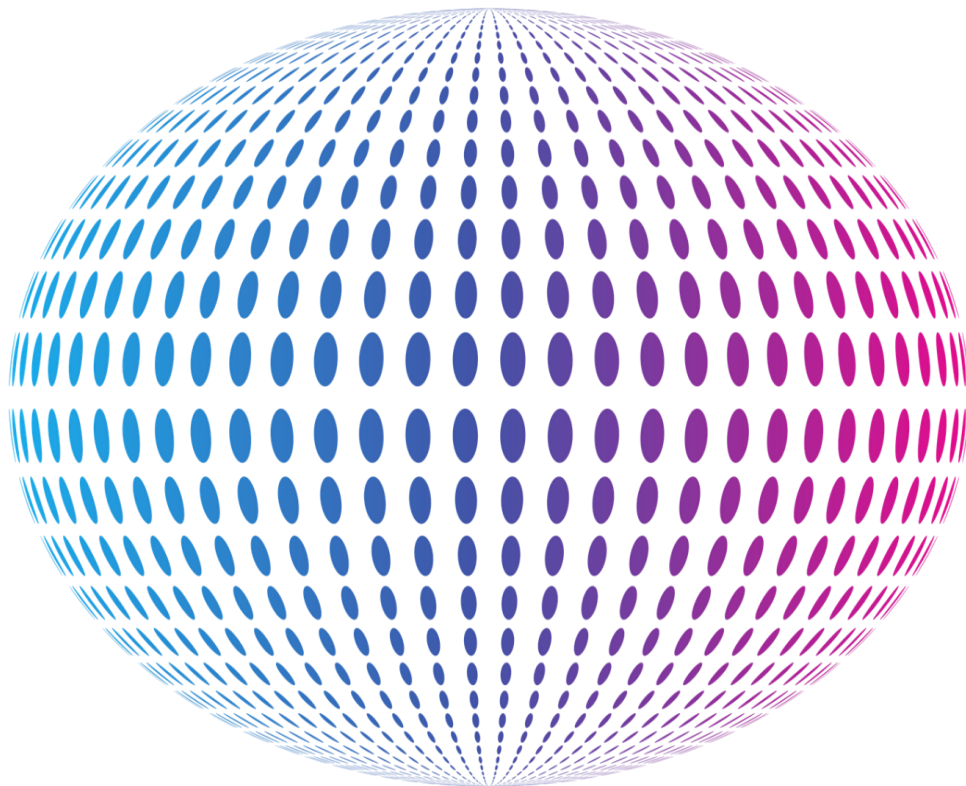


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Contents

Exploring the Crucial Role of Television Programmes and Social Media in Political Reform

Nawrs Ahmed Al Mosawi & Shimaa Samir M. Hussein1-9

Enhancing Political Participation Abroad: The Media's Impact on Parliamentary Elections for Egyptian Expatriates

Reman Ahmed Abdel-Aal..... 10-18

The Role of Communication Activities and Public Relations in Raising Awareness of Political Participation

Amari Mustapha & Nada Naji 19-27

The Role of Satirical Political Platforms in Shaping Societal Political Awareness

Khaled Al Mahasna & Abd Elraheem Al Arqan.....28-39

Egyptian Expatriates' Engagement: Analysis of the Role of the State (2015-2023)

Rita Banoub & Amany Khodair.....40- 75

Exploring the Crucial Role of Television Programmes and Social Media in Political Reform

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Abstract:

This research explores how satellite television programs help in political development especially in encouraging positive culture of political differences as a stepping stone towards genuine political reforms. This is because today, media is very crucial in any political setup since it provides space for different voices and opinions. It is through television programs that people get the chance to learn about certain issues across different age groups, social classes as well as level of education. Moreover, social media has redefined television broadcasting by enhancing its reach and influence. Several television networks have made their foray into social media platforms not just for promoting their content but also indicating their political standpoints and addressing pertinent matters with audiences. This reciprocal nature instils in viewers the need to become part of the ongoing political debates hence fostering unity and common responsibility. Consequently, this upsurge has compelled government bodies to acknowledge the role played by social media.

Keywords: Political Difference, Political Platforms, Political Reform.

Introduction:

Political structure in all its components exerts considerable influence on communication, and the media is an integral part of politics. Generational divergence is a difference of opinion between generations regarding beliefs, cultural, political, economic, and other values. (Lischka J. , 2018), the essence of political discord is a dispute between two or more parties over power and rights. Political discord is resolved constitutionally through proper dialogue. The interrelationship is most evident between political systems and the media. (Wilson, Parker, & Feinberg, 2020) The media is the moral and symbolic arm of

the system, but the media also depends on the sources of income and operation provided by the political system as well as being an important and permanent source of information fed by the media. (Lischka, J. A., 2019), in addition to the constant need of the media for the legal umbrella and protection provided by the Authority, No one doubts the media's ability to influence both trends and practices in the area of prioritization and interest; the impact has even reached the point that individuals don't believe what they see or hear until they follow it from the different media to make sure the news is accurate. (Lischka J. A., 2021). With a strong and important role in human life, the media is a source of information, entertainment, and education. The role of the media in people's lives and in the development of society, its fundamental role in political knowledge and increased political awareness in society, and the media is a mirror of society, is now an important pillar of society and the State. (Lischka, J. A., 2023) , which is the most influential communication tool and has an important role in promoting the right concepts promptly; television programs are an influential media platform in shaping the awareness of audiences across age, quality, social, economic, and other groups. Television programmes have also benefited from social media sites to achieve greater prevalence and influence, and the direction of television programmes and their providers to establish social media pages and express their political orientations. (Himmelroos & Von Schoultz, 2023), and urged the public to interact politically, and not long later, as government institutions set up social media pages for easy public access (Tesunbi & Nwoye, 2014).

Research Problem

The study focuses on analysing the role of television programmes on satellite channels in achieving political development in the framework of international political reform and development by identifying political differences between government forces, political opposition forces and popular movements in discussing Egyptian State political issues The Egyptian society, with its senior leadership as well as experts, specialists and private individuals hosted in television programmes for a positive culture of political difference, is a major step in the way of political reform.

Significance of the Research

- The importance of diversity and this culture and its spread through television programmes because this positive culture helps to elevate thought and innovation by accepting differences which helps to promote development and the promotion of society.
- Moreover, the different content of these television programmes, which sometimes contain sharp differences and are a negative appearance, may lead to some community mobility towards them and thus influence societal behaviors.

- There is no disconnect between TV shows and the Internet, as what is broadcast on TV shows is re-broadcast via the pages of these shows or channels on social media sites.
- The emergence of many political opinions that influence the acceptance of the other.

Objectives of the Research

- Identify the intensity of societal issues raised by television programmes.
- Recognize the nature of paragraphs in which political differences rise while addressing societal issues.
- The nature of television programme trends in addressing societal issues raised in television programmes.
- to reveal the nature of the positive and negative political difference highlighted by television programmes in addressing societal issues.

Literature Review

The studies dealt with the nature of the media's treatment of political concepts and some political concepts, but there was no mention of the concept of political difference and its relationship with the media's handling of talk shows. Therefore, the studies on the television media's treatment of political issues, whatever their nature, will be reviewed. The results are as follows:

A study (Lischka, 2018) revealed that social media news editors use emotions more as a criterion for selecting news on Facebook than online news and tend to share entertaining news with a greater proportion of news about politics and the economy, but strive to get "A good mix" of news that attracts Facebook users and professional journalistic standards while discussing the study (Bennett & Livingston, 2023) discussed channels for presenting and following news and information on political issues raised globally, while a study noted (Zhou & Ding, 2023) How public attention drives environmental protection for companies, impacts and channels by technology prediction and social change through social media and the role of targeted media, and discussed the study (Feldman & Kinoshita, 2024), the challenge of etiquette: Insults and ridicule in Japanese politicians' rhetoric of political decadence: rudeness, contempt and humiliation in parliamentary and public discourse. It emerged from the study (Feldman, O., 2023) that political debates tend to ignite the atmosphere particularly periodically at election times and politically relevant programmes in daily newspapers as a manifestation of humor in Japan: How culture influences satire and satire, as political addresses highlight in times of external, global and security crises and how they are managed at a time of need.

As a result of the literature review, we can conclude the following.

- The scarcity of studies dealing with tolerance and political differences.
- The number of experimental studies on Arab matters decreased compared to Western studies.
- The use of new media, particularly various social media sites, affects the rate of dialogue or political debate in matters of daily life; at both the level of public and local issues.
- Researchers' confidence in all electronic media sources is very high, and those interested in political news search the Internet more than following television news because the Internet provides borderline information and comprehensive coverage at any time.

Study questions:

1. What are the rates at which political issues are addressed in the talk shows?
2. What are the main political issues addressed in the talk shows?
3. What forms of interaction have the talk shows provided with political issues?
4. What is the direction of media addressing political issues?
5. What are the features of the difference revealed by the media's handling of political issues?

Methodology:

The study is of the quality of research or descriptive studies aimed at gathering the information needed to describe the dimensions and variables of the phenomenon, enabling it to be analysed in the circumstances in which the study aims to identify how the talk shows affect the situation of those on which they exist, awareness of controversial political issues by disclosing the parties to the issues, and the study's curriculum: The study relied on the Survey method, which represents the method or method of identifying the degree and strength of the suspensions between their variables and then identifying the levels of influence between these variables A key curriculum for behavioural and social research in particular, it is a standard model for steps to collect data from human vocabulary and the survey curriculum aims to analyse both their situation, behaviour, feelings and trends, Content in identifying mechanisms and anchors used by the talk show industry to promote a culture of political difference.

Analytical Study Society and Sample and Data Collection Tool: The analytical study community is represented on all pages and groups dealing with political topics, issues, and events with satellite channel talk shows. As for the data collection tool, the study relied on the content analysis tool ", which is known as the method of monitoring, quantitative, comprehensive, and accurate

characterization of the various media contents and has fulfilled a research strategy. It is a key tool for information gathering and content analysis, and the issue analysis unit raised in the talk shows' panels.

The theoretical framework of the study:

The concept of political difference is matched by the concept of political tolerance, which requires the recognition of the other and its different rights and upholding the public interest over private interests. Positive political tolerance values include equality of rights and duties, freedom of expression, flexibility and alliance (Abid, Roy, Lees-Marshment, Dey, Muhammad, & Kumar, 2023), clarity and credibility upholding the public interest, and the denial perception of certain groups of society, such as selfishness.

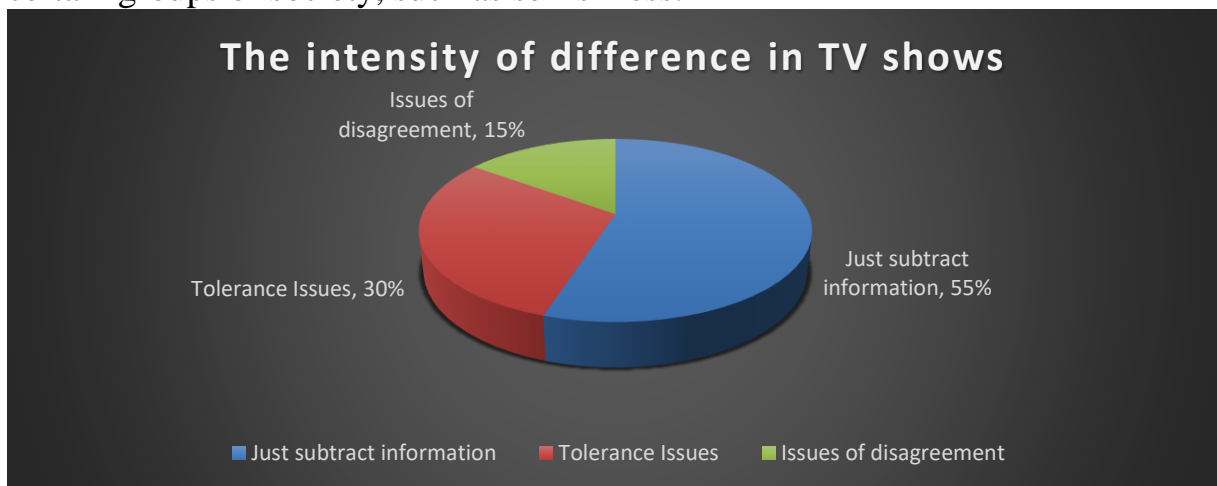


Figure No.1 Results of the intensity of the difference shown in TV shows

The previous format reveals the intensity of the divergence that has emerged in TV shows. 40%, followed by 35% of the issues discussed by submitting information; finally, 25% of the study sample showed a negative political difference in the third order. The emergence of a negative difference in this proportion is also an indicator of the need to promote a culture of difference in society, Worst of all, they influence the shaping of public opinion and influence decision-making. And certainly, the development of awareness of a culture of difference depends on the recognition of its existence as a problem and as a factor of deterioration and crisis in the atmosphere, He noted the important role of educational and media institutions in the development of this behavioural trend as in the case of any culture or other practice (Reisach, 2021).

