was broadcast from Turkey, a country that became a refuge for many members of the Muslim Brotherhood after the coup in Egypt. It was funded and operated by Brotherhood sympathizers, and its programs focused on criticizing the el-Sisi regime and presenting an alternative narrative of events in Egypt. Initially run by personalities not directly linked to Islamists, the channel gradually gained a reputation as one of the main media outlets supporting the Brotherhood.

In August 2015, the Turkish government decided to shut down Misr Alaan TV in response to controversial content aired on the channel, including suggestions about assassinating President el-Sisi, which sparked international outrage. As a result, many other Brotherhood-affiliated channels, such as Al-Hafiz and Al-Nas, were also closed or restricted.

Shortly after the closure of Misr Alaan TV, an Egyptian court sentenced the station's host, Mohamed Nasser, to eight years in prison for subversive activities and incitement to violence.

An example profile of a graphic designer, likely from Syria, who first worked at Syrian stations, then Turkish ones, later at Misr Alaan TV (Turkey), and subsequently at Qatar's Al-Jazeera, can be found here: <https://www.behance.net/hamdi/resume>. This illustrates a transition from the pro-Muslim Brotherhood Misr Alaan to Al-Jazeera in Qatar, which actively supports the Brotherhood.

Current activities:

Currently, Misr Alaan is largely inactive as a television channel, and the website misralan.net no longer contains content related to opposition activities. Instead, the site features articles promoting the policies of the el-Sisi government and its initiatives, such as the "Decent Life" program, which contradicts the station's earlier editorial line. (The service is also available in English and Swahili, allowing it to target the equatorial Africa region as well.)

Facebook: facebook.com/misralan.net/ (28,000 followers) – active email (from Facebook): misralan2022@gmail.com

It appears that the current version of Misr Alaan may have been taken over by supporters of el-Sisi and transformed into a pro-government media outlet. The website contains content praising the president's policies and his efforts to improve the situation in Egypt, which is completely inconsistent with the profile of the earlier Misr Alaan, which was opposed to the regime.

Hypothesis about rebranding and brand takeover:

There is a possibility that the current Misr Alaan website was created to mislead audiences by using a similar name and brand that was previously associated with opposition to el-Sisi. Ashraf Mufid, linked to the new version of the website, is also connected with the pro-government media outlet **Al-Ahram** and previously worked as a media manager at the **Tahya Misr Fund**, a fund established by el-Sisi, suggesting possible ties to the government.

Historical ties and past activities:

Misr Alaan TV had its website, **misralaan.tv**, which was first registered in August 2014, but over time, this domain was abandoned and sold, and is no longer active. Journalists who worked for Misr Alaan were forced to leave Egypt or move to other Qatari media outlets, such as **Al-Jazeera** or **Al-Watan**, which are friendly to the Muslim Brotherhood.

Current activities and possible affiliations:

On the new website misralan.net and the Facebook profile (28,000 followers), there is no anti-government content, and all articles are strongly pro-government, raising questions about the authenticity of this outlet and its possible takeover by pro-government media in Egypt.

- **Current editor-in-chief:** Ashraf Mufid / Mofeed.
Ashraf Mufid was a media manager at the pro-government Tahya Misr Fund and is also associated with the Al-Ahram media outlet, as confirmed by articles published about him in Al-Ahram.
- Ashraf Mufid / Mofeed writes for the website <https://alwaq3.com> (Al-Mawqif). In 2018, he was described as a journalist for Al-Ahram and a media manager at the Tahya Misr Fund (article dated May 7, 2018, on <https://www.youm7.com>). The Tahya Misr Fund ("Long Live Egypt") is a fund to which el-Sisi allocates half of his presidential salary. Ashraf Mufid is also associated with Al-Ahram, as indicated by <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/News/2390633.aspx>.

Qatar-based media outlet alternative to Misr Alaan:

According to information provided by **the Counter Extremism Project**, the successor of the original Misr Alaan TV currently operates in Qatar under the name **Al-Watan**, broadcasting from Doha and possibly funded by Qatari funds supporting the Muslim Brotherhood narrative.

Conclusions:

Misr Alaan TV transformed from an opposition media outlet broadcasting from Turkey, supporting the Muslim Brotherhood's narratives, into a medium with a name similar to the original Misr Alaan, which now promotes pro-government rhetoric associated with President el-Sisi. There is a possibility that the website and other communication channels have been taken over or newly created by pro-government forces in Egypt to control the brand and its previous content.

5. Sawt Al-Umma

Sawt Al-Umma („Voice of the People“)	
Official website: • Sawt Al-Umma	Sawt Al-Umma is an Egyptian online newspaper that initially started as an independent media outlet but is now closely linked to the government of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. The newspaper presents a pro-government editorial line, supporting government projects and portraying the authorities' actions in a positive light. Sawt Al-Umma often publishes articles critical of the West and Israel, as well as promoting Egypt's domestic and foreign policies in line with the government's narrative and pro-Russian positions.

Publications and editorial line:

Articles published in Sawt Al-Umma are not opposed to el-Sisi's policies; on the contrary, they support them. The messaging often aligns with the official government line, and some texts express anti-Western and anti-Israeli views. Authors such as Muhammad Fazaa and Islam Al-Sharif address topics related to the fight against terrorism, portraying Egypt as a leader of stability in the region. The texts include phrases like "The West full of hypocrisy" and "America is collapsing under the pressure of immigrants," which indicates that Sawt Al-Umma's narrative aligns with Russian rhetoric.

Affiliations and ownership:

Sawt Al-Umma is controlled by the Al-Motahida News conglomerate, which is part of United Media Services (UMS), an entity considered to be a media tool of the Egyptian intelligence services. United Media Services has strong ties to the el-Sisi government as well as to Gulf states' governments, particularly Saudi Arabia. Ashraf Salman, a former Minister of Investment, heads this conglomerate, and the media outlets managed by Al-Motahida also include titles such as Youm7, El-Watan, El-Dostor News, Mobtada, and Innfrad.

Affiliated media outlets managed by Al-Motahida News:

- **Youm7:** One of the most important newspapers in Egypt, known for its wide reach (28 million followers on Facebook). Founded in 2008, it has been published as a daily newspaper since 2011.
- **El-Watan News:** A media outlet founded in 2012 by Al-Mostaqbal Publishing And Distribution Company. It enjoys significant popularity with 20 million followers on Facebook.
- **El-Dostor News:** An Egyptian daily newspaper with 5.1 million followers on Facebook that publishes pro-government and conservative content
- **Mobtada:** An online media outlet founded in 2013, characterized by a high level of engagement on social media platforms (3.3 million followers on Facebook).
- **Innfrad:** A smaller media outlet (1.3 million followers on Facebook) with a more niche reach.

Ownership structure and top management:

- **Editor-in-chief:** Youssef Ayoub.
- **Ownership and control:** Sawt Al-Umma is part of the Al Motahida News media conglomerate, owned by Ashraf Salman. Al-Motahida News also controls other media entities under the supervision of United Media Services (UMS), which in turn is linked to the Egyptian military intelligence and Saudi Arabia.

Official website and social media activity:

- **Website:** Sawt Al-Umma – active.
- **Instagram:** @sout_alomaa – 3,152 followers, zero activity.
- **Facebook:** Sawt Al-Umma na Facebooku – 879,000 followers, active.

Content and messaging:

Sawt Al-Umma praises government projects such as the "Decent Life" initiative and provides ongoing coverage of government actions. The messaging is largely pro-government, with an anti-Western and anti-Israeli tone. Examples of such articles include texts criticizing the alleged hypocrisies of the West and promoting Egypt as a key state for stability in the region. Many articles align with narratives promoted by Russian media, as well as anti-American and anti-Israeli positions.

Political and ideological affiliations:

- Sawt Al-Umma is not directly affiliated with any political party, but its messaging aligns with the political line of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. The outlet supports Egypt's domestic and foreign policies, and its articles often feature a pro-government narrative. The newspaper also engages in promoting government projects such as the "Decent Life" initiative, which aims to improve living conditions in rural communities.

- In the context of international relations, Sawt Al-Umma presents Egypt as a leader of stability in the region, promoting strong ties with Russia as well as with Gulf countries such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The texts published on the site often have an anti-Western tone and emphasize the alleged political hypocrisies of Western countries. In its coverage of Israel, the outlet takes an anti-Israeli stance, referring to the IDF (Israel Defense Forces) as "occupying armies" and describing Palestinians as "martyrs" dying at the hands of Israeli forces.

Influence and outreach:

- Sawt Al-Umma, despite having a smaller reach than media outlets like Al-Ahram or Youm7, has a stable audience mainly among the pro-government and conservative segments of Egyptian society. It directs its articles to those who support el-Sisi's government as well as to those seeking confirmation in the official narrative regarding stability, security, and Egypt's role on the international stage.
- This outlet is active on social media, mainly on Facebook, where it posts the latest news, political commentary, and analyses. On its website, it regularly publishes content related to Egypt's internal situation, relations with Arab countries, as well as general political and social information.

Conclusions and significance:

- Sawt Al-Umma serves as an example of a media outlet that maintains strong ties with Egyptian intelligence services and the government, promoting Egypt's stabilizing role in the region and supporting President el-Sisi's policies. As part of the larger United Media Services group, which is linked to Egyptian intelligence, the outlet participates in shaping public opinion according to the official narrative, controlling the messaging and eliminating potentially critical content towards the government.
- The outlet has a clear pro-Russian stance, especially in the context of foreign policy and international conflicts, which may suggest that it serves as a platform supporting Egypt's alliances with Eastern countries.

6. Nile International

Nile International	
Official website: • www.youtube.com/@NileTvInternational2	Nile International is a state-owned television channel belonging to the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU), broadcasting news and current affairs programs in English, French, and Hebrew. The channel focuses on promoting a positive image of Egypt on the international stage. Nile International has been struggling for several years with issues related to funding and viewer interest. The channel does not have an active website, and its social media presence is negligible.

- **Link to the official YouTube channel:** Nile International – the latest videos date back to the end of May 2024.
- **Channel details:**
 - www.youtube.com/@NileTVInternational2
 - 6,350 subscribers
 - 26,608 videos
 - 999,939 views
 - Date of joining: July 21, 2012

7. El Fagr

El-Fagr „Dawn”	
Official website: ● www.elfagr.org	El-Fagr, founded in 2005, is an Egyptian weekly newspaper based in Cairo known for its sensationalist profile, which has earned it a reputation as a controversial medium involved in numerous media scandals. Published by Al-Fagr for Printing and Publishing Inc., it is released every Thursday and frequently addresses political topics directly, often leading to significant legal consequences for its editorial team. The newspaper gained international notoriety in 2005 when it became the first media outlet in the world to reprint cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad, originally published by the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten. Although this publication did not provoke significant reactions in Egypt, it became a flashpoint for international controversy and divided public opinion. Such bold moves have marked El-Fagr's editorial line, which often walks the fine line between provocation and controversy. In 2013, following the political and social clashes related to the events of the Arab Spring, the weekly established an award in memory of journalist Al-Husseiny Abu Deif, who was killed during protests in December 2012. Since then, El-Fagr has become more engaged in issues related to press freedom, although it remains in constant conflict with Egyptian authorities and censorship institutions.

Owner: Al-Fagr for Printing and Publishing Inc.

Editor-in-Chief: Manal Lashin

Relations with the authorities and censorship:

El-Fagr has repeatedly been at the center of disputes related to censorship and restrictions on press freedom. In March 2006, Amira Malsh, a journalist working for the weekly, was sentenced to one year in prison and hard labor for defaming a judge in one of her articles. This incident was one of many examples of pressure exerted on the media by the Egyptian government.

In 2019, as a result of internal Facebook investigations, accounts and pages associated with El-Fagr on Facebook and Instagram were removed due to "coordinated inauthentic behavior." Facebook accused El-Fagr of creating fake accounts and pages impersonating independent news organizations to mislead audiences in the Middle East and North Africa. The content published by these accounts criticized Iran, Turkey, and Qatar, aligning with the pro-government narrative of Egypt.

A similar incident took place in April 2020, when Twitter announced the removal of 2,541 accounts associated with El-Fagr. According to the platform, the newspaper was receiving instructions directly from the Egyptian government, which further undermined its declared independence.

Current editorial line:

Although El-Fagr still maintains its position on the market as an "independent" medium, its relations with the authorities and controversial methods of operation cast doubt on the authenticity of this claim. Currently, the newspaper not only reports on domestic events but also actively engages in promoting the policies of President Abd al-Fattah el-Sisi. The content published by El-Fagr is strongly anti-Iranian, anti-Turkish, and anti-Qatari, reflecting Egypt's geopolitical orientation and its strategic alliances in the region. In its articles, the newspaper avoids criticizing the Egyptian government, focusing instead on presenting the actions of the authorities in a positive light and denouncing political opponents of the current administration.

Position within the media landscape:

El-Fagr plays an important role in the Egyptian media landscape as an example of a medium that balances sensationalism with support for the government. Thanks to its controversial history and activities, El-Fagr continues to hold a prominent position among Egyptian weeklies, but its credibility as a source of independent information remains a contentious issue.

1.1.2 Private media

1. Al-Masry Al-Youm

Al-Masry Al-Youm (“An Egyptian Day”)	
Official website: • almasryalyoum.com	It is one of the most important and influential newspapers in Egypt, published in Arabic. Founded in 2004, it plays a key role in the Egyptian media landscape as an independent medium, although its editorial line in recent years (since President Abd al-Fattah el-Sisi came to power in 2014) has been criticized for self-censorship and aligning more closely with the official government line, especially in the context of media freedom restrictions in Egypt. Al-Masry Al-Youm enjoys wide recognition in Egypt and among Arab diasporas. It reaches both middle and upper-class audiences, particularly those interested in domestic news, politics, and social issues. The newspaper also played a significant role during the Arab Spring in 2011, documenting events from the perspective of participants and offering a platform for public debate.

General information:

- Mobile app: available for Android via Google Play
- Facebook (Al-Masry Al-Youm): almasryalyoum - 13 million likes, 14 million followers
- Twitter (Al-Masry Al-Youm): AlMasryAlYoum - 12.1 million followers
- Instagram: @almasryalyoum - 1.2 million followers
- LinkedIn: Al-Masry Al-Youm
- YouTube: AlMasryAlYoum - 3.4 million subscribers, 106,000 videos
- English-language version:
 - WWW: Egypt Independent - a twin news service in English
 - Facebook: Egypt Independent - 242,000 likes, 257,000 followers
 - Twitter: EgyIndependent - 642,200 followers

Ownership and top management:

- Owners:
 - Salah Diab: An Egyptian businessman and investor, known for his influence in the media sector. He is a co-founder and owner of Al-Masry Al-Youm. He is mentioned in the Panama Papers. In the past, there have been multiple reports about his connections to the oil sector and various controversies related to his business activities.

- o Naguib Sawiris: A well-known Egyptian billionaire who is also said to be connected to Al-Masry Al-Youm through investments or financial support. Sawiris has enormous influence in the Arab world and is active on the international stage.

- Twitter: @NaguibSawiris

Employees and journalists:

- Editor-in-Chief: Mohamed Salah
- Editorial team: Al-Masry Al-Youm employs many well-known Egyptian journalists, analysts, and international correspondents. Most of them have previously worked with other influential media outlets such as Al-Ahram and Al-Shorouk.

Activity profile and content analysis:

Range of topics:

Al-Masry Al-Youm is one of the most important daily newspapers in Egypt, covering a wide range of topics including politics, economy, society, culture, art, sports, technology, and international news. The outlet has both print and digital editions, as well as a strong presence on social media.

Political orientation and narrative:

Al-Masry Al-Youm is considered a relatively liberal media outlet that often presents more moderate views compared to other pro-government media in Egypt. Nevertheless, since President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi came to power in 2014, the newspaper has shown a clear tendency to promote narratives that support the policies of the current regime.

Cooperation with the government:

As part of its collaboration with the government, Al-Masry Al-Youm publishes articles promoting government initiatives such as infrastructure development programmes, efforts to combat poverty, and the modernisation of the healthcare system. The newspaper also promotes the government's policy on fighting extremism and supports measures aimed at stabilising the country's situation.

Relations with Russia:

In the past, Al-Masry Al-Youm has published translated articles from Russian news agencies such as Sputnik and RT, which may suggest certain ties to Russian propaganda. The newspaper has also been cited by Russian state media in the context of criticising the West and promoting pro-Russian narratives.

Criticism and controversy:

Over the past decade, Al-Masry Al-Youm has faced criticism from other Egyptian media outlets and international journalism organisations for limiting freedom of expression and presenting pro-government views. In 2018, *The Washington Post* published an article stating that Al-Masry Al-Youm had ceased to function as an independent media outlet and that its content had become significantly more pro-government.

Content related to Poland:

- Articles concerning Poland have appeared in materials published by *Egypt Independent*, the sister outlet of Al-Masry Al-Youm. One example is an article describing the situation of Egyptians fleeing to Poland from Ukraine during the armed conflict: [*“Egyptians flee to Poland amid continued shelling in Ukraine.”*](#)

Contact information:

- Tel.: +2 (02) 27980100 (the number also associated with Al-Masry Al-Youm’s press awards)
- E-mail: The Al-Masry Al-Youm jury includes board members, editors, and journalists who are responsible for organising journalism competitions and overseeing the publication of special editions.

Contributors and editorial staff:

- Information about employees and individuals associated with Al-Masry Al-Youm can be found in the RocketReach database.

Conclusions:

Al-Masry Al-Youm is one of the most important and influential media outlets in Egypt, which over the past decade has undergone a clear shift from being a more independent outlet to a pro-government one. Through its cooperation with the government and foreign news agencies such as Sputnik and RT, the newspaper plays a role in shaping public opinion in Egypt and across the region.

2. Mada Masr

Mada Masr	
Official website: madamasr.com	Mada Masr is an independent news outlet based in Egypt, known for publishing content critical of the government and addressing political and social issues often overlooked by mainstream media. The platform was founded by a group of former <i>Egypt Independent</i> journalists who decided to launch a new outlet after their previous newsroom was shut down. The <i>Mada Masr</i> team has become one of the most important sources of information in Egypt, earning significant recognition both locally and internationally, despite its operations being constantly monitored and restricted by the Egyptian authorities.

Founders and editorial team:

Editor-in-Chief: Lina Attalah

Lina Attalah is one of the most well-known Egyptian journalists, who has repeatedly faced repression from the Egyptian government. She has been interrogated multiple times by security services and detained on charges of publishing “false news” and “operating a website without a license.”

Lina Attalah's profile via ICFJ.

Contributors and editors:

- Amany Aly Shawky (cultural reporter) - Profil na X (Twitter).
- The team consists of journalists who previously worked for *Egypt Independent*. More information about the staff can be found on LinkedIn.

Contact data and social media:

- Facebook: @mada.masr (59,000 likes, 419,000 followers) - active
- X (Twitter): @MadaMasr (319,600 followers) - active
- Instagram: @madamasr (36,200 followers)
- YouTube: MadaMasr (77,800 subscribers, 328 videos)
- E-mail: no information available on the official email.

Legal issues and repressions:

1. Arrests and investigations:

- In February 2024, Lina Attalah was detained by the Cairo Court of Appeals on charges of publishing false news and operating a website without a license. The case was related to an investigative article about the influential Argana family in the Sinai Peninsula - [Link to article](#).
- Three **Mada Masr** journalists, including Lina Attalah, were also brought to court on charges of insulting Egyptian parliamentarians. This was widely seen as an attempt to intimidate independent media in Egypt - [Link to article](#).

2. Suspension of operations:

In 2023, a court in Cairo suspended Mada Masr's operations for six months, citing the outlet's lack of legal registration. The decision sparked a wave of international criticism and was seen as yet another step toward restricting press freedom in Egypt - [Link to article](#).

3. International support:

- The New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) issued a statement in support of Mada Masr, calling for an end to the repression of journalists - [Link to CPJ's X \(Twitter\) post](#).

- Other human rights organizations, such as CIHRS, also issued statements calling on the Egyptian authorities to end the persecution of independent journalists - [Link to statement](#).

Content Analysis

Range of topics:

Mada Masr covers a wide range of topics, from politics and human rights to culture and society. It often focuses on issues that are overlooked or censored by other Egyptian media, such as corruption, political repression, human rights violations, and freedom of expression.

Style:

The writing style of the articles is analytical and grounded in solid journalistic principles. The Mada Masr team is made up of experienced journalists, which ensures that the content is well-crafted and thoroughly researched.

Audience:

Due to the nature of its publications, Mada Masr is popular among young, educated audiences as well as members of the Egyptian diaspora. In the MENA region, it is respected for its courage in addressing controversial topics and for its independence from political pressure.

3. AL-SHOROUK

AL-SHOROUK („Sunrise“)	
Official website: • shorouknews.com	Founded in 2008, Al-Shorouk is a centrist daily newspaper. It has a reputation as a relatively independent media outlet, although in recent years its messaging has become increasingly aligned with the government line. Al-Shorouk maintains a reputation as a media outlet promoting a moderate and balanced message, but it is criticized for the lack of a clear opposition to the government. The content it posts covers broadly understood regional politics and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The newspaper publishes both pro-government content and opposition articles, depending on the context.

Contact data and social media:

- Facebook: facebook.com/shorouknews (5.9 million followers) - active
- Instagram: @shorouknews (76,300 followers, 41,500 posts) - active
- X (Twitter): @shorouk_news (4.5 million followers) - active

- YouTube: Al-Shorouk News (3290 subscribers, 883 videos) - a rather inactive channel, with the latest video being posted two weeks ago, preceded by a video from nine months ago.
- LinkedIn: [linkedin.com/company/el-shorouk-newspaper](https://www.linkedin.com/company/el-shorouk-newspaper)
- Telephone no.: +202 23930490

E-mail addresses:

- ads@shorouknews.com
- webmaster@shorouknews.com
- contactus@shorouknews.com
- news@shorouknews.com
- letters@shorouknews.com
- readers@shorouknews.com
- shorouknews2009@gmail.com

Publisher: Dar El Shorouk

Owner:

Ibrahim Al-Moallem – publisher and owner, who, according to 2018 reports, was criticised for alleged ties to the Muslim Brotherhood (source: egypt-mom-rsf.org). The outlet's investor is the well-known businessman Ahmad Heikal.

Editor-in-Chief:

Mohamed Saad Abdel Hafiz – a member of the Egyptian Journalists' Syndicate who has also written for independent media outlets such as Mada Masr. He is known for his balanced approach and critical articles on Egyptian politics and the situation in the Middle East. He also frequently comments on international relations and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Profile and editorial line:

Al-Shorouk, as one of Egypt's major newspapers, holds a significant position in the country's media landscape. Although it is owned by the private publishing house Dar El-Shorouk, it remained for a long time one of the few independent sources of information in Egypt. Founded by Ibrahim Al-Moallem, the outlet is characterised by a relatively balanced editorial stance on local politics, especially when compared to more pro-government media channels.

Content posted by Al-Shorouk:

The outlet regularly covers political, economic, social, and cultural news, as well as analyses and commentary on international affairs. Its articles include content on Egypt's relations with other countries, conflicts in the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa), and commentary on the foreign policies of the U.S., Russia, and Europe.

Al-Shorouk presents itself as a moderately toned outlet; however, its articles on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict often carry an anti-Israeli tone, which is common in Egyptian media. In some cases, its coverage of the West can be critical, but the outlet stands out for its more analytical approach compared to other Egyptian news platforms.

Renowned journalists and commentators:

Al-Shorouk features contributions from some respected journalists and commentators:, incl.:

- Hani Shukrallah – Born into a Coptic family, he was actively involved in the 2011 revolution and earlier political movements opposing the regimes of Hosni Mubarak and later Mohamed Morsi. He collaborated with international media such as *The Guardian* and served as one of the editors-in-chief of *Al-Shorouk*. He was often described as a liberal Marxist.
- Imad al-Din Hussein – A columnist known for his strongly anti-Israeli and pro-Arab stance. His work frequently addresses themes related to Arab identity and the Palestinian issue.
- Amr Hamzawy – A political activist and commentator who has also worked with research institutions such as the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. He took part in the 2011 revolution and was a vocal critic of both the Mubarak and Morsi regimes. He is also the founder of the liberal political party *Freedom Egypt Party*.
- Mohamed Elmenshawy – A commentator affiliated with *Al Jazeera*, based in Washington, D.C. His articles, which often appear in *Al-Shorouk*, cover both U.S. and Middle Eastern politics

Position on the market and influence:

Al-Shorouk has a broad audience and is considered one of the leading independent media outlets in Egypt. Although it does not have as wide a reach as Al-Ahram or Youm7, it is trusted by many readers who seek reliable information and political analysis. The outlet has often been compared to Al-Ahram, particularly in terms of journalistic quality and its commitment to presenting facts rather than disinformation.

Controversy and censorship:

Al-Shorouk has been criticised multiple times by the authorities for publishing articles critical of the government and for its involvement in defending human rights. The newspaper's editors have been arrested and intimidated by Egyptian security services; however, the outlet continues to operate and strives to maintain editorial independence. Mohamed Saad Abdel Hafiz, one of the senior editors, has repeatedly spoken out publicly in defence of freedom of expression and independent media in Egypt.

International relations and Russia:

Al-Shorouk is sometimes compared to Al-Ahram, which has been accused of pro-Russian bias. Al-Shorouk features articles on the Russia-Ukraine war that are more balanced, though they

may still be used to support elements of the Russian narrative. Nevertheless, in comparison to Al-Ahram, Al-Shorouk is viewed as a media outlet that presents more independent and analytical content.

Conclusions:

Al-Shorouk is an example of a media outlet that strives to maintain a balance between independence and government influence. Its measured and analytical reporting makes it one of the more trusted sources of information in Egypt, even though it sometimes has to navigate the country's complex political landscape.

4. Al-Manassa

Al-Manassa	
Official website: Al-Manassa	Al-Manassa is an independent news platform in Egypt, founded in 2015 by a group of journalists aiming to create a space for free and independent journalism in the country. The portal focuses on issues related to politics, human rights, the economy, and culture. Al-Manassa is known for its critical stance toward the Egyptian government and for publishing investigative articles and reports that often spark controversy and draw repression from the authorities.

Arrests of journalists and repressions:

The editor-in-chief of Al-Manassa, Nora Younis, was arrested in 2020 by Egyptian security forces on charges of "operating a website without a license" and "publishing false information." She was eventually released on bail, but her arrest was widely condemned by international organisations. In July 2024, Ashraf Omar, a cartoonist and translator affiliated with *Al-Manassa*, was also arrested from his home, indicating ongoing repression of journalists connected to the platform.

- Links to articles: [Arrest of Nora Younis](#) | [EgyptToday writes about her release](#).

Actions taken by the government towards Al-Manassa:

The Egyptian government has taken a series of measures to block access to the Al-Manassa website. The portal has been repeatedly blocked over the past few years, with authorities shutting down more than 15 different URLs and IP addresses associated with Al-Manassa, forcing the editorial team to relocate the site multiple times. However, the outlet has managed to continue its operations thanks to the support of the Swedish non-profit foundation Qurium, which hosts its website. In 2018, Citizen Lab, a research project at the University of Toronto, discovered that Egyptian authorities were using technology from the company Sandvine to block and monitor internet traffic, including sites like Al-Manassa.

- Links to articles: [Sandvine technology as a means of censorship](#) | [Statement by organisations condemning the blocking of Al-Manassa's operations](#).

Online activity and social media:

- **LinkedIn:** Al-Manassa LinkedIn
- **Facebook:** Al-Manassa Facebook – A regularly updated profile featuring articles and reports from Egypt.
- **Twitter:** Al-Manassa Twitter – 79,300 followers.
- **YouTube:** The Al-Manassa YouTube channel features videos with interviews, event coverage, and reports.

Range of topics:

Al-Manassa regularly publishes articles on the political situation in Egypt, human rights, and abuses by the authorities. The portal also conducts journalistic investigations into corruption and government actions, which often trigger responses from the authorities in the form of censorship, arrests, and internet blocks. Articles on topics such as telecommunications blackouts were the result of joint investigations by Al-Manassa and the Swedish foundation Qurium

- [An article covering the use of Sandvine and the question of censorship in Egypt](#)

Importance for journalism:

Al-Manassa is one of the few independent news platforms in Egypt that continues to operate despite the challenges posed by the Egyptian authorities. Journalists associated with the outlet face frequent repression, and the editorial team must regularly fight against internet censorship—making Al-Manassa a symbol of free journalism in Egypt.

1.1.3 Regional media

Local television stations are controlled by local authorities and often broadcast information aligned with the central government's political line.

Local radio stations:

- **Radio Masr (94.1 FM):** It broadcasts popular songs and short news segments, especially in the Greater Cairo region.
- **Cultural Program (91.5 FM):** It focuses on cultural programming, classical music, and selected international affiliate broadcasts.
- **Mega FM (92.7 FM):** It broadcasts both Egyptian and international music hits, particularly popular in Cairo and Alexandria.
- **European Program (95.4 FM):** A radio program broadcast in foreign languages (English, French, Italian), featuring Western music hits.

- **Voice of the Arabs (106.3 FM):** A historic radio station that played a propaganda role in the 1960s and continues to broadcast content related to Arab history and culture.
- **Koran Radio (98.2 FM):** It focuses on Quran recitation and Islamic programming. It is the main religious channel available in most regions of Egypt.

Local TV stations:

- **Channel 1 and Channel 2 (Egyptian Radio and Television Union):** The two main television channels broadcast across all of Egypt, focusing on news, entertainment, and cultural programming.
- **Regional Channels:** Each major province—such as Alexandria, Upper Egypt, and the Nile Delta—has its own regional stations that broadcast news and programs tailored to local audiences.

Local newspapers:

- **Al-Wafd (Wafd Party):** A newspaper affiliated with one of the opposition parties, primarily available in Cairo and the northern regions of the country.
- **Al-Ahrar (Ahrar Party):** It publishes political and economic news from various regions, particularly in Alexandria and the surrounding areas.
- **Al-Ahali (Tagammu Party):** Targeted at audiences in Lower Egypt, it features political and economic content.

Specific regional media:

- **Regional Newspapers:** In cities such as Asyut (e.g., Akhbar Assiut) and Damanhur (El-Behira), there are local newspapers that publish information exclusively related to those regions.
- **Radio Stations:** Local radio stations broadcasting exclusively in areas such as the Nile Delta or Upper Egypt offer content in local dialects and tailored to the needs of the community.

This division allows for better tailoring of content to local audiences but also highlights the limitations imposed by central control over the media in Egypt.

1.1.4 Media affiliated with specific groups (political, religious, ethnic)

1. AL-WAFD

AL-WAFD („The Mission”)	
Official website: • alwafd.news	Al-Wafd is a media outlet closely affiliated with Egypt's Wafd Party. The party has a long history, being one of the oldest political parties in Egypt, originating from the historic Wafd Party founded in 1919. Initially, it was a party with strong liberal and nationalist traditions, advocating for Egypt's independence from British rule. After the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak in 2011, the Wafd Party formed a coalition with the Muslim Brotherhood, but the alliance quickly fell apart. Since then, the party has drifted toward supporting current President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, which has drawn criticism from commentators who argue that it has lost its credibility as an opposition force. In 2018, <i>The Washington Post</i> published an article analysing the decline of Wafd as an opposition party, noting that under el-Sisi's leadership, it ceased to play a significant role in resisting the regime. In 2023, the Wafd Party was implicated in a scandal involving the smuggling of ancient Egyptian artefacts, further damaging its image as a political force.

- **WWW:** alwafd.news - this website has been active since February 2018. The previous domain used: alwafd.org
- **YouTube:** @alwafd-tv (572,000 subscribers, 14,000 videos) – last video uploaded 2 months ago; currently features mainly educational content.
Previous channel: @alwafdtv (68,300 subscribers, 3,100 videos) – inactive; last video uploaded 7 years ago, mainly consisted of news content.
- **X (Twitter):** @alwafdportal (257,000 followers) - active, the posts are mostly links to articles posted at alwafd.news
- **Facebook:** facebook.com/alwafdportal (2.2 million followers) - active
- **Wafd Party Leader:** Dr. Abdel-Sanad Yamama
Chairman of the Publishing Board: Dr. Ayman Mohsab
Editor-in-Chief 1: Atef Khalil
Editor-in-Chief 2: Sami Al-Tarawi
Managing Editor for Projects: Muhammad Abdelnabi

Contact information:

- Telephone no.: +20 2 33383111, +20 2 33383222
- Fax no.: +20 2 37603050
- E-mail: wafdnews1@gmail.com

Outlet profile and editorial policy:

The messaging published by Al-Wafd appears to be very moderate. Although the Wafd Party has historically been identified as liberal, its media outlet now serves more as a propaganda mouthpiece for the el-Sisi government. For example, Al-Wafd reports on issues such as medication shortages and rising prices in a neutral manner, avoiding topics that could undermine the government's authority.

Political Messaging and Analysis:

The articles feature frequent praise for the current government and President el-Sisi's initiatives, such as the *"Decent Life"* project aimed at improving living conditions for Egypt's poorest citizens. The tone of these articles often resembles laudatory pieces typical of authoritarian leadership, raising questions about their credibility as genuine opposition.

Although Al-Wafd acknowledges in its coverage that Russia invaded Ukraine and refers to the conflict as a "war," the tone remains aligned with a policy of neutrality. The outlet does not criticise Russia or explicitly support Ukraine, which may reflect a nod to the pro-Russian sentiments present in some Arab media. In the context of domestic Egyptian politics, Al-Wafd clearly supports the government and avoids publishing content that could be perceived as critical of el-Sisi.

Content published by Al-Wafd::

1. **Political and social events:** Al-Wafd frequently reports on government initiatives such as price regulations and economic reforms, but it does not present these actions within a framework of potential criticism—an unusual stance for a liberal party outlet.
2. **Articles praising el-Sisi:** Publications often take on a laudatory tone toward President el-Sisi and his administration, which contrasts with the traditional role of liberal media as critical watchdogs of power.
3. **Historical narrative:** The outlet portrays the July Revolution (the 1952 revolution that led to the overthrow of the monarchy in Egypt) as a "milestone in Egyptian history," indicating an attempt to reinforce the historical legitimacy of the current government.

Position of Al-Wafd on the media market:

Al-Wafd, as a centrist outlet with a tendency to support the government, attempts to maintain an appearance of independence and neutrality. However, in practice, it functions more as a propaganda tool that supports el-Sisi's policies. Within Egypt's media and political landscape, it is seen as an example of a traditionally liberal outlet that, under pressure from the current regime, has lost its oppositional identity.

Controversy and implications for the image of the party:

- In 2018, *The Washington Post* described how the Wafd Party began to lose its significance as an opposition force and drift toward the government status quo.

- In 2023, a scandal involving the smuggling of ancient Egyptian artefacts made headlines and further damaged the party's image, contributing to its marginalisation as an independent political force.

Conclusions:

Al-Wafd is a media outlet that, although it identifies as liberal, in practice serves the interests of the el-Sisi government. It often acts as a sounding board for government initiatives, avoids confrontation, and presents a very moderate, pro-government narrative. While the **Wafd Party** has a long and rich history as a liberal force in Egypt, it is now seen as a political opportunist that has aligned its messaging with the government's political line—losing credibility in the eyes of many commentators and voters.

2. Coptic Orthodox TV (CTV)

Coptic Orthodox TV (CTV)	
Official website: • CTV Channel • CTV International	Coptic Orthodox TV, also known as CTV, is an Egyptian television channel affiliated with the Coptic Church. Its main goal is to spread the Coptic faith, promote Christian values, and provide support to the Coptic community in Egypt. The channel focuses on broadcasting religious content, including masses, sermons, and educational programs. CTV was established in response to the needs of the Coptic community, aiming to create a space for religious content and promote Christian values. It is one of the three main Coptic channels, alongside Aghapy TV and the Coptic Youth Channel.

Ownership and management:

CTV is fully managed by the **Coptic Orthodox Church** under the supervision of the Church's spiritual leaders. Its programming includes coverage of worship services, teachings, interviews with clergy, and broadcasts of church events.

Online activity and social media:

- Facebook: CTV Channel – 44,000 likes, 187,000 followers
- YouTube: CTV Channel – 279,000 subscribers, 46,000 videos
- Twitter: CTV Channel – 2,148 followers

Characteristics of television programmes:

CTV focuses on religious content, including homilies, catechesis, biblical stories, and programmes dedicated to the daily life of the Christian community in Egypt. The channel avoids political content and refrains from engaging in current political disputes.

3. Al-Keraza

Al-Keraza	
Social media: • Al-Keraza Facebook	Al-Keraza is a religious magazine published by the Coptic Church, focused on promoting religious and cultural values. It is one of the oldest Coptic publications in Egypt, with its primary aim being religious education and spiritual support for the Coptic community.

Online activity and social media:

- **Facebook:** Al-Keraza Facebook – 191,000 likes, 193,000 followers.

Range of topics:

The magazine does not publish political content, focusing exclusively on religious and educational topics.

Al-Manassa and CTV are key components of Egypt's media landscape, representing different social groups and values. Al-Manassa, as an independent news portal, fights against censorship and repression, while CTV focuses on spiritual and educational support for the Coptic community.

4. Al-Azhar TV

Al-Azhar TV	
Official website: • YouTube	Al-Azhar TV is a television channel affiliated with Al-Azhar University, one of the oldest and most prestigious Islamic institutions in the world, located in Cairo, Egypt. The channel promotes a moderate approach to Islam, the dissemination of religious knowledge, and supports interfaith dialogue as well as initiatives aimed at countering extremism. Programming on Al-Azhar TV includes Quran interpretations, sermons, lectures, and scholarly debates on Islamic law (Sharia).

Ownership and management:

The channel is managed by Al-Azhar University, with oversight provided by Grand Imam Ahmed El-Tayeb, who serves as the university's rector. Al-Azhar TV regularly collaborates with prominent Islamic scholars and religious leaders to promote the values of peace, coexistence, and dialogue.

Activity and history:

Al-Azhar TV was launched on the initiative of Sheikh Khaled Al-Guindy, a scholar from Al-Azhar University, to counter the growing influence of extremist Islamic media and to better educate Muslims about moderate interpretations of the religion. Its goal is to reach a broad Muslim audience and to foster greater understanding of Islam among non-Muslim communities.

Oblice activity and social media:

- **Facebook:** Al-Azhar TV Facebook – 294,000 likes, 592,000 followers. It is an active profile publishing content related to religious education, Quranic quotes, and statements from leading Islamic scholars.
- **YouTube:** the official YouTube channel – 189,00 subscribers, 8,600 videos.
- **Instagram:** Al-Azhar TV Instagram – 13,300 followers. The profile mainly features educational content, Quranic quotes, and clips from television programmes.
- **Official website:** The main website of Al-Azhar TV (<http://www.azhartv.com/>) is currently inactive. Previously, the site was active until around 2019/2020.

Cooperation with other outlets:

Al-Azhar TV frequently references the statements of Dr. Ali Gomaa, the former Grand Mufti of Egypt, who is a prominent Islamic scholar actively promoting a moderate approach to Islam and countering extremism. Dr. Ali Gomaa also runs his own social media profiles, where he regularly publishes content related to Islam and religious education.

Dr. Ali Gomaa in social media:

- Dr. Ali Gomaa's official website – A knowledge base on religious studies, articles, and lectures.
- Dr. Ali Gomaa's Facebook profile – 2.7 million followers. A regularly updated profile that serves as a popular source of religious information and interpretations.

Controversy and challenges:

Al-Azhar TV and Al-Azhar University have been criticised by some international groups for the content included in their curricula and interpretations. Israeli television Channel 12 accused the Al-Azhar Foundation and the Sheikh of Al-Azhar of promoting programmes that "incite hatred" against certain ethnic and religious groups. However, these accusations were rejected by Al-Azhar University, which emphasised that its mission is focused on promoting moderate Islam and dialogue.

Political involvement:

Grand Imam Ahmed El-Tayeb and religious figures associated with Al-Azhar TV, such as Dr. Ali Gomaa, are often involved in political debates and international initiatives related to interfaith dialogue. Imam El-Tayeb has called for dialogue regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and emphasized the importance of respecting the rights of Palestinians. In the case of the Russia-Ukraine war, El-Tayeb appealed for a peaceful resolution, stressing that war only deepens hatred and suffering.

Importance for the muslim community:

Al-Azhar TV is regarded as a voice of moderate Islam and a supporter of religious education in the Muslim world. It also serves as a platform that fosters interfaith dialogue and promotes the values of peace and coexistence. Through collaboration with prominent scholars and international organisations, Al-Azhar TV plays a key role in spreading religious knowledge and promoting peaceful values.

Conclusions:

Al-Azhar TV, as a television channel affiliated with Al-Azhar University, is a key media outlet promoting a moderate approach to Islam and supporting interfaith dialogue. Through its collaboration with prominent Islamic scholars such as Grand Imam Ahmed El-Tayeb and Dr. Ali Gomaa, the channel plays an important educational and social role. Despite criticism from some international circles, Al-Azhar TV remains one of the most influential Islamic channels promoting religious values, dialogue, and coexistence.

5. Watani

Watani („My Country“)	
Official website: • Watani English	Watani is a Coptic Egyptian weekly newspaper founded in 1958 to support the Coptic Christian community in Egypt and to promote religious, social, and cultural values. The newspaper is considered one of the most influential Coptic publications in Egypt and often addresses issues related to the life of the Coptic community, their rights, and the challenges faced by Christians in the country. Watani is also actively involved in promoting interfaith dialogue and combating religious discrimination. Watani was founded in 1958 by Anton Sidhom as a Coptic Christian magazine intended to support the development of the Coptic community in Egypt. Since then, the newspaper has expanded to include an online edition and an English-language version, which focuses on presenting the socio-political situation in Egypt in the context of human rights, as well as the contemporary challenges facing the Coptic community. Watani is the only Egyptian newspaper that regularly reports on events and issues affecting the Coptic diaspora in other countries.

Management structure:

The editor-in-chief of Watani is Youssef Sidhom, the son of the newspaper's founder, who took over leadership after his father's death. Youssef Sidhom is a well-known journalist and commentator on issues concerning the Coptic community in Egypt. He is also an active member of both Egyptian and international human rights organisations and a strong advocate for interfaith dialogue. Under his leadership, Watani has become a platform for open debate on the rights of Christians in Egypt.

International involvement:

Watani is actively involved in various international initiatives and collaborates with Coptic organisations in the diaspora. In 2021, Nevine Kameel, a representative of Watani, was honoured by the Russian Cultural Center in Alexandria for her work in promoting Christian culture and heritage in Egypt. Watani also regularly participates in international conferences and meetings focused on human rights and freedom of religion.

Online activity and social media:

- **Official website:**
 - The main website: Watani (currently inactive).
 - The currently available website: Watani English – It focuses on an international audience, publishing articles in English about the current socio-political situation in Egypt.
 - **Facebook:** Watani Facebook – 120,000 likes, 161,000 followers. Content on the situation of the Coptic community and current events in Egypt is regularly published.
 - **Twitter:** Watani Twitter – 29,700 followers. Its activity is low, the same as the outreach.

Range of topics:

Watani covers a wide range of topics, including issues related to human rights, the political situation in Egypt, Christian-Muslim relations, and the challenges facing the Coptic community. The articles often focus on defending Coptic rights, promoting interfaith dialogue, examining the situation of Christians in Egypt, and addressing the legal and political challenges encountered by the Coptic population. Editor-in-chief Youssef Sidhom frequently publishes opinion pieces on current events, such as the Russia-Ukraine conflict and Egypt's relations with other countries.

Involvement in social and political initiatives:

Watani regularly participates in events and initiatives aimed at supporting the Coptic community and promoting human rights. Youssef Sidhom has taken part in numerous international meetings, including one with Hillary Clinton in 2012, to discuss the situation of Christians in Egypt. The newspaper is also actively involved in promoting interfaith dialogue and cooperating with other organisations to combat religious discrimination.

Editor-in-Chief's bio:

Youssef Sidhom, editor-in-chief of Watani, is the son of the newspaper's founder, Louis Sidhom. As a journalist and social activist, Sidhom is engaged in issues related to interfaith dialogue and the protection of religious minority rights. He is an active member of the Coptic community and regularly publishes his views on Egypt's domestic politics, the situation of Copts, and current international events. Sidhom is known for his moderate approach, promotion of dialogue and cooperation, and commitment to journalistic independence.

Youssefa Sidhoma bio: [Youssef Sidhom - Egycopt](#)

Controversy:

In 2021, during the Egyptian-Russian Youth Forum held at the Saladin Citadel in Cairo, Watani drew attention for its collaboration with the Russian Cultural Center in Alexandria and its promotion of Russian cultural initiatives. Some international organisations criticised this cooperation as an attempt to influence the media narrative in Egypt.

Awards and distinctions:

Watani was honoured by Coptic Orphans and supporters of Coptic heritage during the Symphony of the Coptic Heritage Festival for its dedication to promoting Coptic culture and documenting the history and contemporary life of the Coptic community in Egypt. In 2021, Nevine Kameel from Watani received an award from the Russian Cultural Center for her efforts in strengthening cultural relations between Egypt and Russia.

Importance for the Coptic community:

Watani serves as a voice for the Coptic community in Egypt, documenting events and issues affecting Christians in the country. The newspaper acts as a platform for the Coptic community, advocating for their rights and supporting interfaith dialogue. Watani is also one of the main sources of information on the situation of Copts in Egypt and the global Coptic diaspora.

Conclusions:

Watani is one of the most important Coptic weeklies in Egypt, documenting the situation of the Coptic community and promoting the values of dialogue and coexistence for over 60 years. Through international cooperation and involvement in human rights initiatives, Watani plays a key role in advocating for the interests and rights of Coptic Christians both in Egypt and beyond its borders.

6. Coptic Youth Channel (CYC) / Christian Youth Channel

Coptic Youth Channel (CYC) / Christian Youth Channel	
Official website: Coptic Youth Channel	Coptic Youth Channel (CYC), also known as Christian Youth Channel, is an English-language Coptic Orthodox television channel with a mission to spread Christian teachings and the love of Jesus Christ among youth worldwide. The channel offers religious, educational, and social programming aimed at both children and adults. It is the third Coptic Orthodox channel—after Aghapy TV and CTV—but the only one specifically focused on youth education. CYC aims to promote Christian values and support young people in their spiritual growth. The channel was launched in November 2009 by Father Bishoy El-Antony, a Coptic monk from the Monastery of St. Anthony in the Red Sea, under the auspices of His Grace Bishop Morcos, Bishop of the Diocese of Shobra El-Khema. From its inception, CYC has operated as a non-profit organisation, run by various production centres around the world, including in the USA, Canada, Australia, and Egypt. The channel's main goal is to support Christian youth through educational programming, sermons, and religious content.

Management structure:

CYC is managed by Metropolitan Marcos, who serves as the station's director. The channel collaborates with bishops and clergy from various Coptic dioceses around the world, and in each region, responsibility for the channel's operations falls to local bishops, such as H.G. Bishop Peter (CYC America) and H.G. Bishop Boulos (CYC Canada).

International activity:

Coptic Youth Channel has branches in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Egypt, which enables it to reach a wide audience of Coptic and Christian youth around the world. In November 2019, CYC participated in an international meeting in Vienna, organized by the International Dialogue Centre (KAICIID), during which €1.5 million was pledged for initiatives aimed at countering hate speech and promoting interfaith dialogue.

Online activity and social media:

- **Official website:** Coptic Youth Channel
- **Facebook:** Coptic Youth Channel Facebook – 83,000 followers. The profile is active and regularly posts religious and educational content.
- **Twitter:** CYC Twitter – 291 followed, 3,252 followers. The account is moderately active.
- **YouTube:** Christian Youth Channel – 105,000 subscribers. The channel actively posts religious and educational content for youth and children.
- **Instagram:** CYC Instagram – An active profile featuring religious and educational content.
- **E-mail:** usa@cycnow.com.

Range of topics:

CYC focuses on promoting Christian values and spreading biblical teachings. The channel's programming includes lectures, homilies, educational shows for children and youth, as well as special events such as Christian holidays and cultural celebrations. The channel promotes spiritual values, solidarity, and interfaith dialogue.

Role and importance:

CYC plays a key role in promoting Coptic Orthodox values among Christian youth worldwide. Its content is tailored to the needs of young audiences, offering both educational and spiritual programs. Through its international reach and collaboration with local dioceses, CYC supports the spiritual development of young people and their integration into the Christian community.

Involvement in international initiatives:

CYC actively engages in initiatives aimed at countering hate speech and promoting interfaith dialogue. It collaborates with organisations such as the International Dialogue Centre (KAICIID), which supports projects focused on dialogue and efforts to combat violence and religious discrimination. The channel also plays an important role in initiatives supporting youth and education in Middle Eastern countries as well as within the Coptic diaspora.

Conclusions:

Coptic Youth Channel (CYC) is one of the most important Coptic Orthodox television channels, focusing on the education of Christian youth and the promotion of spiritual values. Through its international presence and cooperation with Coptic dioceses in various countries, CYC has a wide reach and significant influence on the Coptic community. The channel promotes values of peace and dialogue and supports the spiritual development of Christian youth.

7. Sawt Al-Azhar

Sawt Al-Azhar („The Voice of Al-Azhar")	
Official website: • Sawt Al-Azhar - Al-Azhar Observer	Sawt Al-Azhar is a magazine published by Al-Azhar University in Egypt, one of the most important religious institutions in the Islamic world. The magazine aims to promote Islamic values, disseminate theological knowledge, and support religious education. Sawt Al-Azhar serves as the voice of Al-Azhar University, publishing articles on Islamic interpretations of various social, political, and religious issues.

Ownership:

The magazine is overseen by the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, Sheikh Dr. Ahmed Al-Tayeb, and the editorial team operates within the structures of Al-Azhar University. The main topics covered by the magazine include education, Quranic interpretation, and responses to contemporary challenges facing the Muslim community.

Online activity and social media:

- **Official website:** Sawt Al-Azhar - Al-Azhar Observer – the website of Al-Azhar Observatory for Combating Extremism.
- **Facebook:** Official Al-Azhar – 3.8 million followers. An active profile that regularly posts content pertaining to the activities of Al-Azhar as well as educational and religious content.
- **YouTube:** Official Al-Azhar – 143,000 subscribers.
- **Twitter:** Al-Azhar – 605,300 followers.
- **Instagram:** Al-Azhar – 298,000 followers.

Range of topics:

The magazine focuses on publishing religious and educational content, as well as material related to the interpretation of Islamic law (Sharia). Sawt Al-Azhar avoids political topics, instead concentrating on promoting Islamic values and advocating for moderate religious interpretations. As part of its educational efforts, the magazine organises conferences, seminars, and forums—such as *“East and West for Human Coexistence”*, held in the Kingdom of Bahrain in October 2022. The forum brought together over 200 global religious leaders, including Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar.

Role in countering extremism:

Sawt Al-Azhar plays a key role in promoting moderate Islam and countering extremism. It publishes reports and analyses on radicalisation and conducts educational campaigns aimed at combating religious extremism. The magazine collaborates with the Al-Azhar Center for Combating Extremism as well as other international organisations that promote peace and intercultural dialogue.