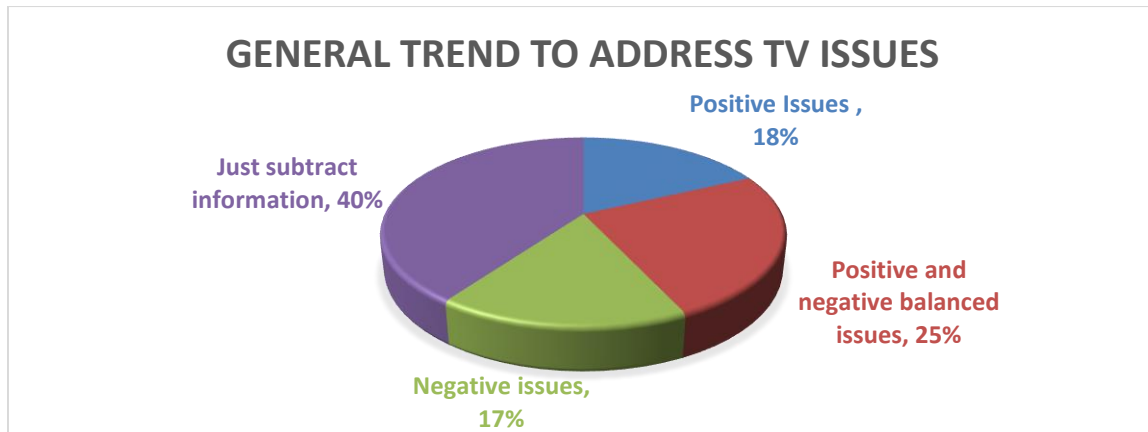


Figure No.2 The sample's views on the overall trend of dealing with TV issues

The idea of positivity and negativity is based on the fact that difference of opinion helps to reach intermediate solutions and points of agreement, enabling the continuation and peaceful coexistence, and it is clear from the responses of the study sample that there is a predominant reflection in young people that different vision does not mean that difference and contravention (Jaeger & Bertot, 2010), where there is a difference between the definition of difference and disagreement, Other than the other way in the case or saying, the difference is that each one has to take a different route, One, the violation is meant to be both, and the difference is based on evidence and disagreement is unsubstantiated, and the effects of mercy differ and disagreement with the effects of heresy, and studies have emphasized that recent talk shows have enjoyed a large and distinctive public because of their advantages, including attention to current issues and events, and intense audacity in addressing social and negative issues and issues. (Mindel, Overstreet, Sternberg, Mathiassen, & Phillips, 2024), and reliance on highly popular and mass programme providers, has become the focal point for officials and audiences, where they receive public complaints and attempt to bring them to the attention of officials (Bertot, Jaeger, & Grimes, 2010), as well as a cultural information segment that adds a lot of people to society's task in trying to get to the secrets of these issues, and the disagreements in the television programs have been of the kind that divergences during the discussion of television. (Appel, Grewal, Hadi, & Stephen, 2020), while positive differences of opinion, Differences of opinion are accepted without breach or brawl of any tolerance in the conversation and thus trying to reach middle points of agreement between the different parties, as well as some dialogues addressing the importance of different manifestations and unacceptability of others, accepting multilateralism and being a great cultural manifestation, The emphasis on equality and non-discrimination in community interaction and community laws (Siiner & L'nyavskiy-Ekelund, 2017).

Conclusion

It is clear from the study's findings that television programmes, in general, tend

towards a culture of positive difference and non-conflict. This positive climate helps to expand the margins of public freedoms, emphasize the right to the difference between human beings, and political pluralism, which has tended to be translated at the legal and legislative level.

The study showed that in implementing legal and legislative texts, serious work is being initiated to eliminate manifestations of violence and tolerance at the formal and grassroots levels. This requires combating the causes of such manifestations, whether political, economic, social or cultural. This is achieved through the concerted role of the State institutions. It highlights the role of the media in promoting positive messages for the family and society about tolerance and respect for diversity, and it is a duty of the Egyptian media, in particular, to familiarize themselves with the cultures of others and to advocate for openness to them and to deal with them wisely and humanely. Pluralism and diversity in the characteristics of the population are a source of determination and strength for human societies; the development of the capabilities of Egyptian society to genuine dialogue and fruitful work with each other, to renounce extremism and militancy, and to achieve prosperity and a dignified life everywhere. International Governments shall endeavor to disseminate the values and principles of tolerance, mediation, acceptance of others and rejection of racism and extremism through the enactment of legislation and laws, the development of national indicators, the use of international indicators, the development of working mechanisms in various governmental institutions and the promotion of harmonization and development of their policies and service system to create institutions characterized by tolerance and respect for coexistence and pluralism. Directing the various media and optimally investing them to develop public opinion against hardline tendencies of all kinds by disseminating the art of dialogue and acceptance differently, combating all manifestations of intolerance and forms of discrimination, and criticizing and correcting the authorities' performance towards the preservation of human rights. Seminars, lectures, and workshops should be held on how to rebuild the Egyptian personality on the basis of tolerance, respect for other opinions, and the reformulation of society based on democracy based on equality, justice, acceptance of the other, and non-discrimination. All electronic platforms and traditional media outreach should be activated in the culture of tolerance and the right to disagree. There should be pages on social media sites that have proved to be the most interactive by the public and that help raise awareness of the culture of tolerance. The need to activate the public's role in various areas of humanitarian action and to take care of their role in promoting the values of tolerance and coexistence, preventing them from intolerance and extremism, and empowering them to contribute to the industry of the bright future, focusing on empowering and qualifying a new generation to be a positive energy that contributes to the dissemination of the

values of tolerance.

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Enhancing Political Participation Abroad: The Media's Impact on Parliamentary Elections for Egyptian Expatriates

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Abstract

The impact can vary significantly for audiences outside the direct reach of domestic media—those who may not receive the same content as citizens residing within the country. This discrepancy becomes particularly evident during times of crisis and political turmoil when media strategies must be tailored to reach external audiences and achieve specific goals effectively. Therefore, the core issue addressed in this study revolves around a fundamental question: How can media effectively support and enhance political participation among expatriates during parliamentary elections? Grounded in Democratic Participatory Theory, which advocates for media prioritizing public interests and democratic engagement through pluralism, local interaction, and equitable access to information, the study aims to explore this question. The research employs a questionnaire to investigate the effectiveness of media campaigns in encouraging Egyptian expatriates to participate in parliamentary elections. The findings suggest that these campaigns have a limited impact on motivating expatriates to engage politically.

KEYWORDS: Parliamentary Elections, Egyptian Expatriates, Electoral Campaigns, Media.

I. INTRODUCTION:

Free dissemination of information through various media platforms offers significant potential for grassroots mobilization, grounded in a broad and accurate understanding of political events. Media studies have shown that repeated exposure to similar topics can significantly enhance individuals' knowledge of a particular subject. This effect varies depending on multiple factors particularly the target audience of Media messages.

In recent periods, the relationship between the media and the public has evolved, becoming increasingly interdependent (Ibrahim, Safieddine, & Pourghomi, 2023). It's a given that Media has been found to have the power to influence the formation of public opinion trends and play a crucial role in

shaping individuals' political awareness on various issues. This role of the media becomes particularly prominent during elections, significantly impacting public opinion.

Democratic elections and its relationship with media is of great interest to researchers and specialists in many fields such as politics, Mass media and communication, as well as political sociology. Discussions about elections are often linked to the role played by the media. Numerous studies indicate that individuals perceive social reality through the images and meanings established by different media platforms (Kerr & Lührmann, 2017). However, this expected effect of the media may vary for audiences who are expatriates and have been living outside the country for many years. Media organizations may not adequately understand the characteristics of this audience, study its diverse needs, or direct content that enhances its connection with the home country (Melissen, 2005).

This is important as the Egyptian Constitution, under Article 208, states that the state is committed to caring for the interests of Egyptians residing abroad, protecting them, guaranteeing their rights and freedoms, enabling them to perform their public duties towards the state and society, and participating in the development of the nation. Therefore, Egyptians residing abroad have the right to participate in elections and referendums in accordance with the procedures determined by the laws regulating that.

Democracy cannot be established without an understanding or awareness of the democratic process among citizens and at least the political community, both domestically and abroad. This includes political socialization/education for citizens and allowing various political parties and entities to demonstrate their participation in the electoral process. The process of democratic transition is highly complex, and multifaceted, it depends significantly on the level of social and economic development, as well as the prevailing economic, regional, and global conditions at the historical moment of political transition. Percentages of political participation in elections contribute to this process (Marsden, Meyer, & Brown, 2020).

II. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The dissemination of information through communication channels has the potential to mobilize popular and mass action based on a broad and accurate understanding of political events. Media studies reveal that repeated exposure to similar content can significantly enhance individuals' knowledge of particular subjects, especially when it aligns with the interests of the target audience. The media plays a crucial role in the political process by shaping public opinion through the provision of extensive information, which the public uses to judge candidates and their platforms. This involves directing attention to specific candidates and issues, thus influencing their perceived importance. However, the

impact of media varies depending on whether the target audience is internal or external. Therefore, the research problem is defined by the central political question: How does media influence public opinion and political participation among different target audiences, both domestic and abroad, with special emphasis on Egyptian expatriates?

III. IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCH

Understanding the needs and characteristics of expatriate communities, particularly during election periods, is crucial for enhancing their political participation.

Political media has become essential in the current era. Studying its role and impact on both domestic and international audiences provides opportunities to improve media performance, especially during elections. Media may impact the performance of various political actors such as political parties in mobilizing voters, recruiting candidates and influencing voter turnout.

Major elections and parliaments are key drivers of democratic life. Therefore, it is important to highlight the media's varying roles and effects on external audiences to enhance the effectiveness of different media channels.

Leveraging the perspectives of communities living abroad can improve media performance during election periods, contributing to the development of strategies for utilizing media in elections and contemporary political issues.

IV. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The study aims to identify the role of the media in supporting the political participation of expatriate communities during election periods.

To understand how well expatriate communities, engage with political issues in general and elections in particular, and to identify the factors influencing their political attitudes.

V. LITERATURE REVIEW

The topic of media influence on political participation has gained significant importance in recent years, particularly through the monitoring of public use of traditional and new media during election periods. Examining previous studies is a fundamental step that contributes to building a theoretical background for this subject. Here, we review some studies that have discussed this topic:

The impact of social media on United States elections was examined by (Curry, 2018), who aimed to recognize the impact of social media on election results. The study showed that the highly popular Twitter platform reduced the proportion of Republicans participating in electoral voting, particularly noticeable when comparing the 2016 and 2020 elections. Twitter, founded in 2006, grew from about 1 million users during the 2008 election to 40 million in

2012, 67 million in 2016, and 69 million in 2020, prompting officials to request media providers to oversee election-related content in the U.S.

Transitioning to the role of social media in election campaigns, (Ortensi & Riniolo, 2020) explored how election campaigns mitigate gaps in the use of political media. Their results indicated that campaigns often narrow or stabilize differences based on age, sex, education, and political interest. However, systematic differences in political media use persist during campaigns, with young people, women, the less educated, and those disinterested in politics being less engaged.

Further exploring media exposure, (Haugsgjerd & Karlsen, 2024) studied the implications of exposure to political platforms on shaping voter trends towards parliamentary elections. They found a positive correlation between the political trends of well-defined parliamentary programs and media handling of elections, which influences public voting behaviors. Additionally, a lack of political interest was associated with reluctance to participate in elections.

Focusing on the impact of false information, (Halpern, Valenzuela, Katz, & Miranda, 2019) examined young people's exposure to false news via social media and its relationship with parliamentary election participation. The study revealed a statistically significant link between exposure to false news and tendencies towards election participation among young people.

The role of media in political development was investigated by (Marquart, Ohme, & Möller, 2020). They aimed to understand the nature of individuals' relationships with media and its influence on political decision-making processes. The study highlighted the importance of media in shaping political development policies.

Addressing digital media engagement, (Min & Wohn, 2018) focused on the role of digital media in activating political engagement among university youth. Their results showed a statistical correlation between reliance on digital media and participation in parliamentary elections. Despite the high proportion of digital media engagement, the results indicated a decline in digital voting adoption.

Lastly, (Walter & Ophir, 2023) analyzed trends among overseas and expatriate communities regarding the effectiveness of media campaigns in mobilizing public opinion and community engagement. They found a statistical correlation between the intensity of viewing media campaigns on foreign channels and the level of social engagement and responsibility among expatriate communities.

These studies collectively illustrate the diverse and significant impact of media on political participation, both domestically and internationally, highlighting the varying effects across different demographics and contexts.

VI. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is grounded in Democratic Participatory Theory, an extension of media theories that emerged in response to criticisms of monopolistic commercial practices in privately owned media. It contrasts with theories like Social Responsibility Theory, which emphasizes media practice and the accountability of social institutions (Warren, 2009). From the perspective of Democratic Participatory Theory, media self-regulation has not prevented powerful media institutions from controlling societal narratives and failing to meet the evolving needs of media consumers. Central to this theory is the belief that media should prioritize the public's informational needs and encourage pluralism and local interaction, fostering horizontal communication among all societal stakeholders (Hourdequin, Landres, Hanson, & Craig, 2012).

This theory posits that media should be directly accountable to their audience, enabling public participation in decision-making processes and cultural expression, thereby enhancing democratic engagement (Mueller & Stratmann, 2003). It challenges dominant political systems in Western societies that may marginalize minority voices and weaker societal forces, advocating for inclusive media practices that empower all segments of society (Mueller & Stratmann, 2003).

Democratic Participatory Theory advocates for media systems that prioritize public interests, foster democratic participation, and empower diverse societal voices through equitable access to information and cultural expression. The theory underscores the right of individuals, groups, and minorities to access and use communication channels and public information according to their identified needs. It asserts that the primary purpose of media should be serving the public, not the institutions or individuals that control them.

Moreover, the regulation of communication and mass media content should avoid central control, prioritizing public participation over the discretion of media professionals or journalists. Local groups, organizations, and communities should have their own platforms for mass media communication. While the media plays an important and supportive role, it should not be decisive, with government oversight focusing on establishing guiding principles while respecting media independence. Encouraging media self-regulation is crucial for upholding ethical standards and accountability. Media should act as a pro-democratic medium, promoting democratic values and processes. Ensuring media accessibility is essential for combating marginalization by providing equitable access to information for all individuals.

VII. DATA AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research paper is a descriptive study, aiming to depict, analyze, and evaluate the characteristics of Egyptian Expatriates (Egyptians residing abroad) and how their voting in parliamentary elections may be influenced by media

messages. This is an exploratory study that encompasses qualitative and quantitative analysis depending on primary data collection. This study analyses the role of media in enhancing the political participation of Egyptian Expatriates during parliamentary elections. The study population is comprised of expatriates and their communities, surveyed through an online questionnaire. The study surveyed a diverse sample of 153 participants (Egyptians residing abroad) from various Arab and foreign countries. This approach enabled the author to identify of levels of impact of media messages and draw explanatory conclusions responding to the research question. of media messages and draw explanatory conclusions responding to the research question.

Table 1: The Impact of Media Campaigns on Voting Patterns of Egyptian Expatriates

Statements	Agree	Neutral	Oppose	Mean	Relative Weight %
Media campaigns were characterized by objectivity and accuracy	6.8	64.1	29.1	1.78	59.3
Media campaigns addressed all viewpoints.	12.8	59	28.2	1.85	61.5
Media campaigns increase political awareness	19.7	54.7	37.6	1.89	63
Media campaigns alone do not shape how I cast my vote	17.1	46.2	37.6	1.79	59.5
No media campaigns were directed to us as Egyptian expatriates vote earlier than citizens at home.	16.2	48.2	25.6	2.04	68.1
Media campaigns are not usually focused on elections	29.9	41.9	17.9	2.15	71.8
Media platforms do not design campaigns tailored to the Egyptians residing abroad	33.3	45.3	17.9	2.26	75.2
Media campaigns convinced me to vote	41.9	41.7	16.2	1.69	56.4

Based on the percentages in Table 1, it is evident that the lack of tailored media campaigns for Egyptian expatriates (75.2%), insufficient emphasis on campaigns encouraging expatriates to vote (71.8%), and inadequate timing of

campaigns suited for early-voting expatriates (68.1%) indicate a limited impact of media on the voting behaviours of Egyptians living abroad.

Table 2: Media strategies suitable for addressing Egyptian Expatriates

	K	%
Social Media Platforms	92	60.1
Video messages from candidates	27	17.6
Posters and Roll-ups in Egyptian gatherings	7	4.6
Political conferences and debates	39	25.4
Cell phone SMS	40	26.1
Talk shows and discussions targeted towards us in our country of residence	66	43.1

Data from the previous table indicates that expatriates prefer being addressed via social media platforms (60.1%) and talk shows and online discussions tailored to them (43.1%). Additionally, the researcher analyzed the additional comments on the questionnaire, leading to the following findings:

- The results indicated that the level of participation in parliamentary elections among the sample of Egyptians residing abroad (153) was low, as only 10% of them participated regularly in elections.
- 80% of the studied sample indicated that one of the most significant reasons why the second generation of Egyptians residing abroad did not participate in the parliamentary elections was their lack of confidence in the information provided during the election campaigns.
- 70% of the sample results revealed that the majority of residents abroad do not have time to follow Egyptian news in general. Consequently, this lack of awareness constitutes one of the primary reasons why they are uninformed about parliamentary elections, intensified by inadequate media coverage of their countries abroad. This may also be the reason why they prefer to be reached by Social Media indicating that Facebook (71%) is the most accessible followed by X (20%).
- Overall results indicated that there was no statistically significant positive correlation between the rate of media dependence among Egyptian residents abroad and their intention for future political participation.

VIII. CONCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

It is recommended that conducting comprehensive studies on communities

residing abroad, particularly focusing on the youth demographic, is essential to understand how to enhance and promote political participation. The aim is to identify key reasons for reluctance to participate in elections and determine the primary communication channels they rely on for obtaining information, especially concerning political and parliamentary matters.

Moreover, increasing electoral outreach to these communities, particularly through Social media platforms and targeted television programs tailored to their specific interests and needs, is crucial. Additionally, comparative research between similar groups residing inside and outside their home countries can provide valuable insights into their levels of political awareness and knowledge. By identifying the most effective communication channels for engaging with these groups, such research endeavours can maximize the impact of Media campaigns and foster greater political engagement among expatriate communities.

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The Role of Communication Activities and Public Relations in Raising Awareness of Political Participation

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Abstract:

The study aimed to familiarize itself with the role of communication activities in public relations in a randomly selected group through an online questionnaire to learn to increase awareness of political participation. The study relied on the classification of the framework of descriptive studies on the survey curriculum by distributing its 314-strong electronic questionnaire.

The scholarly confidence in the economic activities used came from public relations in political bodies to a moderate degree; the face of social media sites in the introduction regarding reliance on them in political consciousness. The study's appearance modestly plays the role of communication activities used by public relations to increase awareness of political participation. The conclusion of the study shows that cognitive, conscientious, and behavioral influences on communication activities greatly influence the degree of awareness of political participation.

Keywords: Political Awareness; Public relations; Political Participation; Social media.

Introduction:

Increased awareness of the electoral process is a key factor in raising the proportion of political participation in general and electoral processes in particular. Global electoral departments are committed to the approach of raising awareness of the electoral process in order to increase awareness among citizens of the importance of political participation in its effectiveness, including the laws of all societies. (Norris, 2001), the active participation of citizens in political life is an essential part of the process of democratization in society, as its integration into associations, non-governmental organizations, political parties and representative bodies increases the level of social and political awareness. (McCown, 2007), in particular that the question of a citizen's

political participation became a national requirement; This also contributes to integration into the political behaviour of citizens by engaging them in electoral work, which is one of the most important methods of political participation and the most influential in the making of public policy. (Halupka, 2016), the citizen, therefore, has faith that his participation in electoral work as an elector, candidate, or representative of the people in Parliament is an important contributor to his political decision-making (Milbrath & Goel, 1965).

Global political reality encompasses transformations and processes that, by their very nature, reflect the historical phase of States, the most important of which is defined as the framework for controlling the trends and policies to be pursued, considering democracy as the basis for building the pillars of countries' advancement and progress in all political, economic and social spheres. (Servaes & Malikhao, 2010), Where the concepts of democracy, their applications and the concepts of participation in political and development decision-making in all countries of the world are multiplied; Democracy is one of the hallmarks of the state's political system and an important element of its strength, in which the people's will is transformed into the creation of an elected council through the conduct and organization of the electoral process and ensuring its transparency (Condon, 2015).

The process of citizens' political participation in the selection of their representatives in Parliament through the parliamentary elections is one of the forms of political practice that plays an important role in the democratic development of any political system. In this case, there must be a framework for the two draft procedures in the parliamentary election process, namely, the principle of legitimacy in which the sovereignty of the Constitution and the law are embodied, with the introduction of a system of oversight and a comprehensive organization for the protection of the democratic election procedure, A J.2012 The Directorates of Communications and Public Relations worldwide raise awareness of the electoral system and promote communication between these bodies and civil societies of citizens, voters, parties, institutions, candidates, the media and the international community (Dimitriu, 2012), to familiarize them with political bodies and their activism, consolidate positive images of them, support elections and restore citizens' confidence in the electoral process in order to exercise the voter's right easily and facilitate the task of media professionals and observers in covering and observing the electoral process. (Kent & Li, 2020), as well as exercising political rights online in a transparent manner without misleading information, providing voters with an accurate image to participate in the electoral process with sufficient awareness without falsifying or misleading (Ruess, Hoffmann, Boulianne, & Heger, 2023).

Research problem:

The strength of society's political consciousness reflects the political forces of the States, which are the freedom that the States give their people to express their views and beliefs and contribute to shaping their political, economic, cultural, and social stability. They help unite society members with state institutions to achieve goals, avoid problems, and not waste public funds. To that end, the communication workers of the independent body for the elections must form and understand their simple capabilities with effective political participation; most of the world's laws stipulate that the awareness of voters is important for participation in political life, including the electoral process. Therefore, the problem of study can be formulated in the following main question: What is the role of communication activities for public relations in increasing the community's awareness of political participation?