Conclusions:

Al-Nas TV and Sawt Al-Azhar are two significant religious media outlets in Egypt, representing, respectively, conservative Islamic values and the voice of moderate Islam promoted by Al-Azhar University. Al-Nas TV, despite its controversial shutdown in 2013, resumed operations in 2015, though its reach has remained limited. Sawt Al-Azhar, on the other hand, plays a key role in religious education and in promoting Islamic values both in Egypt and on the international stage.

8. Al-Nas TV

Al-Nas TV	
Official website Al-Nas TV YouTube	Al-Nas TV is a television channel founded by Saudi investor Mansour bin Kadsa. Initially broadcast from Cairo, the channel quickly gained popularity as a platform promoting Islamic values and religious discussions. Its programs were aimed at a broad Muslim audience, focusing on promoting religious narratives and interpretations of the Quran. The channel was launched in 2006, but its operations were suspended in 2013 by Egyptian authorities, who deemed the content broadcast by Al-Nas TV potentially harmful to public order. The closure was triggered by the airing of the controversial film "Innocence of Muslims" in 2012, which sparked widespread protests across Muslim countries. After several years of inactivity, the channel was relaunched in April 2015, but its reach and activity have been significantly limited compared to previous years.

Ownership:

Al-Nas TV is owned by Saudi investor Mansour bin Kadsa, who invested in the channel to promote moderate yet conservative Islamic values. The channel aimed to reach the Muslim community in Egypt and beyond.

Online activity and social media:

- **Facebook:** Al-Nas TV Facebook – the profile is completely inactive.
- **YouTube:** Al-Nas TV YouTube – 401 subscribers, barely active, with the latest video posted more than a year ago.

Controversy and shutdown:

Al-Nas TV was shut down after airing segments of the film "*Innocence of Muslims*" in 2012. The channel was accused of spreading anti-Islamic content, which triggered mass protests in Muslim countries and prompted a response from Egyptian authorities, who deemed the channel to be promoting religious hatred. After a hiatus of several years, the channel resumed broadcasting in 2015, but its popularity and reach did not return to previous levels.

1.1.5 Foreign media

1. Al-Jazeera

Al-Jazeera („The Peninsula“)	
Official website: • Al-Jazeera Arabic	Al Jazeera is a Qatari media conglomerate, best known as the first Arabic-language television channel, which began broadcasting in 1996. Over the years, the station has evolved into a global media network encompassing TV channels, online platforms, social media services, and other forms of media. Al Jazeera has become a symbol of change in the Arab media landscape, promoting more open and critical journalism in a region where media had traditionally been tightly controlled by governments. The channel played a significant role during the Arab Spring, covering events from a perspective supportive of the protests and promoting democratic ideals. Al Jazeera was founded by Qatari Emir Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, who initially funded the channel with \$137 million. The aim was to create a counterbalance to the dominant Saudi media in the region and to introduce a more independent voice into the Arab media landscape—one less influenced by authoritarian regimes. Despite these intentions, Al Jazeera has, from the very beginning, faced accusations of promoting Qatar's political agenda and serving as a diplomatic tool for the state.

Ownership and organisation:

Al Jazeera is funded by the Qatari government, and its chairman is Sheikh Hamad bin Thamer Al Thani, a member of Qatar's ruling family. The network's leadership consists of individuals closely connected to the Qatari authorities, and its organisational structure includes various branches and subsidiaries, such as Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Documentary, AJ+, and Al Jazeera Mubasher.

Top management:

- Chairman of the Board: Sheikh Hamad bin Thamer Al-Thani
- Managing Director: Dr. Mostefa Souag
- Directors: Ahmad Alyafei (AJ Arabic), Ayman Gaballah (AJ Mubasher), Ahmed Mahfouz (AJ Documentary), Tarik Dodić (AJ Balkans), Dima Khatib (AJ+)
- C-level: Khalid Johar, Ahmad Al-Fahad, Abdulla Al-Najjar, Hamad Al-Dosari, Mounir Daymi.

Online activity and social media:

Al Jazeera, in both its Arabic and English versions, has a strong presence on social media, making it one of the most influential media outlets in the world.

Arabic-language channel (original):

- Official website: Al-Jazeera Arabic
- Twitter: @AJArabicnet – 427,600 followers.
- Facebook: Al-Jazeera Arabic Facebook – 3.7 million followers.
- Instagram: @aljazeera – 9.7 million followers.
- Whatsapp: Al-Jazeera Whatsapp – active.
- TikTok: @ajarabicnet – 648,400 followers, 6 million likes.
- Telegram: Al-Jazeera Arabic Telegram – 25,700 subscribers.
- YouTube: @AjArabic – 44,900 subscribers.

English-language channel:

- Official website: Al-Jazeera English
- Twitter:
 - @AjEnglish – 8.9 million followers.
 - @AJENews – 2.2 million followers.
- Facebook: Al-Jazeera English Facebook – 17 million followers.
- Instagram: @aljazeeraenglish – 5.1 million followers.
- YouTube: @aljazeeraenglish – 14.5 million subscribers.
- E-mail: aljazeeranet.social@aljazeera.net.

Controversy and criticism:

Al Jazeera has frequently faced criticism for promoting Qatari foreign policy and supporting Islamist movements, including the Muslim Brotherhood. During the Arab Spring, the channel was accused of favouring Islamists and promoting their agenda. On the international stage, Al Jazeera has also been accused of cooperating with Iran and was heavily criticised by Gulf countries during the 2017 diplomatic crisis. The network has been targeted by cyberattacks and censorship attempts in countries such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Affiliated entities and partnerships:

Al Jazeera signed a partnership agreement with the China Intercontinental Communication Center (CICC) in 2019, which sparked controversy due to CICC's ties to the Chinese propaganda apparatus. The partnership includes information exchange, co-production of programs, and the broadcast of Chinese documentaries—aligning with China's international soft power strategy.

Current situation and restrictions:

In 2024, Al Jazeera was blocked in Israel on the grounds of threatening national security, marking the latest example of censorship targeting the Qatari media conglomerate. Over the years, Al Jazeera has become one of the most influential media outlets in the world, although its ties to the Qatari government continue to spark controversy and remain the subject of international debate.

Conclusions:

Al Jazeera is one of the most important media players in the world, with significant influence on shaping narratives in the Arab world. Despite controversies and accusations of lacking independence, the network has gained widespread popularity and recognition for its bold and modern approach to journalism. However, due to its ties to the Qatari government, it remains under constant scrutiny and is a frequent target of political attacks and disinformation campaigns by Qatar's political opponents.

2. Sputnik Arabic

Sputnik Arabic	
Official website: • sarabic.ae	Sputnik Arabic is the Arabic-language version of the Russian news service Sputnik News, which is part of the state-owned media holding Rossiya Segodnya. This outlet is directly linked to the government of the Russian Federation and is used as a propaganda tool to spread pro-Russian narratives in Arab countries. The service is active across various social media platforms, promoting content aligned with the Kremlin's information policy and portraying Russia as a defender of global order and a counterbalance to American influence. Sputnik Arabic is known for promoting a pro-Russian narrative in relation to the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the intervention in Syria, and other international events. Its operations are based on a strategy of highlighting Russian achievements, condemning U.S. actions, and reinforcing anti-Western and anti-American sentiments among audiences in the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa).

Contact data and social media:

- **WWW:** sarabic.ae (Domain registered in the United Arab Emirates, servers located in Russia, managed by Rossiya Segodnya).
- **Facebook:** facebook.com/sputnik.arabic - inactive (probably deactivated by META).
- **Instagram:** @sputnik.arabic (120,000 followers, 18,000 posts).
- **X (Twitter):** @sputnik_ar - active (372,500 followers, 415,800 posts).
- **TikTok:** @sputnik_ar - active (6,817 followers, tagged as an account controlled by Russia).
- **Telegram:** Sputnik_Arabic - active (142,000 subscribers).

- **E-mail:** feedback.arabic@sputniknews.com.
- **Telephone no.:** +7 495 645 6601 (the number is registered to Anton Sergeyevich Anisimov, head of Sputnik's international editorial office and Editor-in-Chief). Additional email: feedback@sputniknews.com

Staff:

- **Editor-in-chief of the Arabic-language channel (until 13 February 2023):** Darin (Darina) Akhmatova.
Born on 8 November 1988, residing in Moscow. She is better known as an influencer than a journalist, which may undermine her credibility in the Muslim world. Her social media profiles:
 - **Facebook:** Darin Ahmatova.
 - **Instagram:** @ladydarin.
 - **X (Twitter):** @Darin_Ah.
 - **Telegram:** @ladydarin.
 - **Odnoklassniki:** profile/528269469196.

Darin Akhmatova graduated from Patrice Lumumba University – RUDN, often referred to as a “breeding ground for Russian influence agents.” The last mention of her role as editor-in-chief of Sputnik Arabic dates to 13 February 2023, when she appeared live on the Telegram channel “Izolenta.”

Editorial line:

Sputnik Arabic is heavily focused on delivering pro-Russian propaganda in Arabic, making it one of Russia's key tools of influence in the MENA region. The outlet uses various content formats—including articles, videos, and interactive polls—to promote its narrative. The homepage frequently features articles praising the “successes” of the Russian army during the “special military operation” in Ukraine, deliberately avoiding the term “war.”

Sputnik Arabic seeks to portray Russia as a defender of conservative values and a counterbalance to American imperialism. In its content, the outlet uses narratives such as:

- **The USA is “setting the world on fire”:** America is responsible for instigating global conflicts.
- **Russia as a stabilizing force:** The Kremlin is portrayed as a key player that ensures stability and counters the chaos caused by the USA.
- **Anti-Americanism:** The USA is portrayed as the “main enemy” of stability in the region, and its actions are described as hypocritical.

Additionally, Sputnik Arabic frequently publishes polls and surveys intended to confirm the “anti-American” sentiment of audiences in the region, thereby fueling anti-Western attitudes.

Examples of topics and narratives:

1. **Russia-Ukraine conflict:** The website features numerous articles showcasing the “successes” of the Russian army and alleged “war crimes” committed by Ukraine, which are intended to justify the Russian intervention.
2. **The USA is a foe:** The messaging focuses on portraying the United States as an “imperialist hegemon” that “manipulates” international politics to destabilize the world.
3. **Supporting proxies in the Middle East:** Sputnik Arabic promotes narratives that may strengthen Russian influence in the MENA region, thereby building a “soft proxy” for advancing its geopolitical interests.

Conclusions:

Sputnik Arabic is a media outlet closely tied to the Russian propaganda apparatus and serves as a key tool of influence in the Arab information space. The outlet uses its content to spread pro-Russian narratives, reinforce anti-American and anti-Western sentiments, and portray Russia as a global stabilizer and defender of conservative values.

3. AL-JAZEERA MUBASHER MISR („Al-Jazeera Live: Egypt”)

AL-JAZEERA MUBASHER MISR („Al-Jazeera Live: Egypt”)	
Official website: • @ajmmisr	Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr was a television channel owned by the Qatari Al-Jazeera network, launched in 2011 after the Arab Spring. It was a sister channel to Al-Jazeera Mubasher, broadcasting live 24 hours a day, with the aim of covering current events in Egypt, particularly in the political and social context. The channel was shut down at the end of December 2014 by order of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi’s government, which accused the station of promoting the Muslim Brotherhood’s narrative and engaging in activities harmful to Egypt’s national security. Alongside Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr, other channels accused of supporting Islamists were also closed, including Ahrar 25, Al-Yarmuk, Al-Quds, Egypt25, Al-Hafiz, and Al-Nas.

History and shutdown:

Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr began broadcasting in 2011 after the Arab Spring, during which Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was overthrown. The station quickly became one of the main media platforms for following live political and social developments in Egypt, including protests, demonstrations, and government changes.

The channel was shut down in December 2014 following accusations of bias and promoting the agenda of the Muslim Brotherhood, which occurred after Abdel Fattah el-Sisi came to power. According to the government’s narrative, the channel was undermining the stability of the Egyptian state. Several journalists working for the station were arrested, and the rest of the

network was closed as part of a broader campaign against media outlets seen as supportive of Islamists or critical of the new government.

In May 2022, former Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr journalist Ahmed Taha was sentenced to 15 years in prison by an Egyptian court for his journalistic activities. The verdict was condemned by Al-Jazeera, which issued an official statement calling for the release of Ahmed Taha and four other journalists detained by the Egyptian authorities: Hisham Abdel Aziz, Baha El-Din Ibrahim, Ahmed Al-Najdi, and Rabie Al-Sheikh.

Social media profiles and communication channels:

- **WWW:** mubasher-misr.aljazeera.net - currently inactive, the domain is parked. The last entry on the Wayback Machine is from December 18, 2014.
- **YouTube:** @ajmmisr - the channel is inactive, with the latest video being posted 8 years ago (436,000 subscribers; 15,000 videos).
- **Facebook:** facebook.com/ajmmisr - the profile is inactive and blocked.
- **X (Twitter):** @ajmmisr - the account, created in 2014, is inactive (only 3 tweets in total).
- **E-mail:** lbda3at@aljazeera.net (as found on the official website).

Content analysis:

A review of archived articles from Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr suggests that the channel focused on reporting current political and social events in Egypt from an opposition perspective. The station frequently cited statements from the April 6 Youth Movement, organizations opposing the military coup, and associations linked to former President Mohamed Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood. The use of terminology such as “the first Egyptian president elected after the military coup” instead of standard phrases like “President of the Republic” reflects an anti-government rhetoric that may have been perceived as a threat by the el-Sisi administration.

Political importance and regional status:

The shutdown of Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr also had a diplomatic dimension, aligning with the broader conflict between Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates on one side, and Qatar on the other. In 2017, a diplomatic crisis erupted when several Gulf countries severed ties with Qatar, accusing it of supporting Islamist extremist groups, including the Muslim Brotherhood. The shutdown of Mubasher Misr was one of the measures aimed at pressuring Qatar to change its political stance and distance itself from Islamist movements.

Influence exerted on Egypt's media landscape:

The closure of the Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr channel and other actions against opposition-affiliated media were part of a broad campaign to suppress press freedom in Egypt following the 2013 coup. The authorities focused on restricting access to information, and the shutdown of stations linked to the Muslim Brotherhood aimed to eliminate potential sources of resistance to the new regime. The crackdown on opposition media significantly strengthened the government's control over the information landscape, resulting in a situation where virtually all major media outlets in Egypt now operate in alignment with President el-Sisi's political agenda.

Conclusions:

Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr, as a branch of the Qatari media giant Al-Jazeera, was a significant source of news and live coverage from Egypt during the country's turbulent political transitions. The channel was viewed by Egyptian authorities as being too closely aligned with the Muslim Brotherhood, which ultimately led to its shutdown. Although many years have passed since the station was closed, the media landscape in Egypt remains challenging, with press freedom heavily restricted under the rule of President el-Sisi.

4. Al-Araby TV

Al-Araby TV	
Official website: • Al-Araby TV • Al-Araby 2	Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr was a television channel owned by the Qatari Al-Jazeera network, launched in 2011 following the Arab Spring. It was a sister channel to Al-Jazeera Mubasher, broadcasting live 24 hours a day with the aim of covering current events in Egypt, particularly from political and social perspectives. The channel was shut down in late December 2014 by order of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi's government, which accused it of promoting the Muslim Brotherhood's narrative and engaging in activities harmful to Egypt's national security. Alongside Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr, several other channels alleged to support Islamist groups were also closed, including Ahrar 25, Al-Yarmuk, Al-Quds, Egypt25, Al-Hafiz, and Al-Nas.

Description and characteristics:

Al-Araby TV is a television channel and news portal established in 2015, aimed at promoting pan-Arabism and presenting the perspective of the Arab world. The station was initially launched in London and later relocated its headquarters to Qatar in 2022. Al-Araby TV is considered a counterbalance to Al-Jazeera, although the two share a similar orientation on political and social issues. The channel focuses on delivering news and reports from across the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa), including documentary content covering conflicts, social issues, and foreign policy.

History and affiliations:

Al-Araby TV was founded by Fadaat Media, a company established in Doha in 2012, owned by individuals connected to Qatari and Jordanian interests. The television project was created by Azmi Bishara, an Israeli Arab and former Knesset member from the Balad party, who settled in Qatar after fleeing Israel. Al-Araby TV was initially intended to promote pan-Arab ideas and serve as a counterbalance to Al-Jazeera, which, in the eyes of some Arabs, had become a political tool of Qatar.

Ownership and organisation:

Fadaat Media is the main entity managing Al-Araby TV. The company has distanced itself from direct funding by the Qatari government, claiming to operate independently. The president of Al-Araby TV is Islam Shalaby, while other key board members include Jordanians Mohammad

Almasri and Mayeed Dib. Over the years, the station has been the target of cyberattacks and espionage operations, such as Project Raven, which was sponsored by the United Arab Emirates and carried out by former U.S. intelligence officers.

Online activity and social media:

- **Twitter:** @alarabytv – 9.1 million followers; @AlarabyTV2 – 166,300 followers.
- **Facebook:** Al-Araby TV Facebook – 26 million followers; Al-Araby TV 2 Facebook – 6.9 million followers.
- **YouTube:**
 - @AlarabyTv_News – 7.15 million subscribers; 153,000 videos.
 - @Alarabytv2 – 1.36 million subscribers; 15,000 videos.
- **Instagram:** @alarabytv – 3.8 million followers; 55,400 posts; @alarabytv2 – 523,000 followers; 9,400 posts.
- **TikTok:** @alarabytvnews – 3.1 million followers.
- **Telegram:** Al-Araby TV Telegram – 303,000 subscribers.
- **Threads:** @alarabytv.

Contact information:

- **Emails:** info@alaraby.tv, info@alaraby.co.uk, sumaya.mustafa@fadaatmedia.com.
- **Telephone numbers:** +44 20 786 841 65, +44 207 868 4184, +44 1332 989979.

Topics covered and editorial line:

The content of Al-Araby TV primarily focuses on news from the MENA region, as well as topics related to Arab identity and relations with Israel. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is frequently covered, with the channel referring to the IDF as the “occupying army” and Palestinians killed by Israeli forces as “martyrs.” Documentaries and reports often highlight Israeli brutality and promote the ideals of Pan-Arabism and solidarity among Arab nations. Al-Araby TV also operates its own fact-checking section aimed at debunking false information circulating in the Arab media space. In some cases, they collaborate with Misbar, a platform owned by Fadaat Media.

Regional status:

Al-Araby TV is one of the most important pan-Arab television channels, exerting significant influence on shaping public opinion in the Arab world. Due to its frequent coverage of controversial topics, the channel has been the target of cyberattacks and surveillance, reflecting its importance and potential impact on regional politics.

Affiliations and controversy:

Although Fadaat Media denies any ties to the Qatari government, numerous sources point to connections between Al-Araby TV and Qatari individuals, as well as support from private Qatari investors. Al-Araby TV has also been criticized for its close alignment with Qatari policy and its perceived relationship with Israel—particularly given its founder, Azmi Bishara, who was accused in Israel of collaborating with Hezbollah.

Conclusions:

Al-Araby TV is therefore an example of a dynamic media outlet that, despite controversies and its connections to Qatari figures, has become an influential player in the MENA region, offering a pan-Arab perspective and promoting the ideas of solidarity and unity among Arab nations.

5. Iqraa TV

Iqraa TV	
Official website: Iqraa TV	Iqraa TV is a Saudi satellite television channel founded in 1998 by Saleh Abdullah Kamel, the owner of Arab Media Corporation. The channel aims to promote Islamic values, support religious education, and serve the Muslim community through programs focused on Islamic teachings, social life, and religious education. Iqraa TV is known for its moderate interpretation of Islam and is considered one of the most important Islamic television channels in the Arab world. Iqraa TV initially broadcast its programs exclusively in Arabic, focusing on Muslim communities in the Middle East and North Africa. With the advancement of technology and the growing interest in Islamic values among Muslim communities worldwide, Iqraa TV expanded its operations to include programs in English and French, reaching audiences in Europe, North America, and Asia.

Ownership and management:

Iqraa TV is owned by Arab Media Corporation, which is controlled by the Kamel family. The channel's founder, Saleh Abdullah Kamel, passed away in 2020. Currently, the channel is managed under the supervision of Wahib Diab, who serves as the station's general director. Imam Qasim Rashid Ahmad, founder of the Al-Khair Foundation, collaborates with Iqraa TV and is responsible for several projects related to education, charitable work, and the promotion of religious values.

International activity:

Iqraa TV has production centers in several countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States, and Saudi Arabia. The channel is active in the European market, primarily targeting Muslim immigrant communities, as reflected in its programming broadcast in English and French. Iqraa TV also maintains extensive partnerships with charitable organizations such as

the Al-Khair Foundation, which implement support programs for impoverished and vulnerable communities.

Online activity and social media:

- **Official website:** Iqraa TV – Primarily aimed at communities in the United Kingdom. The original website (iqraa.com) is currently inactive.
- **Facebook:**
 - Iqraa TV (profile 1) – 531,000 likes; 571,000 followers. Since November 2022, there has been a dramatic drop in the profile's activity.
 - Iqraa TV (profile 2) – 15 million likes; 17 million followers. The profile remains active and publishes religious and social content.
 - Iqraa TV Official – 23,000 likes; 25,000 followers.
- **YouTube:**
 - Iqraa TV English – 66,400 subscribers; 1,500 videos. The channel regularly publishes content in English.
 - The Iqraa TV – 66,400 subscribers. The latest post was added a month ago.
- **Twitter:**
 - Iqraa TV English – 10,300 followers, the latest tweet dates back to August 2022.
 - Iqraa TV – 232,000 followers, the latest tweet was posted in November 2023.
 - Iqraa TV – 1,222 followers, the latest tweet was posted in May 2023.
- **Instagram:**
 - Iqraa English – 16,000 followers, the account's activity is discontinued.
 - Iqraa Network – 2.7 million followers, videos with religious content prevail.
- **TikTok:**
 - Iqraa TV – 6 million likes.

Topics covered:

Iqraa TV offers a wide range of religious, educational, and social programs aimed at both adults and younger viewers. The programming includes sermons, Islamic teachings, Arabic language courses, educational shows for children, and charity-related programs. Iqraa TV emphasizes promoting Islam as a religion of peace, dialogue, and social cooperation.

Importance in the Islamic world:

Iqraa TV is one of the most important channels promoting religious values in the Islamic world. Its moderate approach to religion and wide range of educational programs make the station highly regarded both in Egypt and among Muslim communities around the world. The channel collaborates with many charitable and educational organizations, such as the Al-Khair Foundation, which is active in the fields of education, media, and humanitarian work.

International affiliations:

Iqraa TV collaborates with many international partners, which allows its content to be broadcast not only in the Middle East but also in Europe, North America, and Asia. The station promotes a moderate approach to Islam and is involved in initiatives related to interfaith dialogue and combating religious extremism. An example of Iqraa TV's international engagement is its cooperation with various charitable organizations and participation in events dedicated to intercultural dialogue.

Ties with charitable organisations:

Iqraa TV collaborates with Al-Khair Foundation, an organization founded by Imam Qasim Rashid Ahmad, who also serves as its CEO. Al-Khair Foundation is involved in educational projects, charitable activities, and the promotion of Islamic values in the United Kingdom and around the world. Imam Qasim Rashid Ahmad works closely with Iqraa TV, promoting joint educational initiatives and support for Muslim communities in various countries. Additionally, Imam Qasim is responsible for hosting television programs and actively contributing to the channel's development.

Ties with Saleh Abdullah Kamel and Arab Media Corporation:

Iqraa TV was founded and initially financed by Saleh Abdullah Kamel, one of the wealthiest businessmen in Saudi Arabia, who was also the owner of Arab Media Corporation. After Saleh Kamel's death in 2020, the management of the channel was taken over by his family, with Wahib Diab serving as the general director overseeing programming. The station's operations are funded by Arab Media Corporation, which enables the production of high-quality content and the expansion of its activities in various countries.

Conclusions:

Iqraa TV is one of the most important media outlets promoting Islamic values and advocating a moderate approach to religion in the Arab world and beyond. Thanks to the financial support of Arab Media Corporation and the involvement of Saleh Abdullah Kamel, the channel has become an educational and religious platform for millions of Muslims around the world. Today, Iqraa TV operates on the international stage, targeting its content at Muslim communities in

both the Middle East and Western countries. Despite inactivity on some social media channels, Iqraa TV remains one of the most influential religious media outlets, promoting Islamic values and engaging in charitable and educational initiatives.

Chinese news agencies

In 2014, Chinese news agencies Xinhua and China Global Television Network (CGTN) opened their offices in Cairo as a result of broad agreements with Egypt's State Information Service (SIS). These agreements allowed China to establish a strong media presence in Egypt, ensuring that Chinese narratives are consistently present and promoted in the country. As part of the cooperation, Chinese media focus on promoting positive content about China's economic success and political system, while avoiding sensitive topics such as repression of ethnic minorities in China

6. CGTN Arabic

CGTN Arabic (China Global Television Network Arabic)	
Official website: arabic.cgtn.com	CGTN Arabic, formerly known as CCTV Arabic, is an Arabic-language television channel owned by China Global Television Network (CGTN). It was launched on July 25, 2009, as the first Arabic-language channel of the Chinese state media group, targeting audiences in the Middle East and North Africa. The channel was established to strengthen ties between China and Arab countries and to promote a positive image of Chinese politics, culture, and economy in the region CGTN Arabic offers a wide range of news and current affairs programs, including news bulletins, reports, entertainment, and educational content. From its inception, the channel has been an integral part of China's foreign policy strategy in the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa), serving as a tool to promote Chinese economic and political interests.

Type: State-owned media outlet

Broadcasting language: Arabic

Launch date: July 25, 2009

Owner: China Global Television Network (CGTN), a subsidiary of China Central Television (CCTV)

Mother country: China

Outreach: International

Headquarters: Beijing, China

Propaganda strategy and scope of activities:

CGTN Arabic focuses on portraying China as a reliable trade and political partner for Arab countries, promoting initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative. The channel's programming

presents China's perspective on global events, often criticizing U.S. policies and those of its allies, while highlighting China's achievements in areas such as economic development, infrastructure, and technology.

The channel broadcasts exclusively in Arabic, allowing it to reach a wide audience across the 22 Arab countries. News content is regularly updated, and programs are rebroadcast multiple times a day to ensure maximum reach. Through cooperation with local media and Egyptian governmental institutions such as the State Information Service (SIS), CGTN Arabic has gained significant visibility in the Egyptian media market.

Financing and development:

According to media reports, Chinese authorities allocated approximately 45 billion yuan (around 9.5 billion USD) for the development of the CGTN Arabic channel, underscoring Beijing's commitment to promoting Chinese interests on the international stage. In 2014, together with the Xinhua news agency, CGTN opened its offices in Cairo, enabling even closer cooperation with local media and the direct delivery of content to Egyptian audiences.

Influence exerted on Egypt's media landscape:

CGTN Arabic plays a key role in promoting Sino-Egyptian relations. Through cooperation with Egyptian state media, the channel has established a strong presence in the local market, promoting Chinese initiatives and investments, while presenting a positive image of China's economic development model and political system. Agreements with Egypt's State Information Service (SIS) have enabled CGTN and Xinhua to participate in journalist training programs and co-produce local media content that portrays China as a reliable strategic partner.

Controversy and challenges:

CGTN Arabic, like other Chinese state-run media outlets, has been accused of spreading propaganda and manipulating content to promote China's interests. The channel avoids sensitive topics such as the repression of Uyghurs in Xinjiang, the curtailment of civil liberties in Hong Kong, or the Taiwan issue, focusing instead on portraying only the positive aspects of Chinese policy. The content broadcast by CGTN Arabic is strictly controlled by Chinese authorities, raising concerns about editorial independence and objectivity.

Summary:

CGTN Arabic is a tool of Chinese foreign policy, serving as a platform to promote China's interests in the MENA region. Through cooperation with Egyptian media and strategic investments in media infrastructure, the channel has gained significant visibility in Egypt and plays an important role in shaping China's image in the Arab world. However, its activities are viewed as part of a broader propaganda strategy by Beijing aimed at building soft power in the Middle East and North Africa.

7. Xinhua Arabic

Xinhua Arabic	
Official website: • https://arabic.news.cn/	Xinhua Arabic is the Arabic-language version of China's state news agency Xinhua, one of the largest media organizations in the world. The agency provides news, political and economic analyses that are closely aligned with China's domestic and foreign policy. Its main objective is to promote the Chinese perspective on international events among Arab countries, including Egypt. Xinhua News Agency was established in 1931, and its Arabic-language version debuted in the 1990s to strengthen China's media presence in the Middle East and North Africa. Xinhua Arabic plays a key role in promoting the Chinese perspective on international affairs while maintaining extensive cooperation with local media—such as Egypt's Al-Ahram, with which it signed a memorandum of cooperation in 2015.

Topics covered and media strategy:

Xinhua Arabic focuses on publishing content that promotes the Belt and Road Initiative, China's foreign policy, economic development, and political cooperation with Arab countries. It frequently highlights the positive aspects of China's infrastructure, technological, and social development, with a strong emphasis on partnerships between China and Arab nations, including Egypt. Articles published by Xinhua Arabic often take a critical stance toward U.S. policies and those of its allies, aiming to undermine their influence in the MENA region.

Influence and status in the region:

Xinhua Arabic is a key instrument of Chinese propaganda in Egypt and, more broadly, in the Middle East. Through strategic cooperation with Egyptian media, the agency has strengthened its position as a credible source of information, allowing it to exert significant influence on public opinion. In 2014, after opening its office in Cairo, Xinhua Arabic launched new collaboration programs such as the Belt and Road Journalists Exchange Program. This initiative includes training and information exchange between Chinese and Egyptian journalists and is part of China's soft power strategy. In this way, the agency aims to build a positive image of China and promote Chinese narratives in Arab countries.

Cooperation and media regulations in Egypt:

The cooperation between Xinhua Arabic and Egypt is regulated by the State Information Service (SIS), which oversees the operations of foreign media in the country. Agreements made with SIS have allowed Xinhua to operate effectively and strengthen its influence in Egypt. As part of these agreements, the Chinese agency has also gained access to local media platforms, enabling it to reach a broad Egyptian audience and promote China-friendly content, such as positive relations with Beijing and economic cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative.

Summary:

Xinhua Arabic is a significant media player in the Middle East region, effectively promoting Chinese interests and narratives. Through extensive cooperation with Egyptian media, the agency has a direct influence on shaping public opinion in Egypt and other Arab countries, contributing to the strengthening of China's position in the region.

1.2 Non-traditional media

1.2.1 Affiliated media

Initiatives of the Egyptian Ministry of Information

The Egyptian Ministry of Information is working to attract young social media influencers to recruit them into developing a new media strategy for the state. Information Minister Osama Heikal announced the launch of a new media sector development strategy, which was presented to President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. The strategy aims to increase the role of young influencers in the country's communication and media efforts.

The ministry has launched a new digital platform called **"New Media Ambassadors,"** targeting young influencers on various social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube. The goal of this initiative is to involve them in the government's efforts to develop Egypt's communication and media system, and to bridge the gap between traditional and new media tools.

New Media Ambassadors:

The initiative aims to engage young online content creators in order to leverage their influence to promote content that supports government policy and to enhance state communication. The ministry hopes that this platform will enable the collection of young people's opinions and help shape media messaging in line with new trends and the expectations of the younger generation.

Public opinion:

The program has sparked some controversy and concerns, particularly among opposition figures and independent media, who fear it may be another step toward controlling public opinion and restricting freedom of speech on the Internet.

Leading influencers in Egypt

The list of top influencers in Egypt is not synonymous with those collaborating with the government. Information about the most influential creators on Instagram can be found on the following website:: https://influencers.feedspot.com/egyptian_instagram_influencers/

It enumerates 100 top Egyptian influencers.

A. Most popular YouTubers:

1. King Misr (@king-misr)

- **Subscribers:** 8.4 million
- **Description:** One of the most popular content creators, specializing in educational and entertainment videos.

2. Nancy Ajram (@nancyajram)

- **Subscribers:** 8.2 million
- **Category:** Music and dance
- **Description:** A popular singer whose content mainly features music and live performances.

3. Droos Online (@droosonline4u)

- **Subscribers:** 8.3 million
- **Category:** Education
- **Description:** An educational channel that gained significant popularity thanks to high-quality lessons and online tutorials.

4. Abdallah Naser (@abdallah_naser)

- **Subscribers:** 8.2 million
- **Description:** A content creator focused on vlogs, current events, and discussions of everyday topics.

5. Islam Sobhi (@islam_sobhi)

- **Subscribers:** 6.8 million
- **Category:** Religious videos and everyday vlogs.

- **Description:** Islam Sobhi is known for his recitation of the Quran and for creating religious content aimed at youth and families.

B. Most popular influencers in Egypt:

1. Mahmoud Khairy

- **Category:** Automotive content
- **Channel:** „El Souq ma’a Khairy” (The Automotive Market with Khairy)
- **Description:** Mahmoud Khairy is one of the leading automotive influencers in Egypt, specializing in car reviews and automotive market analysis.

2. Ahmed Salma

- **Category:** Culture and education
- **Channel:** “Za El Ketab Ma Byeoul” (As the Book Says)
- **Description:** Ahmed is known for his channel where he shares thoughts on books and broadly on education.

3. Mina Bushara

- **Category:** Economy
- **Channel:** „El Khazna” (The Treasury)
- **Description:** Mina runs a popular economics channel where he discusses topics related to the economy, finance, and investments.

C. Popularni Blogerzy i Influencerzy na Twitterze i Facebooku:

1. Mohamed ElBaradei

- Former Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), active on Twitter, frequently commenting on the political situation in Egypt and the region.

2. Wael Ghonim

- An activist known for his participation in the 2011 revolution. His social media accounts serve as a platform for debate on human rights and democracy in Egypt.

3. Amr Khaled

- A well-known Egyptian cleric and activist who combines religious issues with politics on his social media accounts.

Egyptian politicians active in social media

A. Pro-government politicians:

1. President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi

- He has official accounts on Facebook and Twitter used for communicating with citizens and publishing official information.
- <https://www.facebook.com/AlSisiofficial>
- <https://x.com/AlSisiOfficial>

2. Mostafa Madbouly

- Prime Minister of Egypt, appointed by el-Sisi, responsible for forming the government and implementing government policy.

3. Mohamed Zaki

- Minister of Defence, closely associated with the military's influence on Egyptian politics.

B. Anti-government politicians:

1. Mohamed ElBaradei

- Former IAEA director, liberal politician and activist, and a critic of the government's policies, particularly regarding human rights.

2. Hamdeen Sabahi

- A left-wing politician who ran in the presidential elections in 2012 and 2014. Known for his criticism of el-Sisi's rule.

3. Ayman Nour

- A Liberal politician and former presidential candidate, currently living in exile abroad due to his opposition activities.

C. Nubian influencers:

1. Rania Salem

- **Instagram profile:** @nubiyouth
- **Description:** The founder of the NubiYouth organization, Rania Salem is an activist and promoter of Nubian culture. Her work focuses on protecting and promoting the Nubian language as well as supporting youth in global Nubian communities. NubiYouth organizes cultural events and educational projects to connect Nubians around the world and preserve their heritage.

2. Mohamed Azmy

- **Facebook profile:** Nubian Union
- **Description:** Mohamed Azmy is a lawyer and the head of the Nubian Union in Aswan. He actively advocates for the restoration of Nubians' rights to their ancestral lands and organizes protests and marches to raise awareness about the marginalization of Nubians in Egypt.

3. Nubia Tube

- **YouTube account:** Nubia Tube
- **Description:** Nubia Tube is a YouTube channel that focuses on promoting the Nubian language and culture. They publish educational content and document events from the lives of Nubians in Egypt and around the world.

D. Bedouin influencers:

1. Bedouin Association of Sinai

- **Facebook profile:** Bedouin Association
- **Description:** An organization advocating for the rights of Bedouins in Sinai, focusing on the protection of land rights, the promotion of Bedouin culture, and supporting the local community amid challenging relations with the Egyptian authorities.

2. Fatima Imam

- **Opis:** Fatima Imam is an activist working for the Nubian and Bedouin communities. Her work focuses on fighting for minority rights in Egypt and building bridges between young Nubians and the older generation to preserve their cultural heritage.

These profiles and social media accounts serve as a key platform for Nubians and Bedouins to promote their culture, fight for land rights, and build communities both locally and internationally.

E. Dream TV

Dream TV	
Official website: • DreamZaman	Dream TV broadcasts free political and entertainment content. It has undergone several transformations, including the closure of Dream 2 and the rebranding of Dream 1 into Dream TV. Today, it primarily operates through its YouTube channel. Dream TV was the first private television channel in Egypt, founded in 2002 by businessman Ahmed Bahgat, who also owns the Bahgat Group and the Dreamland leisure and residential complex near Cairo. Initially, Dream TV symbolized media liberalization and supported the popular uprising during the Egyptian Arab Spring in 2011. However, in September 2018, Bahgat announced a partnership with a state entity, which reduced the channel's independence

Ownership:

Ahmed Bahgat, businessman and founder of the Bahgat Group, owner of the Dreamland complex.

Programmes: Al-Ashera Masaan' is the most popular talk show on the channel, focusing on public affairs.

YouTube channel details:

- **Main channel:** DreamZaman
- **Subscribers:** 341,000
- **No. of videos:** 1,056
- **Total no. of views:** 111,227,416
- **Official website:** dreamonline.tv (inactive).

1.2.2 Media outlets affiliated with particular groups (political, religious, ethnic)

1. RASSD

RASSD („The Observation“)	
Official website: • rassd.com	RASSD News Network was founded in 2010 as an independent citizen media outlet in the form of a Facebook fan page, aimed at reporting events in Egypt. Between 2011 and 2012, it gained significant popularity by covering the revolution in Egypt and the presidency of Mohamed Morsi. It was one of the first media platforms to use social technologies to deliver information directly from citizens. RASSD began as a citizen journalism platform where participants of the 2011 revolution posted live updates about unfolding events. The outlet was regularly updated, and its neutral approach to published content earned it widespread popularity. It reported on the rise to power of President Morsi and later took a critical stance toward the 2013 military coup, which led to its shutdown and the persecution of its journalists by the new regime of General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi.

Repressions and shutdown in 2013:

After the 2013 coup, RASSD, as a media outlet critical of the new regime and sympathetic to the democratically elected Morsi government, was shut down amid a wave of repression targeting the opposition. Many of RASSD's journalists and contributors were arrested, and the outlet's offices were dismantled. Part of the editorial team relocated abroad, primarily to London and Istanbul, where they attempted to continue their work.

Current organisation and operations:

Activity in social media platformsCurrently, RASSD operates as an online media outlet, active on numerous social media platforms such as Facebook, X (Twitter), YouTube, Instagram, and Telegram. Its main website, rassd.com, publishes news, opinion articles, and investigative materials, often criticizing el-Sisi's government policies and presenting anti-Israeli and anti-Western viewpoints.

- **Facebook:**
 - o facebook.com/RassdNewsN - 12 million followers, active.
 - o facebook.com/rassdstories - 500,000 followers, active.
- **X (Twitter):**
 - o [@RassdNewsN](https://twitter.com/RassdNewsN) - 5.34 million followers, active.
 - o [@Rassd_English](https://twitter.com/Rassd_English) - 186 followers, inactive since July 2013.
 - o [@RassdEnglish](https://twitter.com/RassdEnglish) - 131 followers, inactive since September 2013.

- **Instagram:**
 - o @RassdNewsN - 1.3 million followers, active.
 - o @rassdstories - 145,000 followers, active
 - o @bialmukhtasr1 - 20,300 followers, active.
- **YouTube:**
 - o RassdNewsN - 1.79 million subscribers, active.
- **Telegram:**
 - RassdNewsN - active.
- **LinkedIn:**
 - Rassd News Network Ltd - active.

UK-based company

RASSD News Network Limited was established in the United Kingdom on December 4, 2013, shortly after operations were shut down in Egypt. The company was registered as a limited liability entity but ceased operations in May 2017.

The subsequent directors were:

- **Amr Darwesh** (born in 1987, Egyptian)
- **Khaled Elrobaa** (born in 1990, Egyptian)
- **Khaled Noureldin** (born in 1987, Egyptian)
- **Khaled Taha** (born in 1972, British)

Currently, the active company is **Rassd News Network Ltd**, established on February 21, 2019, with Khaled Taha (a British citizen) as the sole shareholder and person of significant control. This suggests that the current operations of RASSD are largely managed from abroad.

Founders and journalists:

The founding members of RASSD are:

- **Anas Hassan** - after leaving RASSD and the Muslim Brotherhood, he currently works for Al-Jazeera (Midan).
- **Amr Farraj (vel Farrag)** - He sought asylum in Sweden.
- **Amr Al-Qazaz**
- **Khalid Fahim**

Some articles also suggest that one of RASSD's co-founders may have been **Abdullah Al-Fakharany**, who was arrested and brought to trial following the 2013 military coup. **Samhi Mustafa** was reportedly serving as the CEO; he too was arrested by Egyptian authorities and charged with supporting terrorism and collaborating with the Muslim Brotherhood.

Topics covered

The content published by RASSD is explicitly critical of el-Sisi's government. The main website features numerous materials addressing nepotism and the dysfunctions of the government, as well as its connections with Israel. It also includes anti-Israeli and Islamist content, which may suggest ties to the Muslim Brotherhood.

Summary

RASSD remains one of the most important citizen media outlets reporting on events in Egypt from a perspective critical of the el-Sisi regime. Despite being shut down within Egypt, the outlet continues to operate actively abroad, publishing content across various social media platforms. Its strong social media presence and continued operations from abroad indicate that **RASSD serves as a significant source of information for the Egyptian opposition and supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood.**

1.2.3 International media (non-European, American, African etc.)

Russian, Chinese and Iranian media outlets:: Russia News (https://x.com/mog_Russ); China in Arabic (https://x.com/mog_china); Al Alam TV (<https://www.alalam.ir/>);

Global media: CNN Arabic (<https://arabic.cnn.com/>); BBC Arabic (<https://www.bbc.com/arabic>); Sky News Arabia (<https://www.skynewsarabia.com/>); France24 Arabic (<https://www.france24.com/ar/>); TV Alhurra (<https://www.alhurra.com/>) - a television channel and its website financed by the USA to broadcast across the Arab world; Radio Sawa (<https://www.radiosawa.com/>) – a radio station funded by the U.S. government and affiliated with Alhurra TV (and like Alhurra, it is pan-Arab).

Analyses: Al-Monitor, <https://www.al-monitor.com/> – publishes analyses dedicated to the MENA region with a subpage for Egypt.

Military issues: Arabian Defence, <https://www.arabiandefence.com> and Defense Arabia <https://english.defensearabia.com/> – websites dedicated to arms-related issues in the Arab world (English language).

1.3 Recurring events and festivals

Cultural festivals:

1. **Ramadan (February 28–March 31 (for 2025))** – Ramadan is the most important and sacred month in the Muslim calendar, observed with fasting from sunrise to sunset. It is not a festival in the strict sense, but rather a period of spiritual reflection. After Ramadan ends, Eid Al-Fitr follows—a celebration during which Egyptians gather for communal prayers, enjoy traditional foods, and celebrate with family and friends.
2. **Eid al-Fitr (March 30–31 (for 2025))** – The celebration marking the end of Ramadan. A time for prayer, family gatherings, and giving gifts. Children receive small monetary gifts known as *Eidi*.
3. **Abu Simbel Sun Festival (February 22 and October 22)** – The Sun Festival at Abu Simbel takes place twice a year and celebrates the sunrise that illuminates the walls of the ancient temple of Ramses II, creating a unique light spectacle.
4. **Sham En-Nessim (April 21 (for 2025))** – One of the oldest festivals in Egypt, dating back to 2700 BCE, symbolizing the arrival of spring. During the festival, people paint eggs and gather by the Nile or in parks to enjoy the fresh air and food.
5. **Eid al-Adha (June 6-10 (for 2025))** – The Feast of Sacrifice, celebrated by Muslims around the world. In Egypt, it is observed with prayers in mosques, animal sacrifices, and family gatherings.
6. **Islamic New Year (around June 27–28 (for 2025))** – Celebration of the New Year according to the Islamic calendar. It is a time of reflection and prayer.

Most important national holidays in Egypt

1. **Coptic Christmas (January 7)**
A holiday celebrated by the Coptic Christian minority, which falls on January 7. It is a public holiday during which families gather for communal celebrations.
2. **Revolution Day, National Police Day (January 25)**
It commemorates both the 2011 revolution and the police resistance against the British in 1952. It is an important national holiday during which official ceremonies take place.
3. **Sinai Liberation Day (April 25)**
It commemorates the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula in 1982. It is celebrated as a symbol of Egypt regaining sovereignty over this territory.
4. **Labor Day (May 1)**
Celebrated similarly to many other countries around the world, this holiday is a day off dedicated to work and workers' rights.

5. **Revolution Day (July 23)**
It commemorates the 1952 revolution that led to the overthrow of the monarchy in Egypt. It is one of the country's key national holidays.
6. **Armed Forces Day (October 6)**
A holiday commemorating the beginning of the Yom Kippur War in 1973. Military parades and other ceremonies are held to honor the successes of the Egyptian army.
7. **June 30th Holiday (June 30)**
It is celebrated to commemorate the ousting of President Mohamed Morsi in 2013, which marked the beginning of a new government in Egypt.
8. **Prophet Muhammad's Birthday (Moulid Al-Nabi, September 16)**
The holiday commemorates the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. It is celebrated with great festivity through religious ceremonies and street festivals.

Business and scientific events:

1. **EgyMedica 2024 (September 11–13)** – The largest medical exhibition in Egypt and Africa, bringing together specialists from various fields of medicine.
2. **Sahara 2024 (September 15–17)** – The largest agricultural event in Egypt, focusing on agricultural technology, food production, and livestock farming.
3. **Print 2 Pack 2024 (September 8–10)** – A trade fair related to the packaging and printing industry, attracting exhibitors from various parts of the world.

Other:

1. **Techne Summit Cairo (May 25–27, 2024)** – An international event focused on technological innovation and the development of startups in the Mediterranean region.
2. **Fi Africa (May 26–28, 2024)** – The most important food and beverage trade fair in Africa, covering the latest technologies related to food processing and packaging.

Chinese and Russian:

1. **Cairo Media Forum:** A forum organized by the embassies of Russia and China, with the participation of local media and institutions such as RT Arabic, Sputnik Arabic, and CGTN Arabic. Its purpose is to promote Russian and Chinese narratives in the region and to strengthen cooperation between media outlets from Egypt, Russia, and China.
2. **Egyptian-Russian Youth Forum:** An event aimed at promoting educational and cultural cooperation between Egypt and Russia. It is held periodically and includes discussions on Russian-Egyptian relations as well as the promotion of a positive image of Russia in Egyptian media.

3. **"China-Egypt Media Cooperation Forum"**: a Chinese media event organized by CGTN Arabic and Xinhua aimed at strengthening media relations between China and Egypt. The forum emphasizes the importance of cooperation within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative and promotes Chinese narratives in Egyptian media.

1.4 Non-governmental and non-state organizations influencing public opinion

1. National Council for Human Rights (NCHR):

Characteristics:

A government-affiliated human rights organization that is often criticized for its lack of independence and close ties to the government. The NCHR promotes the state's official stance on human rights issues and restricts the activities of independent organizations.

Extent of influence:

The NCHR exerts a strong influence on shaping public opinion regarding human rights, often supporting the government's position and criticizing international organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

2. Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR):

Characteristics:

An independent non-governmental organization that monitors human rights violations and promotes reforms in the area of freedom of speech and media.

Extent of influence:

The EOHR is often criticized by the authorities, and its activities are restricted by numerous regulations and obstacles in obtaining funding.

1.4.1 Non-governmental and non-state organizations influencing public opinion

Human rights organisations

1. Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR)

- **Characteristics:** EIPR is one of the most active non-governmental organizations in Egypt, focusing on the protection of human rights, including economic and social rights, minority rights, and freedom of expression.
- **Areas of activity:** Monitoring human rights violations, conducting awareness campaigns, providing legal support.

- **Official website:** eipr.org
2. **Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR)**
 - **Characteristics:** One of the oldest human rights organizations in Egypt, monitoring violations of civil rights.
 - **Areas of activity:** Reporting cases of violations, running campaigns for legal reforms.
 - **Official website:** <http://en.eohr.org/>
 3. **The Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS)**
 - **Characteristics:** CIHRS works to promote human rights and civil liberties in the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa).
 - **Areas of activity:** Conducting research, writing reports, and carrying out campaigns for the defense of human rights.
 - **Official website:** cihrs.org
 4. **Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International (Egypt offices)**
 - **Characteristics:** International organizations that regularly publish reports on the human rights situation in Egypt.
 - **Areas of activity:** Defending human rights, conducting international campaigns for political and legal reforms.
 - **Official website:** <https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/middle-east-and-north-africa/north-africa/egypt/report-egypt/>
 5. **Arab Network for Human Rights Information (ANHRI)**
 - **Characteristics:** An organization defending freedom of speech and access to information in Egypt and other Arab countries.
 - **Areas of activity:** Protection of journalists and bloggers, conducting reports on media freedom.
 - **Official website:** www.anhri.info
 6. **Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights (ECESR)**
 - **Characteristics:** This organization focuses on economic and social rights.
 - **Areas of activity:** Research and campaigns on social inequality, legal support for employees.
 - **Official website:** ecesar.org

Organisation affiliated with political, religious and ethnic groups

1. Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services (CEOSS)

- **Characteristics:** Organization affiliated with the Egyptian Coptic community, focusing on social and economic support.
- **Areas of activity:** Economic support, education, and health programs aimed at the Coptic minority.
- **Official website:** ceoss.org.eg

2. Al-Azhar University Human Rights Center

- **Characteristics:** A human rights center affiliated with Al-Azhar University, engaged in promoting human rights from an Islamic perspective.
- **Areas of activity:** Training, education, and research on human rights in a religious context.
- **Official website:** <https://azhar.edu.eg/>

3. Islamic Relief Worldwide (Egypt branch office)

- **Characteristics:** A charitable organization affiliated with the international Islamic Relief network, focused on humanitarian aid and supporting the Muslim community.
- **Areas of activity:** Humanitarian aid, education, and family support.
- **Official website:** <https://islamic-relief.org/>

Economic and business organisations

1. Egyptian Businessmen's Association (EBA)

- **Characteristics:** An organization representing the interests of the business sector, actively engaging in dialogue with the government on economic matters.
- **Areas of activity:** Promoting investment, supporting economic reforms.
- **Official website:** <https://www.eba.org.eg/Main/default.aspx>

2. Chambers of Commerce

- **Characteristics:** A network of local and international chambers of commerce supporting trade development and economic cooperation.
- **Areas of activity:** Support for entrepreneurs, development of international contacts.
- **Official website:** <https://www.britishchambers.org.uk/stores/egyptian-british-chamber-of-commerce/>

1.4.2 Organisations supported by foreign governments

Organisations founded by Russia

1. Russian-Egyptian Friendship Association

- **Characteristics:** An organization promoting cooperation between Russia and Egypt, including cultural and economic exchanges.
- **Areas of activity:** Cultural events, economic support, development of political contacts.

2. Rossotrudnichestvo (Russian Cultural Center in Cairo)

- **Characteristics:** Russian organization supporting culture and education, promoting the Russian language and culture in Egypt.
- **Areas of activity:** Organization of language courses, cultural events, promotion of scientific cooperation.
- **Official website:** https://egypt.mid.ru/en/embassy/rtsnk_v_kaire/

3. Egyptian Russian University (ERU)

- **Characteristics:** A higher education institution located on a campus in the city of Badr. Established as a result of an agreement made with Vladimir Putin in May 2005.
- **Areas of activity:** Education in the fields of pharmacy and engineering. Work is underway to add a nuclear engineering program as well.
- **Official website:** <https://eru.edu.eg/>

4. Russian School Hurghada

- **Characteristics:** A private Russian international school in Hurghada, Egypt. It includes primary grades (grades 1–4) and secondary grades (grades 5–11).
- **Areas of activity:** Hurghada on the Red Sea. The school is a branch of the Russian Embassy School in Cairo. According to information on the institution's website, it appears to have been non-operational since the 2017/2018 school year.
- **Official website:** <http://hurghada-school.com/>

Organisations founded by China

1. Confucius Institute at Cairo University

- **Characteristics:** A Chinese institution promoting the Chinese language and culture.
- **Areas of activity:** Education, cultural exchange, promotion of academic cooperation.
- **Official website:** <https://cu.edu.eg/Cairo-University-Faculty-News-12151.html>

2. China-Arab Research Center on Reform and Development

- **Characteristics:** A center for political and economic research promoting Chinese reform policies in Arab countries.
- **Areas of activity:** Research, academic exchange, political support.
- **Official website:** <https://fao.shisu.edu.cn/en/c3/3b/c8136a115515/page.htm>

Organisations founded by Saudi Arabia, Iran, Qatar

1. Qatar Charity (Egypt office)

- **Characteristics:** A charitable organization supported by Qatar, offering humanitarian aid and development projects.
- **Areas of activity:** Education, healthcare, support for refugees.
- **Official website:** <https://www.qcharity.org/ar/qa>

2. Saudi Fund for Development (SFD)

- **Characteristics:** A development fund supported by Saudi Arabia, investing in infrastructure projects and economic development.
- **Areas of activity:** Investment in infrastructure, economic development.
- **Official website:** <https://www.sfd.gov.sa/en>

3. Al-Mustafa International University (Egypt office)

- **Characteristics:** An Iranian educational organization promoting Islamic sciences and Shia culture.
- **Areas of activity:** Education, research on Islam, promotion of religious cooperation.
- **Official website:** <https://mou.ir/en/>

Division according to main areas of activity:

1. **Protection of human rights:** EIPR, EOHR, CIHRS, ANHRI, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International.
2. **Economy and business:** EBA, Chambers of Commerce.
3. **Religion and ethnicity:** CEOSS, Islamic Relief Worldwide, Al-Azhar University Human Rights Center.
4. **Humanitarian aid:** CARE International, Red Cross, Qatar Charity.

1.5 Economic entities with the potential to influence the nature and accessibility of content

1.5.1 Egypt's biggest businesses

1. Commercial International Bank (CIB)

- **Sector:** Banking and financial services
- **Description:** The largest private bank in Egypt, with assets worth USD 17.4 billion and a market capitalization of USD 4.7 billion. CIB plays a key role in the financial sector, being a leading provider of banking and investment services.

2. QNB ALAHLI

- **Sector:** Banking and financial services
- **Description:** A leading bank that is one of the main providers of financial services. Its market share and strong position give it a significant influence on Egypt's banking sector.

3. Elsewedy Electric

- **Sector:** Industry
- **Description:** A leading manufacturer and supplier of electrical products and industrial services. Elsewedy Electric is an important player in the energy and infrastructure sector.

4. Telecom Egypt

- **Sector:** Telecommunications
- **Description:** The largest telecommunications service provider, offering a wide range of services for both individual and corporate clients. It plays a key role in the development of the IT and telecommunications sector in Egypt.

5. Orascom Construction

- **Sector:** Real estate and construction
- **Description:** A leading player in the construction sector, specializing in the execution of large infrastructure projects. The company plays a significant role in the development of infrastructure and investment projects.

6. Talaat Moustafa Group Holding (TMG Holding)

- **Sector:** Real estate
- **Description:** One of the largest real estate developers in Egypt, specializing in the construction of residential and commercial complexes. It has a significant impact on the real estate sector and urban development.

7. Egypt Kuwait Holding (EKH)

- **Sector:** Industry
- **Description:** A group engaged in diverse industrial activities, from petrochemicals to energy. It is an important strategic partner in the development of Egypt's energy and industrial sectors.

8. Misr Fertilizers Production Company (MOPCO)

- **Sector:** Chemicals and fertilizer production
- **Description:** A leading producer of chemical fertilizers, playing a key role in Egypt's agricultural sector.

9. Palm Hills Developments

- **Sector:** Real estate
- **Description:** One of the main real estate developers in Egypt, known for executing large residential and commercial projects.

10. Egyptian International Pharmaceutical Industries Company (EIPICO)

- **Sector:** Pharmacy
- **Description:** EIPICO is a leading pharmaceutical manufacturer in Egypt, producing a wide range of medications for both domestic and international markets. The company specializes in the production of generic drugs and other pharmaceutical preparations, as well as in the research and development of new products. With modern manufacturing facilities and a large-scale operation, EIPICO is one of the most important pharmaceutical companies in the region.

1.5.2 International entities influencing the economy of Egypt

1. Saudi Fund for Development (SFD)

- **Country:** Saudi Arabia
- **Description:** A fund supporting Egypt's infrastructural and social development through investments across various sectors of the economy, including energy and agriculture.

2. China-Arab Research Center on Reform and Development

- **Country:** China
- **Description:** A research and cooperation center that supports reform projects and economic development, especially within the framework of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative.

3. Qatar Investment Authority (QIA)

- **Country:** Qatar
- **Description:** An investment fund supporting numerous projects in the energy, financial, and real estate sectors in Egypt.

4. Abu Dhabi Investment Authority (ADIA)

- **Country:** United Arab Emirates
- **Description:** A fund that actively invests in the financial and real estate sectors, holding a significant share in the Egyptian investment market.

Conclusions

- These entities have a significant impact on the Egyptian economy, not only due to their financial capabilities, but also because of their role in shaping economic policy, infrastructure development, and international cooperation.

CHAPTER 2. Information habits of Egyptian society

2.1 Information habits

Egyptian society is characterized by diverse information habits shaped by the country's demographic, ethnic, and religious structure. As of November 2024, Egypt's population is estimated at approximately 111.3 million people, making it the most populous country in the Arab world and the Middle East, and the fourth most populous in Africa (after Nigeria, Ethiopia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo). The population is young — around 51.2% of Egyptians are under the age of 25, while only 4.3% are over 65. The median age is currently 28.8 years.

Egypt's ethnic structure is relatively homogeneous: native Egyptians make up about 95% of the population. The remaining 5% consists of ethnic minorities such as the Nubians (approx. 350,000), Bedouins (approx. 500,000), Berbers from the Siwa Oasis (approx. 250,000), and others. According to the CIA World Factbook, 99.7% of Egypt's population are Egyptian citizens, while 0.3% are classified as "others" (based on the 2006 census). The "others" category includes individuals who are not Egyptian citizens and who reside in Egypt to work for international companies, diplomatic missions, etc.

There are also significant Beja and Dom minorities. The Beja are a Cushitic ethnic group from the Eastern Desert, living along the coast from southeastern Egypt through eastern Sudan to northwestern Eritrea. In 2023, their population in Egypt was estimated at 88,000. The Dom people arrived in Egypt from South Asia, particularly the Indian subcontinent, and intermixed with Egyptians. Scholars suggest that this Egyptian connection later led to them being commonly referred to as "Gypsies," derived from the word "Egyptian." Their population in Egypt is estimated at around 100,000. About 99% of them are Sunni Muslims. They live mainly in Upper Egypt, Cairo, and Alexandria.

There are also refugee groups in Egypt, consisting mainly of Sudanese nationals. The total number of refugees is estimated at around 3 to 5 million, although this figure is currently changing due to the ongoing conflict in Sudan. These refugees come from war-affected areas such as Iraq, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, and Eritrea.

In terms of religion, Egypt is predominantly Muslim (around 90%), mainly Sunni. Christians, mostly Coptic Orthodox, make up about 10% of the population.

Egypt's young demographic structure significantly influences the information preferences of its citizens. Younger generations, who are tech-savvy, tend to rely more on the internet and social media as their primary sources of information. Platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok are

especially popular among youth, offering quick access to news and enabling interaction with others. In contrast, older generations prefer traditional media such as television and newspapers, which are often state-controlled and present pro-government narratives.

Ethnic and religious diversity also shapes information habits. Ethnic and religious minorities, such as the Copts, often seek information from community-specific media that address their unique concerns. Religious media — both Muslim and Christian — play a significant role in shaping public opinion among their followers, providing content aligned with their values and beliefs.

State control over traditional media limits access to independent information sources, prompting many Egyptians to turn to alternative communication channels. However, restrictions on independent media and censorship contribute to widespread vulnerability to misinformation and propaganda, particularly in the context of foreign policy. Pro-Russian and anti-Western narratives can easily gain traction among audiences lacking access to a diversity of viewpoints.

In summary, the information habits of Egyptian society are shaped by a young demographic profile, a relatively homogeneous ethnic composition, and religious diversity. Younger generations lean toward modern technologies and social media, while older age groups stick to traditional, often state-controlled, media outlets. Religious differences influence media preferences, leading to a fragmented information environment and the emergence of specific, community-focused communication channels.

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE IN EGYPT

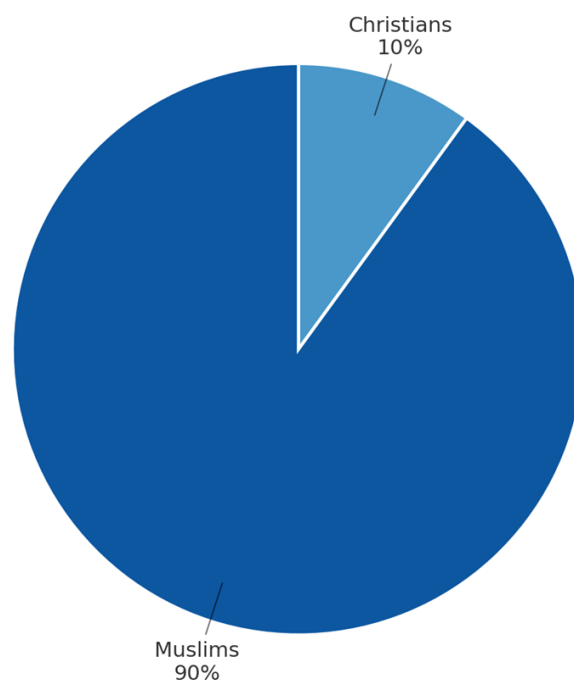


Chart 1. Religious structure in Egypt

2.2 Viewership and perception of state media

The Egyptian information environment is characterized by strong state dominance over key public media and the systematic restriction of independent journalism. Traditional media such as television, newspapers, and radio still play an important role in disseminating information, but their significance is gradually declining in favor of modern communication platforms, including social media and online news services, which are becoming increasingly popular—especially among the younger generation.

Structure and control of state media

Egyptian state media are an integral part of the country's information system, closely linked to the authorities. Their structure and management reflect the government's approach to controlling the media narrative and its communication strategy, both nationally and internationally.

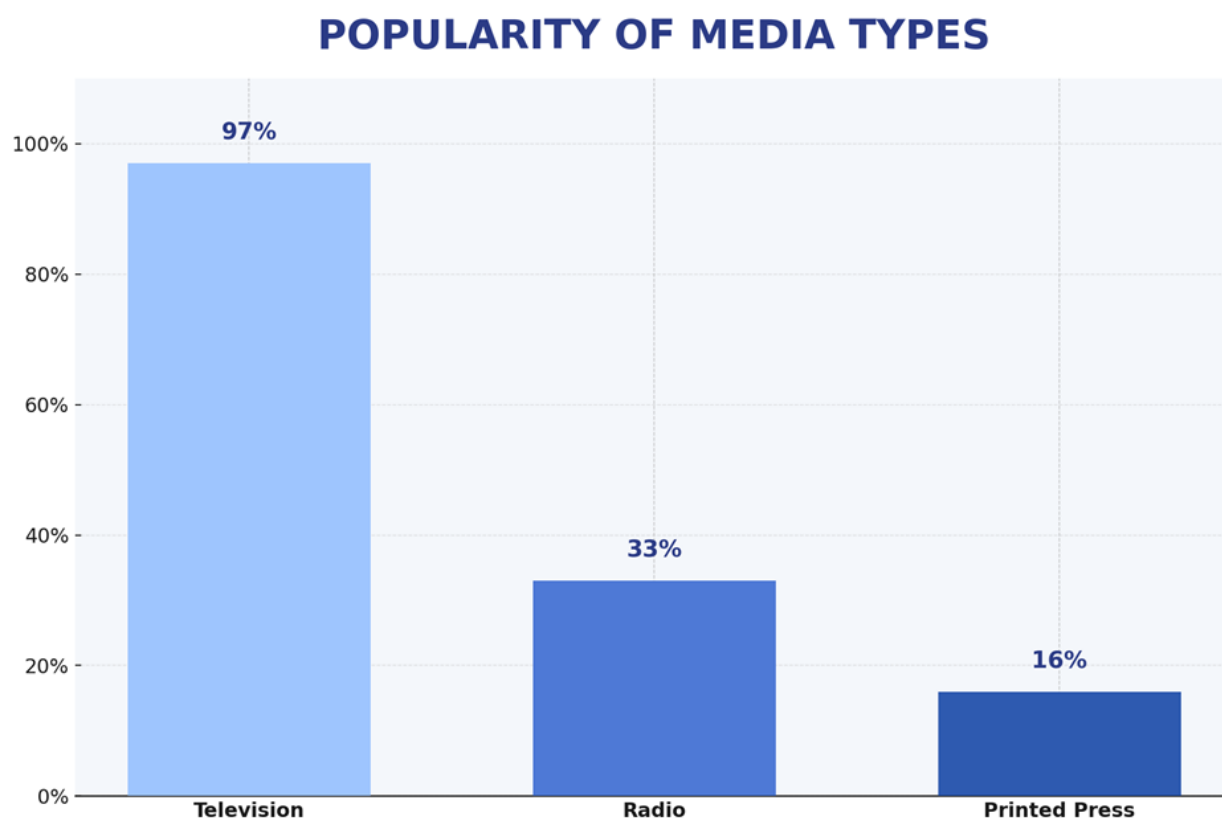


Chart 2. The popularity of particular types of media in Egypt

Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU)

One of the key bodies managing state media in Egypt is **the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU)**. This institution plays a dominant role in shaping media content, overseeing the operations of both radio and television.

- **ERTU** manages a wide range of television channels and radio stations, including Nile TV International, which broadcasts programs in foreign languages (e.g., English, French, and Hebrew). Its main goal is to promote a positive image of Egypt abroad and to build a narrative favorable to the government's policies."
- The structure of ERTU is directly subordinated to the state, which ensures the authorities have full control over the content broadcast by these media. The ERTU board is appointed by the government, guaranteeing that editorial policy aligns with the goals of the authorities.

Ministry of Information and its legacy

Until 2021, the Ministry of Information played a key role in overseeing state media. It was responsible for the strategic planning of media messaging, regulating the media market, and ensuring that published content aligned with the political interests of the state.

Although the ministry was officially dissolved in 2021, many of its functions were taken over by other institutions, such as:

- **The Supreme Council for Media Regulation (SCMR)** – A body responsible for monitoring and regulating the media in Egypt. SCMR oversees both state-owned and private media, enforcing strict regulations aimed at limiting content critical of the government.
- **The National Press Authority and the National Media Authority** – These institutions oversee print journalism and audiovisual media respectively. Both bodies are also government-controlled, indicating continued restrictions on journalistic independence.

Mechanisms of control and influence

The Egyptian government employs a range of mechanisms to maintain control over state media, including:

1. **Centralized management** – Most decisions regarding content, media strategy, and information policy are made at the governmental level. Editors-in-chief of major state-run media outlets are often appointed directly by the president or his administration.
2. **Censorship and self-censorship** – There are both formal and informal mechanisms of censorship that restrict the publication of content critical of the government. Journalists working for state-run media are aware of political expectations, which often leads to self-censorship.
3. **Financing** – State media are largely funded by the national budget, which allows the government to maintain their loyalty. Through subsidies and financial support, the

authorities can shape editorial priorities and ensure that these media outlets pursue specific propaganda objectives.

International dimension of control

Egyptian state media, such as Nile TV International, also serve as instruments of public diplomacy. Through broadcasting programs aimed at international audiences, Egypt seeks to promote its foreign policy and emphasize its role as a stabilizing force in the Middle East. However, financial constraints and the low quality of some programming have raised questions about the effectiveness of these efforts.

Reputation and challenges

The structure of Egyptian state media, while providing the government with full control, is also associated with a number of challenges:

- **International criticism** – Organizations such as Reporters Without Borders regularly criticize Egypt for the lack of press freedom and excessive state interference in media activities.
- **Low public trust** – Audiences, especially in cities and among younger generations, perceive state media as unreliable, which reduces their effectiveness as a source of information. This skepticism stems from government control and censorship, leading many to seek alternative or independent news sources outside the official media ecosystem.
- **Competition from independent and social media** – The growing popularity of platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, and X poses a challenge to traditional media, which are losing their significance among more educated audiences.

The structure and control of Egypt's state media reflect a highly centralized media system in which the government plays a dominant role. Despite formal changes—such as the dissolution of the Ministry of Information—state control over the media remains consistently strong. Although these outlets effectively reach a large segment of the population, their credibility and influence are increasingly questioned, especially in an evolving media environment.

Egyptian state media play a key role in disseminating information and shaping narratives aligned with government policy. Each outlet serves specific functions and targets different audiences, both domestically and internationally. Below is a detailed analysis of their nature and significance.

Al-Ahram is one of the oldest and most influential newspapers in the Arab world, founded in 1875. It is considered a pillar of Egypt's state media and an important part of the country's cultural heritage.

- **Characteristics:** The newspaper is known for its pro-government stance and loyalty to the current authorities. It regularly publishes articles supporting the policies of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi and highlighting the government's successes.

- **Influence in the region:** Thanks to its long history and wide reach, Al-Ahram is highly regarded in the Arab world. The newspaper serves as a platform for presenting the Egyptian perspective on international affairs.
- **Controversy:** Al-Ahram is often criticized for its lack of editorial independence and for publishing content considered to be propaganda. Its cooperation with Russian media raises additional controversy, especially in the context of global geopolitical tensions.

Al-Gomhuria and Al-Akhbar are the two main pro-government newspapers that closely cooperate with the Egyptian government in promoting its policies and actions.

- **Al-Gomhuria:**
 - It is recognized as a newspaper closely connected with Egyptian state institutions. Its publications often emphasize Egypt's stabilizing role in the region as well as the government's successes in the fields of economy, infrastructure, and security.
 - Its pages regularly feature content critical of the policies of Western countries such as the United States, aligning with the anti-Western narrative promoted by the government.
- **Al-Akhbar:**
 - It specializes in providing daily information on politics, economy, and social events. It often highlights positive news about government actions aimed at building citizens' trust in the government.
 - The newspaper is also a tool of the government to respond to international criticism of Egypt, publishing articles that refute allegations made by human rights organizations.

Nile TV International is a state-owned television channel with an international reach. Its main goal is to promote Egypt on the international stage and shape a positive image of the country in the eyes of foreign audiences.

- **Scope of activity:** The channel broadcasts programs in several languages, including English, French, and Hebrew. This allows it to reach a wide audience, especially in the Middle East, Europe, and the United States.
- **Topics covered:** The main topics covered on Nile TV International include Egyptian culture, historical heritage, foreign policy, and government initiatives for the country's development.

Challenges:

- The channel struggles with financial constraints that affect the quality of production and the appeal of its content

- Its viewership remains relatively low, especially compared to popular international news channels such as Al-Jazeera and BBC Arabic

Sawt Al-Umma and El-Fagr are examples of smaller state media that play an important role in the local information landscape.

Sawt Al-Umma:

- This newspaper is known for its pro-government editorial line. It mainly publishes content aimed at strengthening public support for government policies.
- Sawt Al-Umma often focuses on national security issues, highlighting the authorities' achievements in combating terrorism and maintaining stability.

El-Fagr:

- Historically known for its independent character, the newspaper gradually shifted its editorial line to a more pro-government stance. It currently supports government policy, especially on economic and infrastructural issues.
- El-Fagr often publishes content criticizing the opposition and non-governmental organizations, accusing them of acting against national interests.

Common denominator: a pro-government stance

All the mentioned state media share a common denominator – their content is strictly aligned with the government's political line. They use various strategies to reinforce the authorities' narrative:

- Highlighting the government's successes in infrastructure development, improving the economic situation, and ensuring stability
- Criticism of political opponents, both domestic and foreign, aimed at building a sense of national unity,
- Promoting pro-Russian and pro-Chinese narratives, in line with Egypt's current geopolitical priorities.

Egyptian state media such as *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Gomhuria*, *Nile TV International*, *Sawt Al-Umma*, and *El-Fagr* play a key role in implementing the government's information policy. Although they differ in reach and character, all these institutions work together to build a positive image of the authorities and support their activities both domestically and internationally. Despite criticism for lacking independence, these media outlets remain an important communication tool in Egypt.

Viewership and outreach of state media

State media in Egypt, due to their structure and historically established position, have an exceptionally wide reach and remain one of the main sources of information for citizens. Their influence is especially evident in the case of television, which dominates as an information medium, and in rural areas where alternative sources of information are limited

TV as a dominant news medium

According to data from 2019, over 97% of Egypt's population regularly watches television, making it the most important channel of communication with citizens. This impressive statistic highlights the key role of audiovisual media in shaping public opinion. According to data from the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), the average Egyptian spends about 180 minutes a day watching television.

- **State TV:** State media, such as ERTU (Egyptian Radio and Television Union), manage several channels that offer a wide range of content – from news and educational programs to entertainment. This allows state television to reach various demographic groups.
- **TV in rural areas:** In rural areas, over-the-air television is often the only available source of information, making it an indispensable news medium. Residents of these regions, who often lack internet access or do not use social media, are particularly susceptible to state-controlled media messaging.

Television in Egypt is mainly accessed through free-to-air satellite channels, while analog terrestrial television accounts for 41% of the total viewership. In 2019, Egyptian television channels recorded a total of 170,000 hours of broadcasting.

Radio – outreach and popularity

Radio remains the second most commonly used medium in Egypt, with around 33% of the population relying on it.

- **Importance of radio in rural areas:** Radio—particularly local stations broadcast by ERTU—plays a crucial role in disseminating information in rural areas and among communities that may have limited access to television.
- **Role in education and mobilization:** In times of crisis, such as natural disasters, radio serves as a vital tool for rapid mobilization and civic education. For example, during the COVID-19 pandemic, state radio stations were among the main channels for distributing information about safety measures.

Dropping share of printed press

Printed media, although historically significant in informing the public, has declined in importance in recent years. Currently, only about 16% of the population relies on printed newspapers, reflecting global trends toward digital media.

- **State-owned press:** Newspapers such as *Al-Ahram*, *Al-Gomhuria*, and *Al-Akhbar* remain key tools of government propaganda. With high circulation numbers, they continue to reach older generations who are more accustomed to traditional forms of communication.

- **Declining circulation:** Although state newspapers are still widely available, their circulation is decreasing—particularly in urban areas, where residents increasingly turn to social media and online news platforms for information.

Role of state media during crises

State-owned media, due to their broad reach, play a crucial role during crisis situations such as natural disasters, social unrest, or international events.

- **Official announcements:** In situations like the COVID-19 pandemic, television and radio served as primary channels for informing the public about new regulations, sanitary guidelines, and vaccination campaigns.
- **Crisis response coordination:** State media also function as tools for coordinating response efforts during emergencies such as floods or terrorist attacks, delivering guidance and instructions to citizens.

Social media – a challenge to traditional channels

Although state media maintain dominance in rural areas and among older audiences, the dynamic growth of the internet and social media poses a challenge to their traditional role.

- **Younger generation:** Younger Egyptians, especially those living in large urban centers, increasingly use platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube as their primary sources of information. As a result, the influence of state news channels is declining within this group.
- **Growing internet access:** The increase in internet penetration in Egypt (around 74% of the population in 2023) enables access to independent sources of information, which in turn weakens the information monopoly of state media.

State-owned media in Egypt, due to their wide accessibility, remain the primary source of information for a significant portion of the population. Television and radio, especially in rural areas, continue to play a dominant role in shaping public opinion. However, the rise of the internet and social media is transforming the information habits of younger generations, posing a challenge for state media to adapt to the changing media landscape. Despite these shifts, state media remain a key pillar of Egypt's information system, thanks to their legacy and broad reach.

Perception of state media across demographic groups

The perception of state media in Egypt varies significantly depending on age, place of residence, and educational level. These differences stem from varying access to alternative information sources, traditional media consumption habits, and levels of trust in state institutions.

Older generations and rural communities

Older generations and residents of rural areas constitute a traditional and loyal audience of state media. This demographic group is the main target of the messages broadcast by state television and press, which remain key sources of information for them.

- **Wide availability and lack of alternatives:** In rural areas and communities with limited digital infrastructure, access to terrestrial television and radio is significantly easier than access to the internet. State-owned media, which are available free of charge or at a low cost, dominate in these regions, reinforcing their role as the primary source of information.
- **Trust in traditional media:** Older individuals who grew up before the digitalization of media tend to view state-owned media as reliable sources of information. This trust is especially evident during times of crisis—such as natural disasters, economic difficulties, or major political events—when state media are perceived as the official voice of the government.
- **Impact of education level:** Lower education levels in rural communities often correlate with a lack of critical analysis of media content. Information broadcast by state television and radio is commonly accepted as authoritative and trustworthy, without deeper scrutiny of its credibility.
- **Crisis context:** In times of crises—such as natural disasters, political upheaval, or the COVID-19 pandemic—state media play a key role in delivering official announcements. Among rural communities and older citizens, this type of messaging is seen as the most trustworthy, which deepens their reliance on state-run information channels.
- **Limited access to alternative media:** The lack or low level of internet use in rural communities restricts the ability to access independent or international sources of information. According to reports, internet penetration in rural areas is significantly lower than in cities, which contributes to the dominance of traditional state media.

Younger generations and city residents

Younger generations, particularly those living in major urban areas such as Cairo, Alexandria, and Giza, have a markedly different attitude toward state media. They are increasingly turning away from traditional information sources in favor of digital and social media.

- **Dominance of the internet and social media:** In cities with high internet penetration, young people prefer platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube as their primary sources of news. These platforms allow rapid access to information from various sources, including independent ones, fulfilling the need for a more diverse and multi-dimensional flow of information.
- **Perception of state media as propaganda tools:** Younger generations, more critical of authoritarian governance and restrictions on press freedom, tend to see state media as propaganda instruments. Narratives presented by state outlets—especially in foreign

policy—are often perceived as biased, for example in promoting pro-Russian or anti-Western viewpoints.

- **Increasing political awareness:** With access to global information and international outlets like BBC Arabic, Al Jazeera, and Deutsche Welle, young people develop a broader comparative perspective. As a result, content published by state media is often seen as less credible.
- **Diverse informational needs:** Urban residents—particularly young professionals—seek more varied and in-depth socio-political analysis, which is often lacking in state-run media focused primarily on one-dimensional promotion of government policy.

Variation in perception relative to education and access to technology

- **Lower-educated individuals:** This demographic group, often associated with rural areas, is more susceptible to media narratives promoted by state sources, which are perceived as credible and authoritative.
- **Educated and professionally active individuals:** Among this group, skepticism toward state media is increasing. Higher education fosters critical thinking, leading to a greater need to compare information from multiple sources—especially on controversial issues such as human rights or international politics.

While older generations and rural residents remain loyal to state-run media, younger generations and urban dwellers are increasingly turning to more independent sources of information. This demographic divide reflects both differences in access to technology and the evolving informational needs of Egypt's dynamic society. State media still play a key role in rural communities, but their influence on younger audiences—who are more receptive to alternative narratives—is clearly declining.

Social trust and propaganda in Egyptian state media

Egyptian state media play a significant role in shaping public opinion; however, their credibility and social trust are increasingly being questioned, especially by younger and more educated demographic groups. The strong pro-government nature of their messaging and the repetitive nature of propaganda narratives limit their appeal to parts of society, affecting the perception of the media as tools of one-sided information manipulation.

Limited trust among educated urban audiences

Educated social groups, especially in cities like Cairo or Alexandria, tend to be more critical of state media. In their view, these outlets are perceived as one-sided, dominated by the political interests of the government, and lacking independence.

- **One-sided messaging:** Egyptian state media focus on promoting the government's achievements and portraying President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi as a leader who guarantees

stability and development. At the same time, they ignore or downplay issues that could be seen as failures or controversies.

- **Lack of diverse perspectives:** State media rarely present alternative viewpoints, leading to their perception as propaganda tools rather than platforms for open debate.
- **Human rights issues:** Egypt is regularly criticized in international reports for human rights violations. State media avoid this topic or portray it defensively, which weakens their credibility among more informed audiences.

Pro-government narratives as an element of propaganda

State media in Egypt are heavily engaged in promoting narratives favorable to the government. This includes both domestic affairs and geopolitical issues, which are presented in a manner aligned with the political interests of the authorities.

- **Praising President el-Sisi's actions:** State media regularly emphasize the successes of the president, such as infrastructure development (e.g., the construction of the new administrative capital) and improvements in security. These narratives aim to strengthen the image of el-Sisi as an indispensable leader who ensures stability in challenging times.
- **Presenting government policy as the only path to success:** Alternative solutions or criticism of government actions are marginalized, suggesting that the president's policies and his administration's approach represent the only rightful path to development.
- Geopolitical narratives:
 - **Pro-Russian and Pro-Chinese narratives:** Egypt, which is strengthening its relations with Russia and China, presents these countries as strategic partners supporting the nation's development. State media frequently emphasize the successes of this cooperation, such as infrastructure projects involving China or military equipment purchases from Russia.
 - **Criticism of the West:** Anti-Western narratives, including criticism of the USA and Israel, are a constant element in state media messaging. Egyptian state outlets accuse the West of interfering in Egypt's internal affairs and pursuing policies that allegedly harm regional stability. In doing so, they portray the government as a defender of national sovereignty.

Trust among rural communities and older generations

Despite limited trust among educated urban residents, state media enjoy greater credibility among rural communities and older generations. This stems from several factors:

- **Long-standing presence in traditional media:** Older generations, accustomed to traditional forms of communication such as television and radio, often perceive state media as the only authoritative source of information.

- **Lack of alternative information sources:** In rural areas, access to independent media or the internet is limited, which makes state media dominant in the informational landscape.

Propaganda tools in practice

Egyptian state media employ various strategies to reinforce their narratives and build a positive image of the government::

- **Exploiting crises:** During crisis situations, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, state media portrayed the government as effectively managing the challenges, while simultaneously highlighting the failures of other countries.
- **Emotional tone of messaging:** State media often appeal to patriotism and a sense of national unity, emphasizing slogans such as “Egypt First” or “Stability and Development Are Our Common Goals.”
- **Demonization of opponents:** Government critics, human rights organizations, and independent media are depicted as acting against the country's interests, aiming to discourage citizens from seeking alternative sources of information.

Consequences of the propagandistic nature of media

The propagandistic character of Egyptian state media affects how they are perceived by society:

- **Declining credibility among younger audiences:** The younger generation, which relies on independent sources of information, increasingly rejects state messaging as biased and unreliable.
- **Societal polarization:** Strong pro-government narratives contribute to growing divisions within society, particularly between supporters and critics of the government.

Egyptian state media serve both as tools of information and propaganda. Their limited credibility among younger and more educated demographic groups contrasts with a high level of trust in rural communities and among older audiences. Propagandistic content, focused on building a positive image of the government, strengthens its political position but simultaneously limits the ability of state media to be a neutral source of information, which in the long term may weaken their influence in a dynamically changing society.

2.3 Viewership and perception of non-state media, including party-affiliated and religious media

The Egyptian media landscape includes a variety of communication forms, including independent, party-affiliated, and religious media, which operate alongside the dominant state-run outlets. Although their activities are constrained by strict regulations and government oversight, they play an important role in providing alternative narratives and addressing the specific needs of selected social groups.

Independent media in Egypt are relatively few, as the media space is tightly controlled by the state. Some outlets, particularly those linked to opposition movements or political groups, are either banned or operate underground or online. These media have limited reach, but their content reaches a select audience seeking alternative viewpoints.

Religious media, both Muslim and Coptic, are popular within faith communities. Their programs often combine spiritual and informational content, which fosters a high level of trust among viewers. However, their messaging tends to be selective and faith-dependent, which limits their appeal to a broader audience.

Independent media

Role and characteristics

Independent media in Egypt, such as **Mada Masr**, **Al-Manassa**, and **Al-Shorouk**, are an important element of media pluralism, despite operating under strict restrictions. Their work is primarily aimed at younger, educated audiences seeking critical and analytical content. These publications often address topics marginalized by state media, such as corruption, human rights, and abuses of power.

Examples of independent media outlets

1. Mada Masr:

- It focuses on investigative journalism and criticism of government policy.
- It has gained international recognition for its publications on corruption and human rights violations.
- The website has been repeatedly blocked by the authorities, and its journalists have been subjected to repression.

2. Al-Manassa:

- Known for publishing reports on human rights violations and freedom of speech.
- It regularly faces internet censorship and technological blockades.

3. Al-Shorouk:

- It maintains a more balanced tone, avoiding open confrontation with the authorities.
- Popular among audiences interested in a more objective approach to political and social issues.

Perception and audiences

- Independent media enjoy high regard among intellectuals, students, and Egyptian diasporas.
- However, their reach is limited due to technological barriers and political repression.

Independent media in Egypt face multiple challenges, such as:

- Internet blocks: Authorities regularly block access to independent news portals, forcing editorial teams to seek alternative methods of content distribution.
- Arrests of journalists: Journalists working for independent media face the risk of arrest and interrogation. One example is the detention of Al-Manassa editor-in-chief Nora Younis in 2020.
- Accusations of spreading false information: Authorities often accuse independent media of publishing fake news, leading to further repression.

Social importance

Despite numerous difficulties, independent media play an important role in informing society about issues overlooked by state media. They provide a platform for diverse voices and perspectives, contributing to the development of a more informed and engaged civil society.

Party-affiliated media

Role and significance

Party-affiliated media in Egypt, such as Al-Wafd and Al-Ahali, primarily serve as communication tools for their political groups. In the past, they played a key role in shaping public debate, but currently their activities are limited both by state regulations and a lack of financial autonomy.

Examples of party-affiliated media outlets

1. Al-Wafd:

- Affiliated with the liberal Wafd Party.
- Although formally independent, it often supports government policies, which undermines its credibility as an opposition media outlet.

2. Al-Ahali:

- It represents the interests of left-wing parties, such as Tagammu.
- It focuses on economic issues and social problems.

Perception and influence

- Party-affiliated media are perceived as unreliable due to their political ties and lack of independence.
- Their viewership is limited to supporters of specific parties, which makes their influence on the broader public opinion marginal.

Challenges and restrictions

Party-affiliated media in Egypt face multiple challenges, such as:

- State regulations: Strict rules limit freedom of expression and the activities of media affiliated with political parties.
- Lack of financial autonomy: Dependence on party funding restricts their editorial independence.
- Limited reach: Mainly targeted at party members and supporters, which limits their influence on the broader public.

Future of party-affiliated media

To increase their influence, party-affiliated media must strive for greater editorial and financial independence, as well as broaden the range of topics they cover to attract a wider audience. In the face of growing competition from independent and digital media, adapting to the changing media landscape is essential for their survival and relevance.

Religious media

Role and significance

Religious media, both Muslim and Coptic, are an important element of the Egyptian media landscape. They focus on spiritual education, promoting religious values, and supporting faith communities.

Examples of religious media

1. Muslim religious outlets:

- **Al-Azhar TV:** A channel managed by Al-Azhar University, promoting moderate Islam and countering radicalization. It enjoys a high level of trust within the Muslim community.
- **Al-Nas TV:** Initially launched as a music channel, it later transformed into a religious station promoting conservative Islamic values. In the past, it was involved in controversies—along with other Salafi TV channels, it was accused of hosting Islamic sheikhs and preachers who incited sectarian and anti-Shiite violence in Egypt. Today, however, it plays a role in promoting Islamic values.

2. Coptic religious outlets:

- **CTV:** A Coptic television channel promoting Christian spirituality and culture. It primarily reaches the Coptic community in Egypt and the diaspora.
- **Watani:** A weekly publication covering issues related to Christian rights and interfaith dialogue. It features articles on current events, culture, and social affairs from a Coptic perspective.

Perception and audiences

- Religious media enjoy a high level of trust among their audiences, who perceive them as authentic sources of knowledge and spiritual support.
- However, their influence is limited to specific religious groups, which means they do not have a significant impact on the entire population.

Challenges faced by non-state religious media

1. Censorship and repressions:

- Independent and party-affiliated media are regularly subjected to repression, including internet blockages, arrests of journalists, and financial restrictions.

2. Lack of financial independence:

- Party and religious media often rely on support from their parent organizations, which limits their independence.

3. Limited outreach:

- Compared to state media, non-state media have a limited reach, especially in rural areas and among less educated audiences.

Independent, party-affiliated, and religious media play an important role in Egyptian society by offering alternative sources of information and supporting specific social and religious groups. However, their limited reach and influence stem from structural barriers, political repression, and the specific nature of their audiences. Despite these challenges, they remain a vital part of media pluralism in Egypt, although their future depends on further political and social changes in the country.

2.4 Popularity of online sources, including unverified ones

Popularity of social media as sources of information

Dominant platforms

1. Facebook:

- Reach: Facebook remains the most popular social media platform in Egypt, with approximately 45 million users in 2023.
- Usage: It is used by both private individuals and organizations to publish news, opinions, and promotional content.

2. Twitter:

- Reach: According to available data from 2023, the number of users is 4.5 million.
- Target audience: Popular among politicians, activists, and journalists.
- Characteristics: The speed of information transmission and interaction makes it especially used during crises and political events.

3. TikTok:

- Reach: According to available data from 2023, the number of users is 20 million.
- Rising popularity: Increasingly popular among younger users, especially for short informational and entertainment content.

- Educational content: The platform is gaining importance as a source of educational material, although often with unverified information.

4. YouTube:

- Reach: According to available data from 2023, the number of users is 40 million.
- Type of content: A primary source of longer video materials, such as reports, vlogs, and analyses.
- Popular creators: Top creators, such as King Misr (8.4 million subscribers) and Droos Online (8.3 million subscribers), attract millions of viewers.

5. Telegram

- Telegram is gaining popularity in Egypt as an alternative source of information, especially among younger users seeking independent content.
- According to data from 2023, Telegram was downloaded approximately 14.85 million times in Egypt, indicating its growing significance among Egyptian users.

Why do users choose the internet as a source of information?

- Real-time access: Information appears in real time, making the internet an ideal medium for those seeking up-to-date news.
- Interactivity: The ability to comment on and share content fosters a sense of community and engagement.
- Alternative content: Compared to state-run media, the internet offers access to a wide range of perspectives and opinions.

Challenges related to using social media as sources of information

- Disinformation: The rapid spread of unverified or false information.
- Censorship: Authorities may block or restrict access to certain content or platforms.
- Information bubbles: Algorithms can lead to the isolation of users within circles of similar views, limiting exposure to diverse information.

Social media platforms are playing an increasingly significant role as sources of information in Egypt, offering fast and interactive access to diverse content. However, users should be aware of the challenges associated with disinformation, censorship, and algorithmic limitations.

Non-verified sources of information and their impact

Characteristics

In Egypt, unverified sources of information such as anonymous blogs, social media accounts, and unregistered websites are gaining popularity (these are the easiest for authorities to combat). They attract users with alternative narratives and content that are often overlooked by traditional media.

Advantages:

- They provide perspectives overlooked by mainstream media.
- They offer a space for discussions on taboo or censored topics.

Risks:

- The spread of disinformation, including fake news.
- An increase in social polarization caused by manipulative narratives.
- Problems with identifying sources of information, which hinders the assessment of their credibility.

Examples of popular disinformation narratives

- False information aimed at inciting panic or public discontent.
- Manipulative interpretations of international events, e.g., conflicts in the Middle East.

Impact on the society

Unverified sources of information can lead to disinformation and increased social tensions. In Egypt, where state media dominate, alternative sources often become platforms for diverse narratives, which can both enrich public debate and introduce informational chaos.

Unverified sources of information in Egypt have the potential to play a role in shaping public opinion. Although they offer alternative perspectives, they carry the risk of disinformation and social polarization. Promoting media literacy and critical thinking among citizens, especially university youth, is crucial to effectively counteract the negative effects of unverified information.

Non-traditional media: bloggers, influencers, content creators on YouTube

Affiliated media and influencers:

- The Egyptian Ministry of Information collaborates with young content creators to counter the influence of foreign and unverified content.

- Platforms such as “New Media Ambassadors” serve as tools for promoting a positive image of the state and its citizens.

Non-affiliated sources:

- Independent bloggers and creators are more critical of the authorities, which makes them popular among youth seeking alternative narratives.
- Channels such as Al-Manassa and Mada Masr use social media to bypass censorship and reach their audiences.

The popularity of both verified and unverified online sources reflects the changing information preferences of Egyptians. While digital media open new opportunities for access to information, they also carry the risk of spreading disinformation and manipulation. In response to these challenges, the Egyptian government seeks to leverage the growing influence of influencers and social media platforms to consolidate its control over the media narrative. In the long term, finding a balance between freedom of speech and regulation of online content will be crucial.

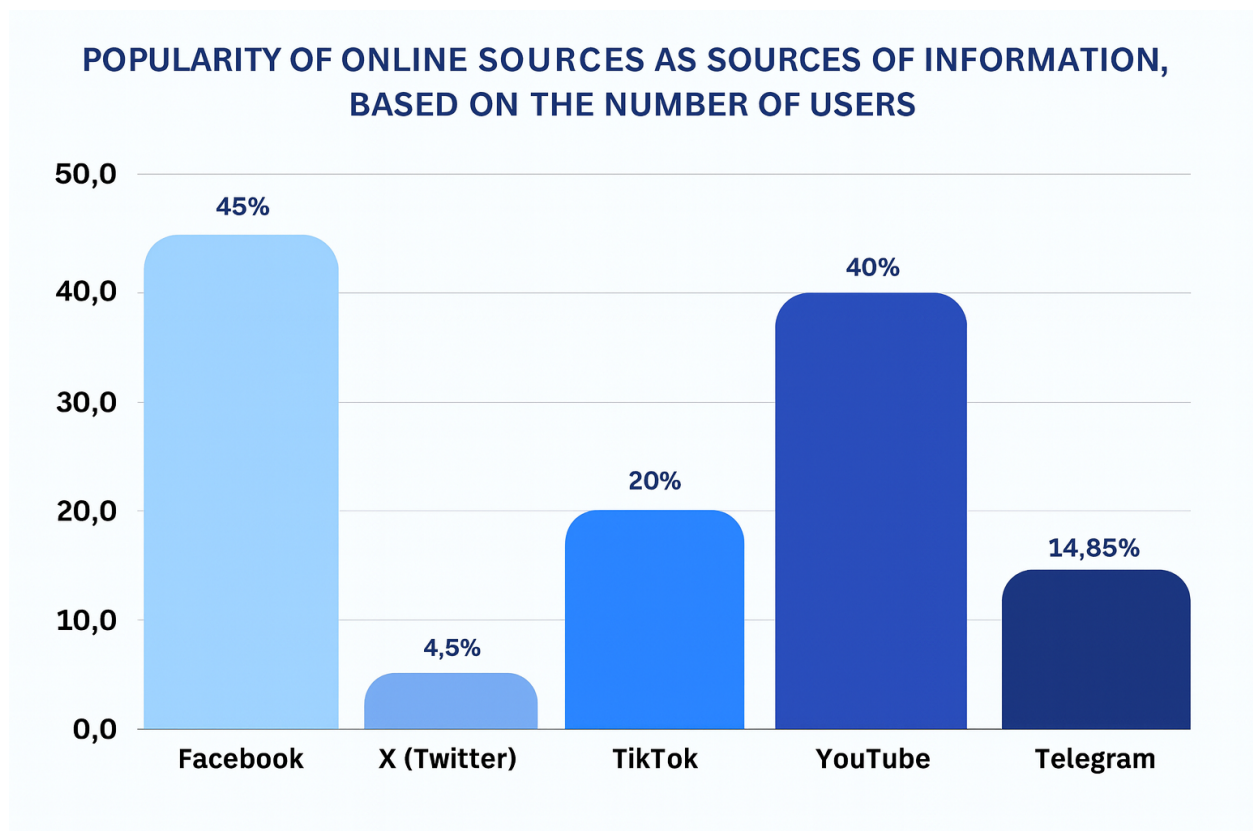


Chart 3. Popularity of the most important online platforms.

2.5 Popularity of foreign media in Egypt

In Egypt, where press freedom is limited, many citizens seek alternative sources of information by turning to foreign media. Channels such as Al Jazeera, BBC Arabic, Deutsche Welle Arabic, and Sputnik Arabic are gaining popularity, offering diverse perspectives and analyses.

Role and popularity of foreign media

- **Al Jazeera:** It is a Qatari news station founded in 1996 that enjoys great popularity in Egypt. Its coverage of the events during the Arab Spring and subsequent political changes has made it one of the main sources of information for Egyptian viewers. Despite criticism from the Egyptian government, Al Jazeera remains one of the most-watched news channels in the region, both on television and on digital platforms.
- **BBC Arabic:** It is a British station that offers a wide spectrum of international news as well as in-depth analyses of the political situation in Egypt and around the world. It is valued in Egypt for its neutrality and professionalism, making it a reliable source of information among the Egyptian intelligentsia.
- **Deutsche Welle Arabic (DW Arabic):** It is a German station recognized for promoting freedom of speech and human rights. Its programs address both social and political issues, which attracts the attention of younger viewers. DW Arabic has gained popularity thanks to its presence on social media, which are a primary source of information for the younger generation.
- **Sputnik Arabic:** It is a Russian station that operates as a Kremlin propaganda tool, offering information consistent with the Russian narrative. This approach attracts viewers who are seeking an alternative perspective. The station is controversial, especially in the context of pro-Russian narratives regarding international conflicts.

Dependence of access to foreign media on the Egyptian government

The Egyptian government is taking measures to limit the influence of certain foreign media outlets, accusing them of spreading disinformation and interfering in the country's internal affairs. A notable example is the closure of the Al-Jazeera Mubasher Misr channel in 2014, which was accused of promoting narratives favorable to the Muslim Brotherhood. Despite these actions, foreign media remain widely accessible through digital platforms, allowing Egyptian citizens direct access to a variety of news content.

However, there are media outlets whose presence is supported by the government. Al-Ahram, a leading news provider in Egypt, has signed an official agreement with the Russian state news agency and disseminates Russian narratives. On July 24, 2022, the portal alaraby.co.uk reported that in connection with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's visit to Cairo, the Intelligence Service issued instructions to adopt the Russian perspective in all reports concerning Russia's war with Ukraine. Since then, "Sputnik" and "Russia Today" have become primary sources of information about the war in Ukraine.

According to euronews.com, through this agreement Egypt has become a hub for exporting disinformation campaigns aimed at Libya, Sudan, and other countries in the region. Furthermore, as reported by eureporter.co, Egyptian media publish content emphasizing

exaggerated benefits of Russian-Egyptian trade and investments while significantly downplaying Egypt's more important relations with the United States and the European Union.

Controversy and challengers

- **Al Jazeera:** The station has been repeatedly criticized for supporting Qatar's political agenda and favoring Islamist groups, which has caused tensions between Qatar and Egypt. The Egyptian government accused it of promoting destabilizing narratives, leading to the closure of its local offices.
- **Sputnik Arabic and CGTN Arabic:** These media outlets are often seen as propaganda tools for Russia and China, promoting pro-Russian and pro-Chinese narratives while criticizing the policies of the U.S. and other Western countries. Their influence on public opinion in Egypt is growing, raising concerns about their role in shaping pro-Russian and pro-Chinese attitudes.

2.6 Susceptibility to the “bazaar news,” including conspiracy theories

Egyptian society, especially among the less educated groups, shows significant susceptibility to so-called ‘bazaar’ information. Rumors and conspiracy theories spread quickly both in public spaces and on social media. The popularity of such information stems from its sensational nature and limited access to reliable sources of information.

Causes of susceptibility to conspiracy theories

- **Low literacy rate:** According to data from 2022, the literacy rate in Egypt was 74.5%. The lowest literacy level was recorded among people over the age of 60 (35.1%), while in the 15–24 age group, the rate reached 92.2%. Additionally, residents of rural areas have limited access to high-quality education compared to urban populations.
- **Limited media freedom:** State control over the media leads people to seek alternative sources of information, which are not always reliable. In such conditions, rumors and conspiracy theories easily gain popularity.
- **Oral transmission tradition:** In Egyptian culture, there is a deeply rooted tradition of oral information transmission, which contributes to the spread of unverified information.

Examples of widespread conspiracy theories:

- **International activities:** Speculations about foreign states interfering in Egypt's internal affairs—often without evidence—are gaining popularity.
- **Government secret operations:** Theories suggesting that the government is hiding certain information from the public or conducting secret activities harmful to society are emerging.
- **Religious and cultural events:** Some events are interpreted as conspiracies aimed against Egyptian traditions and religion.

Impact on the society

The spread of conspiracy theories leads to disinformation and can cause social tensions. In extreme cases, it can result in distrust of state institutions and social destabilization.

Remedial measures

Countering the spread of conspiracy theories requires the implementation of the following measures:

- **Education:** Promoting critical thinking and the ability to assess the credibility of information sources.

- **Improved access to reliable information:** Making it easier for citizens to access trustworthy and independent news sources.
- **Strengthening media freedom:** Reducing censorship and enabling independent media to operate freely.

To sum up, susceptibility to ‘bazaar’ information and conspiracy theories in Egypt results from a combination of educational, cultural, and political factors. Effectively countering this phenomenon requires a comprehensive approach, including education, media reforms, and promoting transparency in the actions of state institutions.