The importance of Research:

It is important to study the importance of increasing political awareness and its role in building society in all its aspects as a fundamental pillar in achieving belonging and loyalty to the nations. Elections are important to the world's people, especially the parliamentary elections. Elections in Parliament shall be commendable in activating political behavior and acting two of the most important methods of political participation, the multiplicity and power of elections. Levels of transparency, impartiality, and impartiality in managing different electoral processes. The importance of the study here is reflected in the decrease in the proportion of many people participating in the various elections with political participation.

Research Objectives:

The study's objective is to identify the extent of the role of economic activities in public relations in raising awareness of the elections and increasing the political awareness of citizens of political participation, which is a significant objective. Several objectives are as follows; Habits and patterns of citizens' exposure to communication activism in the independent body of elections and how political awareness of them; The degree to which people rely on activities in electoral bodies is an increase in their awareness of political participation.; Contact activities used help increase awareness of political participation or not; The reasons why citizens rely on contacting activities in elections to increase their awareness of political participation.

Research Questions:

1. What is the role of public relations communication activities in increasing citizens' awareness of political participation?
2. Why do citizens rely on economic activities to increase political awareness?

3. What is the degree of citizens' reliance on communication activities in participating in the political process?
4. What is the role of economic activities in public relations in increasing citizens' awareness of political participation?

Research Assumptions:

There are no statistical significance differences at the indicative level ($\alpha = 0.05$) in the degree to which citizens rely on communication activities to increase political awareness of political participation due to citizens' demographic variables.

There is no correlation at the indicative level ($\alpha = 0.05$) between the degree to which citizens rely on communication activities in the independent body for elections and the behavioral effects of the voter.

Terms and concepts of Research:

Communication activities: Different kinds of communication use all the functions and events of public relations to have a positive effect and enhance the public image (Jodoi, 2023).

Election: The primary means of attributing and deliberating power in the parliamentary democracy is exercised through the electorate's right to choose their representatives in the governing institutions of the state. It is a constitutional procedure (Maftuh, 2020), which includes a set of legal principles consisting of a legislative system whereby individuals or groups are selected to occupy legislative institutions such as the House of Deputies.

Political awareness: It is the situation in which the individual or members of society are involved in issues of political life in their different dimensions and from which they take a knowledgeable and meaningful attitude simultaneously (Ferrara, Masciandaro, Moschella, & Romelli, 2022), also known as the community's level of awareness of political events and developments at the local and global levels and as a set of political values, trends and principles that allow citizens to participate actively in the development of their society, solving their problems and defining their attitude towards them (Geise, Maubach, & Boettcher Eli, 2024).

Political participation: It is a fundamental pillar of democracy that means that the people exercise the right to govern themselves through the right to stand for election or the right to vote or to take care of political issues and matters and discuss them with others or members of organizations in attempt to influence the decision-maker and is a form of political practice that represents political activity (Müller-Hansen, Callaghan, Lee, Leipprand, Flachslan, & Minx, 2021), carried out by the State

towards the citizen to influence positively and directly the process of political decision-making, whether at the level of the individual or the group.

Citizen's Political Influences: These effects concern many people in terms of direction changes, beliefs, and feelings. This behavior occurs as a result of the occurrence of cognitive and conscientious influences (Williams, 2021).

Literature Review

Study (Fujiwara, Müller, & Schwarz, 2023), entitled *The Impact of Social Media on Elections: Evidence from the United States*, the study discussed how important it is for young people to be influenced by social media, as well as on Twitter, the most widely used app in the United States.

A study (Van Gyampo, Agbevade, & Graham, 2022) entitled *The Role of the Independent Electoral Body in Overseeing the Electoral Process of the National Councils of Ghana at All Stages*. The study aimed to identify the role of the Independent Electoral Body and supervise the electoral process..

A study (Le & Nguyen, 2021) entitled *The Impact of Community Upbringing on Political Participation*. The study aimed to measure the level of impact of community creation on political participation from the point of view of party leaders. The study used the analytical descriptive approach.

A study (Matthes, Heiss, & van Scharrel, 2023) entitled *Will politics tweet or the use of new media by young people will change politics*. This study aims to recognize the role of new media used by young people in supporting revolutions the media's influence on the political orientations of young people and what informational media are known to them after School.

A study (Barberá, Gohdes, Iakhnis, & Zeitzoff, 2024) *The impact of the new media in further consolidating the political effectiveness of young people in the long term* aims to study the role of new media in shaping the political consciousness of young people in the university stages. The most important results are that the new media is the most used medium of educating young people to shape political awareness, raise their political effectiveness, and provide them with knowledge that enhances their political orientation.

After reviewing previous studies and dividing them by political participation and activity, it was found that most studies related to political participation. Most studies agree that the Internet significantly affects young people's knowledge of political news. These studies were used to formulate the research problem, imposition, and attempt to benefit from its results, as well as compare them with the results of previous and current studies.

This study belongs to descriptive studies that examine, interpret, and analyze facts of a prima facie nature. These studies are called social surveys. This study is based on a survey and a practical descriptive study. The survey curriculum is not limited to the use of a single method in the process of

gathering information and data.

The study was based on an electronic survey to collect information and data from members, one of the most used tools for collecting information in survey research. It was designed through the application of Google Forms. It was developed in the form of paragraphs on the Likert scale for all axes to know the role of social means in shaping the political consciousness of young people.

Statistical methods used in the Research:

For data processing and statistical analysis, the study used Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to use statistical methods and indicators that fit the study questions in all the programs mentioned.

Table (1) How well do you know and trust the media

Question	Arithmetic Average	Standard deviation	Degree of exposure
How Well You Know About Media Organizations' Activities	3.33	0.89	Medium
How Well You Know About Media Topics	3.27	0.90	Medium
Follow the media well	3.22	0.85	Medium
I trust the credibility of the media for the organizations	4.02	0.89	Great
I trust in the organizations' keenness to spread awareness	3.62.	0.89	Medium
Trust in the credibility of media information	3.60	0.83	Medium
organizations reserve the dissemination of certain information	2.017	0.63	Low

It is clear from the previous table that citizens' exposure to the communication activity used by independent bodies for election came at an average rate with an average arithmetic (3.27) and a standard deviation (0.89), which is the question of the extent to which economic activities used by independent bodies for elections came at an average salary. (33.3) While following the communication activities used by electoral bodies regularly in the last salary and relying on good regularity in communication. This result may indicate that the sample individuals in the study realize the importance of communication activities in obtaining political information and that all the means of the voters have advantages that help attract the other electorate. Independent organizations now use a passion for pursuing activities to provide them with information, which facilitates the election process and clarifies the

mental image of citizens.

It also shows that citizens' confidence in the communication activities used by the contact person was (4.02) and highly reliable, while poverty came and preserved some of the information that they could submit to the media in the last salary at the average arithmetic (2.17) and thus the low confidence and the interpretation of these results between the object of the discussion or the exchange of information in the medium. The participant also works to use media that fits with the target audience but at the same time uses all available means to ensure that information reaches all voters and all segments of society while taking caution against some misinformation that spreads through other media means and therefore they do not fully trust it and need reliable references to verify the circulation information.

Conclusion

Demonstrate the modest role of communication activities used for public relations in electoral bodies to increase citizens' awareness of political participation. The study sample's reliance on public relations outreach activities in electoral bodies was moderate. The cognitive, conscientious, and behavioral effects of citizens' reliance on communication activities have been shown to enhance their political awareness, particularly through social media significantly. It turns out that social media platforms are the most reliable way for young people to increase their awareness of political participation. A positive and strong correlation exists between the habits of following citizens for communication activity and the cognitive, conscientious, and behavioral effects on their choice of a particular candidate. The study highlighted the role of economic activities used by public relations for elections in increasing political participation awareness, especially among communities residing abroad.

In light of the findings of the study and the presentation of its results, the following recommendations are proposed:

It is necessary to use political and media communication specialists to assess the content that will be presented to the public, ensure its suitability, and intensify its dissemination at times that align with the target audience. Diversification of the means of communication and media used by the contacts of the electoral organizations to better align with the target audience. To increase their awareness and engagement in political participation, activate the role of communication in public electoral bodies by improving the skills and development of those bodies so that they can provide the information needed by the public in an innovative and attractive manner. It is necessary to ensure that bodies provide real, accurate, and easy political information so that citizens can form a correct political understanding capable of increasing their political awareness. It is necessary to focus on increasing citizens' knowledge and political awareness by intensifying the presentation and provision of information

through all available channels—to help them develop positive political behavior. It is necessary to remove all obstacles and barriers to citizens' participation in political life.

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The Role of Satirical Political Platforms in Shaping Societal Political Awareness

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Abstract:

The current study aims to uncover the reality of satirical political platforms and the role of the media in developing awareness of citizens' political participation based on contemporary political theories from the perspective of students themselves. The results of the first question showed that the computational averages of the reality of the media's role in developing awareness of political participation ranged from 3.67-4.28 to their high level. The results of the second question were shown: The existence of statistically significant differences attributable to the sex variable and to the interests of females and the absence of statistically significant differences depending on the macro variable and the school year. The results of question III showed that the computational averages of the responses of the study sample individuals to the paragraphs of the challenges facing the media in developing awareness of political participation ranged from one to another. (3.80-4.14) and its high level, and the most prominent sources on which the widespread satirical programmes relied as well as the Joe Shaw programme relied on mixed sources in the first place. The study showed that the study programmes took the opposing trend in their coverage of political subjects in proportion (25%), highlighting the media trends used by both Clear Jamming and Joe Shaw in their coverage of political topics is the framework of economic consequences, while Al-Suleit's news programme focused on using the framework of political conflict.

Keywords: political awareness, satirical programs, media, media misinformation.

Introduction:

The presence of the media and communication has become a reality and important in the light of the technological development so that it is impossible to dispense with it and has become the cultural and mental environment in most societies. Despite the world's evolution in the areas of modern technology,

information networks and social media, which has also met with wide graves of all members of society and has become an important part of the fact that television continues to maintain its positives in attracting viewers from all categories of age. (Steensen & Westlund, 2021) Many television stations have made their content available on social media sites and the convergent can access them whenever he wishes, which has enhanced many programs, be it talk, news, comedy or political satire, and become widely followed and important in Arab societies.

Political satire has been constantly renewed throughout history through all the new tools and arts of political opponents and references to political corruption and social injustice. This diversity and evolution is evident through the cultural historical heritage on historical buildings walls and between fiction papers and on the woods of theatres, cinema screens and radio waves. (Weber, Weibel, & Mast, 2021), between political sarcasm and authoritarian phenomena in every era until political sarcasm reached a sophisticated stage and used outer space and virtual sites to get from those systems.

Political sarcasm is a field that is specific to the field of ray and expression. When the spaces of the ray are narrowed down, the system relies on a single voice. There is no voice above the voice of authority. Individuals turn to the field of political sarcasm to be the main actors in it. They create severe instruments for themselves.

Political sarcasm is a field that is specific to the field of ray and expression when the spaces of the ray are narrowed down, and the system depends on a single voice. There is no voice above the voice of the authority. Individuals turn to the field of political sarcasm to be the main actors in it and create for themselves severe instruments, a song traded between informal gatherings (Ahmad & Salim, 2023).

Often you get what the political programs are (Feldman, 2024) In particular, compared to the rest of the programming provided by satellite channels and terrestrial television stations and enjoying wide audiences, it is a favourite of all ages and various social segments, regardless of their cultural level, for its political, social and psychological content, which provokes laughter and critiques Direct guidance may reverse responses. It also possesses dazzling tools and attractions. It approaches citizens' concerns, touches the essence of their problems and concerns. It means more about life vacancies. It also has the ability to reach the street in an easy language and within a comic framework full of ironic attitudes. (Erickson & Yan, 2024), which makes political platforms play a significant role in shaping the awareness of a broad segment of the public about certain social and political issues. The more critical they are about the political and social debate that exists in society.