LITERACY LEVEL - SUSCEPTIBILITY TO RUMOR-BASED INFORMATION

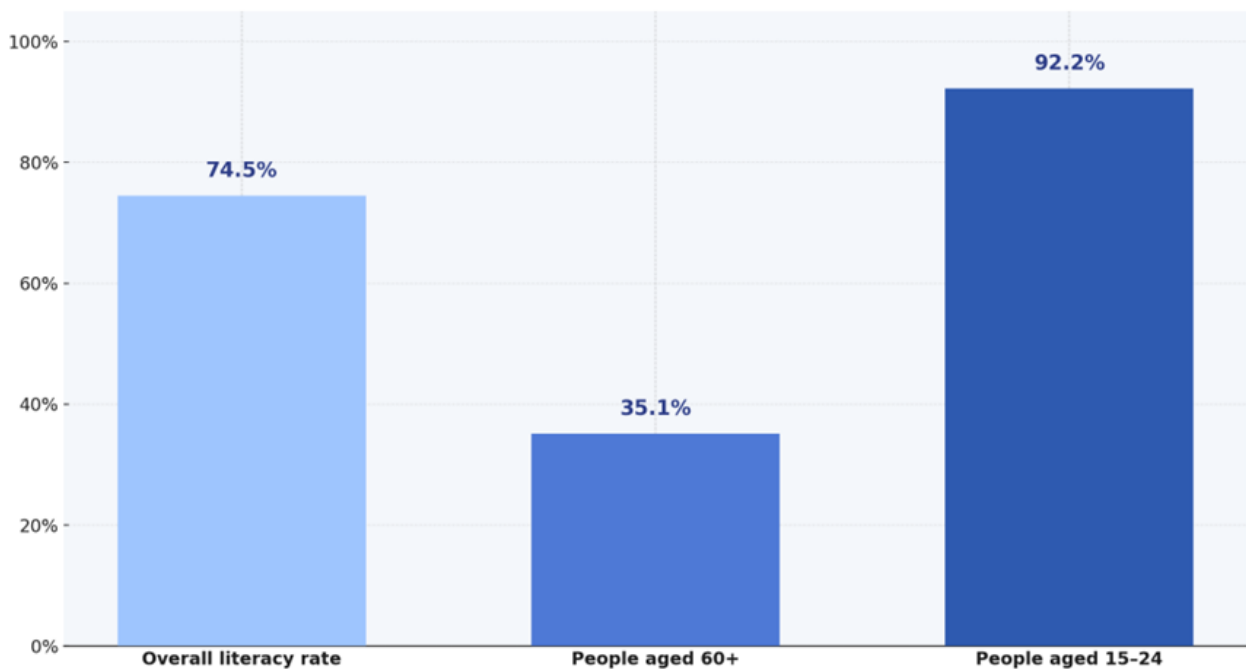


Chart 4. The literacy level of Egyptian society

2.7 Viewing the places of religious cult as sources of information

Religious institutions, such as mosques and churches, play a key role in shaping public opinion in Egypt. For many citizens, especially in rural areas, religious leaders are seen as authorities not only in spiritual matters but also in social affairs.

Role of religious institutions as sources of information:

- **Authority of religious leaders:** Imams in mosques and clergy in churches enjoy a high level of trust among the faithful. Their opinions and teachings often influence the attitudes and beliefs of local communities.
- **Dissemination of social and political content:** Although the primary purpose of religious institutions is spiritual education, they often address current social and political issues as well. In this way, they become an important source of information for many Egyptians.

Impact on local communities:

- **Rural areas:** In rural areas, where access to media may be limited, mosques serve as primary information centers. Religious leaders there convey not only spiritual teachings but also information about local and national events.
- **Urban areas:** In cities, despite greater access to media, religious institutions still play a significant role in shaping public opinion, especially among those who regularly participate in religious practices.

Potential challenges:

- **Spread of biased information:** Content delivered by religious institutions can be subjective and dependent on the interpretations of religious leaders. This may lead to the dissemination of one-sided information.
- **Lack of formal verification:** Information conveyed in mosques and churches is often not subject to formal verification, which may contribute to the spread of inaccuracies or disinformation.

Examples of the influence exerted by places of religious cult:

- **Al-Azhar Mosque:** As one of the most important Islamic centers in the world, Al-Azhar plays a significant role in shaping the opinions of Muslims in Egypt. Its fatwas and statements often influence social and political attitudes.
- **Coptic Church:** For the Coptic community, the Church is not only a place of worship but also a source of information and support on social and political issues.

In conclusion, religious institutions in Egypt play an important informational role, especially in communities with limited access to other sources of information. However, due to the potential subjectivity of their messaging, it is essential that the faithful also turn to other, independent sources of information in order to gain a more complete picture of reality.

Conclusions:

Egyptian society is characterized by a young age structure, which strongly influences media consumption habits. Younger generations prefer social media and online platforms, while older age groups rely on traditional, state-run media. This generational divide determines both the distribution and perception of information. State media—such as television, radio, and print—play a dominant role in delivering news, particularly in rural areas and among less-educated social groups. However, their heavy government control limits access to independent information, increasing the population's vulnerability to propaganda and disinformation.

Independent media, though operating under strict constraints, play an important role in maintaining media pluralism by offering critical perspectives on government policies. At the same time, religious media—both Muslim and Coptic—fulfill an important informational function in spiritual and social contexts, especially in rural regions.

The internet and social media are gaining popularity as the main sources of information, especially among younger users. Platforms like Facebook, Twitter, TikTok, and Telegram play a key role in content distribution, but also pose a risk of rapidly spreading unverified information and conspiracy theories. Limited media freedom, low literacy rates, and a strong oral tradition contribute to the dissemination of unverified claims and conspiracies. This phenomenon is particularly visible among less-educated social groups.

Religious institutions—such as mosques and churches—serve as significant sources of information for local communities, especially in areas with limited access to traditional or digital media. However, the content they provide is often subjective and influenced by the interpretations of religious leaders.

Despite their wide reach, Egyptian state media are losing credibility among younger and educated audiences. Alternative sources of information—including independent, foreign, and digital media—have limited influence due to censorship and repression, which hampers the development of a diverse media environment.

Foreign media outlets such as Al Jazeera, BBC Arabic, and Deutsche Welle Arabic provide an alternative source of news for Egyptians seeking independent analysis and opinions. However, their impact is curtailed by the actions of Egyptian authorities, who support Russian disinformation media.

CHAPTER 3. Social and cultural conditions

Egypt, located at the strategic crossroads of Africa and the Middle East, possesses a unique cultural heritage that has shaped its society for millennia. The country's history spans the era of ancient pharaonic civilization, periods of Greco-Roman rule, Islamic governance, as well as modern social and cultural transformations. In this paper, I analyze the main social and cultural determinants influencing the lives of contemporary Egyptians, taking into account both their historical roots and current challenges. The analysis explores the relationships between religion, social structure, urbanization processes, and globalization in the context of their impact on culture and social life.

3.1 Historical legacy and its impact on culture

3.1.1 Ancient Egypt as the foundation of culture

Ancient Egypt, with its monumental architectural achievements, belief system, and social structures, served as a model for the functioning of the state. The Pyramids of Giza, the Temple of Karnak, and the Valley of the Kings remain not only tourist attractions but also living symbols of national identity.

- **Belief system:** The religion of ancient Egypt, based on polytheism and the cult of the dead, influenced the development of rituals and social structures. The role of the priesthood in public life at that time had parallels in later Islamic religious institutions.
- **Social hierarchy:** The pharaoh, regarded as a divine ruler, gave meaning to the hierarchical structure of society. Modern Egyptian society, despite transitioning to contemporary forms of governance, retains certain elements of this hierarchy, especially in rural communities.

3.1.2 Legacy of the Islamic and Coptic periods

After the ancient period, Egypt became an integral part of the Arab world, adopting Islam as the dominant religion. The Coptic heritage, which has endured as a distinct branch of Christianity, remains a testament to the country's religious diversity.

- **Islam:** The adoption of Islam transformed Egypt's legal and social structure. Sharia law influenced social norms, as well as the organization of family life and the education system.
- **Coptic Christianity:** The Coptic Orthodox Church, rooted in the Roman period, played a significant role in shaping the religious identity of Egypt's Christian minority. Coptic frescoes, church architecture, and sacred music are enduring examples of this heritage.

3.1.3 Religion as the foundation of modern culture

Islam in Egypt influences nearly every aspect of social life. From family law to education and norms of public behavior, religion sets the standards for functioning in society.

- **Religious rituals:** The Five Pillars of Islam, including prayer (salah) and fasting (sawm), help integrate the community and strengthen the sense of belonging.
- **Role of religious institutions:** Al-Azhar University in Cairo, one of the oldest Islamic centers of learning, plays a key role in promoting religious education.

Islam has a multidimensional impact on the psychological sensitivities of Egyptians. It provides cultural and moral frameworks that shape individual identity and behavior. While it offers many positive aspects—such as social support and coping mechanisms for stress—it can also lead to challenges, especially in the context of modernization and globalization. Understanding this impact is key to identifying psychological sensitivities within Egyptian society.

Belonging to the Muslim community strengthens Egyptians' sense of unity and solidarity, which can positively influence psychological well-being by reducing feelings of isolation.

Social norms and values: Islam has established specific norms and values in Egypt that regulate individual behavior. These norms influence psychological sensitivities by shaping a sense of duty, morality, and responsibility toward others. For example, strong emphasis is placed on respect for family, hospitality, and support for those in need.

Religious practices and spirituality: Regular religious practices among Egyptians—such as prayer, fasting, or participation in religious holidays—affect emotional well-being. They can provide a sense of peace, purpose, and belonging. Spirituality in Islam can be a source of support in difficult times, offering mechanisms for coping with stress and uncertainty.

Religious education: Religious education plays an important role in shaping worldview and values from an early age. Learning the Quran and the principles of Islam influences an individual's emotional and social sensitivity.

Challenges and internal conflicts: The influence of Islam on Egyptian psychology can also lead to internal conflicts. Tensions between traditional values and modern influences of globalization may cause stress and uncertainty. Young Egyptians may experience cognitive dissonance as they try to reconcile religious expectations with their personal aspirations.

Coptic Christianity: a minority community

Coptic Christians are the second-largest religious group in Egypt. Their cultural life includes unique traditions such as:

- **The Coptic calendar:** Used to determine religious holidays, including Coptic Christmas.
- **Sacred art:** Icons and frescoes in Coptic churches are expressions of the community's deep artistic tradition.

Coptic Christianity, as one of the oldest Christian denominations in the world, plays a significant role in shaping Egypt's culture, history, and identity. Copts constitute a substantial religious minority in the country. For many Copts, religion is an integral part of their national and cultural Egyptian identity. They consider themselves descendants of the ancient Egyptians, which strengthens their sense of belonging and pride in their cultural heritage. A strong religious identity can positively influence self-esteem and a sense of self-worth, but at the same time, it may lead to feelings of isolation in a society dominated by another religion—Islam.

Coptic Christianity is known for its rich liturgical tradition and monastic spirituality. Regular participation in worship, fasting, and religious holidays provides the faithful with structure and rituals that can be sources of emotional and spiritual support. These practices may help in coping with stress and adversity, offering a sense of stability and purpose.

As a religious minority in Egypt, Copts often face discrimination and social tensions. These experiences can lead to increased feelings of insecurity, anxiety, and stress. The fear of persecution or marginalization may affect mental health, causing feelings of exclusion and social isolation.

Young Copts may experience conflicts between traditional religious values and the influences of modern global culture. These tensions can lead to internal dilemmas and psychological stress, especially in the context of striving for modernity while maintaining religious identity. Coptic Christianity has a multidimensional impact on the psychological sensitivities of Egyptians. For Copts, this religion is a source of identity, spiritual, and social support. At the same time, the challenges of being a religious minority can affect their mental health, causing stress and a sense of exclusion.

CHAPTER 4. Psychological vulnerabilities of Egyptian society: cultural, economic and psychosocial analysis

4.1 Main psychological stressors in Egypt

Contemporary Egyptians face a variety of stressors arising from socio-economic, political, and environmental factors. Stressors are key factors influencing the vulnerability of individuals and societies. Modern Egypt, as a developing country grappling with numerous challenges, is a particular example where diverse stressors significantly impact the lives of its inhabitants. The main stress-inducing factors in Egypt include socio-economic, political, environmental, and cultural issues and their effects on society.

4.1.1 Unemployment and low wages

Unemployment in Egypt, especially among youth, is one of the most significant social problems. According to World Bank data, the youth unemployment rate in Egypt exceeds 30%. High competition in the labor market and lack of employment opportunities lead to feelings of frustration and stress.

Example 1: Research conducted by the Egyptian Center for Economic Studies (ECES) in 2020 showed that as many as 45% of university graduates do not find employment within the first three years after graduation, which leads to deterioration in their mental health and social relationships.

Unemployment in Egypt leads to long-term consequences for the entire society, both economic and psychological.

Egypt, being the largest Arab country by population, faces a heavy burden from unemployment. In 2023, the overall unemployment rate was about 8.9%, but among youth (aged 15-24) it was significantly higher, exceeding 25%.

Key causes of unemployment:

- **Demographics:** Rapid population growth creates pressure on the labor market, which cannot keep up with the creation of new jobs.
- **Inadequate education:** The mismatch between graduates' qualifications and labor

market demands means that even educated individuals often remain unemployed.

- **Informal sector:** Most jobs are offered in the informal sector, where wages are low and job stability is limited.
- **Economic problems:** Economic slowdown, financial crises, and inflation further restrict employment opportunities.

Impact of unemployment on the psychological vulnerabilities of Egyptians

Lack of employment affects people's lives in a multidimensional way, causing stress, depression, a sense of hopelessness, and lowered self-esteem. In the Egyptian context, where traditional culture places great emphasis on men's ability to provide for their families, unemployment becomes a source of both social and personal pressure.

Example 1: A study conducted by Ain Shams University (2021) found that 65% of unemployed men in Egypt experience moderate to severe psychological stress, which often leads to issues such as addiction or family conflicts.

Young people who finish their education often encounter barriers in finding employment. Feelings of life stagnation and lack of prospects lead to frustration and loss of motivation.

Example 2: A 2022 report by the International Labour Organization (ILO) indicates that 30% of young people in Egypt report that unemployment negatively affects their mental health, causing anxiety and symptoms of depression.

Unemployment in Egypt also contributes to social exclusion, as jobless individuals are often unable to participate in social life in the same way as those who are employed. This further deepens psychological issues and leads to isolation.

Example 3: Research conducted by the Egyptian National Institute of Health (2022) found that long-term unemployed individuals are more vulnerable to anxiety and depressive disorders, which significantly impacts their quality of life.

4.1.2 Political uncertainty and fear of repressions

Egypt has for years been governed by regimes that, to varying degrees, restrict civil rights, including freedom of speech, assembly, and the operation of non-governmental organizations. The fear of reprisals against individuals who criticize the authorities contributes to the development of chronic stress and anxiety.

The political situation in Egypt, particularly after the Arab Spring in 2011, is marked by significant repression of civil society, which has a substantial impact on the mental health of its citizens.

Arrests and detention of political prisoners: According to a 2022 report by the European Parliament, Egypt carries out arbitrary arrests of tens of thousands of prisoners of conscience, many of whom are held in inhumane conditions, without access to fair trials or basic rights. During protests, security forces use tear gas, water cannons, shotguns, rubber bullets, and live ammunition, which has repeatedly resulted in the deaths and injuries of many Egyptian protesters.

Impact on Egyptians' psychological vulnerabilities:

- **Anxiety and depressive disorders:** The constant threat of arrest and violence from the authorities leads to rising levels of anxiety and depression among citizens.
- **Sense of helplessness and alienation:** Restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly leave people feeling powerless and isolated, negatively affecting their psychological well-being.

Political repression in Egypt has a profound and negative effect on the psychological conditions of its citizens, leading to increased anxiety disorders, depression, and apathy. Egyptians live in an environment where freedom of expression is limited, and those who publicly criticize the authorities risk arrest or other reprisals. This leads to a culture of self-censorship, which can result in frustration, helplessness, and stress.

Example 1: Research conducted by the University of Cairo (2020) indicates that 70% of citizens feel fear when expressing their political opinions openly, which affects their mental health and leads to a sense of social alienation.

Example 2: A study by Amnesty International (2021) found that 65% of Egyptians avoid political discussions even among friends to avoid potential consequences.

4.1.3 War trauma and violence in Egypt

Egypt has been involved in numerous international and regional conflicts, the most significant of which are the Arab-Israeli wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973). These events not only resulted in the deaths and injuries of thousands of people but also caused collective trauma, especially among soldiers and families affected by the loss of loved ones. Research published in the *Middle East Psychological Review* (2021) indicates that 45% of veterans from the Arab-Israeli wars suffered from symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and 60% experienced difficulties reintegrating into society.

Political violence and unrest: Since 2011, following the Arab Spring, Egypt has experienced intense social unrest and political repression. The brutal suppression of protests by security forces and military coups has caused trauma both among participants in these events and among witnesses.

Example: The Rabaa Square massacre in 2013, in which at least 817 people were killed according to a Human Rights Watch report, left lasting psychological scars on Egyptian society.

Witnesses of the event have reported flashbacks, nightmares, and depression. According to a 2020 study by Ain Shams University, 38% of Egyptians who witnessed violent incidents such as riots or terrorist attacks show symptoms of PTSD. Research conducted by the Egyptian Psychiatric Society (2019) found that 54% of victims of political violence report symptoms of clinical depression, including feelings of hopelessness, lack of motivation, and sleep disturbances.

Social consequences of traumas in relation to psychological vulnerabilities

Social fragmentation:

Social fragmentation in Egypt is one of the key consequences of collective traumas caused by wars, political violence, and repression. It leads to deepening divisions within society and a loss of trust both among citizens and towards state institutions. This phenomenon has multifaceted consequences that affect daily life, social stability, and democratization processes.

Since the Arab Spring in 2011, Egypt has experienced brutal suppression of protests, mass arrests, and attacks on civil society. These events led to political polarization, where different social groups perceive each other as enemies. After the 2013 coup that removed the democratically elected president Mohamed Morsi from power, the country was divided into supporters and opponents of the then-ruling Muslim Brotherhood party. These divisions led to conflicts at the community and even family levels. The Rabaa Square massacre (2013) is one of the most tragic examples, leaving a deep mark on the collective memory. The brutality of security forces during this event caused a violent loss of trust in state institutions. According to a Human Rights Watch report, the massacre was the largest act of violence against protesters in modern Egyptian history, resulting in a lasting rift between communities supporting different political factions.

These psychological conditions contradict the cultural and religious habits of Egyptians, creating a vulnerability that can be easily exploited by stimulating or inspiring a new image of the Egyptian identity based on traditionally rooted values in contrast to the image of Egypt as an oppressive state. This kind of sensitivity can be used by countries such as Russia or China to destabilize the internal situation in Egypt.

Political violence and collective traumas have caused divisions even at the family and neighborhood levels. Egyptians often avoid openly expressing their views for fear of being accused of belonging to a particular political group. The Egyptian Center for Public Opinion Research (BASEERA) found in 2019 that 55% of respondents avoid political discussions within their social circles due to fear of consequences. This situation also stems from Egyptians' distrust of state institutions.

Repression of civil society, arbitrary arrests, and brutality by security forces have contributed to the loss of trust in institutions such as the police, courts, and government. According to an Amnesty International report (2021), as many as 70% of Egyptians believe that the justice

system does not provide protection to citizens and that state institutions primarily serve the interests of political elites.

EMIGRATION DESTINATIONS

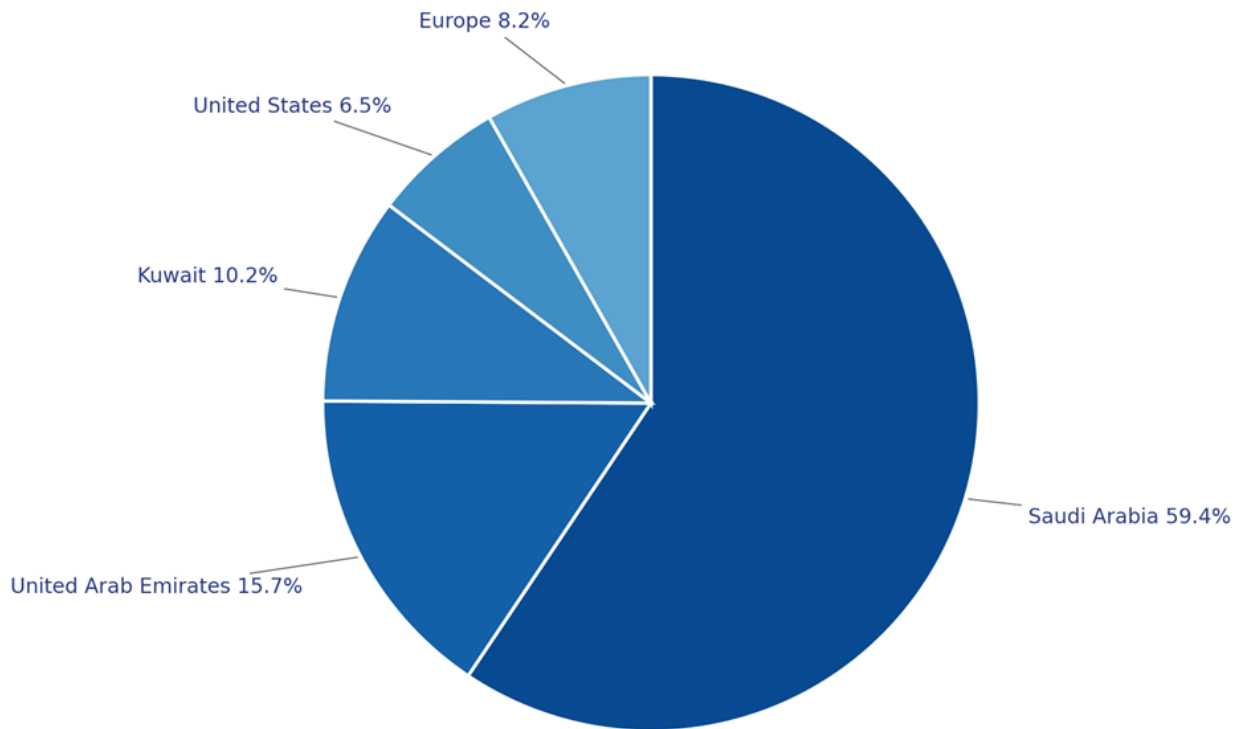


Chart 5. Main emigration destinations for Egyptians

4.1.4 Rising political polarisation

Social fragmentation reinforces polarization, in which different social and political groups perceive one another as threats. This polarization hinders social dialogue and the ability to undertake joint actions for national stability. The conflict between supporters of a secular state and Islamic groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood has led to a rise in incidents of political violence and the escalation of hate rhetoric.

Political polarization in Egypt is one of the key challenges to the country's stability. Deeply rooted in historical events and contemporary political conflicts, it leads to societal fragmentation, increased social tensions, and a diminished capacity for dialogue between various groups. This phenomenon stems from the clash of differing ideologies, social interests, and visions for Egypt's future.

Arab awakening and political transformation

The Arab Awakening (Arab Spring) in 2011 overthrew Hosni Mubarak's regime, but instead of bringing unity, it became the beginning of deep divisions. At various stages, these events split society into supporters of democracy, Islamists, and advocates of authoritarian military rule. The 2012 presidential elections, won by Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood, became a flashpoint of polarization between supporters of the Islamist movement and secular liberals and conservatives.

The military ousting of Mohamed Morsi in 2013, led by Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, triggered lasting divisions in Egyptian society:

- **Supporters of the coup saw it as a necessary step toward stabilizing the country.**
- **Opponents, mainly members and sympathizers of the Muslim Brotherhood, considered it an attack on democracy.**

According to a 2014 Pew Research Center report, 54% of Egyptians supported the military's actions, while 45% believed that the coup destroyed Egypt's hope for the future.

Political polarization in Egypt also stems from the conflict between the secular state and Islamist movements. The Muslim Brotherhood, which for decades acted as opposition to successive governments, is seen as the main adversary of the secular elites and military institutions.

Polarization has deepened societal divisions, which continue to escalate. People identifying with different sides of the conflict often avoid dialogue and cooperation. After the 2013 coup, many Egyptians reported conflicts within families and workplaces due to political differences.

The government of Abdel Fattah el-Sisi pursues a policy of marginalizing the Muslim Brotherhood, designating it as a terrorist organization. This action has contributed to the radicalization of the movement's supporters and increased social tensions. According to a 2022 Human Rights Watch report, since 2013 over 60,000 people have been arrested, including members of the Muslim Brotherhood, journalists, and activists.

Egyptian media, controlled by the state, play a significant role in shaping political divisions. Media narratives portray the opposition as a threat to the country's stability and security. Political polarization has contributed to increased violence from both the state and radical groups. Riots, demonstrations, and terrorist acts have become common occurrences.

Isolation of individuals, demise of communities

Social polarization in Egypt leads to the weakening, and sometimes disintegration, of communities. This process causes individuals—especially the elderly and the poor—to lose the support they once relied upon. As a result, feelings of isolation, depression, and anxiety increase. According to the Egyptian Social Solidarity Authority (2020) report, over 40% of elderly people in rural areas report feeling lonely due to the lack of traditional forms of neighborly support. Local communities once served as a foundation for resolving social issues, such as disputes over resources, support during crises, and organizing religious or cultural events. Their disintegration increases the risk of further polarization, radicalization of attitudes, and creates vulnerabilities that expose Egyptian society to fragmentation. The weakening of social control and the decline of local authority structures often lead to increased crime—ranging from petty offenses to more serious acts such as theft or violence. Rebuilding these communities requires coordinated action at both local and national levels, aimed at supporting dialogue, trust, and cooperation among their members. Currently, there is no indication that such processes are being actively implemented by the Egyptian government.

4.2 Family relationships of Egyptians and their impact on psychological vulnerabilities

Family relationships in Egypt are deeply rooted in tradition, religion, and cultural social norms. The family plays a central role in the lives of Egyptians, shaping their identity, values, and daily decisions. Although traditional patterns remain strong, family dynamics are evolving under the influence of socio-economic factors, urbanization, and globalization.

Traditionally, extended families are dominant in Egypt, where parents, children, and often grandparents live together. This model provides emotional and financial support but can also lead to tensions related to the division of responsibilities and personal space. Young couples often live with the parents of one spouse, which is financially practical but may result in intergenerational conflicts.

Family hierarchy in Egypt

Family hierarchy in Egypt is based on respect for older family members. The father is traditionally considered the head of the household and makes major decisions, while the mother plays the role of caretaker of the home. Traditionally, men are responsible for providing for the family, while women manage the household and raise children. However, social changes are leading to greater involvement of women in professional life, which affects family role dynamics. According to the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS, 2021), about 25% of women in Egypt are employed, increasingly altering traditional role divisions.

Influence of Islam and Christianity

Religion plays a key role in shaping family relationships. Islam, the dominant religion, and Coptic Christianity both observe rules concerning marriage, marital relations, and child-rearing. In Islam, marriage is viewed as a social contract meant to ensure family stability. Christianity emphasizes the permanence of marriage and raising children in the spirit of faith.

Importance of tradition

Traditional rituals such as engagements, weddings, and birth ceremonies reinforce family bonds and highlight the role of community. Families in Egypt are often deeply involved in organizing these events, strengthening cohesion.

Family relationships in Egypt are a complex phenomenon that can both support and psychologically burden individuals. Traditional family structures provide security and support but can also be a source of pressure and conflict. The family is a key source of help in difficult times, such as illness, financial hardship, or personal crises. Family cohesion can play a vital role in mitigating Egyptians' psychological vulnerabilities and serve as a strong counterbalance to adverse events or external interference.

Social and family pressure

Family relationships in Egypt are shaped by a combination of tradition, religion, and changing socio-economic conditions. While the family remains the foundation of social life, contemporary challenges such as urbanization, globalization, and shifting gender roles affect the dynamics of these relationships. Balancing tradition and modernity will be crucial for the future of families in Egypt.

Egyptian families play a key role in decisions regarding education, marriage, and career choices of their members. Excessive family interference in an individual's life can lead to stress, a sense of lack of control over one's life, and lowered self-esteem. Research by Ain Shams University (2019) showed that 60% of young Egyptians experience family pressure regarding the choice of a life partner, which leads to an increase in anxiety symptoms.

Despite these challenges, Egyptian families are also a source of strong support during difficult life situations. The tradition of a communal approach to problems helps to mitigate the effects of emotional and material crises. During the COVID-19 pandemic, many Egyptians reported that their family was their main source of support during social isolation.

Generational feud

The changing lifestyle of young Egyptians, inspired by globalization and growing career aspirations, often leads to conflicts with more conservative older generations. These differences can affect emotional sensitivity and cause feelings of misunderstanding.

Domestic violence

A report by the National Council for Women (2022) indicates that 1 in 3 women in Egypt experience domestic violence, which significantly impacts their psychological resilience. Family relationships in Egypt can be burdened by domestic violence, affecting both women and children. Such situations have serious consequences, leading to depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem. Various forms of frustration stemming from social, economic, or ideological issues are often the source of these pathologies.

In Egyptian families, children are often seen as representing the family's status. High educational and career expectations can lead to an excessive psychological burden on young people. According to a report by the Egyptian Education Authority (2020), 40% of high school students report symptoms of stress and anxiety related to parental expectations regarding academic performance.

Changes in the family model

Urbanization and migration to cities are leading to a decline in multigenerational households and a shift in traditional patterns of support. Young couples are increasingly living independently from their parents, reducing the direct influence of older generations. The growing number of women in the labor market is changing traditional family dynamics. Men are becoming more involved in household responsibilities, which can be a source of conflict but also an opportunity for more egalitarian relationships.

SCALE OF EMIGRATION BY DESTINATION (thousands of people)

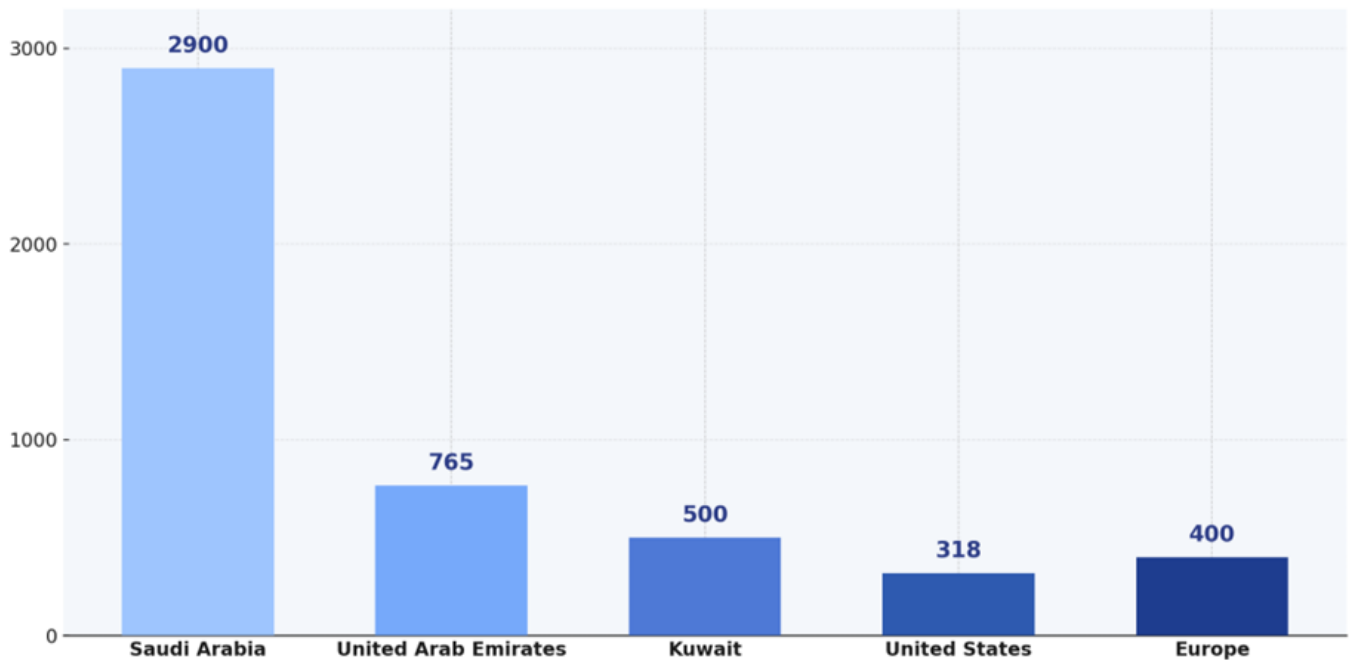


Chart 6. Scale of emigration of Egyptian citizens by destination countries.

4.3 Migration and problems with refugees in Egypt: impact on psychological vulnerabilities

The migration issue in Egypt is complex and multidimensional, affecting the country as a place of origin, transit, and destination for migrants and refugees.

Transit and destination country:

Due to its strategic location, Egypt serves as a key transit point for migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East who are trying to reach Europe via the Mediterranean Sea. Many people from countries such as Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, and Syria seek refuge in Egypt from conflict and persecution or treat it as a stopover on their way to Europe. According to data from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), around 15,000 transit migrants passed through Egypt in 2020 attempting to reach Europe.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) data from 2022, over 265,000 refugees and asylum seekers were registered in Egypt. The main nationality groups include:

- **Syrians:** approximately 130,000 people

- **Sudanese:** approximately 50,000 people
- **South Sudanese:** approximately 20,000 people
- **Eritreans and Ethiopians:** together around 33,000 people

It should be noted that the actual number of migrants may be significantly higher, as not all are registered. Egypt hosts a substantial number of refugees and asylum seekers. According to UNHCR data, hundreds of thousands of people reside in the country, mainly from Syria and Sudan. Although Egypt is not a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention, it provides a certain level of protection and cooperates with humanitarian organizations to support these populations.

Illegal migration and human trafficking:

Illegal migration and human trafficking pose serious challenges. Criminal networks organize dangerous crossings over the Mediterranean Sea, often leading to humanitarian tragedies. Egypt cooperates with European countries and international organizations to combat these phenomena by strengthening border controls and conducting awareness campaigns.

Egypt faces the challenge of illegal migration and human smuggling. According to a 2021 report by Frontex (the European Border and Coast Guard Agency), the number of illegal border crossings in the central Mediterranean increased by 51% compared to the previous year. It is estimated that around 3,000 people died or went missing in 2021 during attempts to cross the Mediterranean (IOM data).

Socioeconomic challenges:

The influx of migrants places a strain on the country's economic resources and infrastructure. Access to basic services such as healthcare, education, and the job market is limited, leading to social tensions and an increased risk of migrant marginalization. On the other hand, many Egyptians choose to emigrate for economic reasons. High unemployment, particularly among youth, and limited career opportunities drive people to seek better living conditions abroad, mainly in the Gulf countries and Europe.

Egypt as a country of origin for migrants:

- **Remittances:** In 2021, Egyptian migrants sent approximately \$31.5 billion back to the country, representing a significant contribution to the GDP (World Bank).
- **Destination countries:**
 - **Saudi Arabia:** approximately 2.9 million Egyptians
 - **United Arab Emirates:** approximately 765,000
 - **Kuwait:** approximately 500,000

- **United States:** approximately 318,000
- **Europe:** the number of Egyptians living in European countries is estimated at around 400,000

The Egyptian government is taking measures to manage the migration issue. These include legislative reforms, international cooperation, and initiatives aimed at improving the living conditions of citizens. However, the effectiveness of these actions is often limited by ongoing economic and political challenges.

Migration and refugee issues in Egypt have a significant impact on the psychological vulnerabilities of both migrants and the host communities. This phenomenon is complex and multidimensional, encompassing pre-migration traumas, stressors related to the journey, and adaptation challenges in the new environment.

- Many migrants and refugees arriving in Egypt have fled armed conflicts, political or religious persecution in their countries of origin, such as Syria, Sudan, Eritrea, or Somalia. These experiences can lead to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, and depression.
- Personal losses: The loss of loved ones, homes, and sources of livelihood causes deep grief and a sense of hopelessness.

Stressors during migration

Dangerous travel conditions, exploitation, and violence: Migrants may experience physical and sexual violence as well as human trafficking during their journey. According to the 2021 report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the proportion of migrants subjected to violence during transit is increasing

Adaptation challenges in Egypt:

- **Language and cultural barriers:** A lack of proficiency in Arabic and significant cultural differences hinder social integration and increase feelings of isolation.
- **Limited access to services:** Restricted access to healthcare, education, and the labor market contributes to a sense of exclusion and heightened stress.
- **Discrimination and xenophobia:** Migrants may face prejudice from segments of Egyptian society, which negatively affects their mental health and can lead to radicalization or the adoption of antagonistic attitudes. According to UNICEF (2021), children make up approximately 40% of the refugee population in Egypt, with a significant portion exhibiting symptoms of post-traumatic stress and behavioral problems.

Competition for resources

Migration and the challenges of accommodating refugees in Egypt significantly affect both migrants and members of the host community. Immigration to Egypt impacts various aspects of

the country's social, economic, and cultural life. The influx of migrants and refugees leads to social tensions arising from competition over limited resources, stereotypes and prejudices, and strain on the healthcare system.

Only a small portion of those in need receive professional psychological assistance. This challenge places a significant burden on both the host society and the migrants. Economic barriers are further exacerbated by a lack of awareness, stigma, and limited healthcare resources.

Competition for scarce economic resources can become a key psychological vulnerability among Egyptians, one that may be exploited in influence operations by countries such as Russia or China. A core factor is the dual complexity of limited resources and the polarizing, competitive perception of new participants in Egypt's social welfare and public service systems.

Unemployment among citizens

- **High Unemployment:** According to World Bank data from 2022, the unemployment rate in Egypt stood at approximately 7.5%. Youth are particularly affected, with unemployment among those aged 15–24 reaching 25%.
- **Influx of Migrants:** The arrival of migrants and refugees increases competition in the labor market, especially in the informal sector, which accounts for about 50% of Egypt's economy. Migrants often find employment in agriculture, construction, domestic services, and other low-skilled sectors.

The arrival of migrants and refugees increases competition in the labor market, especially in low-skilled sectors. Egyptians may feel that immigrants are "taking" their jobs.

Lower wages

- **Willingness to work for lower wages:** Migrants, often desperate and lacking means of subsistence, are willing to work for lower pay than local workers. According to a 2021 report by the International Labour Organization (ILO), the wage gap between migrants and citizens can be as much as 30%.
- **Impact on local workers:** This situation leads to pressure to lower wages in certain sectors, causing dissatisfaction among Egyptian workers and trade unions. Accusations arise that migrants are 'taking jobs' and worsening employment conditions.

Access to public services

Education

- **Overburdened education system:** The increase in the number of immigrant children in public schools has led to the overburdening of the education system. According to UNICEF data from 2021, there are approximately 100,000 refugee children of school age in Egypt, of whom only 50% are enrolled in schools.
- **Lack of resources:** Schools face shortages of teachers, textbooks, and classroom space. This negatively affects the quality of education for both migrant children and Egyptian citizens. Teachers are often not adequately prepared to work with students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Infrastructure

- **Overburdened cities:** Most migrants settle in large cities such as Cairo and Alexandria. This increases pressure on already overloaded urban infrastructure.
- **Public transport:** The increased demand for transportation leads to overcrowding, delays, and a decline in service quality.
- **Municipal services:** Supply of water, electricity, and sanitation services is insufficient. In some districts, interruptions in these services occur, causing dissatisfaction among residents.

Stereotypes and prejudice

Linguistic and cultural barrier

- **Linguistic diversity:** Immigrants come from various countries such as Syria, Sudan, Eritrea, and Somalia, and speak different languages. A lack of knowledge of Arabic hinders communication with the local community, access to services, and social integration.
- **Cultural differences:** Distinct traditions, customs, and social norms can lead to misunderstandings and conflicts. For example, differences in religious practices or cultural customs may become sources of tension.

Lack of integration schemes

- **Limited government support:** The Egyptian authorities do not run extensive integration programs for migrants and refugees. There is a lack of initiatives aimed at language learning, cultural orientation, or assistance in finding employment.
- **Consequences:** Without integration support, migrants remain marginalized within society, which deepens the divide between them and Egyptian citizens.

Discrimination and xenophobia

- **Stereotypes:** Negative Perceptions: Migrants are perceived as a burden on the economy, a potential security threat, or a cause of increased crime.

Social conflicts

- **Violence and tensions:** In some communities, acts of violence against migrants occur, including physical attacks, harassment, and vandalism.
- **Ethnic and religious tensions:** Ethnic and religious differences can lead to conflicts between groups, threatening social stability and public safety.

Overburdened healthcare facilities

- **Increased number of patients:** The influx of migrants increases the number of people using public healthcare services. Hospitals and clinics become overcrowded, leading to longer waiting times, decreased quality of care, and growing frustration among Egyptians.
- **Shortage of staff and equipment:** Medical facilities face a shortage of doctors, nurses, and medical equipment. This makes it difficult to provide effective care for both migrants and Egyptian citizens.

Examples of social tensions

Local protests

- **Demonstrations:** In some cities, such as Cairo and Aswan, protests have occurred against the presence of large numbers of migrants. Residents expressed concerns about safety, job availability, and access to public services.
- **Incidents of Violence:** There have been instances of clashes between migrants and the local population, often triggered by cultural misunderstandings, economic competition, or religious tensions.
- **Examples:** In 2019, riots broke out in a Cairo neighborhood between migrants from Sudan and local residents, requiring police intervention.

Consequences of social tensions

Marginalization and social exclusion

- **Isolation:** Tensions lead to the isolation of migrants from the rest of society. Ghettos and closed communities form, creating conditions for radicalization and the use of immigration narratives that effectively exploit psychological vulnerabilities.

- **Limited access to services:** Marginalization hinders access to education, healthcare, and other basic services, deepening inequalities and laying the groundwork for the radicalization of attitudes among both Egyptians and migrants. This situation fosters psychological vulnerability and emotional manipulation based on migration-related issues.

Rising crime rate

- **Crime among migrants:** The lack of legal employment opportunities and marginalization may lead some migrants to engage in criminal activities such as petty theft or drug trafficking.
- **Crime against migrants:** Migrants may become victims of hate crimes, exploitation, or violence by criminal groups.

Social destabilisation

- **Political tensions:** Prolonged tensions can lead to increased support for radical attitudes that use anti-Western rhetoric, portraying migration as the "responsibility of the West."
- **Social divisions:** The deterioration of relations between different ethnic and religious groups negatively affects social cohesion and hinders the building of trust, deepening the existing psychological vulnerabilities of Egyptians.

Migration to Egypt generates significant social tensions arising from competition for resources, stereotypes and prejudices, as well as the strain on the healthcare system. These tensions have a negative impact on both migrants and the local community, leading to marginalization, an increase in crime, and social destabilization.

Effective management of these tensions is crucial from the perspective of addressing the psychological vulnerabilities of Egyptians.

REFUGEES IN EGYPT BY NATIONALITY

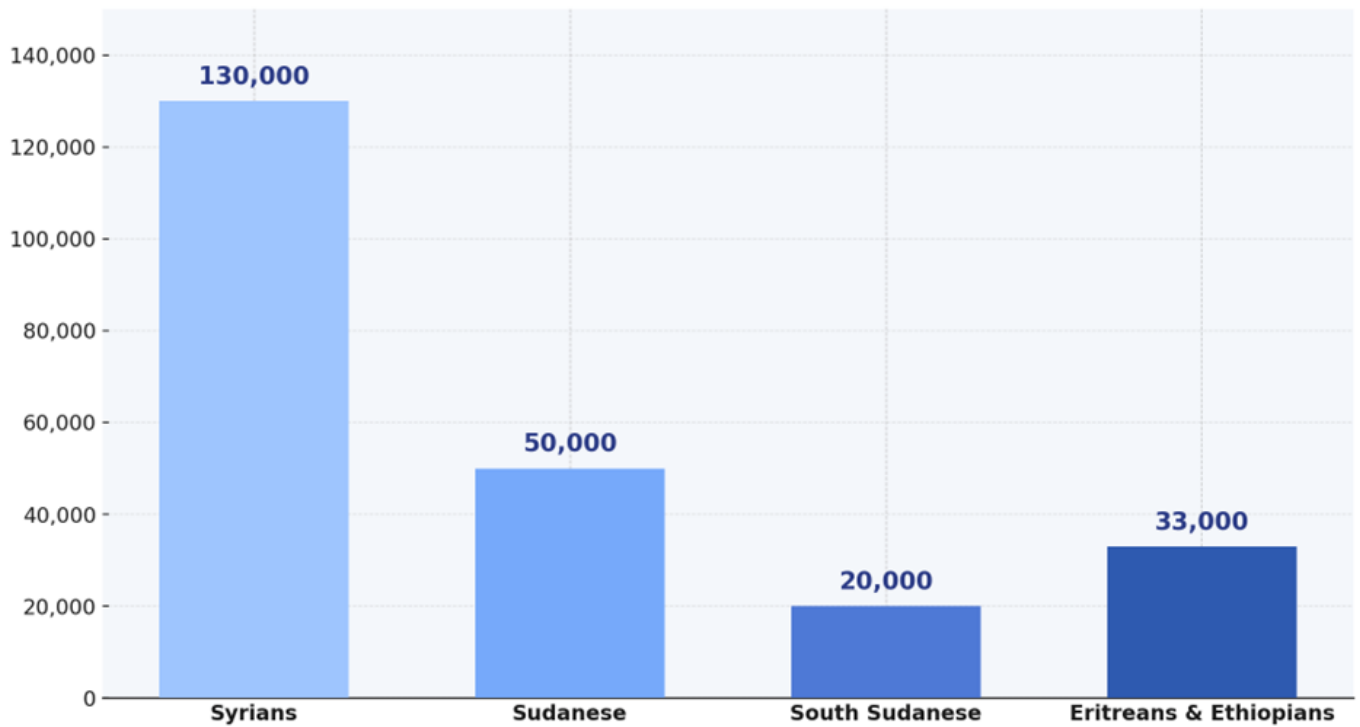


Chart 7. Refugee population in Egypt according to nationality

4.4 Role of religious leaders in Egypt and the influence they exert on social life

Egypt, as a country with deep religious traditions, represents a unique example of a society where religion plays a key role in shaping social norms, cultural identity, and political dynamics. In the context of the dominant Islamic religion and Coptic Christianity, religious leaders act not only as spiritual guides but also as key actors in the public sphere, often serving as mediators, organizers, and social reformers.

The role of religious leaders in Egypt has significant potential to reduce the psychological vulnerabilities of Egyptians, but appropriately directed actions can also be used to destabilize Egypt by confronting the secular and religious authority of the state, individuals, leaders, and their perception by selected social groups in Egypt.

Role of religious leaders in Egypt

Islamic leaders

Islamic leaders, such as imams, scholars from Al-Azhar (one of the oldest Islamic universities in the world), and spiritual leaders associated with various Islamic movements, have a significant influence on society. Their activities include:

Shaping public morality: Imams provide communities with guidance on daily life based on the principles of Sharia law in their sermons (Kalliny, 2019).

Mediation in social conflicts: Islamic leaders often act as mediators in local disputes, promoting solutions consistent with the principles of Islamic justice (Hibbard, 2010).

Religious education: Al-Azhar is a key center for theological and educational development of Islamic thought, influencing religious views both in Egypt and beyond its borders.

Coptic leaders

Christian leaders, particularly those associated with the Coptic Church, play a key role in representing the interests of the Christian minority in Egypt. Their activities include:

Political and social representation: Coptic leaders often speak on behalf of their communities in matters concerning discrimination and interfaith conflicts (Farah, 2013).

Support for education and charity: The Coptic Church organizes numerous educational and charitable programs to support the development of the Christian community.

Building religious identity: The Church serves as a guardian of Coptic traditions and language, which strengthens the minority's identity (Moustafa, 2000).

Impact of religious leaders on social life

Community and bonding

Religious leaders play a key role in promoting social unity by organizing interfaith dialogues. Such efforts are especially important in the context of occasional tensions between Muslims and Christians. An example includes initiatives by Al-Azhar and the Coptic Church, which jointly call for peace and cooperation (Brownlee, 2018).

Politics and influence on power

Religion in Egypt is deeply intertwined with politics. Religious leaders often play a significant role in shaping public debate, especially on issues related to human rights, education, and family policy. On one hand, they promote moral values, and on the other, they can act as a counterbalance to secular political tendencies (Hibbard, 2010).

Social services and charity

Religious leaders lead numerous social initiatives such as:

- Organizing schools and educational programs, especially for poor and underserved communities.
- Providing material and emotional support in times of crisis, such as during pandemics or natural disasters (Robinson & Davis, 2012).

Challenges faced by religious leaders

Despite efforts by religious leaders to promote harmony, tensions between Muslims and Christians remain a problem. These tensions are fueled by extremist attacks and a lack of equality in political representation (Farah, 2013). The Egyptian state aims to control the activities of religious leaders, leading to conflicts between the secular nature of the government and religious authority (Moustafa, 2000). An example of this is the restriction of the Coptic Church's autonomy in educational matters.

The limitations on the autonomy of the Coptic Church in Egypt take various forms — from obstacles in church construction, to educational marginalization, to political repression. Egyptian state media often marginalize Coptic religious events and restrict their visibility in the public sphere. Although Coptic Christmas is a national holiday, other Christian celebrations are not publicly recognized. Religious education in public schools focuses mainly on Islam, while instruction on Christianity is limited to private schools or church-run organizations. As a result, Coptic youth often lack access to formal religious education within the state system.

Religious education in public schools focuses primarily on Islam, and instruction about Christianity is limited to private schools or church organizations. Consequently, Coptic youth often have no access to formal religious education within the public education system.

Religious leaders in Egypt are key social actors, influencing the formation of values, unity, and social stability. Their work encompasses both education and conflict mediation. These values,

when free of pathological elements, can help to mitigate Egyptians' psychological vulnerabilities.

4.5 Crime in Egypt and its impact on the psychological vulnerabilities of society

Egypt, as a country with a dynamically changing society and diverse socio-economic challenges, experiences crime in various forms—from domestic violence to organized crime. These phenomena have a direct impact on the population's mental well-being, leading to an increased sense of insecurity, loss of trust in state institutions, and a rise in collective stress levels. Studies on the psychological effects of crime in Egypt reveal the complexity of these impacts as well as the diversity of both social and individual responses.

Types of crime in Egypt and their impact

Domestic violence and honor killings

Domestic violence and honor killings remain serious social issues in Egypt. In rural communities, honor killings are particularly prevalent, as confirmed by academic research. Victims of such acts of violence often suffer from long-term psychological disorders, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The lack of institutional support from state authorities hinders the pursuit of justice and exacerbates the emotional and mental toll on survivors.

Street violence

In cities such as Cairo and Alexandria, street crime—including thefts, assaults, and robberies—significantly affects the daily lives of residents. The sense of threat in public spaces leads to reduced social activity, isolation, and increased anxiety, especially among youth and women.