Research problem:

In the era of globalization and the accelerated developments in the world in

various aspects of life and the role that the media and communication have played in this development. They are making efforts to keep pace with the times, meet the desires of the masses and have an unprecedented impact on the activities of individuals and groups by coming up with stereotypes that meet the wishes and tendencies of different audiences.

The importance of Research:

- The importance of the study is the importance of the topic that you are discussing, namely citizens' reliance on local and international television programmes and political disparages in shaping their political consciousness and ways of dealing with them.
- Trying to contribute to an integrated framework on the concept of cynical political programs.
- Create a complementary relationship between politically cynical programs and citizens' political awareness.
- Contribute to suggestions for the development of disparaging political programs so that they have a more effective impact on the public.
- Produce conclusions and recommendations that enhance the role of the media and communication in shaping citizens' political awareness.

Research Objectives:

- This study sought to identify citizens' reliance on local and international political television programmes that are cynical in shaping their political consciousness and methods of dealing with such programmes as a main objective, and a series of sub-objectives, namely:
 - The advantages of cynical political programs pursued by citizens.
 - The most cynical political programs followed by the public to shape his political consciousness.
 - Political topics dealt with by cynical political platforms.
 - The nature of the trends carried by the content and content of the disparaging political programs.
 - The active forces on which cynical political platforms depend in dealing with political topics.
 - TV templates used by disparaging political shows in their coverage of hot political topics.

Research Questions:

- What are the habits and patterns of citizens to watch satirical political programs?
- What are the advantages of satirical political programs?
- What are the topics of cynical political programs?
- What are the effects of satirical political programming?

- What sources have the cynical political platforms relied on for their coverage of political topics?
- What is the nature of the trends carried by the content and content of the satirical political programs?
- What are the active forces on which cynical political platforms have relied to address political topics?
- What TV templates have been used by disparaging political shows in their coverage of mainstream political topics?

Research Assumptions:

A statistically significant correlation exists between citizens' pursuit of disparaging political platforms and the formation of their political consciousness?

A statistically significant relationship exists between the subjects raised by cynical political platforms and the formation of citizens' political sponsorship?

There are differences of statistical significance between citizens' pursuit of political platforms and the formation of their political consciousness. Demographic variables such as type, age, place of residence and political interest have not been possible.

Terms and Concepts of Research:

Satirical TV Shows: All programmes broadcast on TV screens and followed by audiences at the time of political elections or socio-economic problems are analysis of the content of programmes (Hoewe & Peacock, 2020).

Political awareness: Political awareness is shaped by the pursuit of disparaging political platforms.

Audience: It is a group of people characterized by special qualities and its members are associated with certain bonds. This group is located in the surroundings of a particular activity in the organization or media establishment.

Values: They are a set of values in which members of a particular group participate and wish to promote and preserve them, such as security, freedom and equality. The media play a major role in clarifying the importance of these values.

Review of the Related:

A study (Akbar & Kusumasari, 2022) aimed at identifying how disparaging political platforms address political issues by shedding light on some programs. This study has yielded results. Most of these programs focus on the political topic, economic life, key elections, people's movement, all derived from the reality of societies The reports and television channels cover political issues and are still broadcast through the television images used.

A study (Becker, 2020) aimed to recognize the government performance

frameworks in YouTube TV shows and their relationship with the mental image of young university students. This study represented all the episodes of some disgruntled shows in different seasons and relied on television channels as a primary source in addressing issues as well as the mosque between passionate and logical grooming as well as the sympathy of those people.

Study (Matthes, Heiss, & van Scharrel, 2023) This first study costume to recognize the extent to which citizens rely on satirical comedy shows on some television channels and their role in shaping their orientations on local and international political issues.

The study (Winegar, 2021) highlighted the understanding of the relevance of the emergence of satirical television programmes to certain international and global revolutions, especially the Arab Spring revolutions, and highlighting the political reality of his personality, causes and ramifications, and using a particular study in the field of random television.

The study (Chiumbu & Munoriyarwa, 2023), entitled "Disgruntled Programmes in African Satellite Channels and Their Trends Towards Adolescents and Young People", aimed at identifying the trends and patterns of adolescent viewing of disgruntled programs and identifying the most important topics and issues discussed by disparity programs.

The study (Koivukoski & Ödmark, 2020) satirical political comedy as a portal for the use of internal news and effectiveness and political participation. This study aimed to identify a theoretical synthesis of previous research and a rigorous experimental test in which the researcher used a representative survey of his group of adults in the United States of America Influences are of great importance in shaping young people's political consciousness.

A study (Feldman, O., 2024), entitled How Political Satire Increased the Fame of Public Figures, Media and Politicians. The study aimed to shed light on some satirical programs about the EU-US trade agreement for investment and partnership across the Atlantic.

A study (Okiyi, 2023) aimed at identifying how political information is disseminated in some programs and how political humor is employed in Nigerian comedy. The study used the historical curriculum on models in Nigeria and produced results that are most important political humor in comedy standing between political positions and government policies in these states and their performance.

Commentary on previous studies:

Current study with previous studies applied the survey curriculum in the sampling of analytical field Cadaab followed by his user and the style and formulation of the questions that will contribute to the drawing of conclusions. Current study differed with previous studies in terms of society and demographic composition. Current study benefited from previous studies to

develop the general perception of the study and accurate identification of the study's whole as well as the identification of its dramatic policy concepts.

Curriculum of study:

This study is classified as an analytical descriptive study that describes the phenomenon to be studied and interpreted and is concerned with determining the circumstances and relationships between the facts. It is also concerned with identifying common or prevalent practices and identifying beliefs and attitudes in individuals and groups by gathering information. This is aimed at reaching logical and useful conclusions that contribute to problem solving, removing dramatic obstacles and ambiguity Media, especially descriptive research. The study monitored the habits and patterns of exposure to satirical television programmes and politics and their role in shaping citizens' political consciousness through the media and social media as well; By making an electronic questionnaire via Google Data Browser, it is key to collecting information from individuals in the eye. The questionnaire has also been distributed in its last version through social media such as Facebook, WhatsApp, blogs and e-mail in order to achieve the study objectives in line with the objectives of the study procedures to achieve the best results.

The procedure of honesty and consistency for the sample study:

The instrument is genuinely intended to measure the instrument and originally designed to measure it. This leads to a higher level of confidence in the results obtained. Firmly, the tool for gathering information is intended to be able to give the same result when used more than once. These procedures are considered to be of a critical nature in application. The Pearson test is used to calculate transactions between the multiple associations of each and the axis to measure the sincerity of internal consistency, which indicates are valid 0.25 S) to analyse the data, and to be able to statistically empty and process it, as well as a set of statistical metrics and transactions appropriate for the study.

Disgruntled Political Programs

Political programming is one of the most important programs on which television broadcasts are based in the majority of the world's television stations and channels. The reason why this type of programming has a great impact on audiences because of the issue and topics they raise in a satirical manner and their criticism of political reality. (Momen, 2023) In this way, these programs can cynically meet the needs of the public by increasing information on political issues as well as forming and forming a political consciousness among the public by attaching principles, actions and tendencies that encourage the formation of opinions and freedom of expression and making correct decisions about political attitudes.

Disgruntled Political Programs

It is difficult to determine an accurate history of the appearance of sarcasm in human society. However, it can be said that it has existed since its time since the realization of man himself and his distinction from others. Sarcasm has emerged with the formation of human groups and the emergence of political oppression, bullying and violence. This is demonstrated by the cartoons and cartoons left by the ancient man on the walls of temples and the emergence of satirage programs in Britain and the United States States from the 1960s. (Droog & Burgers, 2023), where she angered some people for his part and benefited some of them in political consciousness, shaping political irrigation, promoting citizen culture and citizen thinking through public-attractive political debate in a skilled manner that is a good way to empty the public's emotions of disgust, anger, contempt and discontent of the people in a simple and pronounced expression. The experience of satirical comedy programs in the Arab world is relatively recent, but some of them did not observe the basic rules of this type of program. Their critical mission shifted to outrage and dirty people rather than being breathing for them. The comedy shows appeared on television in our Arab world through various programmes and appeared most after the Arab Spring revolutions in the Arab world (Ahmad, A., & Salim, S., 2023).

The functions of cynical political programs.

1. Social function of satire: Its social importance lies in alleviating the social taboo and insulting and removing the cover from it, such as topics related to sex and aggression. Satire is then overwhelming with disciplined and controlled venting when we rush to our natural tendencies (Rill & Cardiel, 2013).
2. Entrenchment of members of the community: humor is an essential element of social cohesion and creates its own language for the community.
3. Helping to drive anxiety and fear in the audience: Laughing at things that frighten us makes them under our control and makes them less threatening to us such as jokes or TV shows about disasters and traffic accidents by removing fear and encouraging its arousal of interest (Higgie, 2017).
4. Satirical communication function: The satirical communication function is reflected in those contexts of social interaction between people and groups in which funny thrills appear and their pleasant effects are made by laughter, where social knowledge strengthens and facilitates interaction between individuals and groups and is part of the communication attitudes in which a sender, his messenger, and the future of citizens.
5. The political function of satire: Laughter in political life is necessary and through cynicism, joke and humor can criticize certain institutions and

certain personalities and behaviors with the aim of reducing tension or correcting errors and attacking the current situation in politics and found in satirical literature (Kasmani, 2022), a form of resistance and cynicism that expresses people's feelings. Moreover, it pronounces what people say about certain political attitudes and complements its political satire in the fact that politicians prepare it as a political pressure on them because it represents the reaction of the street in their eyes. It is a political pressure that represents the entire people in political cynicism, but it is not a part of the position, J2021.

Features of satirical software.

Criticism: In essence, satire is a form of criticism of one of humanity's actions that relates to inadequacies or shortcomings and attempts to shed light on them (Peifer & Landreville, 2020), for a broad segment of individuals in order to induce them to deplore them and thereby encourage the adoption of changing behaviors.

Implicit: It is not a clear position or peremptory judgment of a particular case. It is an implicit provision that is often exaggerated or deducted from its original context. In the vast majority of cases, sarcasm carries the meaning of its connotation and not direct public explicit messages.

Cynicism: Satire uses a cynical method to highlight the problem in criticized behaviour and means speech that is not mentioned in a well-known communicative context with the aim of negatively nullifying his words, thought, belief, personality or political cause. Therefore, cynical programs break the course of talk from the course of controversy to the course of farce, a technician who draws his laughter on the faces as cynical is a method of different expression, Zang, 2022 Zang.

"Jo Shaw" Programme Form Egypt.

It was shown on YouTube from the beginning of 2013 and then appeared on Arabic TV channel in 2016 during Ramadan. It seemed like the programme after the revolutions in Egypt, where Yousef Hussein created a satirical political video to defend the former president and achieved more than half a million viewers in a short time Take a cognitive and cognitive attitude.

Table (1) Computational averages and standard deviations to see the impact of satirical political platforms in shaping the political consciousness of the masses.

phrase	Arithmetic Average	Standard Deviation	Grade	Level of Importance
My pursuit of satirical political platforms strengthened my national	2.34	0.790	2	Medium

phrase	Arithmetic Average	Standard Deviation	Grade	Level of Importance
political affiliation				
Push me to further research on the topics raised by these programs	2.41	0.691	1	High
Satirical political platforms increase me's willingness to participate in elections and participate	2.24	0.786	3	Medium
Contribute to changing my behaviour towards my political ideas	2.17	0.686	5	Medium
Some satirical political topics lead me to react.	2.04	0.763	3	Medium
General arithmetic average	2.23	0.503	-	Medium

The previous table of arithmetic averages and standard deviations of behavioral effects paragraphs refers to the reliance on satirical political programs to shape the public's political consciousness, whose general arithmetic average of this dimension (2.33) is a standard deviation (0.503) and the level of importance of its average arithmetic threshold of this dimension between (2.04_2.41) Under the calculation of the arithmetic average, the lower poverty was the sixth paragraph, which stipulates that some of the cynical political subjects prompt me to react in reverse. The average arithmetic value of this poverty (2,04) was reached by a standard deviation (0.763) A political sponsor enabling him to form a new politician that makes followers able to engage with confidence in politics.