Organized crime

Organized crime, including human trafficking and drug trafficking, destabilizes both local communities and the economy. Victims, including children, suffer from physical and psychological exhaustion, which hinders their social reintegration.

Influence of crime on the society's mental state

Trauma and PTSD

Research indicates that individuals affected by crimes, especially women and children, exhibit symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), such as nightmares, difficulties in interpersonal relationships, and feelings of helplessness. An example is the findings published

in the International Journal of Social Psychiatry, where 51% of surveyed crime victims reported long-term psychological effects.

Erosion of social trust

Crime in Egypt contributes to the breakdown of social bonds. Citizens increasingly withdraw from public life, fearing for their safety, and the lack of effectiveness of the justice system reinforces the feeling of injustice.

Moral panic and the role of media

The media in Egypt, when reporting on crime cases, often escalate social fear. Reinforcing stereotypes against certain social groups, such as youth from poor neighborhoods, contributes to increased polarization and a lack of trust.

Crime triggers

Extreme poverty and social inequalities

Extreme poverty is a major driver of crime. In Egypt, where income inequalities are significant, lack of access to education and employment often leads to criminal activities.

Urbanisation and overpopulation

Overcrowded cities such as Cairo experience high levels of crime due to the lack of adequate social infrastructure and public services. The rapid growth of cities and insufficient infrastructure increase the risk of social marginalization, which contributes to the emergence of “hot spots” of crime in cities like Cairo and Alexandria.

Political crises

Periods of political instability, such as after the revolution in 2011, brought an increase in crime, particularly violent crimes. The lack of an efficient justice system exacerbates the problem, which is further intensified by poverty and the radicalization of certain social groups in Egypt.

4.6 Security threats in Egypt and their impact on the psychological vulnerabilities of society

Egypt faces numerous security threats stemming from economic hardship, political instability, terrorism, organized crime, and cybercrime. These threats have profound effects not only on the state's infrastructure but also on the psychological well-being of society, leading to increased uncertainty, fear, and a sense of insecurity. These impacts are particularly evident in the realms of mental health, social relationships, and community structure.

Typology of security threats

Egypt is one of the countries most affected by terrorism in the region. In particular, the Sinai Peninsula remains a primary area of activity for organizations such as the Islamic State (ISIS).

Terrorism: how fear affects everyday life

Terrorism constitutes one of the greatest security challenges for Egypt, especially in the Sinai Peninsula. The risk of terrorist attacks, targeting both civilians and infrastructure facilities, has a huge impact on social life.

Examples of terrorist attacks:

- In 2017, the attack on the Al-Rawda mosque resulted in the death of over 300 people.
- Frequent attacks on Christian churches, such as the 2017 attack on St. Mark's Cathedral in Alexandria.

Social and psychological effects:

- Fear of participating in large gatherings.
- Decline in tourism, which is a key sector of the economy.
- Increased tensions between religious groups, especially towards the Coptic minority.
- PTSD in individuals who have survived attacks or lost loved ones.

Political instability: unlikely legacy of the revolution

After the 2011 revolution, Egypt experienced rapid political changes. From the ousting of Hosni Mubarak, through the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood, to the rise to power of the current president Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, Egyptian society has witnessed numerous riots, protests, and acts of repression.

Examples:

- The Rabaa Square massacre in 2013, where the military opened fire on protesters supporting Mohamed Morsi.
- Restriction of press and media freedom, leading to social frustration.

Impact on society:

- The growing divide between youth and authorities.
- Loss of trust in state institutions.
- Economic and political emigration, especially among young professionals.

Organized crime

Human trafficking, drug smuggling, and arms trafficking destabilize local communities, especially in border areas.

Example:

- Smuggling of migrants across the Mediterranean Sea.
- Trafficking of women and children for forced labor and sexual exploitation.

Psychological effects:

- Trauma among victims and their families.
- Deepening of social marginalization in affected regions.
- State helplessness in areas dominated by criminal groups.

Psychological effects of threats to security

Collective fear and sense of threat: Continuous reports of violent acts lead to heightened stress levels across society. Families often avoid traveling or participating in public gatherings out of fear of attacks.

PTSD and other mental health disorders: Many individuals directly affected by threats—such as victims of terrorism or internally displaced persons—suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Research indicates that over 40% of people living in terrorism-affected regions exhibit symptoms of this disorder (Eweida et al., 2021).

Erosion of social trust: The spread of crime and the lack of effective state intervention lead to a decline in public trust in institutions. People increasingly rely on local communities or informal leaders for support and protection.

Stigmatization and social divides: Religious minorities, such as Coptic Christians, face increased violence and stigmatization. This results in their isolation and a constant sense of insecurity.

Anarchisation of security—local initiatives: In the face of government inaction, many communities organize their own safety initiatives, such as local neighborhood patrols.

Security threats in Egypt have a multidimensional impact on society, leading to psychological, social, and economic challenges. Long-term solutions must include preventive actions, psychological support, and the promotion of economic development and education. Effectively managing these challenges requires an integrated approach involving the government, non-governmental organizations, and local communities.

4.7 Perception of the state security structures in relation to psychological vulnerabilities

In Egypt, the state administration and security structures—such as the military and police—play a crucial role in maintaining stability. However, public perception of these institutions varies significantly depending on historical, political, and regional contexts. These perceptions have a significant impact on the psychological sensitivities of citizens, particularly in times of crisis, such as revolutions, terrorism, or organized crime.

Public trust in the Egyptian administration remains relatively low, especially following the events of the Arab Spring in 2011 and the subsequent coup in 2013. Corruption within state institutions—which undermines citizens' faith in justice and equality—and the lack of transparency in administrative actions are among the key factors weakening the state's relationship to the psychological sensitivities of Egyptians.

Psychological effects:

- Growing social frustration, especially among the youth.
- Sense of exclusion from the state's decision-making processes.
- Disillusionment with the state: The public administration reform introduced by President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi's government elicits mixed reactions among Egyptians. While it focuses on improving infrastructure and security, critics point to significant restrictions on civil liberties.

The Egyptian military plays a central role in the country's politics and economy. For many Egyptians, it is a symbol of stability.

Positive aspects:

- The military is perceived as the guarantor of national security.
- Public support for the military increased after the 2013 coup d'état.

Negative aspects:

- Excessive military involvement in civilian affairs.
- Criticism regarding repression of the political opposition.

Psychological effects:

- Part of the society feels pride in the military's achievements, while others perceive its dominance as a limitation of freedom and a repressive apparatus.

State police and its relations with citizens

The police in Egypt are often criticized for brutality and corruption, particularly in the context of social protests. The events of 2011, when the violent suppression of protests by police forces led to an escalation of conflict between the state and its citizens, have had a lasting impact on the public image of the police in Egypt. Another key issue is the poor performance of law enforcement agencies, which struggle to combat crime—especially organized crime—further undermining citizens' trust and respect for the police force.

Psychological effects:

- Increased fear of state attributes.
- Loss of sense of security.
- Apathy and submissiveness towards risks.

4.8 Psychological vulnerabilities of Egyptians

Anxiety and collective stress

- Prolonged political tensions and violence by security forces lead to increased stress levels within society.
- Lack of social trust.
- Low confidence in state institutions and security forces.
- Erosion of social bonds.
- Increased social isolation.
- Decreased civic engagement in public affairs.

Generational trauma

- The younger generation, which grew up during the Arab Spring period, is particularly vulnerable to psychological problems resulting from political instability.

Perceptions of the administration and security structures in Egypt are a key factor influencing the psychological sensitivities of society. While the military is viewed as a pillar of stability, police brutality and corruption within state institutions deepen social divisions. To improve the situation, action is needed on both political and societal levels, including security sector reform, building public trust, and providing support for citizens' mental health.

Selected psychological vulnerabilities of Egyptian society

Unemployment and low wages

Unemployment in Egypt, especially among youth and university graduates, has reached alarming levels. The lack of adequate job opportunities leads to frustration and a sense of hopelessness. High unemployment results from several key causes:

Psychological vulnerabilities:

- **Depression and anxiety:** Prolonged unemployment leads to lowered self-esteem and the occurrence of depressive and anxious states.
- **Feeling of isolation:** Unemployed individuals may feel socially excluded, especially when they are unable to participate in social life on an equal footing with others.
- **Family conflicts:** Financial pressure and a sense of unfulfillment can lead to tensions within the family, and even domestic violence.
- **Risk of addictions:** Lack of prospects may encourage turning to substances as a form of escape from problems.

Political uncertainty and fear of repressions

Egypt experiences restrictions on civil liberties, including freedom of speech and assembly. Repression of individuals critical of the government is widespread, leading to self-censorship and fear of expressing personal opinions.

- **Anxiety disorders:** Fear of the consequences of expressing political views can lead to chronic anxiety and tension.
- **Depression:** A sense of powerlessness in the face of the system and lack of influence over reality can trigger depressive states.
- **Social alienation:** Avoiding political discussions even among close friends and family leads to feelings of isolation and loneliness.
- **Lack of trust:** Distrust of state institutions and fellow citizens can result in the erosion of social bonds.

War trauma and political violence

Experiences related to armed conflicts, such as the Arab-Israeli wars, and political violence, especially after the Arab Spring, have left deep marks on the collective psyche of society.

- **Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD):** Manifests as flashbacks, nightmares, hyperarousal, and avoidance of situations that recall the trauma.

- **Depression and anxiety:** Victims and witnesses of violence experience long-term emotional difficulties.
- **Mistrust:** Toward other people and institutions, making it difficult to establish social relationships.
- **Problems with social integration:** Difficulty returning to normal life, both in work and family contexts.

Social fragmentation and political polarisation

Tensions between different political groups, especially after the Arab Spring, have led to deep divisions within society. These conflicts negatively affect interpersonal relationships and hinder the building of social trust.

- **Feeling of loneliness:** Individuals may feel isolated in their views, especially when they differ from the dominant narrative.
- **Interpersonal conflicts:** Political tensions permeate families and social circles, leading to arguments and divisions.
- **Lack of social trust:** This leads to reluctance to engage in social and community initiatives.
- **Increased risk of radicalization:** People who feel excluded may be vulnerable to extremist ideologies.

Family relationships and social pressure

Traditional family structures in Egypt are a source of support but also pressure. Family hierarchy, expectations regarding gender roles, and interference in personal decisions can lead to conflicts and stress.

- **Stress related to expectations:** Excessive family expectations regarding education, career, or marriage can lead to feelings of inadequacy.
- **Generational conflicts:** Differences in values and lifestyles between the younger and older generations can cause tensions.
- **Domestic violence:** Pressure and frustrations may manifest as aggression towards family members.
- **Low self-esteem:** Resulting from a lack of acceptance of individual choices and needs.

Migration and problems with refugees

Egypt is both a transit and destination country for migrants and refugees. The influx of people causes competition for limited resources, and migrants often experience trauma and discrimination.

- **Trauma before and during migration:** Experiences of war, persecution, and dangerous journeys affect the mental health of migrants.
- **Adjustment stress:** Difficulties with integration in a new environment, language, and cultural barriers.
- **Sense of threat among the host community:** Fears of job loss or decline in the quality of public services.
- **Increase in xenophobia:** Stereotypes and prejudices lead to discrimination and social conflicts.

Stereotypes and prejudice

Migrants and minorities often face discrimination. Prejudices hinder integration and deepen social divisions.

- **Sense of exclusion:** Experiencing discrimination leads to social isolation and lowered self-esteem.
- **Increased risk of radicalization:** Marginalization may drive individuals to join extremist groups.
- **Stress and anxiety:** Fear of violence or unjust treatment.

Role of religious leaders

Religious leaders have a profound influence on social norms and values. They can promote unity, but also deepen divisions—especially when religion is used for political purposes.

- **Spiritual support:** It can help in coping with stress and life difficulties.
- **Manipulation of emotions:** Using religion to incite hostility towards other groups.
- **Religious conflicts:** Tensions between different religious groups affect the sense of security.

Crime and its effects

A high level of crime, including domestic violence, street crime, and organized crime, affects citizens' sense of security.

- **Anxiety and worry:** Fear of becoming a victim of crime.
- **Trauma:** Crime victims may experience PTSD and other mental disorders.
- **Erosion of social trust:** Increased crime leads to distrust towards others.

Threats to security

Terrorism, political instability, and organized crime pose serious threats. The constant sense of danger affects the daily lives and mental health of citizens.

- **Collective fear:** Widespread anxiety about terrorist attacks or violence.
- **Chronic stress:** Constant tension and worry affect both mental and physical health.
- **Sense of helplessness:** Lack of control over the situation and distrust in the state's ability to ensure security.

Perception of administration and state security structures

Low trust in state institutions, such as the police or public administration, stems from corruption, inefficiency, and repression against citizens.

- **Feeling of alienation:** Citizens do not feel represented or protected by the state.
- **Social apathy:** Lack of belief in the possibility of change leads to withdrawal from public life.
- **Frustration and anger:** Negative emotions towards institutions can lead to protests or radicalization.

Generational trauma and lack of perspectives

Younger generations face challenges related to conflicts between tradition and modernity. Lack of prospects for the future and ongoing social tensions affect their mental health.

- **Depression and a sense of hopelessness:** The inability to fulfill life aspirations leads to a lowered mood.
- **Identity conflicts:** Difficulties in defining one's role in society.
- **Learned helplessness:** The belief that no matter what actions are taken, one cannot influence their situation.

The psychological vulnerabilities of Egyptian society are the result of a complex network of factors:

- **Economic:** Unemployment, poverty, and social inequalities lead to frustration and stress.
- **Political:** Uncertainty, repression, and lack of trust in institutions cause anxiety and alienation.

- **Social:** Tensions between different groups, family and societal pressure affect mental health.
- **Cultural:** Conflicts between tradition and modernity create internal turmoil.
- **Related to security:** Threats related to crime and terrorism heighten the sense of insecurity.

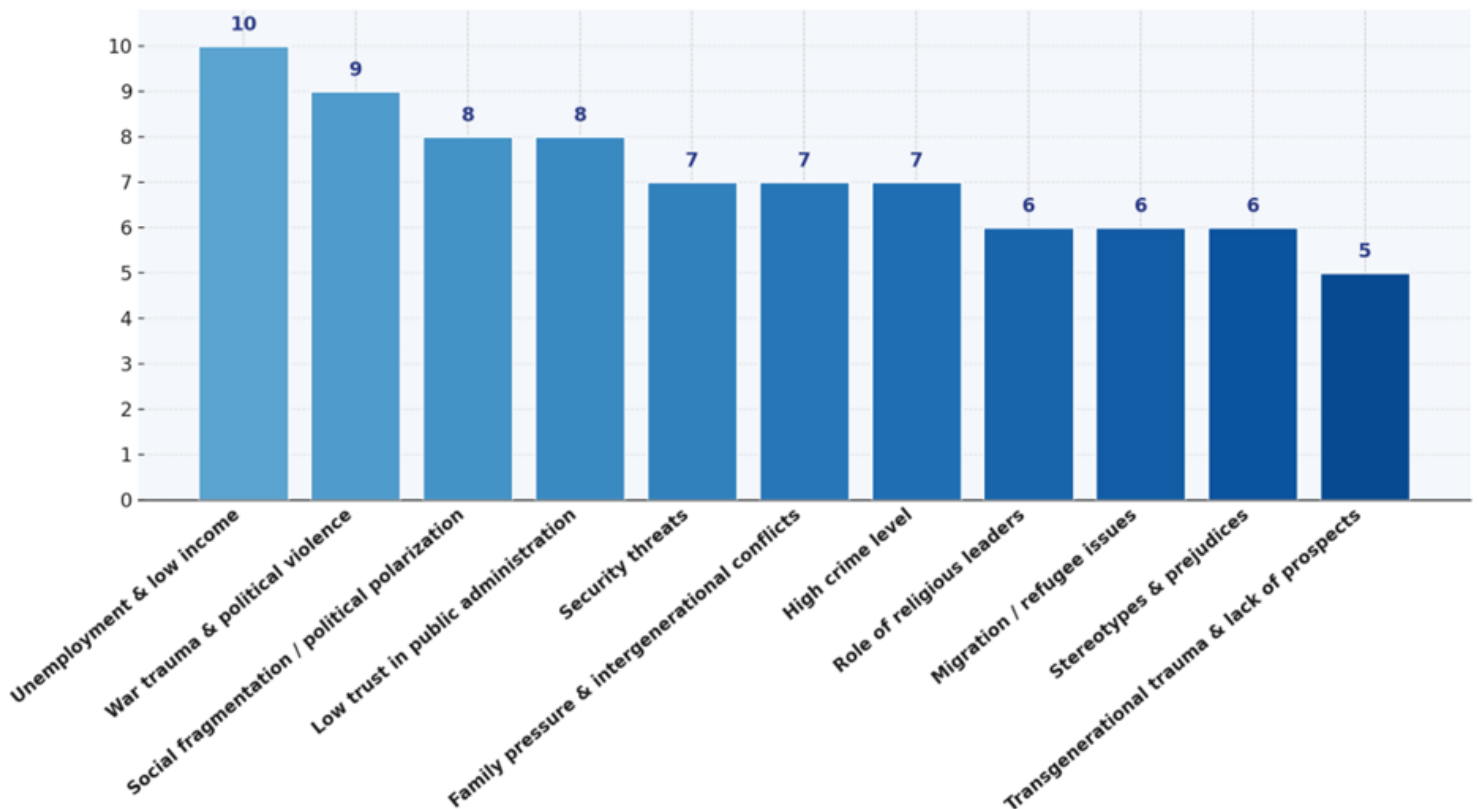


Chart 8. Impact of Egyptians' social vulnerabilities on the effectiveness of influence operations on a scale from 1 to 10.

CHAPTER 5. Key areas of foreign influence

5.1 Economy

Egypt, a key state in the Middle East and North Africa region, lies at the heart of global economic and geopolitical interests. The country's vulnerability to external economic influence is particularly evident in its dependence on foreign investments, financial aid, and international economic cooperation. This vulnerability, analyzed through the FIMI (Foreign Influence and Market Integration) index, highlights how various actors—from states and corporations to international organizations—use their financial resources and economic tools to shape Egypt's policies and development.

Amid rising economic pressure resulting from global financial crises, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the consequences of the war in Ukraine, Egypt is becoming increasingly dependent on external support. Foreign investments and financial aid are not only a driving force for the Egyptian economy but also a tool of influence over its domestic and foreign policy. The country finds itself balancing among major global players—Russia, China, the Gulf States, the United States, the European Union, and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and BRICS. Each of these actors pursues its own interests by leveraging economic influence, which affects Egypt's strategic decisions in infrastructure development, energy policy, and macroeconomic stability.

This dependency presents both opportunities and risks. On one hand, the inflow of capital supports the country's development and modernization. On the other hand, Egypt risks losing autonomy in economic decision-making and becoming subject to the conditions imposed by external actors. Analyzing this phenomenon through the FIMI framework helps to understand how foreign interests and economic strategies impact Egypt's future and its capacity to pursue independent policies.

5.1.1 Foreign investments and dependence on financial support

Egypt plays a key role in the Middle East and North Africa region, making it an attractive partner for many countries and international organizations. Foreign investments and financial aid have a significant impact on the Egyptian economy, shaping its development directions and economic stability. Below are the main sources of foreign support for Egypt and their influence on the country.

Russia – Vulnerabilities of Egypt in the context of Russian influence

Russian involvement in Egypt is centered on strategic infrastructure projects and trade cooperation, significantly influencing Egypt's economic policy. A key element of this relationship is the construction of the El Dabaa nuclear power plant, which increases Egypt's dependence on Russian technology and financing. The project, carried out by Rosatom, underscores Russia's influence in Egypt's critical energy sector and may lead to political commitments toward Moscow in the future.

Trade and inflation: Egypt, struggling with record-high inflation, has found a key trading partner in Russia. The Russian ambassador to Egypt, Georgy Borisenko, revealed that bilateral trade increased by 60% over three years, reaching \$6.2 billion in 2022. Russia became Egypt's third most important trading partner, after the EU and China. Russian exports to Egypt, totaling \$5.7 billion, mainly include grain, energy, and raw materials, making Egypt Russia's largest trading partner in the Middle East and Africa region.

- **Mechanism of local currency payments:** In response to Western sanctions limiting Moscow's access to the US dollar and the euro, Russia is actively promoting the use of the ruble in international trade, particularly with countries it maintains close economic ties with. Egypt, grappling with its own economic challenges, may be interested in such initiatives to facilitate trade and reduce its dependency on Western financial systems.
- **El-Dabaa nuclear power plant:** The Russian company Rosatom is constructing the \$28.75 billion El-Dabaa nuclear power plant. The project is financed by a \$25 billion Russian loan and is scheduled to be operational between 2028 and 2029. Rosatom supplies the nuclear fuel, trains personnel, and provides operational support during the first 10 years of the plant's operation. The financing and construction of this plant not only strengthen Russia's presence in Egypt but also bind the country to Russia long-term in terms of technology and maintenance services. As a result, Egypt becomes vulnerable to geopolitical changes and tensions between Russia and the West, potentially limiting its ability to make independent decisions in energy policy.
- **Energy resource supplies:** Russia is one of Egypt's oil suppliers. Officially. However, unofficially—as reported by Bloomberg in 2022—oil arriving at Egypt's El-Hamra port on the Mediterranean coast has reportedly been blended with Egyptian crude or reloaded onto other vessels and resold to Europe, bypassing sanctions. It is unclear how long this practice persisted or whether it is still ongoing, but even a single instance of such action indicates the close economic ties between Russia and Egypt.
- **Russian industrial zone in Port Said:** Russia plans to establish an industrial zone in the Suez Canal area. An agreement was signed in 2018, and construction was initially scheduled to begin in mid-2024. However, as of June 2024, Russia's ambassador to Egypt announced in an interview with *Daily News Egypt* that an additional protocol had been signed and construction had yet to commence. The project envisions a 5.25 million square meter industrial area, intended to become an international manufacturing hub with access to African and European markets. The industrial zone, which is expected to

create 35,000 new jobs, aims to attract Russian companies from the chemical, machinery, and energy sectors.

- **Russian investments in Egypt:** According to data from December 2023, Russian companies have invested \$7.4 billion in Egypt. The Russian presence in the energy, industrial, and infrastructure sectors strengthens Moscow's influence, especially in the strategic Suez Canal area.
- **Trade cooperation:** Russia is a major supplier of grain to Egypt. In the 2022/2023 season, Russia delivered 8.1 million tons of wheat to Egypt, constituting a significant part of Egypt's wheat imports. Russian grain plays a key role in ensuring food security for over 100 million Egyptians. The import of Russian wheat, a staple in the Egyptian diet, means the country is dependent on the Russian agricultural market. Disruptions in supplies, for example due to sanctions imposed on Russia, could cause instability in Egypt, including social unrest. The blockade of Ukrainian ports by Russia further increases Egypt's dependence on Russian deliveries.
- **In February 2023, an agreement was signed to build a factory for the maintenance and repair of railcars in Abu Zaabal.** This project is part of Russian investments in Egypt's transport sector.
- **Arms imports:** Since 2014, Egypt has significantly increased its imports of Russian weaponry, becoming one of the key recipients of Russian military equipment. Between 2013 and 2018, the value of Russian arms exports to Egypt rose by 150% compared to the 2009–2013 period, making Russia Egypt's second-largest arms supplier, after France. During that time, Egypt accounted for 5.1% of total Russian arms exports. In 2023, military cooperation between Russia and Egypt became a source of controversy due to reports of alleged plans by Egypt to produce rockets for Russia. According to leaked U.S. intelligence documents, Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi allegedly ordered the production of 40,000 rockets for Russia in February 2023, with instructions to keep the operation secret to avoid problems with the West. However, following diplomatic intervention by the United States, Egypt abandoned the rocket supply plans. Instead, Cairo agreed to sell 152 mm and 155 mm artillery ammunition to the U.S. for use in Ukraine.
- **Tourism:** After the resumption of flights between Russia and Egypt, the number of Russian tourists visiting Egypt increased dramatically, which had a significant impact on the Red Sea resorts. Russian Deputy Prime Minister Denis Manturov negotiated an increase in the number of flights, contributing to the development of the tourism sector.
- **Financial flows:** In December 2022, the Egyptian government approved the country's accession to the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB), opening new opportunities for financing infrastructure projects. Membership in BRICS strengthens cooperation between Russia and Egypt, especially in the context of alternative financial and trade systems.

Key players from Russia	
Alexey Likhachov	Director General of Rosatom. He oversees the construction project of the El-Dabaa nuclear power plant, making him one of the most influential figures in Egypt's energy sector.
Dmitry Patrushev	Deputy Prime Minister. Former Minister of Agriculture of the Russian Federation. Responsible for overseeing the agricultural sector and grain trade, including wheat supplies to Egypt, which are crucial for the country's food security.
Sergey Lavrov	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia. Although he is not an economic expert, Lavrov's negotiations and diplomatic visits influence trade and investment agreements.
Sergey Tsivilyov	Minister of Energy of the Russian Federation since May 14, 2024. He oversees Russia's energy policy, including the export of crude oil and natural gas, as well as cooperation with foreign partners.
Vladimir Putin	The President of the Russian Federation plays a key role in shaping Russia's foreign and defense policy, including relations with Egypt.
Andrey Removich Belousov	Minister of Defense of Russia since May 2024, responsible for overseeing the armed forces and implementing Russia's defense policy.

Key players from Egypt	
Amgad El-Wakeel	Chairman of the Egyptian Nuclear Power Plants Authority (NPPA). He is responsible for cooperation with Rosatom and for the implementation of the El-Dabaa project.
Ali Moselhy	Minister of Supply and Internal Trade of Egypt. He manages the policy concerning wheat imports, including supplies from Russia.
Karim Badawi	Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources of Egypt since July 2024. He is responsible for the country's energy policy, including the import of energy raw materials and international cooperation in this sector.
Abdel Fattah el-Sisi	President of Egypt since 2014, former commander of the Egyptian Armed Forces. He plays a key role in shaping Egypt's defense policy and international cooperation.
Abdel Mageed Saqr	Minister of Defense of Egypt since July 3, 2024. He is responsible for overseeing the armed forces and implementing the country's defense policy.

China – Beijing's economic tools of influence

China is playing an increasingly significant role in Egypt's economy, strengthening its influence through strategic investments, technology transfer, and comprehensive economic cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The partnership between Cairo and Beijing, which has reached the level of a comprehensive strategic partnership, encompasses key sectors of Egypt's economy, including infrastructure, mining, energy, telecommunications, education, and the technology industry. Egypt is becoming a key partner for China in Africa and the Middle East, owing to its geostrategic location and abundant natural resources.

Chinese investments in Egypt are focused on infrastructure projects such as the New Administrative Capital and the Suez Canal Economic Zone, as well as on future-oriented sectors including green energy production, electric vehicle technology, and solar panel manufacturing. At the same time, China is deepening its involvement in Egypt's mining sector. Chinese support also includes the transfer of modern technologies, development of raw material processing infrastructure, and the training of Egyptian personnel, which further increases Egypt's economic dependence on Beijing.

China's engagement in Egypt should be seen as part of a broader Beijing strategy aimed at expanding its influence in the Middle East and North Africa. While this partnership benefits Egypt's economic development, it also poses serious challenges such as the risk of debt traps, reduced opportunities for cooperation with alternative partners, and growing Chinese influence over institutional functions and strategic sectors of the economy.

- **New Administrative Capital (NAC):** Chinese consortia, including the China State Construction Engineering Corporation (CSCEC), play a key role in implementing Egypt's New Administrative Capital (NAC) project — a flagship initiative within Egypt's Vision 2030 development strategy. Through this partnership, China is executing multi-billion-dollar projects such as the construction of the Financial and Business District and the Iconic Tower, the tallest skyscraper in Africa. Egypt benefits from Chinese financing, technology, and know-how, which accelerates infrastructure development but simultaneously increases its dependence on Beijing. However, this growing reliance on Chinese technologies, equipment, and skilled labor limits Egypt's bargaining power in future projects. Preferential loans used to fund these developments may deepen Egypt's debt to China, heightening pressure to make decisions favorable to Beijing. Furthermore, China's expanding presence in the NAC complicates Egypt's cooperation with Western countries, which may view Chinese dominance as a threat to their own strategic interests.
- **Belt and Road Initiative (BRI):** Egypt is one of China's key partners within the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which involves Chinese banks granting preferential loans to finance strategic infrastructure, energy, and transport projects. The value of Chinese investments in Egypt under the BRI reached 14 billion US dollars in 2023, with a significant portion allocated to projects such as the Suez Canal Economic Zone, the development of green energy, and logistics infrastructure. According to the Arab Investment and Export Credit Guarantee Corporation, Egypt attracted about 28.5 billion USD in Chinese investments during 2018-2019, becoming the largest recipient of

Chinese investments in the Arab world. Loans taken within the BRI framework increase Egypt's debt, potentially limiting its ability to carry out independent investments in the future. In case of difficulties in debt repayment, Egypt may be forced to make political concessions, such as granting preferences to Chinese companies in subsequent projects. Investments in critical infrastructure, like the Suez Canal, may lead to loss of partial control over the country's strategic assets in favor of China.

- **Production of electric vehicles and solar panels:** China is strengthening its ties with Egypt through investments in the production sector of electric vehicles (EVs) and solar panels. Pursuing a shared vision of sustainable development, Chinese companies such as BYD and JinkoSolar are developing local manufacturing infrastructure, supporting Egypt's ambitions to reduce emissions and expand technological exports. However, this cooperation increases Egypt's dependence on Chinese technological know-how and component supplies. In its efforts to modernize its industry, Egypt takes the risk of tightening relations with China, which may affect the independence of its national institutions in industrial and environmental sectors.
- **Local production of drilling rigs:** In July 2023, the first locally produced drilling rig was commissioned at the port of Ain Sokhna. It was created by the Egyptian-Chinese joint venture Egyptian Petroleum HH Rig Manufacturing S.A.E Co., co-financed by the Chinese Honghua Group Ltd and the Egyptian General Petroleum Corporation.
- **Development of the Suez Canal Economic Zone:** China is investing billions of dollars in the Suez Canal Economic Zone, which is a key element of global trade. Infrastructure projects, such as the construction of factories, logistics centers, and energy plants, are carried out in close cooperation with Chinese companies, including China Harbour Engineering Company (CHEC) and TEDA (Tianjin Economic-Technological Development Area). The increased Chinese presence in the Suez Canal Economic Zone gives Beijing strategic influence over one of the most important maritime routes in the world, which could affect Egypt's trade policy.
- **Technology transfer within the framework of the MoU with the National Development and Reform Commission of China (NDRC):** Egypt has signed strategic Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) with the NDRC, covering technology transfer in the areas of renewable energy, macroeconomics, and satellite systems (e.g., BeiDou Navigation Satellite System). These technologies support the modernization of Egyptian infrastructure and enhance its technological capabilities. The use of Chinese satellite systems and technology may limit Egypt's independence in managing strategic infrastructure, while simultaneously increasing the risk of cyber threats.
- **Investments in green energy:** Green hydrogen and renewable energy sources: Chinese companies, such as China Energy Engineering Corp, plan to double investments in Egypt's renewable energy sector. Projects include the development of green hydrogen technology and solar farms. The development of green technologies under the auspices of Chinese firms is associated with control over Egypt's energy sector, which may limit its ability to cooperate with other countries.

- **Cooperation in artificial intelligence and telecommunications:** Under the signed agreements, Chinese technology companies such as Huawei and ZTE are developing telecommunications infrastructure in Egypt, including 5G networks. The dominance of Chinese firms in the Egyptian telecommunications sector raises concerns related to data security and potential surveillance of digital infrastructure.
- **Mining industry:** Gold, rare metals, and phosphates: China views Egypt's mining sector as a key investment area, especially in the context of global demand for strategic raw materials and rare metals. In Egypt, particular attention is focused on the Sukari gold mine area and new mining fields as part of Egypt's mining sector development strategy for 2020-2030. Chinese companies, such as China Minmetals Corporation, are exploring cooperation opportunities in gold mining and minerals used in high-tech technologies.

Key areas of interest	
Exploration of gold deposits	The Sukari mine, one of the largest in the region, attracts Chinese interest due to the possibilities of increasing production in the future.
Rare metals	China, as a leader in the global technology market, is interested in rare metals used in the production of batteries, electronics, and weapon systems. Egyptian resources, especially in desert areas, are at the center of this interest.
Phosphates	In 2019, Egyptian Minister Tarek El-Molla signed agreements with Chinese companies China State Construction Engineering and Wengfu Group for the development of the Abu Tartur mine, one of the largest phosphate deposits in Egypt. The consortium formed by China State Construction Engineering Corporation (CSCEC) and China Wengfu (Group) Co., Ltd. signed a contract with the Egyptian state-owned Phosphate Misr Company to build and operate a giant phosphoric acid plant in Egypt. Chinese investments in the mining industry may lead to Egypt's dependence on Chinese financing and raw material processing technologies. The exploitation of rare metals could affect Egypt's relations with the West, which is concerned about Chinese dominance in the global supply chains of strategic raw materials.

Key players from China	
Pan Gongsheng	Serving as the Governor of the People's Bank of China (PBoC), he actively participates in developing financial cooperation between China and Egypt. On September 26, 2023, he met with Hassan Abdalla, the Governor of the Central Bank of Egypt, to discuss opportunities for strengthening financial cooperation between the two countries.
Wang Yi	Diplomat and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC). His diplomatic activities strengthen the economic and political relations between Egypt and China. Wang Yi has been an active promoter of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which has influenced the development of economic cooperation with Egypt, a key hub within this initiative. During

	Wang Yi's tenure, China has become one of Egypt's largest trading partners. Chinese investments cover sectors such as technology, transport, industry, and energy.
Wang Chuanfu	Under the leadership of Wang, BYD is expanding its presence in international markets, including Egypt. The company has established cooperation with Egyptian partners to introduce electric vehicles to the local market, thereby supporting the development of eco-friendly transportation in the region.
Lin Yichong	He serves as the chairman and party secretary of China Harbour Engineering Company (CHEC), a subsidiary of China Communications Construction Company (CCCC). CHEC specializes in marine engineering, the construction of ports, roads, bridges, and other large-scale infrastructure projects worldwide. Lin Yi actively promotes the "Belt and Road Initiative," aiming to strengthen CHEC's position as a leading infrastructure contractor in international markets. Thanks to these efforts, CHEC took part in the modernization and expansion of the Port of Alexandria, one of Egypt's most important seaports. CHEC has also been involved in the construction of infrastructure for Egypt's New Administrative Capital, including roads, bridges, and other public facilities, and was responsible for building a modern container terminal at Port Said.
Li Chunlin	As Vice Chairman of the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) of the People's Republic of China, he plays a key role in shaping China's economic and investment policies. His actions significantly influence China's involvement in infrastructure and economic projects in Egypt. Under the leadership of Li Chunlin, the commission supports initiatives aimed at developing infrastructure in Egypt, including the construction of the New Administrative Capital and the modernization of the Suez Canal.
Zheng Xuexuan	He serves as the Chairman of China State Construction Engineering Corporation (CSCEC), one of the largest construction companies in the world. In this role, he oversees the implementation of key projects, including initiatives in Egypt's New Administrative Capital (NAC).
Song Hailiang	He serves as Chairman and CEO of China Energy Engineering Corporation Limited (Energy China), one of China's largest engineering companies specializing in the energy sector. In May 2024, Song Hailiang met with Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi to discuss expanding Energy China's projects in Egypt, especially in the green hydrogen sector.
Ren Zhengfei	The founder and CEO of Huawei Technologies played a key role in the global expansion of the company, including in Egypt. Under his leadership, Huawei established strategic partnerships and implemented numerous projects in Egypt, contributing to the development of the country's telecommunications and technology infrastructure.
Guo Wenqing	He serves as the Chairman of China Minmetals Corporation, one of China's largest conglomerates engaged in mining and trading mineral resources. Under his leadership, the company has intensified its activities in international markets, including Egypt.
Wang Yilin	He previously held the positions of Chairman and Party Secretary at China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), one of China's largest oil companies. CNPC operated in Egypt, engaging in projects related to the exploration and extraction of crude oil and natural gas. The company cooperated with Egyptian partners, contributing to the development of the

	country's energy sector. Wang Yilin resigned from his position as CNPC Chairman in January 2020 upon reaching retirement age. In August 2024, he was arrested on corruption charges and expelled from the Communist Party of China.
Dai Houliang	Since 2020, Dai Houliang has served as Chairman of CNPC. Under Dai's leadership, CNPC continues to develop international cooperation, including with Egypt. The company is involved in oil and gas exploration and production projects in Egypt, working with Egyptian partners to strengthen the country's energy sector.

Key players from Egypt	
Gen. Ahmed Zaki Abdeen	He served as Chairman of the Board of the New Administrative Capital for Urban Development (ACUD) in Egypt. In this role, he oversaw the development of the new city. Under General Abdeen's leadership, ACUD established strategic cooperation with Chinese companies for the development of the New Administrative Capital's infrastructure. One of the key partners was China State Construction Engineering Corporation (CSCEC), which carried out projects such as the Central Business District (CBD), including the construction of 20 skyscrapers, among them the Iconic Tower – the tallest building in Africa. In November 2022, General Ahmed Zaki Abdeen resigned from his position, citing health reasons and a desire to retire. He was succeeded by Khaled Abbas.
Khaled Abbas	He assumed the position of Chairman and Managing Director of ACUD in September 2022, replacing General Ahmed Zaki Abdeen. He is actively engaged in cooperation with Chinese partners in the development of Egypt's New Administrative Capital. In April 2024, Khaled Abbas signed a memorandum of cooperation with Dongba Town in Beijing. The agreement aims to exchange experiences, knowledge, and modern technologies in managing diplomatic districts, both in the New Administrative Capital and in Beijing. This cooperation seeks to strengthen bilateral relations between Egypt and China and promote sustainable urban development.
Mohamed Al-Manzlawi	He serves as Vice Chairman of the Senate Industry Committee in Egypt and plays a key role in shaping the country's industrial policy and promoting economic cooperation with international partners, including China. Al-Manzlawi highlights the expansion of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank's (AIIB) cooperation portfolio with Egypt to \$40 billion, covering 220 projects. He also emphasizes the involvement of Chinese companies such as China State Construction Engineering Corporation (CSCEC) and China Energy Engineering Corporation in executing key infrastructure projects in Egypt, contributing to the country's economic development.
Yehia Zaki	He serves as the Chairman of the General Authority of the Suez Canal Economic Zone (SCZone), a key institution responsible for the management and development of the economic zone surrounding the Suez Canal. Under his leadership, SCZone has strengthened cooperation with Chinese partners, contributing to the implementation of numerous investment and infrastructure projects.
Rania Al-Mashat	Serving as Egypt's Minister of Planning, Economic Development, and International Cooperation since July 2024, she plays a key role in shaping and strengthening relations between Egypt and China. Her efforts focus on

	deepening cooperation in economic, investment, and development areas, contributing to the implementation of strategic infrastructure and technology projects in Egypt.
Tarek Amer	The former governor of the Central Bank of Egypt who participated in negotiations regarding the financing of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) projects.
Amr Talaat	He has been serving as Egypt's Minister of Communications and Information Technology since 2018, playing a key role in shaping the country's digital policy and promoting international cooperation in the information and communication technology (ICT) sector. His efforts include strengthening relations with China, which contributes to the implementation of strategic infrastructure and technology projects in Egypt.
Tamer Abu Bakr	He serves as the Chairman of the Egyptian Mining Federation, an organization representing the interests of the mining sector in Egypt. He plays a key role in promoting cooperation between Egypt and China in the mining sector.
Tarek El-Molla	Serving as Egypt's Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources since September 2015, he actively develops cooperation with China in the energy sector. His efforts focus on strengthening relations with Chinese companies and implementing joint projects in oil, natural gas, and renewable energy.

United Arab Emirates (UAE) – Abu Dhabi's economic instruments of influence.

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) are playing an increasingly significant role in Egypt's economy, leveraging their substantial financial resources and strategic partnerships to strengthen their influence in key economic sectors. Cooperation between Cairo and Abu Dhabi encompasses a wide range of economic initiatives, including investments in renewable energy, infrastructure development, industry, and real estate. Thanks to Egypt's strategic location and natural resources, the UAE views the country as a key partner in the Middle East and North Africa region.

UAE investments in Egypt are focused on infrastructure projects such as the development of the industrial zone in East Port Said and the urban center in Ras Al-Hekma, as well as on modern technology sectors and renewable energy. These partnerships support the development of Egypt's economy, but also increase its dependency on Emirati capital and technology. Abu Dhabi also plays a crucial role in Egypt's extractive industries, engaging in the exploitation of natural resources and the development of the petrochemical sector.

The UAE's engagement in Egypt is part of a broader strategy to consolidate its regional influence through strategic investments and economic cooperation. While this partnership brings economic benefits to Egypt, it also presents challenges, such as the risk of limiting economic sovereignty and losing control over key economic sectors to foreign investors.

Key areas of engagement	
Investments in renewable energy	Implementation of solar power plant projects with a total capacity of over 7 GW in locations such as Dakhla, Benban, Naga Hammadi, and Lake Nasser (a 3 GW floating power plant project). Production of solar panels and cells with a capacity of 2 GW, as well as construction of battery energy storage facilities with an initial capacity of 2 GW. Partnerships with UAE companies in the clean energy sector, such as Masdar and Infinity Power. These ventures carry risks including the potential dominance of UAE investors in key energy projects and Egypt's technological dependence on foreign technology suppliers.
Development of the industrial zone in East Port Said	Creation of a 20 km ² industrial zone in East Port Said dedicated to manufacturing, advanced technologies, and renewable energy. Development of logistics infrastructure in cooperation with AD Ports Group, along with strategic projects supporting international trade. This poses risks of marginalizing Egyptian enterprises and possible control of critical logistics hubs by UAE entities.
Investments in the real estate and tourism sector	An agreement between Egypt and the UAE includes building a modern urban and tourist complex in Ras Al-Hekma on Egypt's northern coast, the UAE's largest investment in Egypt valued at \$35 billion. Additionally, joint projects are planned to attract international investors in the tourism sector. A key threat is the takeover of key areas by foreign entities and limiting opportunities for local companies to execute prestigious projects.
Capital flows and cooperation in infrastructure	The UAE invests in Egyptian logistics, transport, and airport infrastructure, supporting the growth of logistics centers that aid exports and imports and improve Egypt's transport network efficiency. This makes Egypt reliant on foreign financing sources, giving the UAE strategic leverage to influence Egypt's internal policies through capital.
Mining and petrochemical industry	The UAE invests in exploration of natural resource deposits and the extraction of oil and gas while supporting joint circular economy projects. This raises concerns over potential loss of control of strategic natural resources, affecting commodity prices and limiting local processing capacities.
Cooperation in entrepreneurship and technology	UAE investments in developing digital technologies and entrepreneurship support programs in Egypt include building technological infrastructure that supports digital transformation and startups. Such external involvement may raise concerns about foreign firms taking over key technologies and the digital sector's dependence on non-Egyptian investors.

Key players from the United Arab Emirates	
Sultan Ahmed bin Sulayem	He is the Chairman of DP World, a multinational logistics company managing port and logistics projects in Egypt. In Egypt, DP World operates the Sokhna Port, strategically located at the northern end of the Gulf of Suez. This port plays a crucial role in handling cargo traffic between Asia and Europe and is one of the most important logistics hubs in the region. Sultan Ahmed bin Sulayem actively collaborates with Egyptian authorities to promote investment and develop logistics infrastructure. In 2024, DP World

	signed an agreement with the General Authority of the Suez Canal Economic Zone (SCZone) to develop new logistics projects, aiming to strengthen Egypt's position as a regional logistics center.
Ahmed Al-Sayegh	Minister of State of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) who is involved in economic and trade affairs, including projects related to economic zones on Egypt's coast. In the capacity of Minister of State, Al Sayegh actively promotes economic cooperation between the UAE and other countries, including Egypt. His efforts focus on supporting investments and developing economic zones along Egypt's coastline, which contributes to strengthening economic relations between the two countries. As part of the cooperation with Egypt, Al Sayegh has participated in initiatives aimed at developing infrastructure and promoting investment in economic zones such as the Suez Canal Economic Zone.
Dr. Sultan Al Jaber	Minister of Industry and Advanced Technology of the UAE, coordinating initiatives in the renewable energy sector. Additionally, under the leadership of Dr. Al Jaber, ADNOC and other Emirati energy companies have invested in the Egyptian energy sector, supporting projects related to oil and natural gas extraction. This cooperation contributes to increasing energy production in Egypt as well as the transfer of technology and know-how from the UAE.
Syed Basar Shueb	Chief Executive Officer of International Holding Company (IHC), supporting the financing and management of projects in Egypt.
Mohammad Al-Gergawi	UAE's Minister of Cabinet Affairs, involved in planning and implementing real estate projects. His influence on investments in Egypt is indirect and mainly stems from his role in promoting cooperation between the UAE and Egypt. In October 2023, Al-Gergawi participated in the inauguration of the Ras Al-Hekma project in Egypt.
Abdulla Bin Touq Al-Marri	Minister of Economy of the UAE, coordinating investments in infrastructure in Egypt. Under Minister Al-Marri's leadership, the UAE is engaged in numerous infrastructure projects in Egypt, including the development of the New Administrative Capital and the modernization of key economic sectors. This cooperation also encompasses initiatives in the energy, transportation, and telecommunications sectors, aiming to support Egypt's sustainable development.
Ahmed Al Mutawa	The Regional Director of AD Ports Group. He is responsible for the development of port and logistics infrastructure. Under his leadership, an agreement was signed with the Red Sea Ports Authority to develop and operate a multipurpose terminal at Safaga Port. In January 2024, Al-Mutawa signed a 15-year contract with the Red Sea Ports Authority to manage and operate three cruise terminals in Egypt. The \$3 million investment aims to strengthen cruise tourism in the Red Sea region.

Key players from Egypt	
Rania Al-Mashat	Minister of International Cooperation as well as Planning and Development of Egypt. She oversees investment agreements with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries and is responsible for international negotiations in the extractive sector. She coordinates projects related to entrepreneurship and digital transformation. Thanks to her involvement, Egypt is

	strengthening its relations with the Gulf countries, resulting in numerous investment projects and cooperation across various economic sectors.
Hala El-Said	Minister of Planning and Economic Development until July 2024. She coordinated cooperation with investment funds, including the Public Investment Fund (PIF) and UAE institutions.
Dr. Mahmoud Esmat	Minister of Electricity and Renewable Energy of Egypt (since July 2024), responsible for project implementation.
Walid Gamal El Din	Chairman of the General Authority for the Suez Canal Economic Zone (SCZONE), overseeing cooperation in the industrial zone. He actively collaborates with partners from the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to promote investment and infrastructure development in the zone.
Mostafa Madbouly	The Prime Minister of Egypt. He supports the negotiation and implementation of strategic investments. In February 2024, Madbouly announced the signing of an agreement with the UAE for the development of Ras el-Hekma, located on Egypt's northwestern coast. The \$35 billion deal envisions transforming the area into a modern city with residential, tourist, and business districts, equipped with an airport and marina. Egypt received an advance payment of \$15 billion, with the remaining \$20 billion expected to be transferred within two months. Madbouly actively promotes cooperation with the UAE in renewable energy, aiming to implement projects to increase the share of green energy in Egypt's energy mix. The Prime Minister supports initiatives to develop port infrastructure in Egypt, including collaboration with UAE companies on the modernization and management of ports to enhance the country's logistical and commercial efficiency.
Lieutenant General Engineer Kamel Al-Wazir	Minister of Industry and Transportation of Egypt, a key figure in managing infrastructure. Under Minister El-Wazir's leadership, Egypt has established cooperation with companies from the UAE to modernize and expand seaports. El-Wazir participated in negotiations regarding UAE investments in Egyptian industrial zones. These investments include the construction of new manufacturing facilities and technology transfer, contributing to job creation and Egypt's economic growth. As part of cooperation with the UAE, Minister El-Wazir promotes projects related to renewable energy, such as the construction of solar and wind farms.

Saudi Arabia – Middle Eastern economic dominance

Saudi Arabia plays a key role in shaping the economic landscape of the Middle East, strengthening its position as a regional leader through strategic investments and bilateral cooperation. One of Riyadh's most important partners in the region is Egypt, whose significance stems both from its geostrategic location and its role as a gateway to North Africa. The deepening economic relations between these two countries, based on shared interests and historical ties, cover a wide range of sectors such as energy, infrastructure, extractive industries, tourism, agriculture, construction, and military cooperation.

Faced with a prolonged economic crisis, Egypt is compelled to seek external sources of capital and views Saudi investments as a crucial element in stabilizing its economy. For Saudi Arabia, this cooperation is not only an opportunity to diversify its investment portfolio in line with the "Saudi Vision 2030" but also a way to increase its political influence in the region and secure strategic interests. Although these investments bring tangible economic benefits to Egypt, they also raise concerns about growing dependence on Saudi capital and technology, which could weaken Cairo's autonomy in key economic sectors

Key areas of interest of Saudi Arabia	
Investments in the energy sector	Saudi Arabia has expressed interest in investing in the development of tourism on Egypt's Red Sea coast, particularly in the Sinai Peninsula, through infrastructure projects aimed at attracting tourists. Joint investments, such as hotel modernizations in Sharm el-Sheikh and investments in the Ras Gamila area, have increased the competitiveness and profitability of Egyptian tourism. However, in the long term, these investments could lead to the domination of Saudi entities in key tourist areas of Egypt, potentially resulting in a loss of control over strategic territories and influence over the country's tourism policy.
Development of tourism infrastructure	Saudi Arabia has expressed interest in investing in the development of tourism on Egypt's Red Sea coast, particularly in the Sinai Peninsula, through infrastructure projects aimed at attracting tourists. Joint investments, such as hotel modernizations in Sharm el-Sheikh and investments in the Ras Gamila area, have increased the competitiveness and profitability of Egyptian tourism. However, in the long term, these investments could lead to the domination of Saudi entities in key tourist areas of Egypt, potentially resulting in a loss of control over strategic territories and influence over the country's tourism policy.
Cooperation in the mining industry	Saudi companies plan to invest in Egypt's mining sector, including the extraction of mineral and metal deposits, with the aim of increasing production and raw material exports. In 2024, Saudi Arabia announced a plan to invest USD 5 billion in Egypt covering various economic sectors, including the mining industry. These investments aim to strengthen economic cooperation and contribute to the development of Egypt's economy. However, the involvement of Saudi entities in Egypt's mining industry could lead to the exploitation of Egypt's natural resources primarily for Saudi benefit, potentially limiting economic gains for the local Egyptian economy.