Results

- The results showed that more than the advantages of cynical political programs followed by citizens that address different political problems in a comical way and show the news less complicated.
- The results showed that the most cynical, local and Arab political programs are the Al-Suleit news program and the Joe Show program.
- The results showed the existence of cognitive, physical and behavioral effects affecting citizens' reliance on disparaging political platforms to shape their political consciousness.
- The results showed that disparaging Arab political television shows are characterized by their clear and fundamental importance in shaping the public's political consciousness.

- The results of the study showed that satirical political programs are highly favored among peoples to shape their political consciousness.
- The results showed that citizens are interested in following the satirical Arab television shows and are interested in the Holy that it presents from a satirical 70% political comedy.
- The results showed that the subjects of the political system came first in disgruntled policy programs at 65% followed by political, economic and social subjects.
- The results show that the study programs took the opposing trend in their coverage of political topics at 55%.

Recommendations

- Disgruntled political programs should cut all political topics and evolve their content to shape political consciousness.
- Programs must rely on the most documented sources of information to have clear credibility.
- Cynical political programmes, new ideas and attractive forms should be developed and prepared by political professionals.
- Disgruntled political programs should focus more on topics that will attract followers and be more relevant to topics.
- It is necessary to diversify into cynical political programs and not rely on specific patterns to be able to attract followers.
- The need to intensify media courses and train specialized cadres in political media to create and educate political media professionals.
- Greater Christian studies are needed in media and policy departments on the concept of cynical politics and political consciousness
- It is necessary to direct cynical political programs to focus on political topics that absorb members of society as a whole, not as an imposition, and to seek to place followers at the heart of the event.

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Egyptian Expatriates' Engagement: Analysis of the Role of the State (2015-2023)

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Abstract

The question of expatriate engagement has been gaining momentous importance on the agenda of the Egyptian state since 2014. In an attempt to design a national strategy for engaging with its expatriates, the Egyptian government has been keen on developing specific policies and initiatives, starting with re-establishing the Egyptian Ministry of Emigration (Samra, 2018). This has been followed by several initiatives that aimed at providing public services to the expatriates, fostering their investment rates, and consolidating their national identity and sense of belonging (Samra, 2018). Hence, it would be interesting to analyze the national policies and initiatives for expatriate engagement further while addressing the following research question: “In light of A. Gamlen’s typology of diaspora engagement policies, to what extent can the Egyptian emigrants’ engagement policies and initiatives be considered comprehensive?”

To address the research question and prove the argument, the paper is divided into six sections, including a thorough conceptual framework, an analysis of the value the Egyptian emigrants represent to their homeland, and an examination of the mounting political will and interest in engaging the Egyptian expatriates. Based on this political will, the paper analyses the policies of capacity-building, and the initiatives that aim at extending rights and extracting obligations in terms of remittances, investments, and knowledge transfer.

Keywords: Egyptian expatriates, Gamlen’s typology, Institution-building, symbolic nation-building, extension of rights.

Introduction

After a series of popular uprisings and socio-political instabilities between 2011 and 2013, the Egyptian state has witnessed an exponential rise in its immigration rate, which increased to 66.2% in only five years (2011-2015) (World Bank, n.d.). According to national reports, the number of national expatriates reached 12 million in 2022 (Taha, 2022). These immigrants represent a strategically important human capital that can contribute to the Egyptian national development, but they are also an important source of remittances which reached US\$ 32 billion in 2022 (Al-Aees, 2022)

Accordingly, in response to the potential positive contribution of migrants to the Egyptian national development, the government has shown an important interest and political will in strengthening the ties with the expatriates in order to benefit from their acquired knowledge and expertise, and to enhance their rates of investments in their homelands (Dawood, 2021; Samra, 2018). This political will is regularly emphasised upon by the government's political discourse, as well as the speeches of President Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi, along with high-ranking officials who all put the issue of expatriates' engagement among the top priorities of the state (State Information Service, 2022). This approach comes within a larger national strategy to construct a "New Republic" which would be based on an inclusive and sustainable development (State Information Service, 2022)

Hence, in an attempt to design a national strategy in engaging with the national expatriates, the Egyptian government has been keen on developing certain policies and initiatives since 2014, starting with the re-establishment of the Egyptian Ministry of Emigration (Samra, 2018). This includes several legal amendments, and initiatives that aimed at providing public services to the expatriates, fostering their investment rates, and consolidating their national identity and sense of belonging (Samra, 2018). In addition to these state-centred public initiatives, the government has also been cooperating with some non-state actors in order to expand its reach to the national expatriates, and to consolidate the national identity and sense of belonging of the young Egyptian expatriates while preventing the cycles of identity loss.

Hence, it would be interesting to further analyse the national policies and initiatives for expatriate engagement while addressing the following research question: "In light of A. Gamlen's typology of diaspora engagement policies, to

what extent can the Egyptian emigrants' engagement policies and initiatives be considered comprehensive?"

This paper argues that due to the increasing potential value that the expatriates represent to their homeland in terms of financial and human capital, and based on Gamlen's typology of diaspora engagement policy, the Egyptian public approach to expatriate engagement can be considered comprehensive as it encompasses efforts for institution-building, and symbolic nation-building. It also directs attention to political integration, and social services while attempting to enhance the remittances' rates and expatriates' knowledge transfers though offering different sets of incentives.

Accordingly, the paper is divided into six sections: the first section is devoted to the conceptual framework in which the paper defines Gamlen's typology of diaspora engagement policies, and discusses the concepts of expatriates and diaspora while explaining the reason behind the use of the term "expatriate" rather than diaspora when addressing Egyptian emigrants. The second section elaborates on the value that the Egyptian emigrants can represent to their homeland; this value is derived from their financial and human capital contributions. The third section showcases the mounting political will and interest in engaging the Egyptian expatriates. Based on this political will, the fourth section analyses the state policies in terms of capacity-building while shedding the light on the institution-building and symbolic nation-building aspects. The fifth section elaborates on the extension of political rights, and social services to the expatriates. Finally, the last section focuses on the extraction of obligations in terms of remittances, investments, and knowledge transfer.

I- Conceptual Framework

a. Gamlen's typology of diaspora engagement policies

The concept of expatriate engagement (sometimes referred to as diaspora engagement) signifies the policies and strategies that aim to reach out to the expatriates, and re-integrate them economically, politically, and socially into their homelands (Gamlen, 2006, p.5). Accordingly, an extensive study has been undertaken by A. Gamlen (2006) who analysed the variety of expatriate engagement policies implemented in a large number of states across different continents and with different development levels and organised them into an interesting and comprehensive typology. This typology includes three main categories: capacity-building, extension of rights, and extraction of obligations.

Firstly, the capacity-building efforts are considered key elements in inducing expatriate engagement. According to Gamlen (2006, as cited in Jha, 2015, p. 380), they focus on the development of well-organised public institutions that work on establishing and managing a state-centred transnational society. The process of capacity-building includes two major aspects: institution-building and symbolic nation-building. The institution-building can take different forms from developing a unit to gather accurate data and needs assessments of the expatriates to establishing a ministerial-level entity to engage the expatriates (Gamlen, 2006, pp. 8–9). This entity, regardless of its scale, should be capable of setting objectives and exercising power to manage the affairs of the expatriates. Furthermore, the symbolic nation-building is defined as the use of symbols and inclusive rhetoric to create a transnational community united by a sense of belonging to the homeland (Dawood, 2021, p. 75). These symbols and rhetoric can be accompanied by initiatives to promote cultural ties, the initiation of expatriate-targeted media, acknowledgments and celebration of the expatriates' achievements, and the development of effective communication channels (Dawood, 2021, p. 75).

Secondly, the extension of rights is also an interesting component of expatriate engagement policies. These include mainly two aspects: political incorporation, and social and civil rights and services. The political incorporation can include the extension of political and voting right to a wide range of expatriates, enhance their representation in their national political sphere and encourage their participation in elections and referendums (Gamlen, 2006, pp. 10–12). The social and civil right and services can include social support, welfare protection, services to enhance visits to the homelands (Gamlen, 2006, p. 12). This set of policies and initiatives aim to strengthen the connection between the expatriate and their state of origin (Dawood, 2012, p. 4).

Finally, the last category of policies aims to extract obligations from the expatriates. These obligations can have different natures according to the priorities and political agenda of the state. According to Gamlen's typology, these can include investment policies, emigration taxes, knowledge transfer initiatives, and/or lobbying in the receiving state (Gamlen, 2006, pp. 13–16). It is worth mentioning that the term obligation in this typology does not necessarily mean a requirement imposed by the state on its emigrants, but it can take a variety of forms including incentives, or participation in knowledge transfer programs (Dawood, 2012, p. 5).

Accordingly, this typology is used for the research analysis as it provides

a thorough framework through which the Egyptian policies and initiatives can be comprehensively analysed.

b. Concepts of diaspora and expatriates

For precision purposes, it remains of significant importance to tackle the conceptual difference between the notion of “diaspora” and “expatriate” to determine which of these concepts is more applicable to the case study. This differentiation is also essential since a large portion of the literature studying Egyptians living abroad defines them as “Egyptian diaspora” rather than expatriates (Dawood, 2021; Kuşçu, 2012; Mehrez & Hamdy, 2010; Samra, 2018; Zohry & Debnath, 2010)

The term “diaspora” is derived from Greek roots and literally means “scattering of seeds” (Anthias, 1998 as cited in Grossman, 2019, p. 1264). Classically and until the late twentieth century, this concept has been used to designate specific populations that have been forcibly dispersed after an exile; hence, it has traditionally been used to refer to the Jewish population after their forced exile after the conquest of Babylon (Gamlen, 2008, p. 842; Grossman, 2019, p. 1264; Reis, 2004, p. 44). Some authors include also the Greeks and the Armenians as diasporas (Grossman, 2019, p. 1264). Theorists and scholars aligning with the classical conceptualisation of the notion argue that the migration of the diasporas is involuntary, so it is a forcible dispersion that is caused by a traumatic experience (Grossman, 2019, p. 1271). The diasporic identity is also distinct from other types of identity as it is based on shared sociocultural traits, shared memories of dispersion and/or forced migration, and nostalgia for an imagined or real homeland (Grossman, 2019, p. 1275). Diasporas also share the so-called “victim tradition” in their history and discourse; this tradition is based on the traumatic events that led to their forced dislocation (Cohen, 1996, p. 4). This classical conceptualisation of diaspora is still widely used by some scholars (Reis, 2004, p. 44).

However, by the end of the twentieth century, the term has been employed in a looser and more flexible manner (Parladir & Özkan, 2014, p. 106). Theorists enlarged the conceptualisation of the term to include migrants, refugees, guest workers, expatriates, and any other minority group living in a foreign land (Parladir & Özkan, 2014, p. 106). In other words, the term “diaspora” is sometimes used by some scholars to refer to any group of people who is voluntarily or involuntarily separated from their homeland and have some levels of affinity to their native communities (Al-Marebi et al., 2022, p.

386; Pradhan, 2021, p. 2). This enlargement of the concept is highly problematic as it has been charged for confusion, extreme fluidity and lack of boundaries for the notion. Hence, it undermines the core meaning of the concept and leads to unprecise practical and empirical methodologies (Grossman, 2019, p. 1264).

Thus, to avoid any conceptual or methodological confusion, the research refers to Egyptians abroad as expatriates, as per the terminology used in the official and legal documents.

II- Importance of the Egyptian Expatriates' Contributions

a. Mapping of the Egyptian Expatriates: 1990s to 2020s

To understand the mounting importance of the engagement of Egyptian expatriates and their contributions to the state, it is important to start by tracing the Egyptian expatriation trends from the 1990s to the early 2020s. This analysis helps in paving the way to highlighting the potential value that the expatriates represent to their homeland.

Starting 1990s, there has been a rise in both permanent and temporary Egyptian migration. As per law No. 111 of 1983, permanent migrants are those who seek a dual nationality or permanent residence permit in a foreign state, this is predominantly the case for expatriates who aim at permanently living in Western or Latin American states (Müller-Funk, 2017, p. 55). On the other hand, temporary migrants are those who seek to temporarily work abroad, mainly in the neighbouring Arab states (Müller-Funk, 2017, p. 55). However, it is interesting to note that during the 1990s, the rate of temporary migrations exceeded the permanent ones as scholars state that “Egypt is now experiencing what is called the permanence of temporary migration” (Farrag, 1999, 55, as cited in Zohry, 2003, p. 5). In fact, this rise in temporary emigration is well-illustrated in the exponential increase of the number of contracts for Egyptians working in Arab states; these latter escalated from 589 contracts in 1991 to 100 839 in June 2005 (Zohry, 2007, p. 15). In 2001, the destination of half of these temporary emigrations was the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), succeeded by Libya (representing 17.4% of Egyptian emigrants), Jordan (11.9%), Kuwait (10%), and UAE (5%) (CAPMAS, 2001, as cited in Zohry, 2003, p. 4).

However, the early 2010s witnessed important regional political instabilities which affected the migration of Egyptians. The violent escalations in Libya, and Syria resulted in the return of a large number of Egyptian emigrants. These regional instabilities marked also an increase in the level of irregular migration within the region (Zohry, 2013, p. 52). Simultaneously, the

political instabilities that took place in Egypt between 2011 and 2014 and the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood to power led a large number of Egyptians to seek permanent migration in Western states (Zohry, 2013, p. 53). Accordingly, Egyptian emigration continued in its upward trend; however, it slightly changed in nature as the demand for uneducated workers decreased compared to the contracts provided to skilled and highly-educated Egyptians (David et al., 2019, p. 18). The emigration destinations maintained their status quo (apart from Libya) with the KSA being the main host of Egyptian labour, succeeded by Kuwait, and UAE (David et al., 2019, p. 21).

Based on the statistics released by CAPMAS, the number of Egyptian expatriates reached around 10.2 million Egyptians in 2017 (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), 2019, p. 69). The majority of the expatriates, around 7 million, reside in neighbouring Arab states and the rest is globally dispersed: 1.3 million in Europe, 33 595 in Asia, 1.8 million in the American continent, and 45 000 in Africa (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), 2019, p. 69; El-Ebedy, 2022, p. 86). These numbers further increased as, according to the former Minister of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, Ms Soha El-Gendy, the number of Egyptians living abroad reached 12 million in 2022 (Taha, 2022). The KSA maintains its status as a top destination for Egyptian emigrants with 2.2 Egyptian migrants while Kuwait and UAE host around 600 000 Egyptian expatriates (Taha, 2022).

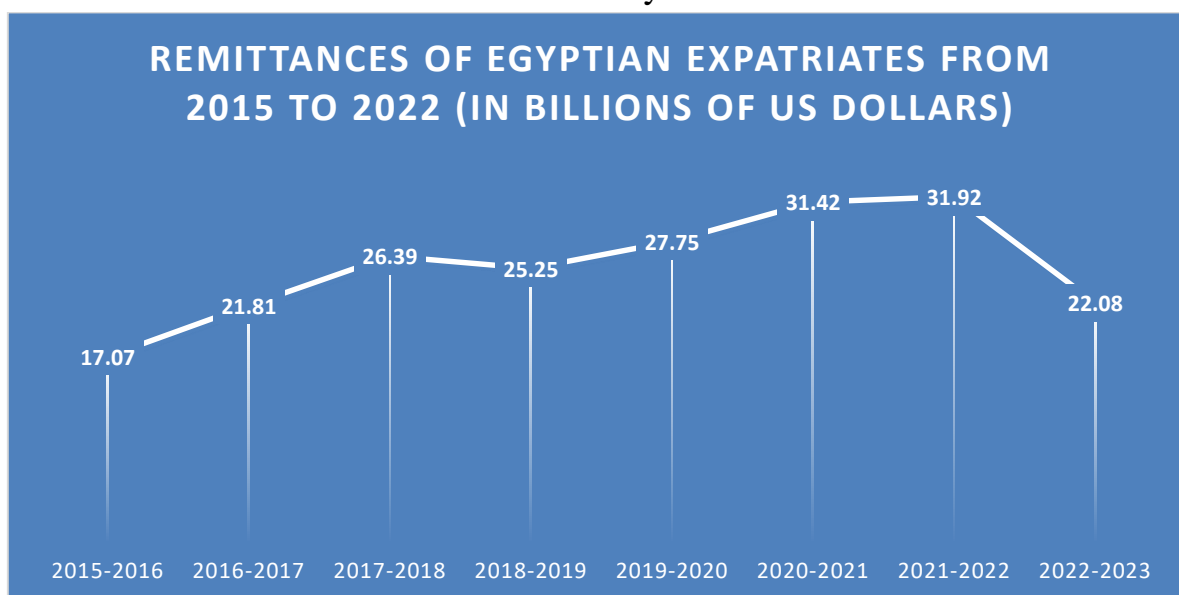
However, it is important to note that these numbers are only estimates as according to the former Egyptian Minister of Emigration, Ms Nabila Makram, some Egyptian families choose not to officially register their information in the Egyptian embassies and consulates (El-Ebedy, 2022, p. 85). Additionally, some emigrants no longer have their Egyptian passports as their host states do not authorise dual-citizenships, this is for example the case for Austria (El-Ebedy, 2022, p. 85).

Thus, this brief analysis shows that Egyptian expatriation rates maintained an upward trend since the early 1990s which led the phenomenon to become predominant in the social and political discourse. In fact, the national expatriates became a key asset with the potential to highly contribute to the development of their homeland. These contributions can be categorised into financial capital contributions and human capital contributions.

b. Financial Capital contributions

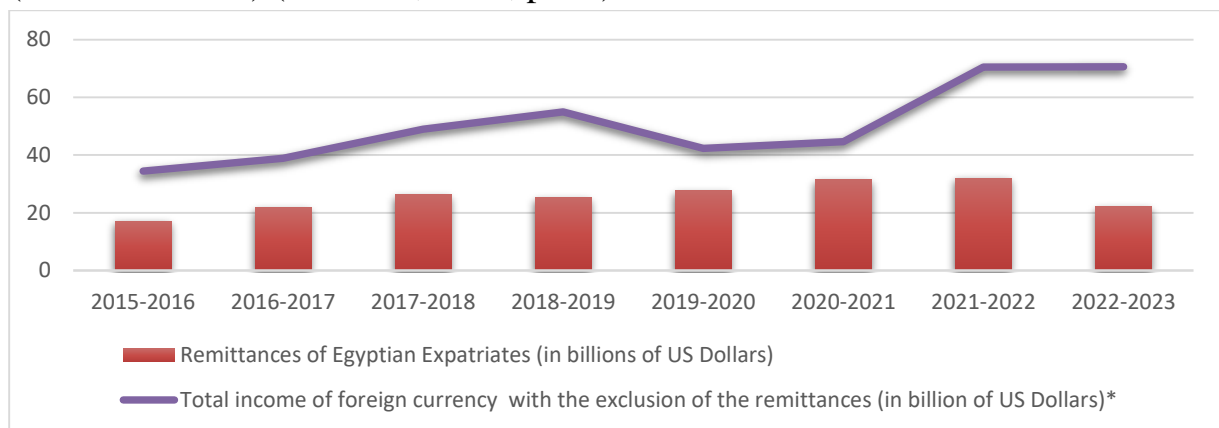
The literature shows that the financial capital contributions of the migrants, including remittances and investments, can potentially foster the development of their state of origin. Some scholars explain that remittances have the potential to improve the standards of living of the migrants' families which can help during times of crisis while it can also stimulate local consumption and demand, boost the cycles of production, and eventually revive the local economy (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003, p. 16; Stahl & Arnold, 1986, p. 899). Furthermore, according to the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development, the remittances inflows constitute a greater source of financial support to the LMIC (low-and middle-income countries) compared to foreign direct investment and external development aid (Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD), 2023, p. 1). They also are considered key for vulnerable economies suffering from a national public deficit and shortage of foreign currency (Itzigsohn, 2000, p. 1143).

By assessing the value of remittances to the Egyptian state, it is possible to claim that remittances are one of the most important sources of foreign currency. According to the below graph (graph 1), remittances reached \$17.07 billion in 2015-2016, and this number continued to increase at a steady pace until it reached \$26.39 billion in 2017-2018. Despite a slight drop in the following year, they continued in their upward trend while reaching \$31.92 billion in 2021-2022 (Ali et al., 2024, p. 20). Accordingly, these changes show an increase of almost 190% in seven fiscal years.



Graph 1: Remittances of Egyptian Expatriates From 2015 To 2023 (In Billions Of US Dollars). Graph designed by the author based on data gathered from Ali, Abu Alftouh, and Hamza (2024, p. 17).

Furthermore, while the remittances are significant in their net values across the years, it remains important to compare them to other sources of revenue in hard currency. The below graph (graph 2) shows that, from 2015 to 2020, the remittances constituted 45% to 70% of the total Egyptian revenues in foreign currencies (Ali et al., 2024, p. 14). Focusing on 2021-2022, one can note that the remittances constitute almost 6.7% of Egypt's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Ali et al., 2024, p. 23). During the same fiscal year, the remittances' value was greater than the sum of the revenues that resulted from the Suez Canal fees (US \$7 billion), tourism (US \$10.7 billion), and foreign direct investments (US \$8.9 billion) (Ali et al., 2024, p. 20).



Graph 2: Remittances of Egyptian Expatriates from 2015 to 2022 Compared to Other Sources of Income (In Billions of US Dollars). Graph designed by the author based on data gathered from Ali, Abu Alftouh, and Hamza (2024, p. 17).

Thus, the financial capital contributions of the Egyptian emigrants are of irrefutable value to the state as they constitute a key pillar of the economy and a fundamental source of foreign currency.

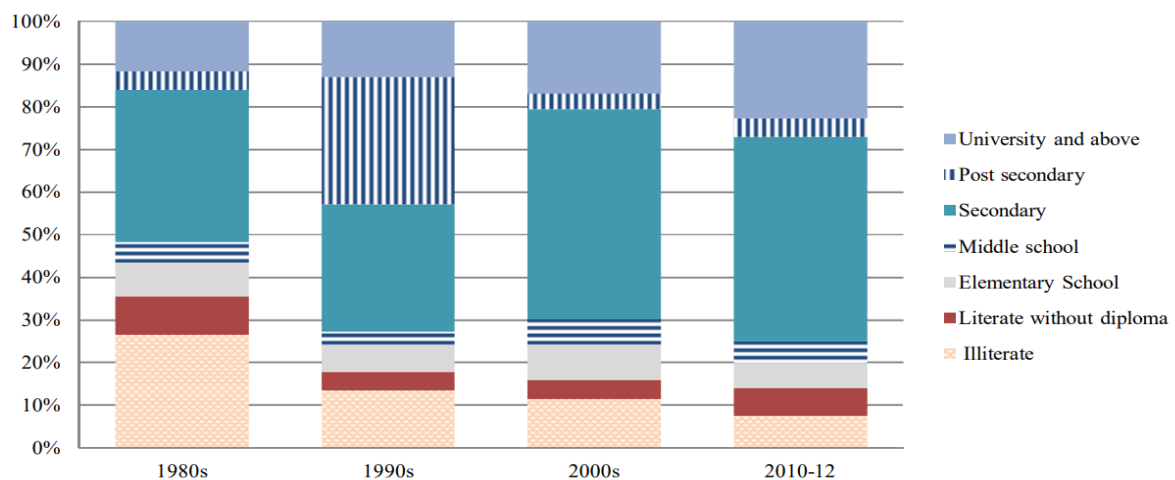
c- **The Human Capital Contributions**

The value of the Egyptian expatriates does not only reside in their financial input but also in their potential human capital contributions.