Investments in the banking sector	The Public Investment Fund (PIF) of Saudi Arabia established the Saudi Egyptian Investment Company (SEIC) to invest in various sectors of the Egyptian economy, including the banking sector. The dominance of Saudi financial institutions in the Egyptian banking sector could lead to Egypt's financial system becoming dependent on Saudi capital, which in crisis situations may affect the country's economic stability.
Cooperation in the agricultural sector	Saudi Arabia plans to invest in Egypt's agricultural sector, including projects related to irrigation, crop cultivation, and food processing, aiming to increase agricultural production and exports. These investments could lead to Egypt's agricultural sector becoming dependent on Saudi capital and technology, which may impact the country's food security and control over agricultural production.
Cooperation in the health sector	Saudi Arabia is engaged in projects aimed at improving healthcare infrastructure in Egypt, including the construction of hospitals and the provision of modern medical equipment. An example of this is the activity of the Saudi German Hospitals Group, which operates medical facilities in Egypt.

Key players from Saudi Arabia	
Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman	Crown Prince and Chairman of the Public Investment Fund (PIF).
Yasir Al-Rumayyan	Managing Director of the Public Investment Fund (PIF). He plays a key role in Saudi Arabia's investments in Egypt (energy sector, infrastructure development, and cooperation in the tourism sector).
Khalid Al-Mudaifer	Vice Minister of Industry and Mineral Resources. His activities focus on implementing the development strategy for the mining industry within Saudi Arabia's "Vision 2030."

Key players from Egypt	
Mostafa Madbouly	The Prime Minister of Egypt plays a key role in strengthening cooperation between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. His efforts focus on enhancing economic, investment, and political relations between the two countries.
Tarek El-Molla	The Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources plays a key role in strengthening energy cooperation between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Key aspects of this cooperation include the import of crude oil and petroleum products, investments in the refining sector, joint energy projects, the development of renewable energy, and collaboration within international organizations such as OPEC+.

United States of America – geopolitical support from across the ocean

The United States is one of Egypt's key economic partners, and its influence spans multiple strategic sectors such as energy, information technology, industry, agriculture, healthcare, and the military. U.S. investments in Egypt reached \$13.7 billion in 2023, making Egypt the largest recipient of American foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa. U.S. companies account for 10% of Egypt's total FDI inflow, with a dominant role in the oil and gas extraction, financial services, manufacturing, and information technology sectors.

U.S. support plays a crucial role in modernizing infrastructure, supporting digital transformation, and boosting Egyptian exports. Through technical and financial assistance programs, Egypt has been able to develop its businesses, improve public services, and implement macroeconomic reforms. At the same time, military cooperation strengthens Egypt's position as a stabilizing force in the region.

However, such strong dependence on American capital and technology carries potential risks. These may include the erosion of Egypt's economic sovereignty, U.S. influence over strategic decisions in the energy and defense sectors, and cybersecurity vulnerabilities. The partnership also enhances the competitiveness of American companies in the Egyptian market, which can sometimes limit opportunities for local businesses. Balancing the benefits of this partnership with its potential challenges is essential for Egypt's long-term economic stability and development.

Key areas of engagement of the USA	
Investments in energy sector	American companies such as Apache Corporation, Chevron, ExxonMobil, and Halliburton are active in Egypt's oil and gas extraction sector. Apache Corporation is one of the largest foreign investors in Egypt's energy industry, significantly strengthening the country's gas export capacity. For nearly 30 years, Apache has been operating intensively in Egypt, primarily in the Western Desert. In 2021, Apache signed a \$3.5 billion agreement for exploration and modernization of the Khalda and Qarun concession areas, aimed at increasing efficiency and optimizing resource use. In August 2022, Chevron signed an agreement with the Egyptian Natural Gas Holding Company (EGAS) to drill its first exploration well in its concession area in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. The aim of this cooperation is to transport, import, and export natural gas from the region. In May 2023, Egypt's Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources and Chevron discussed expanding cooperation in the production, marketing, and distribution of petroleum products, particularly lubricants. Chevron expressed interest in making Egypt an export hub for its products to African and East Mediterranean markets. In October 2024, Halliburton completed drilling four deepwater gas wells in Egypt. Two of these are located in the Burullus gas field in the western Nile Delta, and two more in the Raven field operated by BP in Alexandria. One of the wells has already been connected to production as part of the tenth phase of the Burullus project, with the potential to increase national gas output by 150–200 million cubic feet per day. ExxonMobil has operated in Egypt for over 120 years, starting in 1902 with the registration of Vacuum Oil Company, Mobil's predecessor. Today,

	ExxonMobil Egypt is a leading provider of high-quality fuels and lubricants, with a network of over 350 service stations and more than 40 Mobil 1 centers. In December 2019, ExxonMobil secured over 1.7 million acres for offshore exploration in Egypt, including the 1.2-million-acre North Marakia Offshore block in the Herodotus Basin and the 543,000-acre North East El-Amriya Offshore block in the Nile Delta. In January 2023, ExxonMobil obtained exploration rights in two offshore blocks in Egypt: Masry and Cairo, located in the outer Nile Delta and covering more than 11,000 square kilometers. Additionally, General Electric (GE) plays a significant role in the development of Egypt's energy sector through investments in training and production infrastructure, and by supplying advanced energy technologies. GE delivered 34 gas turbines, which aimed to increase Egypt's power grid capacity by 2.6 gigawatts (GW) before the summer of 2015. This was part of the "Egyptian Power Boost Program," designed to meet the country's growing electricity demand.
IT	Microsoft is actively operating in Egypt, focusing on supporting digital transformation, the development of artificial intelligence (AI), and technological education. In November 2021, Microsoft celebrated its 25th anniversary in Egypt, emphasizing its commitment to the country's technological development. During the 25th edition of the CAIRO ICT trade fair, the company showcased technological innovations aligned with the Egypt Vision 2030 digital transformation agenda. The theme "Microsoft Loves Egypt" reflected the company's long-term commitment to supporting Egypt's digital economy. In November 2023, during Cairo ICT 2023, Microsoft, as the official AI partner, presented its latest advancements in artificial intelligence. The company highlighted how AI is driving the next phase of digital transformation in Egypt, supporting the Digital Egypt strategy and the National AI Strategy. Presentations focused on how AI enhances productivity, creativity, and the responsible implementation of innovative solutions. Microsoft works closely with the Egyptian government and local businesses, providing cloud solutions, AI tools, and other technologies that support infrastructure modernization and public service delivery. Oracle Corporation, a U.S.-based company specializing in enterprise software, including database management systems, also operates in Egypt. Oracle Egypt offers a wide range of services and technological solutions that support digital transformation across various sectors of the economy. The company is also involved in educational and training initiatives aimed at developing digital skills among Egyptian youth and professionals. IBM plays a significant role in Egypt's technological development, engaging in key projects and initiatives that support the country's digital transformation. In December 2022, IBM Egypt signed an agreement with the Information Technology Industry Development Agency (ITIDA) to expand its Centers of Excellence in Egypt. The goal of this collaboration is to increase exports of ICT services and provide consulting services through IBM's Egyptian centers. This initiative supports the national digital agenda by promoting technological development and job creation in the IT sector. In March 2022, Egypt's Ministry of Finance partnered with IBM Consulting and SAP SE to automate the national tax system. This project is part of the government's digital transformation strategy, aiming to integrate the informal economy into the formal sector, improve tax filing management, and broaden the tax base. The implementation of an integrated system based on SAP software and IBM Cloud Pak for Business Automation aims to streamline tax processes and enhance the efficiency of the tax administration. One of the main risks identified by the FIMI (Foreign Influence and Market Integration) index is the potential dependency on

	foreign IT systems and the associated risks related to data access and control.
Agriculture	The United States has long been involved in the development of Egypt's agri-food sector, implementing projects aimed at improving food security, irrigation efficiency, and supporting local food processing. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) runs numerous initiatives in Egypt to strengthen the agricultural sector and enhance food security. These efforts include support for projects modernizing irrigation infrastructure, contributing to more efficient water use in agriculture. Additionally, the agency engages in projects to improve storage, transportation, and distribution processes of agricultural products, minimizing losses and ensuring better food access. Cargill, an American agribusiness corporation, has invested in Egypt for many years, focusing on food processing and storage infrastructure. In 2015, Cargill announced a \$10 million investment to develop grain storage projects at Dekheila port, increasing storage capacity by 42,000 tons. The company operates in soybean processing and animal feed production, providing high-quality products to the Egyptian market. Besides Cargill, other U.S. companies active in Egypt's agri-food sector include PepsiCo, which has invested in local beverage and snack production in cooperation with Egyptian suppliers of agricultural raw materials, and Kellogg's, which in 2015 acquired the Egyptian company Bisco Misr, one of the country's largest biscuit producers, enabling expansion into the Middle East market.
Industry	Companies such as General Motors (GM) and Procter & Gamble (P&G) play a significant role in the Egyptian economy through investments in local manufacturing plants and by adapting their operations to the needs of both the local and export markets. GM operates an assembly plant in Egypt where it produces various Chevrolet models, including the Lanos, Move N300, Aveo, Optra, as well as T and N series trucks. In March 2023, GM Egypt announced a \$16 million investment plan to produce new car models for the local market, demonstrating the company's ongoing commitment to expanding its presence in Egypt. P&G began operations in Egypt in 1986, and in 1990 built one of the largest synthetic detergent production towers in the region. The company manufactures and exports products such as toilet soaps, toothpastes, shampoos, sanitary pads, and baby diapers. P&G Egypt exports its products to more than 34 countries in Africa and Europe, accounting for about 40% of local production.
Military sector	The United States has long played a key role in modernizing the Egyptian armed forces through the delivery of advanced military equipment. This cooperation includes both military aid and direct arms purchases. Egypt is one of the largest operators of F-16 Fighting Falcon aircraft globally, fielding over 200 in service. In 2022, Egypt signed a contract worth approximately \$2.2 billion for the delivery of C-130J Super Hercules transport aircraft along with a support package, with Lockheed Martin as the main contractor. Additionally, Raytheon supplied Egypt with 178 Stinger missiles valued at \$31.6 million, enhancing the country's air defense capabilities. Egypt also acquired three SPS-48 ground-based radar systems with spare parts and equipment, valued at around \$355 million, from L3Harris Technologies. Furthermore, Boeing has delivered AH-64 Apache helicopters to the Egyptian military, which are used in combat and patrol missions. In 2018, the U.S. State Department approved the sale of an additional ten AH-64E Apache helicopters to Egypt. The Egyptian army also received M1A1 Abrams tanks produced by General Dynamics as part of U.S. military aid, significantly strengthening its armored capabilities.

Healthcare	The United States plays a significant role in Egypt's healthcare sector through both government initiatives and private enterprise activities. USAID implements various projects aimed at improving healthcare quality, strengthening health systems, and increasing access to medical services for the population. These efforts include vaccination programs, combating infectious diseases, and support for maternal and child health. As one of the largest American pharmaceutical companies, Pfizer operates in Egypt, providing medicines and vaccines for the local market. Johnson & Johnson offers a wide range of medical and pharmaceutical products in Egypt, supporting the local healthcare system by delivering modern medical solutions.
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Key players from the USA	
Jose W. Fernandez	Under Secretary of State for Economic Growth
Antony Blinken	The Secretary of State. He plays a significant role in shaping foreign policy, including energy cooperation with Egypt.
David M. Turk	Deputy Secretary of Energy at the U.S. Department of Energy. He is responsible for matters related to international energy policy.
John J. Christmann IV	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Apache Corporation The company operates in Egypt through its subsidiary, Apache Egypt, whose local management oversees operations in the region.
Michael K. Wirth	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Chevron Corporation. The company's operations in Egypt are supervised by regional managers responsible for the Middle East and North Africa.
Darren W. Woods	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of ExxonMobil. The company's activities in Egypt are managed by the local office, ExxonMobil Egypt , headed by President and Managing Director Amr Abou Eita .
Jeff Miller	President and Chief Executive Officer of Halliburton. The company's operations in Egypt are directed by regional managers responsible for the Middle East and North Africa.
H. Lawrence Culp Jr.	He serves as the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of GE. GE's operations in Egypt are managed by a local office whose leadership is responsible for cooperating with Egyptian partners in the energy sector.
James A. Harmon	Former Chairman and CEO of the Export-Import Bank of the United States, since 2013 he has been serving as the Chairman of the Egyptian-American Enterprise Fund (EAEF) . This fund was established to support the development of the private sector in Egypt through investments in small and medium-sized enterprises, including those operating in the information technology sector.

Key players from Egypt	
Tarek El-Molla	Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources. He is responsible for the energy sector and international cooperation in this field.
Dr. Mohamed Shaker El-Markabi	He has served as Egypt's Minister of Electricity and Renewable Energy since 2014.
Sameh Aboul-Enein	Deputy Minister for American Affairs at the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he is an experienced Egyptian diplomat who has held several key positions within the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the context of cooperation with the United States, Dr. Aboul-Enein chaired the Egyptian delegation during the meetings of the Egypt-USA Joint Economic Committee held in Washington on September 4–5, 2024. These meetings focused on strengthening economic cooperation between the two countries, with particular emphasis on sectors such as renewable energy, technology, infrastructure, and agriculture.
Amr Talaat	Since June 2018, he has served as Egypt's Minister of Communications and Information Technology. He is responsible for the country's digital strategy, telecommunications infrastructure development, and digital transformation initiatives. Before becoming minister, Amr Talaat had a long career in the private sector, including as Country General Manager at IBM Egypt.

European Union – geopolitical support from across the sea

The European Union plays a key role in supporting Egypt's economic stability, infrastructure development, and foreign policy. Relations between the EU and Egypt—one of the most important partners in the Mediterranean region—are based on shared geopolitical interests, including migration management, energy transition, and support for the local economy. At the same time, EU support functions as a tool to shape influence in the region, strengthening Europe's position on the international stage. Individual EU member states and EU institutions offer various forms of assistance, including infrastructure investments, financial packages, and technological support, balancing Egypt's stabilization needs with Europe's political and economic interests. The EU recognizes Egypt's strategic importance as a pillar of stability in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and Africa, and actively supports the country's development through comprehensive financial programs. For example, under the 2024–2027 plan, the EU committed €7.4 billion in grants and loans to Egypt, aiming to address its economic needs, stabilize the macroeconomic situation, and improve critical infrastructure. This aid is linked to expectations of implementing structural reforms that will enable greater private sector involvement, development of green technologies, and promotion of sustainable growth.

Key areas of engagement of the EU	
Management of migration	The EU financially supports Egypt in efforts to curb illegal migration and improve border management. Thanks to EU funds, Egypt acts as a "buffer country," enabling the EU to control migration flows from North Africa to Europe. Financial packages and cooperation in this area strengthen Egypt's position as a key partner in the EU's migration policy.
Energy transformation and green investments	The EU views Egypt as a strategic partner in the energy transition, particularly in the development of renewable energy sources such as green hydrogen. EU-supported projects, including energy interconnectors and industrial modernization, not only enable Egypt's economic growth but also enhance its role as an energy supplier for European markets.
Economic growth and infrastructural investments	The European Union, in cooperation with the European Investment Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, invests in the development of Egypt's infrastructure, including water systems, agriculture, as well as the pharmaceutical and digital sectors. These investments contribute to Egypt's economic stability while simultaneously opening new opportunities for European companies.
Security and stability	EU support also includes initiatives to combat terrorism, counter organized crime, and ensure regional stability. Egypt, as a key player in the Libyan conflict and the issues of the eastern Mediterranean, is an indispensable partner in Europe's geopolitical strategy.
Encouraging cooperation	European Investment Bank (EIB) provides financial support for infrastructure projects in Egypt. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) supports projects for economic and energy transition in Egypt. EastMed Gas Forum: Egypt and the EU cooperate closely within this forum, supporting energy security and gas trade.

Key players from the EU	
Ursula von der Leyen	President of the European Commission. She is the main advocate of the EU's strategic cooperation with Egypt, particularly in the areas of energy, migration, and green investments. She regularly represents the Union in key negotiations and during events in Egypt.
Josep Borrell	High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission. Responsible for shaping the EU's foreign policy towards Egypt, including issues related to security, migration, and political relations.
Oliver Varhelyi	EU Commissioner for Neighbourhood and Enlargement. A key figure responsible for developing aid programs for Egypt and implementing the EU-Egypt Partnership. Coordinates financial support and investments under the European Economic Investment Plan.
Charles Michel	President of the European Council. Leads the work of the European Council, engaging EU member states in formulating a common position towards Egypt.

Leaders of EU member states involved in relations with Egypt are: Emmanuel Macron (France), Giorgia Meloni (Italy), Kyriakos Mitsotakis (Greece), Mark Rutte (Netherlands), Olaf Scholz (Germany), Nikos Christodoulides (Cyprus), and Pedro Sánchez (Spain)—leaders of key countries engaged in relations with Egypt, particularly in the fields of energy, security, and migration.

Key players from Egypt	
Abdel Fattah el-Sisi	President of Egypt. The most important decision-maker in the country, responsible for the strategy of cooperation with the EU. His government emphasizes economic development, security, and energy transition, which are priorities in cooperation with the Union.
Mostafa Madbouly	Prime Minister of Egypt. He coordinates economic policy and the implementation of key reforms supported by the EU, such as improving the investment environment and infrastructure development.
Sameh Shoukry	He served as Egypt's Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2014 to 2024. During this period, he was responsible for shaping the country's foreign policy and conducting negotiations with the European Union. On January 23, 2024, Shoukry participated in the EU-Egypt Association Council meeting in Brussels, where issues related to partnership and cooperation between Egypt and the European Union were discussed. In April 2022, during a meeting with European Commission Vice-President Frans Timmermans, Shoukry agreed to establish the Mediterranean Partnership for Green Hydrogen, aimed at developing hydrogen technologies and energy transition in the region.
Badr Abdelatty	Minister of Foreign Affairs since July 2024. Previously, he served as Egypt's ambassador to Brussels and to the European Union, which gave him a deep understanding of the EU's structures, political priorities, and

	decision-making mechanisms. Abdelatty has the potential to act as a key link between Cairo and Brussels, particularly within the framework of the EU's Southern Partnership. His personal contacts with EU decision-makers may contribute to faster agreement-making and implementation of joint projects.
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International Monetary Fund (IMF) and BRICS – support and reforms

Egypt, struggling with economic challenges, benefits from the support of key international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB). Both institutions have a significant impact on Egypt's fiscal policy, macroeconomic stability, and infrastructure development, which directly translates into its ability to attract foreign investments and manage external inflows.

Role of the IMF in Egypt

The IMF provides Egypt with financial support in the form of loans, which are conditional on structural reforms. Previous programs have included, among others: liberalization of the exchange rate to increase the competitiveness of the economy and attract foreign investments; fiscal reforms such as reducing energy subsidies to lower the budget deficit; and the introduction of VAT to increase state revenues. In addition, IMF loans help Egypt balance its trade deficit and maintain macroeconomic stability. The reforms supported by the IMF create more favorable conditions for foreign investors, enhancing Egypt's attractiveness as an investment market. IMF conditionality limits Egypt's ability to freely cooperate financially with alternative blocs such as BRICS.

Role of BRICS and the New Development Bank (NDB) in Egypt

The New Development Bank, through BRICS, provides Egypt with support for infrastructure projects such as the expansion of energy networks, including renewable energy; modernization of transport infrastructure and water management; and support for digitization and green technology projects. BRICS offers Egypt financing without the stringent structural reform requirements typical of the IMF. This can lead to greater flexibility in allocating funds and implementing priority projects. Positioning BRICS as a competitor to Western financial institutions (such as the IMF and World Bank) allows Egypt to diversify its sources of support and reduce dependence on traditional lenders.

Key players in the IMF	
Kristalina Georgieva	The Managing Director of the IMF plays a key role in approving support packages for Egypt. Her decisions shape the priorities of reforms required by the IMF.
Jihad Azour	Director of the Middle East and Central Asia Department at the IMF, oversees the implementation of programs in Egypt, monitoring their compliance with the Fund's requirements.

Key players in BRICS	
Dilma Rousseff	The President of the New Development Bank coordinates financial projects in Egypt that support infrastructure and contribute to sustainable development.

5.1.2 Impact of global crises

Global crises play a significant role in shaping the Egyptian economy, exposing it to multifaceted challenges stemming from destabilizing external factors. Egypt's economy, largely dependent on the import of raw materials, tourism, and international financial flows, is particularly vulnerable to changes in the global economic environment. Fluctuating commodity prices, supply chain disruptions, and geopolitical tensions both in the region and beyond not only pose threats but also force Egypt to make strategic decisions aimed at minimizing the impact of these crises.

Below is a description of the impact of selected global crises on Egypt's economy.

War in Ukraine

The war in Ukraine has had a significant impact on Egypt's economy, particularly in the context of rising commodity prices and disruptions in the supply of strategic goods. One of the most tangible consequences of the conflict was the sharp increase in global wheat prices, which heavily affected Egypt—the world's largest wheat importer. Both Ukraine and Russia, Egypt's main wheat suppliers, were forced to limit exports, severely disrupting supply chains. As a result, the Egyptian government had to renegotiate existing contracts and seek alternative sources of supply, leading to additional costs and placing pressure on the country's foreign currency reserves. This strain further exacerbated existing economic challenges, such as rising debt and persistent inflation.

The conflict also influenced global energy prices, which, for Egypt—as a net importer of fossil fuels—meant a substantial increase in production and transportation costs. Higher oil and gas prices raised the cost of living, driving up the prices of basic goods and services, and intensifying already existing social tensions. These effects were particularly severe for businesses dependent on fuel imports and for the transportation sector, leading to increased operating costs and reduced competitiveness of Egyptian products on the international market.

Israel-Palestine-Liban

Tensions in the Israeli-Palestinian region and in Lebanon have a profound impact on Egypt's economy and security policy. The geopolitical situation in Egypt's immediate neighborhood requires significant financial expenditures to maintain stability and protect borders, particularly along the boundary with the Gaza Strip. Escalating conflicts in Palestine and Lebanon force the Egyptian authorities to keep strategic military resources in full readiness, generating high operational costs. These security-related expenditures reduce the funds available for

infrastructure, education, and social development, which in the long term slows economic growth and increases internal tensions.

The Rafah border crossing plays a particularly important role in Egypt's policy, as it is the only point of access from the Gaza Strip to the outside world beyond the crossings controlled by Israel. The Rafah Crossing has become a key channel for the flow of humanitarian aid to Gaza, especially during periods of heightened conflict. By managing this crossing, Egypt plays a significant role in regional humanitarian and diplomatic policy, strengthening its position as a mediator and stabilizing force in the region. However, the responsibility for operating Rafah Crossing entails high operational costs and political risks. Each decision regarding the opening or closure of the crossing faces international and local pressure, requiring the Egyptian authorities to carefully balance national interests with the expectations of the international community.

As a result, tensions in the Israeli-Palestinian and Lebanese regions constitute a significant burden on Egypt's economy. On one hand, they force Egypt to bear high costs to maintain security and stability; on the other, they underscore the country's strategic role in shaping regional dynamics. In the long term, Egypt will need to strike a balance between ensuring security and allocating resources for domestic development—an ongoing key challenge in the context of regional tensions.

Sudan and Ethiopia

Egypt's relations with Sudan and Ethiopia are marked by challenges that significantly impact the country's economy and internal stability. The conflict in Sudan has triggered a serious humanitarian crisis, resulting in a wave of refugees fleeing to Egypt. The influx of people into border regions has strained local infrastructure, particularly housing, healthcare, and education systems. The costs of providing basic needs such as shelter, food, and medical care have further burdened the state budget. Egypt also faces social and economic pressure related to integrating refugees into local communities, which in many cases leads to increased tensions over access to limited resources.

At the same time, the dispute over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), built by Ethiopia on the Nile, poses a strategic threat to Egypt's water security. The Nile, being the main water source for Egyptian agriculture, energy, and daily life, plays a crucial role in the country's economy. A reduction in water flow due to the dam could decrease the availability of water resources, negatively affecting agricultural output and hydroelectric energy. Given that agriculture is a vital sector for Egypt's economy and employment, reduced water availability could lead to lower crop yields, higher food prices, and increased challenges related to food security.

The GERD conflict is not only a technical and environmental issue but also a geopolitical one, involving various regional states and international organizations. Egypt is applying diplomatic pressure on Ethiopia, emphasizing the need for an agreement that ensures a fair distribution of water resources. At the same time, Egyptian authorities must prepare adaptive strategies, such as investing in more efficient water usage and developing irrigation systems.

Both the Sudanese conflict and the GERD dispute illustrate the kinds of challenges that strain Egypt's economy, forcing the government to balance managing humanitarian crises with protecting key national interests. In the long term, Egypt will need to focus on building more resilient resource management systems and seek regional cooperation-based solutions to mitigate the impact of these issues on national stability and development.

Conflicts in Libya and Yemen

Egypt faces a series of challenges stemming from the conflicts in Libya and Yemen, both of which have far-reaching consequences for the country's economy and its geostrategic position in the region. While these two crises differ in nature and direct impact, both are integral to Egypt's foreign policy, compelling Cairo to engage on multiple fronts. In both cases, Egypt seeks not only to minimize threats but also to capitalize on potential opportunities arising from these conflicts.

Libya's proximity means that developments in that country directly affect Egypt's security. The ongoing political and armed crisis in Libya has destabilized border regions, resulting in a significant influx of migrants into Egypt. These migrants, often fleeing violence, place additional pressure on Egypt's social infrastructure—particularly housing, education, and healthcare. Moreover, the emergence of armed groups along the Libyan border has prompted Egypt to increase spending on security, including border patrols and military operations.

At the same time, Libya presents a potential economic opportunity for Egypt. Post-war reconstruction, especially in the energy and transportation sectors, could yield lucrative contracts for Egyptian companies. Egypt's involvement in Libya's stabilization process allows it to assert itself as a regional leader in construction and technology services. Geographic proximity and historical economic ties position Libya as a strategic destination for Egyptian investment and trade cooperation.

The conflict in Yemen, while geographically more distant, has a direct bearing on Egypt's strategic interests. Yemen's location by the Bab al-Mandab Strait, which connects the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden, means that instability in the region threatens international maritime security. For Egypt, which controls the Suez Canal—one of the world's most vital trade routes—unrest in Yemen poses a serious economic risk.

Disruptions in Red Sea shipping caused by piracy, attacks on tankers, or port blockades can significantly reduce the number of vessels passing through the Suez Canal. As a result, Egypt suffers financially from declining transit fees, a crucial source of foreign currency. The Egyptian government is actively involved in stabilization efforts in Yemen, including mediation and cooperation with international maritime coalitions, to minimize risks to its interests. However, these efforts entail substantial financial and political costs.

By acting as a mediator in Yemen's peace process, Egypt strengthens its international image as a regional stabilizer. Nevertheless, such involvement demands considerable diplomatic and financial resources that could otherwise be directed toward domestic development. Moreover, Egypt's activities in Yemen often conflict with the interests of other regional actors, such as

Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, requiring Cairo to maintain a delicate balance in its foreign policy.

The conflicts in Libya and Yemen highlight the dual nature of Egypt's foreign policy: on one hand, the imperative to protect national strategic interests, and on the other, the attempt to leverage regional crises as potential economic and political opportunities. In the case of Libya, Egypt must manage border security and migration while aiming to play a pivotal role in that country's economic recovery. In Yemen, Egypt's stabilizing efforts are a response to threats against the Suez Canal and maritime security, but they come at a high cost and require complex diplomatic maneuvering.

Somalia and Somaliland

Egypt is playing an increasingly active role in the Horn of Africa region by engaging in security issues in Somalia through arms deliveries and the planned deployment of peacekeeping forces. In August 2024, Cairo signed a security pact with Mogadishu, under which, for the first time in over forty years, Egypt supplied Somalia with weapons and ammunition. In September, an Egyptian warship delivered another batch of armaments to Mogadishu, including field and anti-aircraft artillery. Additionally, Egypt offered to send its soldiers as part of a new peacekeeping mission, which was welcomed by Somali authorities.

Egypt's involvement in Somalia aims to strengthen regional security but also entails significant economic costs. Delivering arms and deploying peacekeepers require substantial financial resources, which strain Egypt's state budget. Furthermore, the presence of Egyptian forces in Somalia may cause tensions with other regional countries such as Ethiopia, potentially affecting the stability of trade and investment in the area.

Despite these challenges, Egypt views its involvement in Somalia as a strategic investment in the long-term maritime security of the Red Sea and the protection of key trade routes such as the Suez Canal. Stabilizing Somalia could help reduce threats like piracy, which would positively impact maritime transport costs and the overall condition of the Egyptian economy.

In the long term, the success of Egypt's actions in Somalia will depend on its ability to effectively cooperate with regional partners and efficiently manage the resources allocated to these operations. It will also be crucial to monitor the impact of these activities on relations with other countries in the region as well as on Egypt's internal economic stability.

5.1.3 Strain put by migration

Migration in the Middle East and North Africa region constitutes one of the most serious challenges facing Egypt. The complex geopolitical situation, including armed conflicts, political instability, and humanitarian crises in neighboring countries, significantly affects population flows to Egypt and across its territory. Due to its geographic location, Egypt plays the role of both a destination and a transit country for refugees and economic migrants. These phenomena have far-reaching economic, social, and political consequences, necessitating action at both the national level and within the framework of international cooperation.

Migration from Sudan and Palestine

Egypt faces significant challenges related to the influx of refugees from Sudan and Palestine, which is putting pressure on the country's social infrastructure and economy.

Migration from Sudan

Since April 2023, when the civil war broke out in Sudan, around 7.5 million Sudanese have been forced to leave their homes. Of this number, 6 million are internally displaced, and 1.5 million have fled abroad. Egypt, as one of Sudan's neighbors, has taken in a significant portion of these refugees. Exact numbers are difficult to determine, but it is estimated that the number of Sudanese refugees in Egypt has exceeded one million. Such an influx places a tremendous burden on Egypt's social infrastructure, including the healthcare system, education, and housing market. Refugees primarily settle in cities like Cairo and Aswan.

Migration from Palestine

Egypt plays the role of a transit country for Palestinian refugees attempting to leave the Gaza Strip in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Rafah border crossing is a crucial point for these migrations. In October 2023, as a result of the escalation of the conflict, more than one million Palestinians fled to Rafah in southern Gaza. Fearing a mass influx of refugees, Egypt maintains strict control over the border, limiting the number of people allowed to cross. Nevertheless, the presence of Palestinian refugees generates additional pressure on local resources and infrastructure in the region.

Impact on the economy

The influx of refugees from Sudan and Palestine has a significant impact on the Egyptian economy. The costs associated with providing basic needs to refugees, such as food, shelter, and healthcare, pose a serious burden on the state budget. Public systems are overloaded, leading to a decline in the quality of services available to Egyptian citizens. Egypt receives financial support from the international community, including the European Union, but these funds are insufficient to meet the growing needs. Additionally, the presence of a large number of refugees can lead to social tensions and increased competition for limited resources, further complicating the country's economic situation.

Migration via the Mediterranean Sea

Egypt plays a key role as a transit country for migrants from Africa and the Middle East seeking to reach Europe via the Mediterranean Sea. Migrants from countries such as Eritrea, Somalia, and Sudan often choose the Egyptian coast as the starting point for the dangerous sea route to Europe. In 2015–2016, approximately 130,700 people passed through Egypt on their way to the European Union, of which only 7,000 were Egyptian citizens.

Main migratory routes

Migrants use several key routes across the Mediterranean Sea:

- **Central route:** It leads from the coasts of Libya and Egypt to Italy. It is one of the most dangerous routes, where over 26,000 people have died since 2014.
- **Eastern route:** It starts on the coasts of Turkey, leading through the Aegean Sea to Greece.

Role of Russia and Belarus in destabilizing migratory movements

Russia and Belarus play a destabilizing role in the context of migration at the European Union's borders. In 2021, Belarusian special services, with unofficial support from Russia, organized an artificial migration route directing migrants toward the borders with Poland and Lithuania. The aim of these actions was to destabilize NATO's eastern flank and to test the European Union's crisis response capabilities.

Impact on Egypt

Although Russia's and Belarus's actions focus on the eastern borders of the EU, they have an indirect impact on Egypt. Strengthened border controls by European countries lead to changes in migration routes, increasing pressure on transit countries such as Egypt. As a result, Egypt must intensify efforts to patrol its maritime borders, manage migrants detained during attempts at illegal border crossings, and cooperate with European partners to combat illegal migration.

Cooperation with the EU

The European Union, recognizing Egypt's key role in managing migration flows, is intensifying cooperation with Cairo. The EU supports Egypt financially and technologically in the areas of border and migration management. The enhanced cooperation also includes combating migrant smuggling and diplomatic engagement on return issues.

Consequences for Egypt

Egypt's involvement in managing migration through the Mediterranean Sea entails significant economic and social costs. Patrolling maritime borders, maintaining infrastructure for detained migrants, and international cooperation require substantial financial outlays. At the same time, Egypt faces the challenge of balancing its international commitments with the needs of its own citizens, which demands effective resource management and strategic planning.

5.2 Humanitarian aid

Egypt, due to its strategic location and relatively stable political situation in the region, plays a key role in humanitarian operations in the Middle East and North Africa. Its infrastructure and geopolitical position make it a central hub for humanitarian efforts, which simultaneously attracts external support as well as political pressure.

Egypt as a regional humanitarian aid hub

Egypt's strategic location enables its use as a logistical hub for humanitarian aid, especially in crisis situations concerning the Gaza Strip or Sudan. The Rafah border crossing and ports such as Alexandria are key for the distribution of international assistance. This strengthens Egypt's position on the international stage, earning recognition as a partner in humanitarian efforts. At the same time, however, intensive support from organizations such as the EU, the UN, and the USA deepens its dependence on external funds and initiatives.

Aid to Gaza Strip

Egypt's role in opening the Rafah border crossing in 2023 highlighted its capacity to negotiate on the international stage, particularly in relations with Israel. Cooperation with organizations such as UNRWA and the International Red Cross enabled effective delivery of aid.

Humanitarian crisis in Sudan

The reception of over 300,000 refugees from Sudan has brought Egypt international praise. Organizations such as UNHCR cooperate with Cairo, which strengthens its position as a stabilizer in the region but simultaneously deepens its dependence on foreign aid. The refugee crisis also becomes a tool in relations with the EU and the USA, as Egypt seeks additional funds for the development of humanitarian infrastructure.

Migration and the role of Egypt in containing the crisis

Egypt plays a key transit role for migrants heading to Europe, making it an important partner for the EU in managing the migration crisis. Significant funds provided by Europe for this purpose allow Egypt to develop migration infrastructure but also spark controversy related to allegations of inhumane treatment of migrants. For example, Human Rights Watch has mentioned in its reports arbitrary arrests and ill-treatment of migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees by Egyptian authorities. Furthermore, Egypt leverages its position as a bargaining tool, which sometimes leads to tensions in relations with international partners.

The humanitarian dimension of external influences on Egypt reflects the tension between its strategic role in the region and the growing dependence on international support. Despite successes in managing crises, Egypt faces numerous challenges, such as criticism regarding the treatment of migrants, political controversies, and the exploitation of its internal problems in propaganda narratives. Balancing its role as a regional stabilizer with the protection of its sovereignty remains one of the most important challenges for the Egyptian authorities.

5.3 Religion

Religion constitutes a key element of Egypt's social identity, influencing state structures, as well as political and social processes. The dominant religious group is Sunni Muslims, who make up about 90% of the population, while Coptic Christians, represented by the Coptic Church, account for around 10%. In this multicultural structure, religious institutions play a crucial role in education, politics, and the shaping of social relations, making them a significant arena for external influence.

One of the central religious institutions in Egypt is Al-Azhar, considered one of the most important theological and educational centers in the Muslim world. Its leader, Grand Imam Ahmed el-Tayeb, is recognized as an advocate of moderate Islam. In recent years, Al-Azhar has sought to counter religious extremism, including through international cooperation. In 2019, el-Tayeb, together with Pope Francis, took part in an initiative promoting interfaith dialogue, highlighting the significant role of external actors in shaping religious relations in Egypt. However, these efforts are balanced by internal tensions and the need for Al-Azhar to maintain independence from government politics.

At the same time, the Coptic Church, under the leadership of Pope Tawadros II, continues to face challenges of discrimination and social marginalization. Coptic Christians often encounter difficulties in accessing public office and in issues related to the construction of new places of worship. Sectarian tensions, particularly acute in the rural areas of Upper Egypt, remain a cause for concern. Although religious violence is relatively rare, it tends to escalate and often intersects with economic and social conflicts.

The religious sphere in Egypt remains dynamic and susceptible to external influence, both in promoting interfaith dialogue and in the escalation of tensions. The key challenge lies in balancing these processes, which requires both local engagement and international cooperation in building trust and mutual understanding among various religious groups.

5.4 Geopolitics

Egypt plays a key role in shaping the regional and global balance of power, and its foreign policy and international cooperation have gained increasing significance in recent years. Membership in international organizations, strategic partnerships, and mediation efforts in the region are the main aspects of external influence on the country.

In January 2024, Egypt joined the BRICS group, which opened new opportunities for diversifying international trade and strengthening the country's economic position. Being part of BRICS allows Egypt to reduce its dependence on traditional financial centers such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and to expand cooperation with emerging economic powers like China, India, and Brazil. This move is seen as part of Cairo's broader strategy aimed at balancing Western and Eastern influences in its foreign policy.

At the same time, Egypt is consolidating its position through strategic partnerships with key international players. For Russia and China, Egypt is a vital partner in building a new global economic order, a point emphasized by the leaders of these countries, Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping. This cooperation enhances Egypt's importance as a bridge between Africa, the Middle East, and the rest of the world. Another significant aspect of Egypt's geopolitical influence is its involvement in resolving regional conflicts, particularly in Sudan. Cairo plays a crucial role in mediating between conflicting parties, underscoring its capacity to act as a stabilizing force in the region.

5.5 Ideology

Egypt, as a key player in the Middle East and North Africa region, has become a battleground for intense ideological rivalry between various global powers. Of particular note are the competing narratives promoted by Russia and Western countries, which influence Egyptian society and shape its perception of both domestic and international politics.

Russian propaganda works actively to portray Egypt as a crucial partner in building a multipolar world that opposes the dominance of the Western order. Aleksandr Dugin, a leading ideologue of this vision, supported Egypt's bid for BRICS membership—an effort aligned with the broader strategy of weakening the global hegemony of the U.S. dollar. A key role in spreading Russian narratives is played by social media platforms, especially Telegram, where channels linked to Russian influence have amassed over two million subscribers in Egypt.

In contrast, Western narratives—particularly those advanced by the United States and European countries—focus on issues of democracy and human rights. NGOs fund educational programs that promote the ideas of open society. However, such efforts are often viewed by Egyptian authorities as interference in the country's internal affairs, resulting in political tensions. The clash between Russian and Western narratives is also evident in the media landscape, which is heavily controlled by the state.

Faced with growing international pressure, Egyptian authorities themselves actively deploy nationalistic propaganda to consolidate power. State-run media, for example, highlight government achievements such as the construction of the new administrative capital to emphasize the success of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi's policies. Prominent journalists, like Amr Adib, play a key role in shaping a positive image of the government, while critical or opposition perspectives are systematically suppressed.

The Egyptian government is intensifying its control over the media space. In 2018, Egypt enacted Law No. 175, known as the “Cybercrime Law,” which significantly limits freedom of expression in digital media. The law allows authorities to block websites deemed a threat to national security or the economy and imposes harsh penalties for publishing content considered contrary to “public order” or “morality.” In practice, these provisions are used to silence criticism of the government and restrict the activities of independent media and civil society organizations.

In summary, Egypt remains at the epicenter of an ideological struggle, where the stakes include not only societal influence but also strategic control over the regional order. Russian and Western narratives compete for space in Egyptian media and public consciousness, while state mechanisms of control and propaganda consolidate government authority by eliminating alternative voices.

5.6 Identity

Egypt is a culturally diverse country, which causes it to experience significant external influence in the area of identity. Ethnic diversity and the marginalization of minorities are key challenges that shape both the country's domestic policy and its international relations.

Marginalization of ethnic minorities

Egypt is inhabited by diverse ethnic groups such as Nubians, Bedouins, and smaller Berber communities, which often face marginalization and exclusion. These processes not only lead to social tensions but also affect domestic policy, undermining the cohesion of national identity.

The Nubians, one of the oldest communities inhabiting the Nile Valley, have been demanding recognition of their rights to lands that were flooded as a result of the construction of the Aswan Dam for decades. The Nubians have long advocated for acknowledgment of their land rights, compensation, and return to their historical territories. Egyptian authorities have made several attempts to resolve this issue, but without significant results. The situation remains one of the most important social and political challenges related to this minority in Egypt.

The Bedouins, who mainly inhabit the Sinai region, are often perceived by the authorities as a potential threat related to terrorist activities in the area. Stereotyping and a lack of inclusive policies lead to the marginalization of this group, despite the Egyptian government implementing the development program "Sinai Vision 2030," aimed at improving the living conditions of the Bedouins. However, the program's results so far have been limited, and the community continues to face exclusion and repression.

Role of the media and polarisation

Mainstream Egyptian media play a key role in shaping national identity; however, the lack of representation of ethnic minorities leads to the perpetuation of social inequalities. The issues of the Nubians and Bedouins are almost absent from public media discourse, which contributes to their further marginalization.

Impact on national identity

Marginalization and the lack of dialogue regarding minority issues have a direct impact on the shaping of Egypt's national identity. Polarization fosters the radicalization of certain groups and leads to outbreaks of social unrest.

In summary, the sphere of identity is one of the key aspects of external influence on Egypt. The marginalization of minorities and the lack of representation in the media deepen internal divisions while simultaneously increasing international pressure to respect human rights. Efforts

aimed at including these groups are not only essential for the country's internal stability but also crucial for its position on the international stage.

Conclusions

In summary, it should be emphasized that Egypt is deeply dependent on foreign investments, financial aid, and international cooperation, which makes it vulnerable to the influence of powers such as Russia, China, the USA, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia, as well as organizations like the IMF and BRICS. This cooperation brings benefits in the form of infrastructure and economic modernization but at the same time limits the sovereignty of the country's economic decisions.

Global crises, including the war in Ukraine, regional conflicts, and migration pressure, highlight Egypt's susceptibility to external shocks while simultaneously forcing the intensification of diplomatic and strategic actions. Egypt plays the role of a regional stabilizer, engaging in mediation and humanitarian support, which strengthens its position but also burdens the state budget.

At the same time, the country balances between various ideological and geopolitical influences, striving to use its location and role in the region to ensure development and stability, albeit at the risk of losing independence in key sectors.

CHAPTER 6. Key (foreign) FIMI assets in Egypt and their attribution

6.1 Businesses

A a key center of economy and geopolitics in the MENA region, Egypt attracts significant foreign investments that shape its economic development, politics, and social stability. The influence of foreign companies reflects complex international relations and the strategic interests of global powers in the region.

Foreign businesses operating in Egypt		
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	BUSINESS	SCOPE OF OPERATIONS
Russia	Rosatom	It is constructing a nuclear power plant in El-Dabaa, a strategic project that increases Egypt's dependence on Russian energy technologies. The project, financed by a \$25 billion Russian loan, includes fuel supply, personnel training, and long-term operational support. This project ensures Russia's strategic influence in the energy sector.
	Lukoil	The company is engaged in oil extraction and processing, cooperating with Egyptian companies in the energy sector, which strengthens Russia's position in Egypt's economy. Russia is expanding its economic influence in Egypt, especially in the strategic fuel and energy sector.
	-	Russia is investing in an industrial zone in Port Said, promoting the manufacturing sector.
China	China State Construction Engineering Corporation (CSCEC)	It is responsible for building the New Administrative Capital (NAC), including the Iconic Tower. This project strengthens Chinese economic influence in Egypt and integrates the country into the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).
	Huawei	In the telecommunications sector, it is developing network infrastructure, including 5G technology, increasing Egypt's potential dependence on the Chinese technology sector.
	China Energy Engineering Corporation	It invests in renewable energy projects such as solar farms and green hydrogen, supporting Egypt's sustainable development while simultaneously creating long-term technological linkages.
USA	Chevron i ExxonMobil	It is actively involved in the gas and oil sector, supporting the development of the Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum.

		These projects strengthen Egypt's strategic role as an energy hub while simultaneously building U.S. influence in the region.
	General Electric	It has completed projects with a total capacity of 2.6 GW, supporting the modernization of Egypt's power grid.
	Microsoft i Oracle	They support Egypt's digital transformation through investments in cloud technologies, artificial intelligence, and the digitization of the public sector.
UAE	Masdar	It invests in renewable energy projects, including solar power plants, increasing UAE's share in Egypt's key energy sector.
	DP World	It manages strategic ports, strengthening Egypt's position as a regional logistics hub while increasing Egypt's dependence on UAE capital.
Saudi Arabia	Public Investment Fund (PIF)	Through the Saudi Egyptian Investment Company (SEIC), Saudi Arabia is increasing its presence in the real estate and energy sectors by implementing multibillion-dollar infrastructure projects.
	ACWA Power	It invests in wind farms and solar farms, supporting Egypt's green transformation.

Conclusions and risks

- **Economic:** The presence of foreign companies drives Egypt's infrastructural and technological development, but at the same time increases its debt and dependence on external sources of financing.
- **Political:** Long-term investment projects, such as El-Dabaa and the New Administrative Capital (NAC), may limit Egypt's decision-making autonomy in strategic areas like energy and technology.
- **Social:** The dominance of foreign companies in key sectors such as telecommunications, energy, and logistics may lead to imbalances in access to technology and resources.

The involvement of various global players in Egypt's economy highlights the complexity of international relations and the country's strategic importance in the MENA region. In the face of growing competition between East and West, Egypt must effectively manage external influences to balance economic benefits and political risks.

6.2 NGOs

Foreign non-governmental organisations (NGOs) active in Egypt				
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NAME	SCOPE OF ACTIVITY	AREA OF OPERATION	AREAS OF INFLUENCE
RUSSIA	Russkij Mir	Promotion of the Russian language and culture through support for academic communities, organizing cultural events, and educational programs. The foundation operates in schools, universities, and public institutions, building a pro-Russian narrative among students and young professionals. It also supports publications that promote the Russian perspective on history and international politics.	The organization operates mainly in large cities such as Cairo and Alexandria, where it focuses on cooperation with universities and cultural institutions. In Hurghada and Sharm El Sheikh, the foundation also reaches out to the Russian-speaking community and tourists.	Academic: It strengthens pro-Russian circles in universities and think tanks through scholarships, language courses, and exchange programs. Cultural: It popularizes Russian art and history while simultaneously building a positive image of Russia as a partner in key economic sectors such as energy and infrastructure. Strategic: Russkij Mir's activities support Russia's overall soft power policy, emphasizing its global ambitions and cooperation capabilities.
	Gorchakov Fund	Funding scientific research, publications, and debates on regional policy. The organization is engaged in building pro-Russian narratives within academic and expert circles.	The main activities focus on Cairo and internationally renowned universities, where the foundation supports seminars and conferences.	Research: Creating dialogue platforms and providing financial support for Egyptian scholars who address topics favorable to Russian interests. Geopolitical: Building a pro-Russian opinion among political analysts, which influences the perception of Russia as a stable partner in the Middle East region. Media: The foundation supports publications in Arab media, promoting the Russian narrative on international politics.
	Russian House (Rossotrudnichestvo)	Promotion of Russian culture, language, and science abroad. The activities of Russian Houses in Egypt include:	Major cities such as Cairo, Alexandria, and tourist centers (Hurghada, Sharm El Sheikh), where the Russian House organizes events	Cultural: Popularization of Russian culture and language among Egyptians, which fosters mutual understanding and intercultural dialogue.

		1) Russian language courses: Teaching the language to various age groups and proficiency levels. 2) Cultural events: Organizing concerts, exhibitions, film screenings, and festivals promoting Russian art and traditions. 3) Educational cooperation: Partnerships with local universities and schools for academic and scientific exchange.	for the local community and tourists.	Educational: Facilitating access to the Russian education system through scholarships and exchange programs, increasing the number of Egyptian students studying in Russia. Political: Strengthening diplomatic relations between Russia and Egypt through soft diplomacy and promoting a positive image of Russia in the region. The activities of the Russian Houses in Egypt are an important element of Russia's strategy aimed at strengthening its influence in the region through soft power tools such as culture, education, and scientific cooperation.
CHINA	Confucius Institutes	The institutes promote the Chinese language and culture by organizing language courses, workshops, and cultural events. They are part of China's broader strategy related to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).	They operate at leading universities in Cairo, Alexandria, and Ismailia, where they have access to a large number of students.	Educational: Strengthening cooperation through student exchanges, scholarships, and academic programs. Educational programs at the Institutes are under strict control of the Chinese government, which may lead to limiting discussions on controversial topics such as human rights in China, the situation in Tibet, Hong Kong, or the Xinjiang region. Through cooperation with universities in Egypt, Confucius Institutes can exert pressure on institutions to avoid politically sensitive topics. Such control over the academic agenda is a significant element of FIMI (Foreign Information Manipulation and Influence). Strategic: The Institutes' activities contribute to building the Chinese narrative as a global

				leader and key development partner for Egypt, especially in the technology and education sectors. Language education: Teaching the Chinese language is often perceived as neutral, but in reality, it can be a platform to shape a positive opinion about the Chinese political and economic model. Scholarships and Exchange Programs: By offering educational opportunities for Egyptian students, Confucius Institutes strengthen China's influence on young generations, who may become future opinion leaders. Concealing political goals: The activities of the institutes are presented as educational and cultural, but in reality, they fit into a broader strategy of narrative and information control, typical of FIMI.
	China-Africa Development Fund	The fund supports Chinese investments in Egypt, especially in the infrastructure, green energy, and logistics sectors. Projects are carried out in close cooperation with local institutions.	Projects focus on key areas of infrastructure development, such as the Suez Canal (Suez Economic Zone), as well as industrial areas.	Economic: Increasing the presence of Chinese capital in the Egyptian economy, which strengthens long-term economic relations. Political: Strengthening China's position as a leading investor in strategic sectors, which increases their influence on Egypt's economic policy.
The USA	National Democratic Institute (NDI)	Promoting democratic values, supporting political reforms, and developing social leaders in Egypt. The organization offers educational programs and workshops for local activists.	Cairo and other urban centers where initiatives for transparency and the development of civil society are being carried out.	Social: Education and support for local leaders in building more transparent institutions. Political: NDI programs support political reforms aligned with American interests, which strengthens the presence of the USA in Egyptian public life.

	USAID	Financing development projects in areas such as education, health, infrastructure, and food security. USAID's activities aim to stabilize Egypt's economic and social conditions.	Projects are carried out throughout the country, especially in regions requiring infrastructural development.	Developmental: USAID initiatives support the improvement of quality of life while promoting democratic values and a market economy. Strategic: USAID strengthens the American presence in Egypt by supporting economic and political partnerships.
GERMANY	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and other	Promoting democratic values, human rights, economic cooperation, and education.	Cairo and other urban centers, where foundations have offices and conduct workshops and training.	The activities of these foundations are focused on supporting political dialogue, strengthening civil rights, and enhancing professional qualifications. They often run programs supporting the development of young political and social leaders.
FRANCE	Alliance Française, Fondation de France	Promotion of the French language, culture, and European values in the North African region.	-	France promotes its presence in Egypt through cultural and educational projects, which are part of a broader policy of cooperation with the Maghreb and Middle Eastern countries. This cooperation also strengthens economic ties, especially in sectors related to cultural and educational industries.
QATAR	Qatar Charity, Al Jazeera Foundation	Humanitarian, educational, and cultural support with an emphasis on Islamic values and Arab cooperation.	Rural areas and neglected regions that are most in need of humanitarian aid.	Qatar supports educational initiatives and humanitarian aid, which simultaneously promote its influence in Arab countries. Qatari organizations are also involved in the development of infrastructure projects and engagement in healthcare projects.
The UAE	Emirates Red Crescent, Dubai Cares	Humanitarian activities, educational investments, and projects supporting the development of social infrastructure.	-	Implementation of the project "From the UAE through Egypt to our people in Gaza," involving media personnel, artists, and influencers from Egypt to support Palestinians.

				Strong involvement in the education and health sectors.
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Conclusions and recommendations

The activities of foreign NGOs in Egypt constitute a complex challenge, combining developmental benefits with potential risks to the country's sovereignty. For Egypt, it is crucial to maintain a balance between cooperation with international organizations and the protection of national interests. Regulatory mechanisms are necessary to ensure transparency of NGO activities, while simultaneously strengthening control over the influence of external actors on socio-economic processes. Supporting local initiatives and partnerships can also help reduce dependence on foreign organizations and their narratives.

6.3 Opinion leaders

Key international players with a high influence potential		
COUNTRY	OPINION LEADER NAME	CHARACTERISTICS
RUSSIA	Andrey Kortunov	Director of the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC). His analyses of foreign policy, emphasizing the idea of a multipolar world, are well regarded in Egyptian academic and diplomatic circles. He promotes cooperation between Russia and Global South countries, thereby strengthening the pro-Russian narrative in Egypt.
	Sergey Karaganov	A geopolitical thinker known for the concept of the "Eurasian civilization." His publications are translated and disseminated in conservative circles in Egypt, where they emphasize the benefits of regional cooperation and offer an alternative to Western dominance.
	Aleksandr Dugin	A promoter of Eurasianism, which places Russia at the center of a multipolar world. His ideas are popular in Egypt within intellectual circles that value anti-Western rhetoric.
CHINA	Wang Huning	An ideologist of the Communist Party of China and the author of the "Chinese Dream" concept. His ideas of centralized governance and modernization without a Western liberal model resonate in Egypt, especially among supporters of an authoritarian development model..
	Zhang Weiwei	An expert on the Chinese development model. In Egypt, he promotes the vision of China as an example of effective and stable state governance. His works are popularized through the cooperation of Confucius Institutes with Egyptian universities.
	Liu He	The chief Chinese economic strategist whose publications on reforms and infrastructure investments are appreciated by Egyptian decision-makers engaged in projects under the Belt and Road Initiative.
The USA	Anne-Marie Slaughter	She has written about and commented on the political situation in Egypt, advocating for liberal democracy and inclusive governance. Her works on global governance and networked cooperation inspire young Egyptian leaders striving for political reforms.
	Fareed Zakaria	A commentator on globalization and democracy. His vision of "illiberal democracy" attracts interest in Egypt as a possible compromise between authoritarianism and Western liberalism.
	Joseph Nye	The author of the concept of "soft power." His theories influence the strategies of Egyptian organizations and their approaches to international relations.

	Edward Said	Known for the concept of "Orientalism," which has impacted Middle Eastern studies.
TURKEY	İbrahim Kalın	An advisor to Erdogan, whose works on Islamic identity and regional values are popular in conservative Egyptian circles. His influence in Egypt is mainly linked to his role in promoting Erdogan's policies and cooperation with Islamic groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood.
ISRAEL	Yuval Noah Harari	His analyses on technology and globalization reach Egyptian academic and technological communities that consider the future of digitization in a social context.

Conclusions

Opinion leaders, especially from Russia and China, actively shape public discourse in Egypt by exploiting current challenges such as:

- **Social polarization:** Russian intellectuals, such as Kortunov and Karaganov, emphasize the benefits of alternative models of global cooperation, strengthening anti-Western sentiment.
- **Economic modernization:** Chinese leaders, including Wang Huning and Liu He, promote an economic model based on infrastructure investments and centralized planning, which resonates with Egypt's development needs.
- **Technological transformations:** Harari and Chinese leaders leverage the growing importance of digitalization, highlighting the necessity to adapt to technological changes.
- **Geopolitical rivalry:** The promotion of a multipolar order by Russian and Chinese leaders finds fertile ground in Egypt, which seeks to become independent from Western dominance.

Opinion leaders in Egypt play a key role in shaping ideas and narratives that influence politics, society, and culture. Cooperation with local universities, media, and institutions allows them to widely disseminate their concepts, thereby strengthening their influence in the region.

6.4 Religious leaders

Influential religious leaders supported by foreign actors		
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES	RELIGIOUS LEADER NAME	CHARACTERISTICS
RUSSIA Cooperation with the Coptic Orthodox Church: Russia, through close relations with the Orthodox Church, is strengthening ties with the Copts in Egypt. Joint projects promoting Christian values are aimed at building a pro-Russian image as a defender of Christians in the region. Actions such as supporting the restoration of Coptic churches or organizing international conferences on the rights of Christian minorities reinforce pro-Russian sympathies among Egyptian Christians. Strengthening the narrative of Russia as a global defender of traditional Christian values, contrasting with the liberal West.	Patriarch Kirill I	Significance: The head of the Russian Orthodox Church, promoting conservative Christian values and cooperation between Orthodox believers and the Copts in Egypt. Influence: His efforts to defend Christians in the region strengthen the pro-Russian narrative among Egyptian Christians.
	Bishop Hilarion	Significance: Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Russian Orthodox Church. Influence: He supports interreligious dialogue, which helps Russia strengthen relations with Egypt in the context of defending Christianity.
CHINA Promoting religious harmony: China presents its model of religious coexistence as an example of stability and unity, promoted by Chinese institutions in Egypt, including Confucius Institutes. Educational projects and research programs funded by China emphasize the need to balance religious diversity with a shared national identity. Cooperation with Egyptian religious leaders aims to portray China as a neutral and independent partner that avoids religious conflicts.	Wang Zuo'an	Significance: Former director of the Chinese State Administration for Religious Affairs, responsible for promoting religious tolerance. Influence: He supports Chinese initiatives in Egypt, such as educational projects emphasizing the role of religious stability in economic development.
	Chen Ruifeng	The successor of Wang Zuo'an. As director of the Chinese State Administration for Religious Affairs, he is actively engaged in promoting religious tolerance and interfaith cooperation. In June 2024, he met with the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, Sheikh Ahmed El-Tayeb, in Cairo to discuss issues related to religious integration and cooperation between China and Egypt. Chen Ruifeng also expressed a desire to strengthen ties between China and the Coptic Church.

THE USA Protestant Churches: American religious organizations support religious education and human rights activities. These programs often combine the promotion of religion with democratic values and civic education. Projects supported by the USA, such as health and educational programs organized by churches, increase America's influence among Christian communities and religious leaders.	Franklin Graham	Significance: An American Protestant preacher and leader of the international charitable organization Samaritan's Purse. Influence: His organization supports educational and health initiatives in Egypt, while promoting Christian values and human rights.
	Jim Wallis	Significance: Leader of the "Sojourners" movement promoting social justice in the spirit of Christian values. Influence: Inspiring local Christian communities to engage in human rights and education initiatives.
SAUDI ARABIA Spreading Wahhabism: Saudi organizations have been financing mosques, madrasas, and Quranic schools in Egypt for decades, promoting a conservative version of Wahhabi Islam. Supporting religious leaders who preach adherence to conservative doctrine is a key element of Saudi Arabia's strategy. Such activities contribute to the marginalization of more moderate interpretations of Islam, leading to increased tensions between different religious groups.	Abdulaziz Al-Sheikh	Significance: The Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia and head of the Council of Senior Scholars. Influence: His teachings are disseminated in Egypt through mosques and Quranic schools funded by Saudi Arabia, promoting a conservative version of Islam.
	Saleh Al-Fawzan	Significance: A prominent Wahhabi scholar and member of the Permanent Committee for Fatwas of Saudi Arabia. Influence: He supports Wahhabi interpretations in religious education in Egypt, contributing to the radicalization of certain religious circles.
TURKEY Promotion of political Islam: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, through support for Islamist movements, seeks to strengthen the role of Islam in Egypt's politics. Funding of media, mosques, and organizations promoting Islamic political activism supports references to the idea of Ottoman heritage and Turkey's contemporary role in the Islamic world.	Ali Erbaş	Significance: Chairman of the Directorate of Religious Affairs of Turkey (Diyanet). Influence: He promotes the Turkish model of political Islam through cooperation with Egyptian religious leaders, supporting movements associated with the Muslim Brotherhood.
	Ahmet Davutoğlu	Significance: Former Prime Minister of Turkey, known for theoretical works on Islam and foreign policy. Influence: His publications and lectures are used by Islamist movements in Egypt to emphasize the role of Islam in politics.

QATAR Support for Islamist movements: Qatar is known for financing the Muslim Brotherhood and related religious leaders, providing a media platform, such as Al Jazeera, to promote their ideology. Educational and cultural projects funded by Qatar emphasize the importance of Islamic political identity, promoting Islam as the foundation of social reforms.	Yusuf al-Qaradawi (dead since 2022, yet his influence still remains)	Significance: Former chairman of the International Union of Muslim Scholars, promoting political Islam. Influence: His ideas are widely disseminated in Egypt, especially among circles associated with the Muslim Brotherhood.
	Ali Mohiuddin al-Qaradaghi	Significance: Secretary-General of the International Union of Muslim Scholars. Influence: He continues the work of al-Qaradawi, supporting Islamic political movements in Egypt.
IRAN Promotion of Shiism: In Egypt, where Sunni Islam predominates, Iran seeks to promote its narrative by supporting the Shiite minority. Organizing interfaith conferences and funding initiatives that emphasize Iran's role as a defender of Islam strengthen its influence in the region. These actions are especially important given Iran's rivalry with Saudi Arabia, which affects local religious tensions.	Ali Khamenei	Significance: The Supreme Leader of Iran, who supports the promotion of the Shiite narrative through his publications and messages. Influence: He organizes support for the Shiite minority in Egypt, which is part of Iran's broader geopolitical strategy.
	Hossein Nasr	Significance: A prominent Islamic intellectual, promoting the philosophy and spirituality of Shiite Islam. Influence: His publications are used to build a positive image of Shiite Islam in Egypt.

Influence of the Catholic Church in Egypt		
INFLUENCE	INSTITUTIONS/ACTIVITY	CHARACTERISTICS
Educational	Catholic schools and universities	Catholic schools and universities, including those run by Jesuits and religious orders, play a key role in education in Egypt. They promote humanistic values, tolerance, and intercultural dialogue. These institutions attract both Christians and Muslims, which helps build bridges between communities.
Humanitarian	Caritas Egypt	Catholic organizations, such as Caritas Egypt, support local communities through humanitarian aid

		projects, infrastructure development, health support, and education. They focus on poor and marginalized regions. Caritas' humanitarian projects include assistance for refugees and internally displaced persons, strengthening the positive image of the Catholic Church in Egypt.
Inter-religious	Dialog with Al-Azhar	The Catholic Church, especially through Pope Francis, promotes dialogue with Al-Azhar, the main institution of Sunni Islam. Joint initiatives, such as the document on human fraternity, emphasize the need for cooperation between religions.
Political	Protection of religious minorities and promotion of human rights	The Catholic Church does not engage directly in politics in Egypt, but its messages and humanitarian work reinforce narratives about the need to protect religious minorities. It promotes social justice and human rights.
Leaders of the Catholic Church		
LEADER NAME	SIGNIFICANCE	INFLUENCE
Pope Francis	Head of the Catholic Church, actively promoting interreligious dialogue and peace in the Middle East	His visits to the region (including Egypt in 2017) and peaceful messages support dialogue between Christians and Muslims, especially in the context of religious conflicts and tensions. He emphasizes the protection of Christian minorities in the region and promotes interfaith cooperation.
Cardinal Miguel Ángel Ayuso Guixot	Chairman of the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, actively engaged in relations with Islamic leaders in Egypt.	He participated in the creation of the document "On Human Fraternity" signed by Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, Ahmed Al-Tayeb, promoting tolerance and interreligious harmony.
Patriarch Ibrahim Isaac Sidrak	Head of the Coptic Catholic Church in Egypt, representing the Catholic minority in the country.	He is actively engaged in dialogue with other Christian churches in Egypt, as well as with Muslim leaders. He promotes Christian unity and cooperation in the face of common challenges such as religious persecution.

Additional information

1. Manipulation of religious tensions:

Tensions between Sunnis and Shiites are often exploited by foreign actors to pursue their geopolitical goals.

- Saudi Arabia and Iran: They compete for influence in Egypt, leading to the escalation of tensions between different religious groups.
- Turkey and Qatar: By supporting Islamist movements, they fuel divisions between supporters of a secular state and Islamists.

2. The role of religious leaders in mediation and conflict:

Religious leaders in Egypt are often involved in social dialogue but are also instrumentalized by foreign powers, which leads to deepening social polarization.

Conclusions

Competition for influence: Foreign religious leaders are often instrumentalized to advance the geopolitical interests of their countries.

Religious tensions: Different interpretations of Islam and Christianity are used to polarize society in Egypt, undermining local stability.

Strengthening local leaders: Foreign entities support religious leaders in Egypt to promote their values and interests, which in the long term leads to deeper divisions.

6.5 Political leaders

Key foreign political figures who exert their influence on Egypt		
COUNTRY/ ACTOR	POLITICIAN NAME	CHARACTERISTICS
RUSSIA	Vladimir Putin	Regular meetings with the President of Egypt, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, aimed at strengthening strategic relations. These actions include key infrastructure projects (such as the construction of the nuclear power plant in El-Dabaa) and cooperation in the defense sector. Putin sees Egypt as a key partner in expanding Russian influence in the Middle East and North Africa region.
	Sergey Lavrov	Russia's Foreign Minister plays a key role in maintaining political and economic dialogue with Egypt. He regularly visits Egypt to coordinate cooperation on issues such as regional security, conflicts in Syria and Libya, and countering Western influence.
	Andrey Kortunov	Director of the Russian International Affairs Council, promotes the Russian narrative on the international stage, including in Egypt, by advocating for multipolarity and cooperation with the Global South.
CHINA	Xi Jinping	Promotion of China's Belt and Road Initiative, involving key investments in Egypt, such as the development of the Economic Zone near the Suez Canal. Works to strengthen China's position as Egypt's main trade partner. Frequently emphasizes Egypt's importance as a hub in China's global economic strategy.
	Wang Yi	China's Foreign Minister, actively promotes cooperation with Egypt in education, infrastructure, and green energy. Responsible for developing political relations and supporting initiatives like the Confucius Institutes.
	Wang Huning	Ideologist of the Communist Party of China, whose ideas on centralized governance and modernization without Western liberalism are promoted in Egypt, especially in the context of educational and cultural cooperation.
THE USA	Joe Biden	President of the United States, engaged in ensuring political stability in Egypt through strategic military support and cooperation in counter-terrorism. Aims to maintain Egypt as a key ally in the region, especially regarding Middle East stabilization.
	Antony Blinken	U.S. Secretary of State, conducts dialogue with Egyptian authorities on human rights and economic stability while maintaining strong defense ties. Initiates projects to support civil society and promote reforms.
IRAN	Ali Chamenei	Supreme Leader of Iran, whose strategy of strengthening Shiite influence in the region includes fostering closer ties

		with Egypt by supporting local Shiite communities and cultural initiatives.
TURKEY	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	President of Turkey, seeking to rebuild relations with Egypt after a period of tension due to support for the Muslim Brotherhood. Focuses on economic and energy cooperation, particularly in the Eastern Mediterranean region.
	Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu	Turkey's Foreign Minister, leading normalization talks with Egypt, focusing on mutual support in North Africa and economic cooperation.
	İbrahim Kalın	Chief Advisor to Erdoğan, promoting a vision of restoring Turkey's regional influence through appeals to Islamic values and Ottoman heritage. Since June 5, 2023, serves as Director of Turkey's National Intelligence Organization (MIT).
THE EUROPEAN UNION	Ursula von der Leyen	President of the European Commission, pursuing efforts to strengthen economic relations between the EU and Egypt. Focuses on sustainable development, renewable energy (e.g., green hydrogen projects), and cooperation on migration management.
	António Costa	President of the European Council, responsible for coordinating foreign policy among EU member states. Will play a key role in shaping EU policy toward third countries, including Egypt.
	Roberta Metsola	President of the European Parliament, whose actions influence EU-Egypt relations by supporting dialogue on human rights, democracy, and regional stabilization.
	Emmanuel Macron	President of France, supporting cooperation with Egypt in security, energy, and cultural sectors. Also focused on reinforcing France's position as Egypt's key partner within the EU.
	Olaf Scholz	Chancellor of Germany, actively supports partnership with Egypt, especially in the fields of energy and economy. Germany is a major player in infrastructure investments and energy cooperation, including renewable energy projects.
	Dick Schoof	Prime Minister of the Netherlands, serving since July 2, 2024, is actively engaged in developing relations with Egypt. On October 28, 2024, held a phone conversation with President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, during which they discussed key issues, including economic partnership and regional consultations.
	Pedro Sánchez	Prime Minister of Spain, promoting cooperation with Egypt in Mediterranean maritime security and joint efforts against smuggling and human trafficking.
	Antonio Tajani	Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Italy, strongly involved in relations with Egypt, particularly in energy

		matters and combating illegal migration. Italy is a key partner for Egypt in the Mediterranean region.
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6.6 Military leaders

Key foreign military leaders who engage in cooperation with Egypt		
COUNTRY / ACTOR	MILITARY LEADER NAME	CHARACTERISTICS
RUSSIA	Andrey Belousov	Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation since May 2024.
	Sergei Shoigu	Former Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation (dismissed in 2024), who played a key role in negotiations regarding the supply of military equipment such as the S-300 and S-400 systems, as well as in organizing joint military exercises called "Defenders of Friendship." Shoigu regularly met with Egyptian military leaders to strengthen strategic cooperation.
	Russian military advisors	Present in Egypt to provide training on the use of modern air defense systems and management of advanced weaponry, including Su-35 combat aircraft.
CHINA	Dong Jun	Current Minister of Defense of China.
	Wei Fenghe	Former Chinese Minister of Defense, key in negotiations concerning military cooperation and deliveries of technological equipment such as drones and surveillance systems. The Chinese government strengthens ties with Egypt through training programs at Chinese military academies.
	Chinese advisors for military technology	They participate in technology transfer and support the development of IT infrastructure and cyber defense systems in Egypt, enhancing capabilities in digital defense.
THE USA	Lloyd Austin	U.S. Secretary of Defense, engaged in developing military relations with Egypt, especially within the framework of the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) Program. Austin leads strategic talks concerning the delivery of advanced military equipment, such as F-16 fighter jets and Abrams tanks.
	Michael Kurilla	Commander of the United States Central Command (CENTCOM), who regularly oversees joint military exercises such as "Bright Star," strengthening interoperability and cooperation in the fight against terrorism.
IRAN	Esmaeil Qaani	Commander of the Quds Forces, who attempts to build relations with local military structures in Egypt. Although

		Iran's influence in Egypt is limited, Qaani plays a role in promoting asymmetric defense strategies.
TURKEY	Hulusi Akar	Minister of Defense of Turkey, involved in rebuilding military relations with Egypt. Akar focuses on cooperation in naval operations and military training, particularly in the context of conflicts over gas resources in the Mediterranean Sea.
	Turkish military officers	They play a role in promoting the exchange of experience between the armies of both countries, especially in special operations and protection of maritime borders.
THE EUROPEAN UNION	Florence Parly	Former Minister of Defense of France, key in negotiations concerning the delivery of military equipment such as Rafale fighter jets and Scorpène submarines. France is one of the main suppliers of advanced weaponry to Egypt.
	Mark Rutte	Secretary General of NATO, who, as Prime Minister of the Netherlands, maintained active relations with Egypt focusing on regional and humanitarian issues. In March 2024, Rutte visited Cairo and met with Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi to discuss the Gaza situation. He emphasized Egypt's role as a key partner in delivering humanitarian aid to the region.
SAUDI ARABIA	Khalid bin Salman Al Saud	Minister of Defense of Saudi Arabia, responsible for developing military cooperation with Egypt, including joint maneuvers and security projects in the Red Sea.
	Saudi training officers	They regularly engage in exercises with the Egyptian Armed Forces, focusing on land and naval operations, which strengthens regional defense capabilities.

Summary

Military cooperation between Egypt and various countries, both global and regional, underscores its strategic importance in the MENA region. With access to advanced weaponry and intensive training programs, Egypt strengthens its position as a key player in regional stabilization.

6.7 Traditional media

Foreign media operating in Egypt		
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	NAME	CHARACTERISTICS
RUSSIA	RT Arabic	It actively promotes pro-Russian narratives in the MENA region. Programs focus on Russia's successes in international politics, emphasizing its role as an alternative to the West. The channel highlights Egyptian-Russian cooperation in areas such as nuclear energy, defense, and tourism.
	Sputnik Arabic	It focuses on creating a positive image of Russia while criticizing U.S. and EU policies toward the Middle East. These media use narratives about shared conservative values, such as the protection of traditional social and religious norms.
CHINA	China Global Television Network (CGTN)	It offers programs promoting China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), presenting the positive outcomes of investments in Egypt, such as infrastructure development and job creation. These media portray China as a stable and neutral partner building Egypt's future without political interference.
	Xinhua News Agency	It regularly publishes articles praising Sino-Egyptian economic and technological cooperation projects, such as the economic zone near the Suez Canal. Xinhua avoids criticism, emphasizing success and mutual benefits.
THE USA	CNN International	It presents Egypt as a key U.S. ally, but simultaneously criticizes the government on human rights and democratic reforms. CNN's coverage draws attention to domestic issues such as women's rights and freedom of expression, putting pressure on Egyptian authorities.
	Voice of America (VOA)	VOA programs for the Arab audience promote American democratic and economic values. They often highlight the need for reforms in Egypt, especially in social areas such as education and minority rights.
TURKEY	TRT Arabic	It promotes Turkey's vision for the Middle East, emphasizing Turkey's success in economic and technological development. It also fosters a narrative of shared history and culture, aiming to improve relations with Egypt, especially after a period of political tensions.
	Anadolu Agency (AA)	It publishes reports focusing on shared interests between Egypt and Turkey in areas such as trade cooperation and energy security. These media highlight the potential benefits of restoring diplomatic relations.
SAUDI ARABIA	Al-Arabiya	It actively promotes cooperation between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, especially in terms of investment, counterterrorism, and the protection of shared Islamic values. Programs often

		emphasize strategic alliances and mutual interests in the MENA region.
	Asharq News	It focuses on promoting a vision of the future based on Egypt's economic and military cooperation with Gulf countries. These media play a key role in building a positive image of the Saudis as strategic partners.
QATAR	Al-Jazeera Arabic	Known for its criticism of Egyptian authorities, especially following the 2011 revolution and the rise to power of Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, these media promote narratives supporting Islamist movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood, which may contribute to social polarization in Egypt.
	Al-Jazeera Mubasher	It reports on political events in Egypt, often highlighting human rights violations and restrictions against political opposition.
FRANCE	France 24 Arabic	The station presents France as a key partner for Egypt, emphasizing cooperation in areas such as security, energy, and culture. It also showcases the successes of Franco-Egyptian collaboration, such as contracts for Rafale fighter jets and joint efforts against terrorism.
UK	BBC Arabic	BBC Arabic is one of the most respected international broadcasters in Egypt, offering news and political analysis from a European perspective. The station often addresses human rights, press freedom, and democratic reforms in Egypt. These reports can put pressure on Egyptian authorities but also reinforce the perception of the UK as a defender of freedom and democracy.
GERMANY	Deutsche Welle (DW Arabic)	DW Arabic focuses on promoting democratic values, human rights, and economic cooperation. It frequently highlights German cooperation initiatives with Egypt in areas such as education, technology, and sustainable development.

Analysis of influence

1. Polarisation of the narrative:

- Russian and Chinese media focus on building a positive image of their countries as stable partners supporting Egypt's development, while simultaneously criticizing the West.
- Turkish and Qatari media promote a more confrontational narrative that can polarize Egyptian public opinion.

2. Highlighting successes and problems:

- Chinese and Saudi media focus on joint successes with Egypt, avoiding controversial topics.

- Al-Jazeera, CNN, and VOA highlight internal issues such as human rights concerns and authoritarian governance, which contributes to international pressure on the Egyptian government.

3. Promoting cooperation:

- Arab media, such as Al-Arabiya and Asharq News, as well as American media like VOA, promote close relations with Egypt as a key partner in the region.

4. Promoting democratic values:

- Media outlets such as BBC Arabic, DW Arabic, and France 24 Arabic focus on promoting human rights, political reforms, and press freedom, which may put pressure on the Egyptian government.

Conclusions

Foreign media play a significant role in shaping public opinion in Egypt, promoting various narratives aligned with the interests of their countries. This influence not only strengthens Egypt's relations with foreign partners but also intensifies internal polarization, especially in the context of democratic and conservative narratives.

6.8 Non-traditional media

Digital platforms and social media used by particular countries		
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	PLATFORM	PROFILE OF ACTIVITY
RUSSIA	Telegram	Characteristics: A popular platform in Egypt, used by Russian groups to spread pro-Russian narratives. Telegram is particularly valued for its encryption and lack of censorship. Narrative: Portraying Russia as an alternative to Western dominance. Spreading content that undermines the credibility of Western media. Influence: Strong impact on younger social groups and individuals seeking independent sources of information.
	Russian channels on YouTube	Characteristics: Media such as RT Arabic and Sputnik Arabic use YouTube to widely disseminate video content. The platform is used to reach Arab audiences. Narrative: Enhancing Russia's image through content on economic and strategic cooperation with Egypt. Criticism of U.S. and EU policies toward the region. Influence: Thanks to YouTube's broad reach, this content reaches various age groups.
CHINA	TikTok	Characteristics: A popular platform among young Egyptians. It promotes cultural, educational content and subtly integrates political narratives. Narrative: Emphasizing the successes of the Chinese economic model and cooperation with Egypt. Promoting educational programs and cultural exchange. Influence: TikTok plays an important role in shaping a positive image of China among younger social groups.
	WeChat	Characteristics: Mainly used in business circles, WeChat serves as a communication tool in the context of Chinese investments. Narrative: Supporting economic cooperation and promoting the Chinese investment model. Influence: Limited, but effective within business environments.
THE USA	Facebook	Characteristics: The most popular social media platform in Egypt, used for social mobilization, event organization, and educational campaigns.

		Narrative: Promoting democratic values and human rights. Organizing social campaigns supported by NGOs and embassies. Influence: Widely used by civil society and international institutions.
	X (former Twitter)	Characteristics: A key platform in diplomatic campaigns and organizing social activism. Narrative: Promoting American democratic values. Highlighting U.S. support for reforms in Egypt. Influence: Especially popular among activists, journalists, and academic circles.
SAUDI ARABIA	Snapchat	Characteristics: Popular among youth, promotes conservative values and the successes of Saudi-Egyptian cooperation. Narrative: Cooperation in education, culture, and counterterrorism. Promotion of conservative religious values. Influence: Strong in the MENA region, especially among younger users.
	YouTube	Characteristics: Channels funded by Saudi entities present content promoting economic and cultural cooperation with Egypt. Narrative: Emphasizing the strategic alliance between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Reinforcing the image of Saudi Arabia as a regional leader.. Influence: YouTube is an important medium for reaching a wide audience.
TURKEY	Twitter and YouTube	Characteristics: Turkish media entities use these platforms to promote content related to Erdoğan's policies and Turkey's international achievements. Narrative: Supporting the idea of political Islam. Highlighting Turkish-Egyptian cooperation as a strategic partnership in the region. Influence: Particularly strong among Egyptian groups sympathetic to the Muslim Brotherhood.
THE EU	Euronews on Facebook and X	Characteristics: These platforms are used to promote information about EU-supported projects in Egypt, such as educational and infrastructure initiatives.

		Narrative: Emphasizing the benefits of cooperation with the EU. Supporting European values such as democracy and human rights. Influence: Significant among audiences interested in cooperation with Europe.
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Influence analysis

1. Polarisation of the narrative:

- Russian and Chinese platforms amplify criticism of the West, emphasizing the advantages of alternative models of cooperation.
- American and European platforms promote democratic and liberal values.

2. Exploitation of digital media:

- Platforms such as TikTok and Telegram are used to subtly manipulate public opinion, especially among younger social groups.

3. Deepening of divisions:

- Non-traditional media contribute to the polarization of Egyptian society, particularly on social, religious, and political issues.

6.9 Academic and scientific cooperation

Key initiatives and programs

Russia:

- **Academic exchange programs:** Russia maintains active cooperation with Egyptian universities, offering scholarships and exchange programs for students and researchers. Key fields include engineering, medicine, and nuclear energy. Egyptian students are invited to prestigious Russian universities such as Moscow State University and Bauman Moscow State Technical University.
- **Technology transfer and training:** In the context of the El-Dabaa Nuclear Power Plant project, Russia provides training for Egyptian specialists in nuclear technology.
- **Cultural narratives:** Academic cooperation also includes cultural components that reinforce pro-Russian narratives among Egyptian students and scholars.

China:

- **Investment in scientific research:** China supports Egyptian projects in areas such as water resource management, agriculture, urbanization, and energy. These initiatives align with China's Belt and Road Initiative strategy.
- **Confucius Institutes:** These educational institutions offer Chinese language courses and cultural workshops, building a positive image of China as a scientific partner. They support academic cooperation and promote the Chinese development model.
- **Academic infrastructure:** Chinese companies support the development of Egyptian campuses by modernizing laboratories and lecture halls, building long-term relationships in the education sector.

The USA:

- **University partnerships:** Programs such as cooperation with the American University in Cairo (AUC) include research in public health, renewable energy, and digital technologies.
- **Fulbright Program:** The U.S. offers scholarships to Egyptian scholars and students through the Fulbright Program, promoting democratic values and human rights in academic environments.
- **Support for innovation:** USAID supports Egyptian tech start-ups by offering grants and mentoring in new technologies.

The EU:

- **Erasmus+ Program:** The EU supports student and researcher mobility, enabling Egyptian participants to study and conduct research at European universities.

- **Research projects:** Research initiatives in renewable energy, environmental protection, and public health—supported by countries like Germany and France—strengthen scientific cooperation.
- **French educational support:** France runs educational programs in the French language, supporting the development of the humanities and arts sectors.

Iran:

- **Religious scholarships:** Iran offers scholarships to Egyptian students interested in studying Shiism, aiming to attract Egyptian religious leaders to its scholarly model.
- **Publications and conferences:** Iranian organizations support the translation of academic works and the organization of events promoting Shiite narratives.

Turkey:

- **Support for Islamic academic studies:** Turkey promotes academic cooperation with Egypt through projects related to religious and historical studies, referencing shared Ottoman heritage.
- **University cooperation:** Turkish universities are partnering with Egyptian institutions, offering exchange programs in technology and social sciences.

Saudi Arabia:

- **Religious education funding:** Saudi Arabia offers scholarships for Egyptian students to attend prestigious institutions such as the Islamic University of Medina, promoting conservative interpretations of Islam.
- **Technological support:** Cooperation programs in fields such as computer science and engineering aim to develop Egypt's educational sector.

Additional remarks

Geopolitical influence: Academic cooperation is used by foreign countries to promote their political and cultural narratives, which impacts the Egyptian intellectual elites.

Modern technologies: China and the USA focus on the digitization of education, increasing their ability to influence younger generations of Egyptians.

Role of Arab countries: Saudi Arabia and Turkey concentrate on promoting religious and cultural narratives, strengthening their soft power in Egypt.

6.10 Military cooperation and non-state military actors

Foreign military support and cooperation

Russia:

- **Russian military advisors:** Train the Egyptian armed forces in modern military technologies, such as the S-300 and S-400 air defense systems. The cooperation also includes the modernization of existing equipment, including T-90 tanks and military aviation.
- **Russian Ministry of Defense:** Involved in organizing joint military exercises, such as the "Defenders of Friendship" maneuvers, which enhance the interoperability of Russian and Egyptian airborne forces.

China:

- **Chinese cybersecurity experts:** Provide technical support in IT infrastructure, enhancing Egypt's capabilities in defending against cyber threats. Cooperation also includes technology transfer in drone systems and surveillance equipment.
- **People's Liberation Army of China:** Supports the training of Egyptian officers in Chinese military academies, promoting an alternative model of armed forces organization and South-South cooperation.

The USA:

- **Foreign Military Financing (FMF) Program:** A key pillar of military cooperation, providing Egypt with funds to purchase modern weaponry, such as F-16 fighter jets, warships, and missile defense systems.
- **CENTCOM (U.S. Central Command):** Regularly organizes joint exercises like "Bright Star," which strengthen the operational capabilities of the Egyptian military in collaboration with Western forces.
- **U.S. military advisors:** Assist Egyptian officers in counterterrorism strategy and military operations, particularly in combating extremism in the Sinai Peninsula.

Iran:

- **Quds Force (elite IRGC unit):** Attempts to establish contacts with local structures in Egypt, offering support in asymmetric defense strategies. However, their influence is limited due to doctrinal differences.

Turkey:

- **Turkish Ministry of Defense:** Proposes cooperation with Egypt in military training and technical support, particularly concerning naval operations related to gas exploration in the Mediterranean Sea.
- **Turkish military advisors:** After a period of political tensions, they aim to rebuild military relations through joint training programs and exchanges in military strategy.

The EU:

- **EU training missions:** Support Egypt in modernizing its police and military forces, especially in border management and combating illegal migration across the Mediterranean Sea.
- **France:** As a key supplier of military equipment—such as Scorpène submarines and Rafale fighter jets—France plays a major role in modernizing Egypt's armed forces.

Saudi Arabia:

- **Joint military exercises:** Recently, Saudi Arabia participated in maneuvers on Egyptian training grounds, strengthening military cooperation between the two countries. One example is the participation of Saudi forces in "Bright Star 2023" exercises, alongside the U.S., UAE, Greece, and others. Saudi soldiers trained with Egyptians in land, air, and naval operations. The aim was to improve interoperability and readiness for joint action during regional crises.
- **Naval defense cooperation:** Joint naval exercises in the Red Sea enhance both countries' capabilities to protect key maritime routes, including navigation safety in the Bab al-Mandab Strait and the Suez Canal region.
- **Military equipment supply:** Saudi Arabia finances the purchase of military equipment for Egypt and shares technologies related to unmanned systems and missile defense.
- **Support for strategic defense capabilities:** Through regular meetings between military commanders, both nations build joint strategies for regional stability, focusing on countering asymmetric threats such as terrorism and maritime piracy.

Non-state military actors

1. Russia

Wagner Group:

- **Activities in the region:** The Wagner Group, a Russian private military company, is actively operating in countries neighboring Egypt, such as Libya and Sudan. Its activities include military support, training for local militias, and combat operations.
- **Impact on Egypt's security:** The Wagner Group's actions in Libya—particularly its support for General Khalifa Haftar—directly affect the stability of Egypt's western borders. Egyptian authorities view this as part of Russia's broader regional strategy, which may have both stabilizing and destabilizing effects.

2. Iran

Support for Shia militias:

- **Regional activity:** Iran supports various Shia militias in the region, such as Hezbollah and armed groups in Iraq, Yemen, and Syria.
- **Impact on Egypt:** Egypt is increasingly concerned about Iran's attempts to influence Egyptian Shia communities and the potential spread of Shia ideology. The Egyptian government monitors any activities that could destabilize internal affairs or affect religious sentiments.

3. Turkey

Support for Islamic militias in Libya:

- **Engagement in Libya:** Turkey supports the Government of National Accord (GNA) and its affiliated armed groups, including Islamic factions. Ankara provides weapons, training, and technological support, which bolsters opposition forces in Libya.
- **Threat to Egypt:** Turkey's actions in Libya are seen as a direct threat to Egypt's western borders. Egypt fears that the strengthening of Islamic factions may lead to the infiltration of militants into its territory, thus destabilizing the region.

4. Jihadist groups in Egypt and Sinai

Islamic State and Wilayat Sinai:

- **Activity:** Jihadist groups such as Wilayat Sinai benefit from foreign financial and technological support, which enables them to carry out armed operations.
- **Collaboration with foreign actors:** Reports indicate that non-state military organizations may receive aid through financial networks linked to non-governmental organizations. Egyptian security services are actively combating this phenomenon.

5. Qatar

Support for the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamists:

- **Financial involvement:** Qatar is a major sponsor of organizations affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, which affects Egypt's political landscape and security.
- **Media and narratives:** Al Jazeera and other Qatari media outlets amplify narratives favorable to Islamist movements, which may fuel political and social tensions in Egypt.

Non-state military and armed groups, supported by foreign actors, play a key role in the region. The influence of countries such as Russia, Turkey, Iran, and Qatar can destabilize Egypt's security situation, especially along its borders with Libya and in the Sinai Peninsula. International cooperation and effective management of internal challenges are key to countering these threats.

CHAPTER 7. Selected techniques and tactics of manipulation, linguistic mechanisms of persuasion, actions and psychological effects—identification and analysis

In the analyzed period (September–December 2024), the Egyptian information environment was marked by intense propaganda and disinformation activity from Russia, accompanied by a subtler but steady presence from China. These efforts aimed to shape the attitudes and perceptions of the Egyptian public, political elites, as well as regional and international audiences.

The main vector of influence was the attempt to portray Russia and China as reliable partners promoting a multipolar international order and countering Western dominance, while simultaneously undermining the credibility and intentions of Western countries, including Poland, NATO, and the United States. The analysis demonstrates that Egypt serves as a key target for informational penetration by these powers, due to its strategic location, economic importance, and standing within the MENA region.

Information operations conducted by Russia and China in Egypt exploit existing tensions, economic and energy-related pressures, as well as the country's limited media freedom, to construct narratives favorable to Beijing and Moscow and damaging to the West's image, including that of Poland. Russian narratives aggressively erode trust in NATO and the EU, portraying them as aggressors and hegemonic forces. China's efforts are more subtle but reinforce this narrative line, while promoting economic alternatives and a multipolar world order. As a result, Egyptian society receives a distorted view of geopolitical realities, which may influence Cairo's long-term strategic decisions.

To counter this influence, Poland and Western countries must engage actively in public diplomacy, strengthen independent media, support information pluralism, and promote constructive, evidence-based narratives about economic, technological, and cultural cooperation. Without coordinated efforts, Russian and Chinese disinformation campaigns will continue to hinder effective collaboration with Egypt and the broader MENA region.

7.1 Vectors and narratives of Russian influence operations

7.1.1 Destabilisation of the image of Poland and the West in the minds of Egyptians

Anti-Western and anti-NATO narratives: Russia consistently promotes a narrative portraying NATO, the EU, and the USA as aggressors, destabilizers, and neo-imperial forces. Poland, as one of the key NATO members and a country bordering Ukraine, frequently appears in Russian messages as an alleged initiator or beneficiary of a “plan” to divide Ukraine. Russian propaganda in Egyptian Arabic-language media (e.g., via Sputnik Arabic) depicted Poland and Western countries as forces seeking to occupy Ukraine under the guise of a “peacekeeping mission,” attempting to reinforce the belief that the West employs double standards and pursues hidden imperial goals.

Anti-Western and anti-NATO narratives aim to undermine the trust of Egyptian society in Western countries (EU, USA), organizations such as NATO, and their allies (including Poland). Russian propaganda portrays the West as an aggressive, imperialist force imposing its will on other countries. In this framing, NATO is not a defensive alliance but a tool of political and military domination.

In the Egyptian context, these narratives exploit the region’s sensitivity to Western interventions (e.g., wars in Iraq, Libya, or Western support for Israel) as well as Egypt’s difficult economic and energy situation. They create an image of a world where Russia and China offer an alternative to the existing “unjust” Western hegemony.

Anti-Western exploitation of anti-Israeli sentiments: Since the Palestinian issue and the role of Israel are particularly significant in Middle Eastern narratives, Russian propaganda and its sympathetic sources in the region combine criticism of the West with anti-Israeli rhetoric. They create an image of the West as a protector of Israel, which, in the eyes of many audiences in Egypt and more broadly in the Arab world, reinforces the negative image of NATO and the USA.

Poland and the NATO Eastern flank countries as "tools" and "puppets" of the West: NATO is portrayed as an organization that deliberately expands eastward, threatening the security of other states. Alleged plans to deploy Western troops to Ukraine as “peacekeeping forces” are depicted, which in reality is said to mean actual occupation of the country. Poland, Romania, and the Baltic countries are shown as extensions of U.S. and NATO policy, lacking autonomy. The impression is created that these countries carry out American ambitions, such as alleged plans to divide Ukraine, annex territories, or militarize the eastern border.

Demonizing Western aid to Ukraine: Military and financial assistance to Ukraine is portrayed as a step towards drawing the country into Western structures in order to subordinate it to the interests of the EU and the USA. This narrative omits mention of the actual reasons for the support (Russia’s aggression against Ukraine, the desire to defend Ukrainian sovereignty), instead emphasizing alleged plans to “colonize” Ukraine or exploit its resources.

Exploitation of anti-Semitism and conspiracy theories: Russian propagandists have spread false narratives about an alleged mass immigration of Jews to Ukraine through Poland. The goal was to provoke distrust and animosity within Arab societies, which are sensitive to issues related to Palestine and Israel. In this way, Russia sought to combine anti-Israeli rhetoric with anti-Western sentiment to strengthen, in the eyes of Egyptians, a negative image of Poland as a co-perpetrator of supposed colonial or manipulative actions.

7.1.2 Creating a false picture of Russia as a stable and friendly partner

Building the image of Russia as a defender of a multipolar order: Russian messages emphasized cooperation with Egypt within the framework of BRICS, with a focus on independence from the dollar and Western institutions. Russian diplomats and state media highlighted infrastructure projects, such as the Dabaa nuclear power plant, as evidence of the durability and benefits of the Moscow-Cairo partnership. Russian narratives about gift collections for soldiers fighting in Ukraine, allegedly coming from many countries including Poland, aimed to show that Russia enjoys international support. This message reinforces the narrative that despite official criticism from the West, there is grassroots support for Russian policy, even in countries perceived as NATO-friendly.

7.2 Key vectors and narratives of Chinese operations in Egypt's infosphere

China acts less confrontationally than Russia and focuses on economic, infrastructure, and technological aspects. At the same time, Beijing subtly supports the Russian line of anti-Western and anti-NATO narratives to strengthen the image of cooperation with Russia in opposition to the West.

Suez Canal Economic Zone (SCZone): China actively promotes the fact that many Chinese companies are investing in SCZone, creating an alternative to Western investments and indirectly reducing Egypt's dependence on the West. Chinese media and sympathetic information channels in Egypt highlight the value of new projects and China's growing role in modernizing the Egyptian economy. Although Russia and China deliberately omit the negative geopolitical context, the Chinese also aim to present themselves as a partner capable of supporting Egypt's energy transition, for example through green energy projects and the development of modern technologies. This is intended to create the impression that China offers a real alternative to Western solutions.

Strengthening the message about the alleged threat posed by NATO infrastructure in Poland: China referred to the Russian narrative by portraying the U.S. missile defense base in Poland as a strategic threat. This message was distributed through Chinese accounts on social media platforms popular in the Arab world, creating an impression of aligned interests and threat perceptions between Beijing and Moscow. China does not openly take Russia's side in the war in Ukraine, but by supporting discreet disinformation about NATO's and the West's aggressive intentions toward the region, it signals its closeness to Moscow's position. This allows China to present itself as a stabilizing factor, ready to act within BRICS for a new, multipolar order in which developing countries and regional powers (such as Egypt) will have greater significance.

7.3 Russian psychological operations tactics

Russian influence operations involve a broad spectrum of tactics. In Egypt, these operations are complex and multidimensional, aiming to shape public opinion, destabilize Egypt's relations with the West, and promote pro-Russian narratives. Below is a more detailed analysis of the techniques and tactics employed by Russia in psychological operations in Egypt considers specific examples, methods, and their impact on Egyptian society.

1. **Dominance of state and aligned media channels:** Russia uses both its own state media outlets, such as Sputnik Arabic and RT Arabic, as well as local Egyptian media that are controlled or heavily regulated by the authorities, to promote pro-Russian content. In Egypt, media like *Al-Ahram*, which is considered closely affiliated with the government, publish articles aligned with the Russian narrative, portraying NATO as aggressors seeking regional dominance.
2. **Production and distribution of pro-Russian content:** Mass production of content presenting Russia as a stable, rational partner and the West as a destabilizing force. Television programs on pro-Russian channels depict Russia as a mediator in international conflicts, while NATO is portrayed as a provocateur of tensions.
3. **Exploitation of Egypt's media control for propaganda:** Mainstream Egyptian media are mostly controlled or strictly regulated by the government. Independent information sources operate with limited freedom, and journalists and activists often face repression. This environment facilitates the spread of propaganda—both Russian and Chinese—since the public has limited access to objective sources and reliable fact-checking. Russia and China benefit from these conditions, using PR budgets and expertise to build attractive media targeting various age groups in Egypt.
4. **Exploiting economic discontent:** Egypt faces economic challenges such as high unemployment, inflation, and rising living costs. Russia leverages these conditions to promote pro-Russian sentiment—for example, by showcasing Russian investment initiatives in Egypt as an alternative to Western investments, which are portrayed as failing to deliver benefits to the population. Campaigns emphasize the supposed success of Russian investments in the energy sector, claiming these improve Egypt's economic situation. Media messaging stresses that Western aid is a form of political control, while Russian aid is framed as free from manipulation.
5. **Use of innovative media technologies:** Platforms like YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and Telegram are used to widely distribute false content that is difficult for the average person to verify. Fake interviews with Egyptian politicians, containing pro-Russian narratives, are heavily promoted and disseminated through favorable online channels. This leads to increased exposure to pro-Russian messaging across social media platforms over time.
6. **Use of BRICS and cooperation with China:** BRICS is promoted as an alternative to the “US-dominated world order.” Egypt's cooperation with Russia within BRICS is framed as a “partnership for a multipolar world” and actively used to discredit the West. Egypt also participates in propaganda events like the “BRICS Media Summit” organized by Russia's TASS agency, which plays a key role in legitimizing Russian propaganda in Egypt and strengthening media influence in the MENA region. Cooperation with Russian and Chinese “information” agencies such as TASS and Xinhua—via agreements on content dissemination and countering “disinformation”—serves to restrict free expression and tighten media control.
7. **Cultural and geopolitical influence:** Negative portrayals of the West are reinforced through the use of existing regional prejudices, historical resentment, and anti-colonial

rhetoric. The promotion of a vision of a multipolar world, in which Russia and China stand against alleged Western imperialism, is aimed at audiences in countries like Egypt, encouraging them to view the West as potentially domineering or interventionist.

8. **Building a positive contrast:** A false, positive image of Russia is crafted—one in which Russia is portrayed as a regional stabilizer, defender of sovereignty, and guarantor of security. Similarly, the emphasis on positive aspects of economic and cultural cooperation (e.g., BRICS) is intended to portray Russia as a viable alternative to the Western-led global order.

7.4 Use of psychological methods to foster everyday propaganda

Emotions used to discredit the West. Influence operations conducted by Russia and China in Egypt often use emotions as a tool to shape public perception of the West. Emotional manipulation aims to build a negative image of the West, undermine its credibility, and strengthen their own influence.

- **Fear:** Persuasive messages depict the West, especially the USA and NATO countries, as potential aggressors seeking to interfere in Egypt's internal affairs. An example is the claim that the deployment of American air defense systems (e.g., Patriot) on Polish territory is part of a larger plan for aggression against the Middle East. Such narratives evoke fear of regional destabilization, targeting public concerns about national security.
- **Anger and frustration—the narrative:** The West as a source of economic exploitation and social inequality. Presenting the West as a force imposing unfavorable economic conditions on Egypt, leading to rising living costs and social crises. An example is the criticism of the economic policies of international financial institutions such as the IMF or the World Bank, which allegedly impose harsh conditions on financial aid, resulting in deepening poverty and inequality. This persuasion aims to inspire anger and frustration toward the West, blaming it for the country's economic difficulties.
- **Distrust:** The narrative of the West as an unpredictable international player. Creating an image of the West as an unpredictable, selfish, and disloyal entity that changes its alliances and goals based on its own interests. An example is portraying various Western interventions in the region as opportunistic actions that do not serve stability but rather their own strategic benefits. This persuasion aims to inspire social distrust toward Western institutions and politicians, making it difficult to establish positive relations with them.
- **Stabilization:** Portraying China and Russia as countries offering Egypt better economic and technological conditions than the West. Persuasions highlight the successes of Chinese infrastructure projects in Egypt (e.g., SCZone) and compare them to the

stagnation or neglect of Western investments. This causes society to begin perceiving China and Russia as more attractive partners, which weakens loyalty to the West.

- **Identity:** Persuasions about the West are strongly negatively charged. They portray the West as a threat to Egypt's cultural and religious values. Creating an image of the West as a force imposing liberal values and cultural homogenization aims to inspire fear of losing traditional values and national identity. An example is the criticism of Western influences in education, media, or law, which allegedly erode Islamic and Egyptian traditions. This persuasion aims to inspire fear of losing cultural integrity.
- **Reassurance:** Persuasions that the West is ineffective in solving global problems such as conflicts or humanitarian crises. Emphasizing the West's failures in addressing key international issues, such as wars, natural disasters, or humanitarian crises. An example is criticism of NATO interventions in Middle Eastern conflicts, which allegedly do not bring lasting peace but only prolong the suffering of civilian populations. The persuasion about the West's ineffectiveness simultaneously builds a false image of China and Russia as more competent and responsible international actors.

Similar persuasive efforts are carried out to shape the image of the West as an ally of terrorist groups or states seeking to destabilize strategic regions such as the Middle East or North Africa. This narrative provokes anger and hostility toward the West, reinforcing its perception as a threat to peace and stability in the region.

The use of emotions such as fear, anger, distrust, jealousy, fear of losing identity, shame, and rage is a key element of influence operations conducted by Russia and China in Egypt. By deliberately shaping narratives that evoke these emotions, they aim to discredit the West, undermine its credibility, and strengthen their own economic and political influence. These kinds of emotional manipulations seek not only to control social perception but also to hinder international cooperation with Western countries, while promoting their own allies as more reliable and responsible players on the international stage. Against this carefully crafted informational and psychological background, Russia offers an alternative – itself.

Russia, as one of the main forces of influence in Egypt, employs various persuasive strategies to shape its image. The goal of these actions is to strengthen the positive perception of Russia in Egyptian society, weaken Western influence, and build strategic economic and political alliances. Russia effectively promotes its image in Egypt by using the following strategies:

1. **Building the image of a leading and indispensable economic partner;**
2. **Portraying oneself as a defender of sovereignty and an opponent of Western imperialism;**
3. **Intensive propaganda and soft power activities, including significant use of Arab media;**
4. **Military support as a tool for building close relations with Egypt;**
5. **Promoting BRICS as an alternative to Western economic alliances.**

7.5 Psychological operations aimed at the perception of Poland and NATO

Disinformation targeted at Poland is part of a broader Russian information strategy aimed at destabilizing NATO and weakening the West. Narratives about the "division of Ukraine" and "Poland's aggressive policy" are effectively disseminated in regions with limited access to objective sources of information. The persuasion mechanisms used in Russian information attacks are precisely coordinated actions employing manipulation of facts, fear, demonization of the opponent, false authorities, and repetition of the message. Their main goal is to:

1. **Undermining the credibility of Poland and NATO;**
2. **Building sympathy for Russia as an alleged defender of stability and sovereignty;**
3. **Distorting reality to create informational chaos and distrust.**

The goal of Russian actions is not only to weaken Poland's position on the international stage but also to undermine trust in NATO and Western countries in regions such as the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).

Russia uses false narratives, manipulation of facts, and emotional language to build a negative image of Poland as an aggressor, a destabilizer of the region, and a tool of the "imperialist West."

False accusations of dividing Ukraine: One of the most frequently repeated persuasions in Russian propaganda is the accusation against Poland and other Western countries of planning to divide Ukraine. This message is based on insinuations that Poland, together with Romania, the United Kingdom, and Germany, seeks to occupy Ukraine under the pretext of bringing in "peacekeeping forces."

Russian agencies such as Sputnik and RT Arabic create this narrative, which is then redistributed by Arab media, including Al-Ahram.

Criticism of Poland's actions on the international stage: Another example of Russian negative persuasion is the reaction to Poland's decision to close the Russian Consulate General in Poznań. This decision was portrayed by Russian propaganda outlets as an act of hostility by Poland, an unjustified aggression that escalates international tensions. The Russian ambassador to Poland, Sergey Andrejev, became the main source of this narrative, giving numerous statements that were widely publicized by Russian media and Arab news portals such as Youm7. In contrast to depicting Poland as the aggressor, Russia presents itself as a "balanced" country that, despite Warsaw's actions, does not seek to escalate the conflict. Such narratives aim to build sympathy for Russia as a stable partner "seeking dialogue."

Mobilization of negative emotions: As part of the monitoring, we identified a psychological tactic based on consistently associating Poland's image with narratives designed to provoke strong emotional reactions among audiences:

- Fear of destabilization, war, and "conspiracies."

- Anger toward the West for its “interference” in the region and toward Ukraine for alleged “privileged” treatment.
- Aversion toward Poland as a country portrayed as an aggressive and provocative tool in the hands of NATO and the USA.

7.6 Propaganda techniques employed in Egypt’s information environment

Monitoring of Egypt's information space reveals a strong correlation between psychological warfare techniques and tactics used by official Russian propaganda portals and those from unaffiliated “gray zone” entities, often implemented sequentially. Russian propaganda channels broadcasting in Arabic in Egypt utilize advanced persuasion techniques to influence public opinion and shape perceptions of both Russia and international events.

Agenda setting: RT Arabic selectively chooses the topics it highlights, giving them priority in its messaging. By emphasizing specific issues—such as Russia’s successes on the international stage or criticism of Western policy—the channel influences what the Egyptian audience thinks about and discusses. This mechanism involves the selective focus on certain topics and issues that receive the most attention.

- **Focus on key narratives:** Strong emphasis is placed on events that showcase Russia’s successes, such as economic cooperation, grain deliveries, or military support for “allies in the Middle East.”
- **Omission or marginalization of competing topics:** At the same time, RT Arabic ignores or downplays Western actions that have a positive character. For example, international aid provided by Western countries is either censored or presented in a completely misleading context.

Framing of information: The way propaganda presents news imposes a particular interpretation of events on its audience. For example, Russia’s military operations or aggression against Ukraine are strongly framed as peacekeeping actions, while peaceful Western initiatives are portrayed as aggressive. This framing influences perceptions of intentions and moral evaluations of different countries’ actions.

The framing mechanism works by presenting events in a way that steers viewers toward a desired interpretation. Russia’s involvement in the Syrian war, for instance, was presented as a “stabilization operation” aimed at combating terrorism. In contrast, actions by the U.S. or NATO are labeled “imperialistic,” “aggressive,” or even as supporting terrorism. This framing facilitates the construction of a meta-narrative based on a false dichotomy—Russia as good, the West as evil. Current reports from the Middle East are often framed with humanitarian and emotional persuasion. Images of children suffering or destroyed infrastructure are shown as the

result of Western actions or negligence. This form of presentation helps build a deceptive (pro-Russian) image of the world as "trustworthy."

Legitimizing propaganda with "experts": To lend credibility to disinformation, persuasion is embedded within "live" events. For instance, RT Arabic often features "experts and analysts" who promote pro-Russian views. The presence of such authorities increases the perceived credibility of the message and can persuade viewers to accept these opinions as objective and reliable.

Emotionalization of messaging: Propaganda places a strong emphasis on emotion. It uses emotional stories and images to elicit strong reactions from audiences. Coverage of armed conflicts that highlights civilian suffering is often crafted to generate empathy for one side, which affects viewers' political sympathies.

Repetition of messaging: Frequent repetition of specific information and narratives solidifies them in the audience's consciousness. Constant reinforcement of Russia's positive role in the region or criticism of Western actions leads over time to internalization (a mechanism where externally imposed attitudes, beliefs, norms, and values are adopted as one's own). Propaganda uses a simple yet effective strategy of repeating the same narratives consistently.

- **Strategic themes:** Core messages such as "Russia as a defender of sovereignty" or "the West as a source of chaos" are continuously present in media content.
- **Diverse formats:** These narratives are repeated across news segments, talk shows, expert analyses, and social media posts—always pushing the same interpretation on audiences.

Direct persuasion linked to situational context: Propaganda is active on social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, reaching younger and more demographically diverse audiences. Through engaging multimedia content, memes, and interactive posts, these channels expand their reach and influence online discourse in Egypt. At the same time, propagandists emphasize persuasion lines (e.g., discrediting the West) in everyday communication using simplistic binary rhetoric: us (good) vs. them (evil). One example is the selective use of negative global news paired with memes that feature NATO or certain Western countries, which are then shared widely on social media to promote and expose the constructed manipulation.

Effectiveness of these persuasive mechanisms translates into the growing popularity of media outlets controlled by Russian influence apparatuses in Egypt demonstrates the effectiveness of these methods. Channels like RT Arabic are attracting increasingly larger audiences.

The complex and multi-layered persuasive strategies employed by Russia in Egypt allow it to effectively shape public opinion. By combining traditional media techniques with modern digital tools, Russia influences the narrative in a way that favors its interests—while adapting the message to Egypt's cultural, political, and psychological sensitivities.

CHAPTER 8. Propaganda activities aimed at the perception of the West and democratic values in Egypt

Egypt, as one of the key countries in the MENA region, is an important target of propaganda campaigns aimed at shaping the perception of the West and democratic values. These campaigns, conducted by both state and non-state actors, use anti-Western narratives, disinformation, and social and economic challenges to undermine Egyptians' trust in democracy and civil liberties. The report analyzes the main narratives, mechanisms, and their impact on public opinion in Egypt.

8.1 Main propaganda narratives

1. West as the aggressor

- The West, including the USA and NATO, is portrayed as a provocateur of global conflicts, especially in the context of the war in Ukraine, as seen in the narrative of "forcing Russia to defend itself" against NATO. The narratives emphasize Western interventions in the Middle East region (Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan), presenting them as actions motivated solely by economic and geopolitical interests.

2. Democracy as the tool of control

- Democracy and human rights are presented as tools of neocolonial control, used by the West to interfere in the internal affairs of Egypt and other developing countries.
- An example of this is the criticism of Western financial institutions (IMF, World Bank) as instruments of economic exploitation.

3. Double standards

- The West is accused of hypocrisy for supporting human rights in selected regions while simultaneously ignoring violations in its allied countries, such as Israel, which causes particular frustration in Egypt.

4. Cultural dominance

- Western media are portrayed as promoting Islamophobia, fueling antagonism toward Muslims and refugees. At the same time, attempts by the West to impose cultural values that conflict with Egypt's national identity are emphasized.

5. Criticism of West's foreign policy

- Russian Arabic-language media portray the United States as a country striving to maintain global hegemony through financial and political manipulation, aiming to weaken other nations and keep them dependent on American interests.
- The European Union is depicted as following the policies of the USA, even at the expense of its own economic and energy interests, which leads to internal crises and weakens Europe's position on the international stage.

6. Questioning the unity and efficiency of NATO

- NATO is portrayed as an alliance that is unable to effectively respond to contemporary challenges, with its actions often inconsistent and ineffective.
- Russian media suggest that internal divisions and lack of consensus within NATO lead to the weakening of its position as a global security guarantor.

7. Denigration of Western leaders

- Western leaders are sometimes portrayed as incompetent or acting against the interests of their own citizens, aiming to undermine their authority and legitimacy.
- These narratives emphasize political mistakes and failures, both on the international stage and in domestic politics, in order to provoke distrust toward Western leaders.

8. Support for alternative alliances and arrangements

- Promoting initiatives such as BRICS as a real alternative to Western economic and political structures, suggesting that cooperation with non-Western countries brings greater benefits and stability.
- Russian media emphasize the successes of cooperation with countries like China, presenting them as a model of effective partnership, in contrast to relations with the West.

An analysis of content published by Russian Arabic-language media indicates a dominance of narratives criticizing the foreign and domestic policies of Western countries, undermining the unity and effectiveness of NATO, and promoting alternative alliances as more beneficial for countries like Egypt. Western leaders are often portrayed in a negative light, aiming to weaken their authority in the eyes of the Egyptian public.

8.2 Propaganda dissemination mechanisms

1. Channels and sources

- **Traditional and social media:** State-run Russian agencies (Sputnik, RT) and Chinese platforms such as @mog_china disseminate content aimed at undermining the position of NATO and the West.
- **Local media:** Egyptian media platforms replicate some foreign narratives, amplifying their impact by emphasizing historical grievances related to colonialism.

2. Techniques

- **Manipulation of facts:** Using information taken out of context, such as tragic events involving migrants, to portray the West as a destabilizing force.
- Reinforcing messages about "Western plans to control Egypt through debt and interference in internal politics."
- **Emotional narratives:** Exploiting sensitive topics, such as the rights of Palestinians, to strengthen distrust toward the West.

8.3 Influence on public opinion

1. Perception of the West

- The West is perceived as a dominant force imposing its political and economic interests on Egypt.
- Admiration for Vladimir Putin's "strong leadership" in opposing the West influences the positive perception of Russia, especially among conservative social groups.

2. Impact on democratic values

- Propaganda reinforces skepticism toward democracy as a political system, promoting alternative governance models such as "stable authoritarianism."

3. Social tensions

- Promoted narratives deepen the divisions between supporters of pro-Western reforms and traditionalists, who perceive democracy as a threat to Egypt's cultural identity.

8.4 Expert opinion

According to consultations with a local partner, Egyptian society demonstrates a deep susceptibility to anti-Western narratives due to a historical lack of trust in external powers and a widespread belief in Western interference in regional affairs. The expert emphasizes that social media, especially among young people, is the primary vehicle for spreading these narratives. It was also noted that educational initiatives are needed to enhance society's resilience to disinformation.

At the same time, the expert states that Egyptian society shows strong pro-Russian and pro-Chinese sympathies, stemming from the perception of these countries as a counterbalance to Western dominance. Russia and China are regarded as “fair players” in global politics, and their narratives enjoy broad support in Egyptian media. Initiatives such as BRICS reinforce positive associations, highlighting their role in combating economic inequalities. The expert notes that Russia, through media agreements with Egypt, is strengthening its presence and influence on media narratives in the region.

The expert also observes that Egyptians' sympathy toward Russia and China arises from their ability to portray themselves as forces balancing Western dominance. At the same time, they point out that while Egypt remains cautious in its relations with the West, economic dependence on the U.S. and Europe plays a crucial role in shaping the country's policy. Egyptian media, more willing to promote pro-Russian narratives, may in the future become a key platform for further propaganda efforts directed against the West.

8.5 Recommendations

1. Proactive communication

Supporting independent Egyptian media that promote reliable information about democratic values and the benefits of international cooperation.

2. Educational campaigns

Initiatives that raise youth awareness about critical thinking and information verification, which will help minimize the impact of false narratives.

3. Strategic partnerships

Developing cooperation with Egyptian academic institutions and non-governmental organizations to build social trust in democratic values.

4. Response to disinformation

Creating regional fact-checking projects that quickly respond to false information concerning the West and democracy.

8.6 Summary

Propaganda targeting the West and democratic values in Egypt is a complex process that leverages deeply rooted historical prejudices and social tensions. Despite these challenges, Egypt also offers opportunities for effective counter-propaganda efforts, thanks to the growing role of digital education and independent media. The implementation of integrated communication efforts and educational campaigns can significantly contribute to building a more resilient society.

CHAPTER 9. Propaganda activities targeted at the perception of Poland

During the reported period, propaganda activities aimed at Poland in Egypt were part of a broader disinformation campaign carried out by various actors, particularly those associated with Russia and China. Their goal was to weaken Poland's image as a credible international partner and NATO member, as well as to influence local public opinion and shape a negative perception of Poland's actions in the region and on the global stage.

9.1 Main narratives and context

Poland as the aggressor

Narrative:

Poland was portrayed as an aggressor against Ukraine and partly responsible for alleged "imperialist plans of the West." A key element of the narrative was disinformation about a planned division of Ukraine among Poland, Romania, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The messages indicated that NATO uses peacekeeping forces as a pretext to occupy Ukrainian territories. These narratives were reinforced by reports of the deployment of Western peacekeeping forces, allegedly numbering 100,000 soldiers.

It was also emphasized that Poland, as a NATO member, is a tool for realizing the Alliance's neocolonial ambitions. These messages were manipulative in nature and relied on "false flag" techniques and deliberate distortion of facts, such as NATO's actions aimed at ensuring security in the region.

Propaganda sources:

- Articles and reports from Russian media such as Sputnik and RIA Novosti, disseminated in Arab media including Al-Ahram and Sarabic.
- Narratives are repeated on social media as well as through pro-Russian channels in the MENA region.

Goal:

Undermining Poland's credibility as a partner and NATO member, as well as weakening international support for Ukraine. The propaganda also aimed to portray Russia as the defender of Ukraine's sovereignty, opposing the alleged occupation by the West.

Disinformation involving Poland-Russia relations

Narrative:

Poland was the target of accusations of escalating diplomatic conflicts with Russia, particularly in connection with the decision to close the Russian Consulate General in Poznań. Russian propaganda described these actions as an expression of Polish aggression, which allegedly seeks to destabilize relations with Russia and NATO. At the same time, Russian media in their messages portrayed Russia as a party striving for dialogue and stability.

Amplification:

- Pro-Russian media in Egypt, such as Youm7, echoed narratives about Poland's "hostile attitude" and the "unjustified escalation" of the diplomatic conflict.
- Statements by Russian diplomats, including Ambassador Sergei Andreev, were used to reinforce the image of Russia as a peaceful state that does not respond to Poland's actions with the same level of hostility.

Goal:

Portraying Poland as an aggressor in international relations and reducing international support for Poland. Promoting Russia as a stable partner willing to engage in dialogue even in the face of "Polish aggression."

Conspiracy theories involving Poland

Narrative:

These narratives included disinformation about Poland's alleged role in organizing a mass migration of Jews to Ukraine, purportedly as preparation for creating a "new Ukraine" as a Jewish state under the protection of Volodymyr Zelensky. These materials were used to incite antisemitic sentiments among Arab communities.

Amplification:

- Russian media spread manipulated photos of Hasidic pilgrims arriving in Humán, purportedly to confirm the theory of a mass migration of Jews through Poland to Ukraine.
- This narrative was part of a broader anti-Ukrainian campaign, which simultaneously portrayed Ukraine as an alleged Nazi country and a place of "Jewish colonization."

Goal:

Instilling distrust toward Ukraine and Poland among the MENA communities. These narratives also aimed to divert Arab countries from supporting Ukraine while simultaneously reinforcing antisemitic and anti-Western attitudes.

Poland as a country that destabilizes the region

Narrative:

Poland was also portrayed as a state destabilizing the Middle East region through its alliances with the USA and NATO. Russian propaganda suggested that the military infrastructure in Poland, including missile defense bases, is a provocative tool in the conflict between the West and Russia.

Amplification:

- Chinese channels, such as @mog_china, supported Russian narratives by portraying Polish defense installations as a "strategic threat" to regional stability.
- Pro-Russian media promoted the message that Poland, as part of NATO's eastern flank, plays a key role in escalating tensions with Russia and China.

Goal:

Undermining Poland's image as a stable NATO member and reducing support for military cooperation with Poland in MENA countries. These actions were also intended to strengthen the image of Russia and China as defenders of global peace.

Poland in the context of aid to Ukraine

Narrative:

Poland was criticized for supporting Ukraine, which was portrayed as interference in the internal affairs of that country. The narratives also included accusations that Poland is exploiting the situation in Ukraine for its own political purposes.

Amplification:

- Russian and pro-Russian media portrayed Poland as a country exploiting Ukrainian refugees for its own intelligence purposes. At the same time, they criticized the lifestyle of refugees in Poland, suggesting that they unfairly benefit from luxurious benefits.
- The narratives pointed to tensions between Poland and Ukraine, such as the lack of consultation by Ukraine with Poland regarding war strategy. These reports reinforced the message about problems in the relations between the two countries.

Goal:

Reducing social and political support for Poland in Arab countries and increasing tensions in Polish-Ukrainian relations.

9.2 Mechanisms of propaganda

9.2.1 Channels and sources

Traditional media:

- **Local press:** Traditional Egyptian outlets such as Al-Ahram, Youm7, and Elfagr frequently echoed pro-Russian narratives, drawing on content from Russian news agencies like Sputnik, RT, and RIA Novosti. These articles were adapted to local contexts and tailored for propaganda aimed at the Arab-speaking audience.
- **International media:** Outlets like Xinhua (China's state news agency) presented messages in a more balanced tone, yet still reinforced a pro-Russian perspective—e.g., by criticizing NATO's actions in Poland as provocative toward Russia.

Social media:

- **Arabic-language platforms:** Accounts such as @mog_china, followed by hundreds of thousands of users, effectively amplified pro-Russian narratives, including criticism of NATO infrastructure in Poland and insinuations about the risks posed by its presence in the region.
- **Manipulative media:** Manipulated visual content, such as photos of Hasidic pilgrims falsely presented as evidence of alleged “Jewish colonization” of Ukraine, was widely circulated on social media in the MENA region.

Propaganda partnerships:

- **International collaboration:** BRICS and Russian and Chinese media agencies such as TASS and Xinhua operated in synergy, organizing propaganda events like the “BRICS Media Summit” aimed at coordinating and promoting a shared anti-Western narrative.

9.2.2 Techniques

Manipulation of facts:

- Russian and Chinese media in the region deliberately distorted facts—such as NATO's activities in Poland—portraying them as an escalation of conflict and a supposed threat to regional stability.
- They used the technique of taking information out of context, for example, by quoting Polish and Ukrainian politicians in ways that suggested divisions in their mutual relations.

Emotional narratives:

- Alleged threats from NATO and Poland were emphasized to provoke fear of escalating the conflict in Ukraine. An example includes stories about “100,000 NATO peacekeeping troops” supposedly being a cover for an invasion of Ukraine.
- Antisemitic sentiments in the region were stoked through promotion of conspiracy theories about a “Jewish colonization” of Ukraine, intensifying negative emotions toward Poland as a country allegedly supporting such actions.

False narratives and “false flag” techniques:

- Narratives portrayed Poland as an aggressor toward Ukraine and a supposed occupier, while Russia and Belarus were framed as “defenders of stability” and “guarantors of peace.”
- The “false flag” technique was used to depict NATO's actions as aggressive, while Russian interventions were presented as defensive.

Use of local contexts:

- Narratives were adapted to the MENA region context, e.g., by highlighting Egypt's dependence on Western economic and energy support, while suggesting that Poland and NATO were dragging regional countries into a conflict with Russia.

Amplification by partners:

- Pro-Russian narratives were further legitimized by China's involvement, which indirectly supported Russian claims about Poland and NATO's destabilizing role in the MENA region.

Media Actions and propaganda events:

- Joint events such as BRICS summits and media conferences facilitated coordination of anti-Western messaging and helped portray Russia and China as alternatives to U.S. and NATO dominance.

Use of local and international authorities:

- Quoting Russian diplomats and BRICS representatives in Egyptian media strengthened the credibility of these narratives in the eyes of the local public, suggesting objectivity and neutrality of those sources.

9.3 Impact on the perception of Poland in Egypt

9.3.1 Perception of Poland

Narrative of the aggressor and destabilizer:

Poland was systematically portrayed in Egyptian media as an aggressive and unpredictable international player pursuing the interests of NATO's "neocolonial ambitions." Particular attention was paid to alleged plans to divide Ukraine and "Western occupation," which were said to be supported by Poland as part of NATO's actions. Poland was depicted as a destabilizer in the region, harming not only international relations but also negatively influencing perceptions of Western actions in the MENA region.

Pro-Russian sympathies:

Pro-Russian narratives in the region reinforced sympathies toward Russia's actions, depicting it as a guarantor of stability and an opponent of "Western aggression." In this context, Poland was portrayed as a Western ally engaged in imperialist projects such as the "occupation of Ukraine" under the pretext of peacekeeping missions. In Egypt, where Russia traditionally enjoys greater trust than Western countries, these narratives found fertile ground.

Antisemitic accents:

Some narratives focused on conspiracy theories, such as the alleged "Jewish colonization of Ukraine," purportedly supported by Poland. Such messages aimed to incite hostility toward Poland and Ukraine among Arab societies, which are more susceptible to antisemitic sentiments. This was especially evident in the manipulation of images of Hasidic pilgrims, which were disseminated throughout the region.

9.3.2 Impact of diplomatic relations

Weakening of bilateral relations:

Negative narratives about Poland may have weakened diplomatic relations between Poland and Egypt, which is particularly significant given Poland's growing importance as an investor and partner in economic projects in the region. Portraying Poland as an aggressive international player could have affected the perception of Polish initiatives as potentially destabilizing, possibly discouraging Egyptian authorities from closer economic and political cooperation.

Negative impact on economic cooperation:

Poland's developing cooperation with Egypt in green transformation, technology, and industry could have been disrupted due to propaganda depicting Poland as an aggressor. For example, investments in green energy projects, such as the green hydrogen production plant by the Polish company Hynfra, might be met with increased skepticism as a result of narratives about Poland's destabilizing role in the region.

Cooperation in the international arena:

Egypt, as an active member of BRICS and maintaining good relations with Russia, may be more inclined to challenge Poland's positions on the international stage. Portraying Poland as a "tool of the West" in the region could influence Egypt's decisions in international organizations and diplomatic forums where cooperation with Russia and China is a priority.

9.3.3 Social resonance

Social perception of Poland in Egypt:

Among the Egyptian public, Poland has been portrayed as a country pursuing Western interests at the expense of regional stability. Social media spread information reinforcing a negative perception of Poland, depicting it as an aggressive NATO ally supporting Western imperialist actions. These narratives may have lowered social trust in Poland as an economic and cultural partner.

Impact on tourism and investment:

Propaganda narratives could also affect Poland's image as an attractive tourist destination and investment location. A negative image of Poland as an aggressive and destabilizing country might discourage Egyptian investors and tourists from engaging with Poland, thereby weakening its position in the region.

9.3.4 Perception of Poland in the eyes of society based on consultations with an expert

Limited influence of Poland on public debate

During the consultation, the expert pointed out that Poland rarely appears in public discourse, which results from a lack of deeper bilateral relations. Poland is associated with NATO but not as an independent actor in international politics. The expert emphasized that Egyptians focus more on the USA, Russia, and China, which makes Poland invisible on the regional stage.

Opportunities to improve the image

The expert indicates that the lack of an established image of Poland in Egypt creates space for actively shaping a positive image through diplomatic campaigns and educational programs. It is crucial to emphasize neutral or positive aspects of bilateral relations, such as the development of joint economic and technological projects.

Impact of social messaging

Egyptians are sensitive to media messages, and their perception of countries is largely based on propaganda narratives. Information campaigns that highlight shared interests and avoid associating Poland with controversial NATO decisions can improve Poland's image in Egypt.

9.4 Summary

The lack of a clear image of Poland in the public debate in Egypt presents both a challenge and an opportunity. Egyptian society perceives Poland mainly through the lens of NATO's activities, which may negatively affect its perception in the context of the region's dominant pro-Russian narratives. At the same time, Poland's limited presence in local media creates an opportunity to actively shape a positive image.

To strengthen its image in Egypt, Poland should focus on promoting shared interests such as economic, educational, and technological cooperation, as well as unique cultural aspects. Implementing strategic media and educational campaigns, supported by concrete bilateral projects, can significantly improve Poland's position in Egypt.

Taking these actions will allow Poland not only to counter negative propaganda narratives but also to build lasting relationships based on mutual trust and understanding.

9.5 Recommendations

1. Activating Polish diplomacy in Egypt

- Organizing cultural events, conferences, and educational initiatives to promote Poland as an economic and technological partner.
- Building cooperation with local media to increase Poland's visibility in the Egyptian media space. Supporting the publication of articles and interviews that highlight the positive aspects of Polish-Egyptian cooperation.

2. Strategic information campaigns

- Implementing information campaigns that emphasize shared interests between Poland and Egypt, such as sustainable development, green energy, and educational and technological cooperation.
- Avoiding narratives that associate Poland with controversial NATO decisions, especially in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, which may help neutralize potential negative reception among pro-Russian circles.

3. Building long-term bilateral relations

- Expanding economic cooperation by supporting Polish investments in Egypt, particularly in strategic areas such as infrastructure, green technologies, and the chemical industry.
- Strengthening educational and scientific collaboration through the development of scholarship programs and joint research projects between Polish and Egyptian universities.

4. Engaging the local community

- Creating cultural and educational exchange programs to bring the citizens of both countries closer together and foster greater societal understanding of Poland in Egypt.
- Collaborating with opinion leaders, experts, and influential media figures to build positive associations with Poland in the Egyptian public sphere.

5. Monitoring and responding to disinformation

- Regularly tracking media narratives about Poland in Egypt and responding swiftly and professionally to negative or false information.
- Partnering with local actors to provide credible and appealing alternative narratives.

CHAPTER 10. Case study — the analysis of narratives targeted against Poland based on the DISARM model

10.1 The DISARM RED Framework — An effort to standardize the description and exchange of information regarding activities in the information space

History of the DISARM RED framework

DISARM RED (DISinformation Analysis & Risk Management RED) is an analytical model used to describe offensive actions in the information space (infosphere). One of the main challenges in analyzing such actions is the significant conceptual inconsistency. Entities involved in studying and countering threats in this domain have developed their own vocabularies and semantics to describe such activities. With the steadily increasing intensity—since the mid-2010s—of multidomain informational activities, which also include influence operations, a need emerged for reliable information exchange between organizations engaged in identifying and countering such threats.

At the turn of 2017 and 2018, Sara-Jayne "SJ" Terp, along with a group of cybersecurity specialists, began working on adapting existing tools for describing strictly digital threats to the reality of hybrid operations. Shortly thereafter, the prototype of DISARM was developed—the AMITT framework (Adversarial Misinformation Influence Tactics & Techniques)—which started to be used by NATO, the EU, WHO, and the UN. The current version, DISARM RED, is the result of combining AMITT with the SPICE model created by MITRE Corporation, which is based on the classic MITRE ATT&CK cybersecurity framework (used to identify and describe tactics and techniques used in offensive cyber operations).

DISARM is a fully open-source project led by the DISARM Foundation, compatible with the STIX language and the MISP platform, and is regularly updated to better reflect reality and increase its compatibility with other models, such as the Meta Kill Chain.

Basic characteristics of the DISARM RED Framework

The DISARM RED framework is divided into several parts arranged in a defined hierarchy, which describe the individual stages and tools used in influence operations. The model begins with "phases," marked with tags starting with the letter "P." These are associated with tactics (tags beginning with "TA"), which in turn contain a variety of techniques (tags starting with "T").

The “P” tags describe four main phases of information activities — planning, preparation, execution, and evaluation. Each of these phases contains “TA” tactics, which indicate objectives pursued within those phases, achieved through the use of various tools — the “T” techniques. The descriptions of phases, tactics, and techniques are publicly available on the project’s website.

Example of the use the DISARM RED Framework

The DISARM RED framework is particularly useful for information sharing about incidents. It allows for a clear and standardized way of describing observed phenomena, leaving no room for ambiguity. It works very well in the initial recognition stage, i.e., identifying actions in the information space, as well as during attribution analysis, where it serves as a tool for describing distinctive and recurring techniques that can aid in identifying the actor behind an influence operation. Its advantage lies in its compatibility with the STIX syntax, which enables it to be applied on platforms such as OpenCTI.

An example application of DISARM might be a situation where an analyst identifies a network of inauthentic accounts on a social media platform spreading the same meme intended to legitimize a narrative previously present in another medium, e.g., a news website. With the framework, one can precisely define, name, and classify the techniques used, link them to tactics, and then share this information with another analyst, who can continue enriching the intelligence product within the intelligence cycle.

Limitations of the DISARM RED Framework

The DISARM RED framework is a precise and useful tool, but one must be aware of its limitations. While it is effective for describing and reporting specific incidents in the information space and for classifying digital evidence gathered during OSINT investigations, it lacks elements that more precisely describe the psychological effects triggered by a given activity. It is also too distant from analytical models used in evaluating psychological operations.

DISARM RED limits its description of psychological influence to a handful of techniques in Phase 1 — Planning. The framework defines them as methods for achieving a specific tactical goal, when in reality, the aforementioned techniques are both tools and goals in themselves, and are part of a much broader spectrum of psychological influence used by actors conducting influence operations.

10.2 Russian influence operation conducted in the information space of Egypt: Creating a false image of Poland and the West as aggressors seeking to annex Ukrainian territories

The analysis of the Russian influence operation conducted in the information space of Egypt according to the DISARM RED framework v 1.6

Monitored period: From October to December of 2024

Monitored media: websites, social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram), messaging apps (Telegram)

Introduction

Since the beginning of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2014, the Kremlin has consistently used disinformation as one of the key tools to “legitimize” its aggressive policy. Russian propaganda, especially in the context of the war in Ukraine, relies on a carefully crafted narrative structure aimed at manipulating audiences by mixing facts with fiction, emotional appeals, and creating a false historical background.

The analysis reveals current disinformation techniques and narrative mechanisms used in this specific infosphere. One of the latest examples is the widely circulated narrative about alleged Western plans to divide Ukraine.

The Russian propaganda apparatus continues its disinformation operation, with leading narratives based on claims of plans by Poland, Hungary, and Romania to annex Western Ukraine.

During the monitoring of media present in the Egyptian infosphere, elements of a Russian influence operation were encountered, aiming to portray Poland as an unreliable ally of Ukraine. Poland is depicted as a neo-imperialist country seeking to occupy Ukraine’s western lands.

Anti-Polish narratives affiliated with Russia are also supported by channels that may have ties to the People’s Republic of China. The same or very similar narratives appear in many different countries—particularly within Ukraine itself.

TACTICS AND TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED AS PER DISARM v 1.6:

PHASE	TACTICS	TECHNIQUES	DESCRIPTION
P01 - Plan	TA02 - Plan Objectives	T0066 - Degrade Adversary	Russia (with the support of China) uses narratives that portray Poland in a bad light and undermine its reputation.
		T0138 - Motivate to act	Poland is presented as an aggressive and neo-imperialist country. This is intended to evoke negative associations about Poland among Egyptians and clearly place it in the category of the 'bad, collective, aggressive West.
		T0135 - Undermine	Creating a false image of Poland as having a concealed, rogue agenda with regard to Ukraine.
P02 - Prepare	TA07 - Select Channels and Affordances	T0152.004 - Website Asset	Websites affiliated with Russia or supportive of Russia, including pan-Arabic ones (RT, Sputnik Arabic, Al-Ahram, Erem News).
		T0151.008 - Microblogging Platform	X (former Twitter), accounts affiliated with Russia and China, such as mog_Russ, mog_china, NewsNow4USA.
	TA14 - Develop Narratives	T0003 - Leverage Existing Narratives	Showing alleged plans to introduce Western troops, including Polish ones, into Ukraine as 'peacekeeping forces,' which is meant to imply the occupation of Ukraine.
		T0022 - Leverage Conspiracy Theory Narratives	Insinuations that Poland wants to occupy this country together with Romania, the United Kingdom, and Germany. Suggesting that Poland wants to attack Ukraine.
	TA06 - Develop Content	T0023 - Distort Facts	Posting false textual content (articles, posts, tweets) regarding Poland's plans that threaten Ukraine.

		T0085 - Develop Text-Based Content	
	TA15 - Establish Assets	T0095 - Develop Owned Media Assets	The distribution of false, anti-Polish narratives is carried out mainly using Russian media, such as RT and Sputnik Arabic.
	TA16 - Establish Legitimacy	T0100 - Co-Opt Trusted Sources	Engaging trusted media, such as Al-Ahram, to spread false, anti-Polish narratives.
		T0097.111 - Government Official Persona	Citing statements by Putin, Sergey Naryshkin (head of Russian foreign intelligence), and even Alexander Lukashenko.
		T0097.202 News Outlet Persona	
P03 - Execute	TA09 - Deliver Content	T0115 - Post Content	Posting false narratives in the form of articles on Russian and pro-Russian websites, as well as posts on social media, particularly on the platform X.
	TA17 - Maximise Exposure	T0119 - Cross-Posting	Publishing the same or very similar content on many different platforms.

Summary

The current phase of this campaign suggests that Poland, Hungary, Romania, and other Western countries are already “planning” the division of Ukraine into specific territories. By attributing alleged preparations for annexation carried out by NATO, the propaganda seeks to discredit Western support for Ukraine and incorporate these claims into disinformation about NATO’s offensive plans.

These messages are simultaneously used in propaganda efforts that falsely portray Russia as a state defending itself rather than militarily attacking Ukraine (a strategy of inverted logic).

Russia consistently uses rhetoric comparing Ukraine and the West to Nazism. Such references are meant to provoke an emotional response and “legitimize” Russian disinformation about the aggression in Ukraine as a “denazification” operation or, more broadly, as a defensive operation against the West — suggesting that Western actions are provocative and offensive in nature and lead to conflict.

Understanding these mechanisms allows not only for better analysis of propaganda but also for more effective defense against it. For this reason, we recommend this analytical model to Egyptian institutions and NGOs as well.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Summary of Egypt's information environment with focus on psychological vulnerabilities

The Egyptian information environment is characterized by significant complexity, stemming from a divide between traditional and modern forms of communication. Traditional media—such as television, press, and radio—play a key role, especially among older demographic groups and in rural areas where internet access is limited. At the same time, digital media, including social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and messaging apps such as WhatsApp and Telegram, are gaining increasing importance, particularly among young people. Nevertheless, Egypt's digital space remains under constant state control and censorship. Authorities use advanced technologies to monitor and restrict access to content, reinforcing the information monopoly of pro-government media.

Egyptian society exhibits numerous psychological vulnerabilities, shaped by its complex history, culture, and challenging socio-economic conditions. Traumatic events—such as the 2013 Rabaa Square massacre—have left deep scars in the collective memory, leading to entrenched social divisions and low trust in state institutions. Crisis information, rapidly disseminated via social media, often escalates tensions and triggers moral panic. Simultaneously, disinformation—present in both traditional and digital media—further complicates the situation. The presence of external actors such as Russia and China, who promote their narratives through local media, reinforces polarization and susceptibility to manipulation.

External influence plays a significant role in shaping Egypt's information landscape. Russia, through outlets such as Sputnik and RT, promotes anti-Western narratives, exploiting local psychological sensitivities to foster pro-Russian sentiment. China, on the other hand, uses its media to present a vision of stability and development as an alternative to Western political and economic models. In response to these activities, Western countries and international organizations attempt to support independent media in Egypt, although their influence remains limited due to restrictive regulations and barriers to audience access.

In summary, Egypt's information environment is vulnerable to manipulation due to strong state control, limited press freedom, and foreign interference. The country's complex socio-economic and political situation increases societal susceptibility to disinformation, making comprehensive action necessary. Strengthening independent media, media literacy education, development of crisis communication strategies, and monitoring foreign influence are key elements that can contribute to improving societal resilience and the quality of the information space in Egypt.

2. Strategic analysis—the impact of the situation in the region on Poland's long-term goals

Egypt, as a key partner in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, plays a vital role in international geopolitical and economic strategies. Its strategic location, control over the Suez Canal, and natural resources make it an essential component in the global supply chain and energy security. However, Egypt also faces serious challenges, such as dependence on foreign investment and the influence of powers like Russia and China, which limit its autonomy in making critical decisions. These circumstances present both an opportunity and a challenge for Poland's strategic cooperation with the country.

Stability in the MENA region is of crucial importance for Poland's strategic goals, including energy security and strengthening its position within the European Union. Egypt, as a regional stabilizer, can play a significant role in supporting political and economic stability in the Middle East and North Africa. Poland, with its experience in crisis management, could support Egypt in building effective administrative structures and resolving regional conflicts. At the same time, Egypt—with its ongoing green energy projects and key role in the gas market—is an attractive partner for Poland in the context of energy source diversification, which is of strategic significance given the goal of reducing dependency on Russian supplies.

Deepening diplomatic relations between Poland and Egypt requires a strategic approach based on regular political consultations and the joint development of priorities in the areas of security, economy, and culture. Poland could offer Egypt technological support in green energy sectors such as renewable energy development and hydrogen production. Cooperation in these areas would not only strengthen economic relations but also increase Poland's influence in the local energy market. Simultaneously, investments in educational and scientific initiatives—such as academic exchanges and joint research—could become a significant pillar in enhancing bilateral relations.

Egypt, on its part, should aim to diversify its strategic partnerships and reduce its dependence on Russian and Chinese influence. Engaging more actively in cooperation with Poland and other European countries could enhance its autonomy in achieving its economic and political goals. Promoting joint regional projects, such as water resource management and environmental protection efforts, would allow Egypt to strengthen its position as a regional leader and attract additional investment. Facilitating access for Polish companies to the Egyptian market could also lead to increased investment and job creation, yielding mutual benefits.

In summary, strategic cooperation between Poland and Egypt can bring substantial benefits to both sides. Poland would gain access to new markets and opportunities for energy diversification, while Egypt could increase its global standing and reduce its reliance on major powers. However, the implementation of coordinated efforts in diplomacy, economy, and cultural cooperation will be essential to fully unlock the potential of this partnership.

3. Summary of the message fostered by Russia in the region

Russian propaganda campaigns in Egypt and the MENA region are based on carefully planned narratives that undermine the credibility of the West while simultaneously promoting Russia as a stable partner and defender of traditional values. A key element of this propaganda is the demonization of NATO and Western countries, which are portrayed as aggressive forces destabilizing the world and responsible for conflicts such as the war in Ukraine. Additionally, democratic values are criticized as instruments of neocolonialism aimed at imposing Western interests. In contrast, Russia seeks to present itself as a guarantor of regional stability and an opponent of Western imperialism, with the goal of building sympathy and trust among local societies.

The Russian narrative in Egypt also touches on sensitive social and cultural topics, such as the rights of Palestinians or antisemitic themes, which are exploited to manipulate emotions and deepen social divisions. The portrayal of Russia as a protector of Christians and a guardian of traditional values serves to build a positive image in a region that is historically and culturally diverse. Fact manipulation, the use of half-truths, and emotionally charged storytelling create an atmosphere of mistrust toward Western institutions and partners.

The harm of Russian propaganda to Egypt is multidimensional. One of the most significant aspects is Egypt's growing dependence on Russia in strategic sectors of the economy. Projects such as the construction of the El-Dabaa nuclear power plant strengthen Russia's control over key areas of Egyptian infrastructure, limiting Egypt's autonomy in decision-making. Moreover, Russian propaganda deepens social polarization by promoting narratives favoring authoritarian governance models, which weakens local democratic institutions. This also results in the deterioration of Egypt's relations with Western countries, limiting its ability to participate in international development initiatives such as the green energy transition.

To counter the harmful effects of Russian propaganda, Egypt should focus on diversifying its international relations. Strengthening cooperation with EU countries and the United States in key sectors such as renewable energy and infrastructure would reduce dependency on Russian technology and capital. A crucial step would also be the development of independent local media that can provide reliable information and counter disinformation. At the same time, promoting media literacy is essential to raise public awareness about manipulation techniques and strengthen critical thinking skills.

Poland can also play a significant role in countering Russian influence in Egypt. Intensifying image-building activities, promoting achievements in the energy transition, and investing in educational projects and academic exchanges can enhance Poland's positive presence in the region. Cooperation with Egyptian media on joint projects could help promote accurate information and counter Russian propaganda. Poland should also highlight the harmful nature of Russia's actions, which—while seemingly supportive of Egypt—ultimately increase the country's dependency on Russia and isolate it from the international community.

In summary, Russian propaganda in Egypt not only destabilizes the local society and limits economic autonomy but also negatively affects Egypt's ability to build lasting and sustainable international relations. To counter these influences, coordinated actions at both local and international levels are necessary to strengthen Egypt's independence and its capacity to make

sovereign decisions. Cooperation with Poland and other Western countries can play a key role in achieving these goals, promoting the long-term development and stability of Egypt.

4. Implementation

The following actions are recommended, justified by the observations and conclusions presented in the report:

1) Deployment of representatives from the implementing organization (researchers, experts, trainers) to Egypt

Description: These visits will allow for consultations with local partners, familiarization with the regional context, and direct implementation of activities on-site.

Justification: The direct presence of experts enhances trust in the project and allows for more effective adaptation of activities to local realities, increasing efficiency and long-term impact.

2) Conference to present this report

Description: Organizing a public event to present the report's findings and discuss key challenges and recommendations for the region.

Justification: The conference will serve as a platform for knowledge and experience exchange, engaging decision-makers, media, and local experts. It will boost the project's visibility and impact on public opinion.

3) Joint development of guidelines and best practices with the local partner

Description: Local partners, in collaboration with the implementer, will develop detailed guidelines for combating disinformation based on local contexts and international standards.

Justification: Involving local partners ensures the guidelines are well-adapted to the regional environment and strengthens their sense of ownership over the recommendations' implementation.

4) Joint development and delivery of educational materials and classes with the local partner for students

Description: Preparing and conducting educational programs for students covering disinformation, information security, and critical thinking.

Justification: University youth is a key target group whose knowledge and skills can positively influence social resilience to disinformation. Direct involvement of local partners will enhance the acceptance of educational activities.

5) Creation of a communication channel between local participants and the implementer

Description: Developing an online platform for project participants to enable experience sharing, mentoring, and joint planning of future actions.

Justification: Ongoing contact between the implementer and participants will ensure sustainability of results and allow for rapid response to new challenges.

6) Development, implementation, and evaluation of civic and media education tools and activities

Description: Preparing practical educational materials (leaflets, infographics, white papers, codes of best practices) addressing disinformation and responsible use of AI in social media.

Justification: These materials will help local communities recognize manipulation and the influence of FIMI, increasing awareness and capacity to counter such threats.

7) Development of follow-up steps to sustain engagement after the grant project ends

Description: Creating a long-term development strategy for the project, including planning of further actions, building cooperation networks, and identifying additional funding sources.

Justification: A long-term strategy will ensure the sustainability of achieved results and enable local partners to continue developing initiatives related to information security.

5. Trainings

The following actions are recommended, justified by the observations and conclusions contained in the report. These actions should be undertaken in at least two locations – Cairo and Alexandria, as the main academic centers – with a plan to expand activities in the future to other regions, adapting them to their specific characteristics and sensitivities.

1) Series of trainings on information environment security

Topics: DISARM model, detection of Foreign Information Manipulation and Interference (FIMI) operations, fact-checking, media literacy.

Justification: Trainings will provide participants with practical tools for identifying and countering disinformation, enhancing their analytical and operational capabilities.

2) Media project promoting best practices

Topics: Creating local information campaigns, analyzing and responding to propaganda campaigns.

Justification: Involving local media in project activities will increase their credibility and help disseminate reliable information.

3) Civic education and critical thinking

Topics: Workshops developing the ability to recognize manipulation and formulate responses to disinformation.

Justification: Developing critical thinking skills will enable participants to better deal with propaganda narratives and build social resilience.

4) AI technologies and their use in countering disinformation

Topics: Using AI to detect information manipulation, responsible use of technology in media.

Justification: Raising awareness about AI will help local leaders better utilize modern technologies while preventing their misuse.

5) Long-term and legislative strategies

Topics: Developing anti-disinformation policies, promoting legislative initiatives that support information security.

Justification: The training will enable participants to actively engage in legislative processes, strengthening the institutional foundations for combating disinformation.

6. Educational and informative initiatives

The implementation of informational and educational activities within the project should be based on a wide range of tools and methods that enable outreach to a diverse group of audiences. The key objective is to increase public awareness of the threats posed by disinformation and to build societal resilience to its impact. The beneficiaries of these efforts will include both the creators and consumers of the information environment, including decision-makers, journalists, opinion leaders, academic circles, non-governmental organizations, and experts operating in Egypt, Poland, and Europe.

One of the first components of the informational activities should be the launch of a media project focused on promoting best practices in the field of information environment security. This project should regularly publish reports and analyses of key disinformation campaigns that threaten the security and stability of regions such as Egypt. In doing so, media initiatives will become a tool for public education as well as a support mechanism for decision-makers and opinion leaders in their daily work. Additionally, information campaigns should be conducted in local languages as well as in English, which will allow for outreach to the English-speaking infosphere and increase the project's influence beyond the region.

Another key aspect is the organization of workshops and training sessions for journalists, influencers, and opinion leaders, focusing on practical skills such as fact-checking, information source analysis, and the identification of manipulation techniques used in disinformation

campaigns. These efforts will enhance the competencies of participants, enabling them to respond more effectively to information threats and strengthening their role in shaping the information environment. Furthermore, the involvement of academic and research communities through specialized seminars will allow for the development of innovative methods for analyzing disinformation that can be implemented in practice.

The reports and analyses produced within the project will also serve as the foundation for educational campaigns aimed at the general public. Infographics, audiovisual materials, and opinion articles should be distributed via both traditional media and social media platforms to reach the widest possible audience. A key element of the campaign should be explaining the mechanisms of disinformation and presenting specific examples of its impact on security, political stability, and international relations.

It is also crucial to ensure the project's long-term impact by creating a platform for cooperation and knowledge exchange among participants. Such a platform, operating online, could facilitate regular consultations, host webinars, and support the development of joint research projects. Through this platform, experts and opinion leaders will be able to continue their efforts after the project concludes, contributing to the sustainability of its outcomes.

The ultimate goal of these informational and educational activities is to strengthen societal resilience to disinformation, which will translate into greater political stability and security in the regions covered by the project. By building awareness and developing practical skills among key target groups, the project will lay the groundwork for effective counteraction against information threats at both the local and international levels.

7. Preventing the polarisation of society

Social polarization in Egypt, shaped by ethnic, religious, and socio-economic differences, poses a significant challenge to the country's stability. Addressing this issue requires a multidimensional approach that combines educational, social, media, and legislative efforts.

Education promoting tolerance, diversity, and inclusivity plays a key role in counteracting polarization. Developing curricula that reflect Egypt's cultural and religious diversity and incorporating elements of civic education can help reduce stereotypes and build trust between communities. Religious institutions such as Al-Azhar Mosque and the Coptic Church should actively serve as mediators. Promoting interfaith dialogue and joint initiatives helps break down barriers and strengthen national unity. Traditional and social media can play an important role in limiting negative stereotypes by running campaigns that promote cooperation and unity. Responsible media use helps prevent the escalation of social divisions.

Support for local initiatives and non-governmental organizations encourages the creation of dialogue platforms. Educational, sports, and artistic projects involving different social groups help strengthen bonds and promote cooperation. Legislative and political reforms should ensure equal rights and representation for all social groups. Facilitating access to places of worship and enhancing minority participation in public life can reduce exclusion and tensions.

Finally, it is essential to monitor and counteract propaganda that fuels divisions. Cooperation with media outlets and social media platforms to limit harmful content can effectively prevent

social destabilization. The comprehensive implementation of these measures will strengthen Egypt's social foundations, fostering a more integrated and resilient society, which in turn will lead to greater stability and sustainable national development.

8. Growth of R&D in the area of countering disinformation and FIMI

Building Egypt's information resilience requires a strategic approach to the development of research and technology in the field of countering disinformation and foreign information manipulation and interference (FIMI). In the face of growing threats from information manipulation, Egypt should focus on interdisciplinary scientific research, the development of advanced technological tools, and strengthening expert competencies.

A key measure is investing in artificial intelligence (AI) and machine learning (ML) technologies that enable real-time monitoring and analysis of disinformation. At the same time, it is essential to create specialized technological hubs dedicated to research and development in this area, ensuring integration between the public, private, and academic sectors.

International partnerships with technologically advanced countries and cooperation with international organizations will facilitate knowledge transfer and the building of expert resources. An important component is also the development of monitoring and early warning systems for information threats, integrated with national security structures.

Investing in the education of young researchers and cybersecurity specialists will provide Egypt with access to a qualified workforce capable of conducting advanced research and developing innovative solutions. At the same time, the promotion of scientific publications and educational campaigns will help raise public awareness about information threats.

Through strategic investments in R&D development, Egypt can strengthen its resilience to disinformation and information manipulation, which will translate into greater political and social stability as well as enhance its international standing in the field of information security.

9. Other

Strengthening Poland's capacity to counter threats related to migration and disinformation in the MENA region requires a strategic approach based on continuous monitoring, international cooperation, and the development of local analytical capabilities. We recommend establishing a permanent monitoring system focused on migration-related activities that may potentially affect Poland and the European Union. Particular attention should be paid to regions such as Sudan, Libya, and Gaza, which are key sources of illegal migration and potential humanitarian crises. Migration crises can be exploited as tools for political and social destabilization in Europe. Early detection of attempts to fuel a migration crisis—by both state and non-state actors—will enable more effective prevention of negative consequences for Poland and the EU. A key step is to establish a local office of the implementing organization in Cairo, which would enable precise monitoring of the information environment and faster responses to emerging threats.

Collaboration with local partners, non-governmental organizations, and academic institutions will facilitate effective educational and monitoring activities, as well as the development of tools

to counter disinformation. Regular publication of reports and situational analyses will allow ongoing tracking of migration and information trends and enable data-driven strategic decision-making.

Building a communication network that connects local and international partners will enhance information exchange efficiency and improve coordination of efforts across the region. At the same time, Poland should actively support regional stabilization initiatives by promoting an integrated approach to migration and disinformation issues.

Implementing these recommendations will strengthen Poland's engagement in the region, enhance Egypt's capacity to address threats, and contribute to building stability in the MENA region.

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