Although some scholars warn about the risks of “brain drain” as it can highly benefit the receiving states at the expense of the emigrants’ homeland and deepen the cycles of dependency of the poorer sending states (Docquier & Rapoport, 2007; Lien & Wang, 2005), the literature increasingly focuses on the potential benefits of “brain circulation” (Mehrez & Hamdy, 2010, p. 252). This concept addresses the possible movement of the highly skilled labour across different states making them capable of travelling back and forth between the states of origin and of residence.

It is worth noting that the Egyptian nation possesses a significant portion of highly skilled expatriates, mainly those who permanently migrate to Western states. Based on a survey conducted by the Migration Policy Institute (2015, p. 12), between the years 2009 and 2013, 38% of Egyptian expatriates living in the United States of America (USA) had a bachelor's degree (compared to only 20% of the total American population), and 26% of the Egyptian expatriates held a post-graduate degree, compared to only 11% of the American general public. These significant percentages of highly educated migrants are also relevant in other Western states. In fact, in 2008, 65% of Egyptians in Canada, 59% in Ireland, 51% in Switzerland, and more than 40% in Belgium, France, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (UK) had completed tertiary education or advanced research programs (Dawood, 2012, p. 8).

Furthermore, it is worth noting that these numbers are witnessing a persistent rise which adds to the importance of the Egyptian human capital. In fact, according to the below graph (graph 3) designed by Wahba (2014, p. 12), the proportion of highly educated emigrants is incrementally growing compared to the sum of the illiterate emigrants and those who are literate but without any diplomas. Hence, while the latter group composed 35% of the Egyptian migrants in the 1980s, they only represented approximately 17% in the 1990s and 14% in the early 2010s. In contrast, the expatriates who obtained a bachelor's degree represented only 12% in the 1980s; however, this percentage reached almost 22% in 2010-2012.



Graph 3: Egyptian Emigrants Distribution Based on The Education Level (Wahba, 2014, p. 12)

These high levels of education are complemented by the acquisition of advanced skills, expertise, and high-ranking positions in the hosting states. According to the research conducted by Zohry and Debnath (2010, p. 45),

97.5% of Egyptian expatriates living in Western states and 44.3% of those residing in Arab states believe that they acquired new skills from their state of residence. Furthermore, a significant proportion of Egyptian migrants, particularly permanent expatriates, are likely to hold high-ranking positions. For instance, based on a study conducted by the Migration Policy Institute (2015, p. 7), almost half of the Egyptian expatriates in the USA work in professional or managerial positions; a percentage that is significantly higher than the one of the general American public (only 31%).

Thus, based on the aforementioned data, it is observable that Egypt possesses rich human capital with a significant potential to contribute to national development. According to the literature, by enhancing “brain circulation”, highly skilled expatriates can provide their homeland with international knowledge and expertise while forming knowledge networks (Lowell & Findlay, 2002). They are also considered “reputation intermediaries” as they provide a certain prestigious representation of their state of origin (Mehrez & Hamdy, 2010, p. 252). Additionally, skilled migrants can also stimulate social, and cultural exchanges while enhancing the richness of the sending state’s socio-cultural fabric (Lowell & Findlay, 2002). Finally, skilled expatriates can also improve modernisation efforts in their homelands by providing scientific consultancy, facilitating technology transfers, and investing in developmental and entrepreneurial projects (Lowell & Findlay, 2002; Mehrez & Hamdy, 2010, p. 252).

III-Egyptian Expatriate Engagement: Remarkable Political Will

A closer look at the Egyptian political agenda shows that there is a growing interest and political will in expatriate engagement. This is highlighted in Article (88) of the amended 2014 Egyptian Constitution which states the following:

The State shall safeguard the interests of Egyptians living abroad, protect them and protect their rights and freedoms, enable them to perform their public duties towards the State and society and encourage their contribution to the development of the nation. (Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt, 2014)

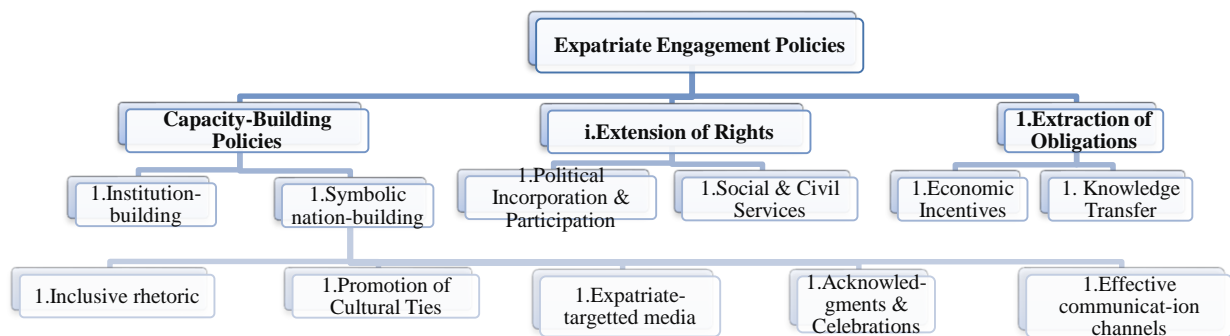
The Egyptian political will in integrating and engaging the Egyptian expatriates is also well-documented in the 2030 vision of Egypt as it includes the following goals as part of a more sustainable strategy for national

development:

- The establishment of policies and initiatives to enhance international financial flows with a special focus on remittances which should be directed to the national development (Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, 2023, p. 23)
- The enhancement of the transfer of skills and knowledge from Egyptian experts and scholars residing abroad while strengthening their connection with their homeland (Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, 2023, p. 26)
- The maintenance of the Egyptian identity among young expatriates (Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, 2023, p. 39)

Accordingly, the state has undertaken numerous public policies and initiatives attempting to implement the aforementioned national goals. These public policies and initiatives can be classified as follows:

Capacity-Building Policies



a. Institution-building

The Egyptian efforts in engaging the expatriates crystallised by the 2015 Presidential decree No. 379 which aimed at re-establishing the Ministry of State for Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs (MOE) (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, n.d.-b). This ministry is a core state institution with the relevant capacity and authority to manage all issues regarding emigration flows, illegal migration, and the affairs of Egyptians living abroad (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriate's Affairs, n.d.). Since 2016, the ministry has undertaken important measures to develop organisational structures to ensure a successful management of the migration flows, and an impactful engagement of Egyptian expatriates (Ministry of Emigration and

Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, n.d.-b). Thus, from 2015 to 2023, the ministry has been active in initiating policies and programs for expatriate engagement under the leadership of two ministers: Ambassador Nabila Makram (2015-2022), and Ambassador Soha El-Gendy (2022-2024) (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, n.d.-a).

According to the published ministry's strategy (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, n.d.) and a report published by the State Information Service (2023c), the ministry aims at:

- Formulating a national and inclusive public opinion
- Benefitting from the expatriates' knowledge and experience
- Strengthening the national, political, economic, and social ties among the expatriates and between them and their homeland
- Developing a comprehensive policy for Egyptian migration
- Formulating policies and initiatives to combat illegal migration.

It would be interesting to note that these goals mirror those mentioned in the Egyptian 2030 Vision. Hence, the establishment of a ministerial-level entity to target the engagement of expatriates is a significant building bloc upon which the state ensures proper capacity-building.

b. Symbolic nation-building

When focusing on the Egyptian efforts in engaging the expatriates, it is possible to highlight important attempts of symbolic nation-building. Firstly, these attempts are well-illustrated in the lexicon used in the official documents that address emigrants-related matters. In fact, law no. 111 of the year 1983 refers to the emigrants as "*Al-Masryin Bl Kharig*" which translates into "Egyptians living abroad" (as used in Articles 2 (b), and 3), or in some instances, they are named "*Mohageryn*" which means "migrants" (as in Article 2 (a)) (Law No. 111/1983, 1983). The Egyptian constitution utilises also the same inclusive terminology as it refers to the emigrants as "Egyptians living abroad" (Article 88) (*Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt*, 2014). Hence, these terms are used to reiterate an existing connection to the homeland. Furthermore, any expressions that might have a negative connotation or indicate complete separation or permanent dispersion, such as the terms "diaspora" or "dispersion", have constantly been completely avoided in the official political discourse (Müller-Funk, 2017, p. 56).

Moreover, beyond the legal documents, this inclusive rhetoric is also clear in the official statements of the Ministry of Emigration, and the public speeches

of high-ranking officials. For instance, in the ministry's mission statement on the official website, it is documented that the state puts emphasis on supporting and caring for the affairs and interests of the "sons and daughters of Egypt living abroad" (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, n.d.). Hence, this type of official statement is emotionally loading as it evokes strong paternalistic feelings. It is also interesting to note that these terminologies are used in public speeches. For instance, in a speech in 2018, the then-minister of emigration states that Egyptians abroad are "the first line of defence for their homeland" (Kassab, 2018). These types of expressions are charged with sentiments as they create a sense of belonging to a community and a protective attitude towards the state of origin.

It is also worth noting that the ministry also established expatriate-targeted media embodied in the monthly newsletter named "Masr Ma'ak" which translates into "Egypt stands with you" (Ministry of Emigration and Expatriates' Affairs, n.d.; State Information Service, 2020). This newsletter aims to inform the expatriates with the latest updates regarding the ministry's activities, policies and initiatives (Ministry of Emigration and Expatriates' Affairs, n.d.). Until 2023, the total number of issues reached 36 with the first one released in January 2019, and the latest in January 2022 (Ministry of Emigration and Expatriates' Affairs, n.d.).

Furthermore, the inclusive rhetoric and media are accompanied by some interesting attempts to promote the cultural ties between the emigrants and their homeland. These efforts, embedded in articles 2, 3, and 4 of Law No. 111 (1983), include the launch of several initiatives, and campaigns to promote the national identity, history, and culture of the motherland. These comprise linguistic campaigns such as "*etkalm bl Arabi*" which translates into "speak in Arabic", an initiative that is implemented under the auspices of President Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi (State Information Service, 2022c). It aims to educate the expatriates' children about the Arabic language, enhancing their reading capabilities, and their oral and written communication skills. It also focuses on amplifying their knowledge about Egyptian customs, traditions, social values, and national events (State Information Service, 2022c).

Additionally, the Egyptian symbolic nation-building efforts include acknowledgements and celebrations of the expatriates' achievements. These acknowledgements are highlighted in several issues of the ministry's monthly newsletter including, among others, issues 26 (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, 2021a, p. 5), 32 (Ministry of Emigration and

Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, 2021b, p. 5), and 36 (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, 2022, p. 7) which all narrate the success stories of several expatriates specialised in different fields. The ministry also occasionally congratulates the outstanding accomplishments of Egyptian expatriates while showing that their achievements are well recognised by the Egyptian state. For instance, in 2021, the then-minister of emigration, Nabila Makram, recognised the achievement of a student named Bayan Galal who became the first Arab President of the Student Union at Yale University, one of the most prestigious American universities (Ragheb, 2021). This has also been the case for an actor named Rami Malek who has been congratulated by the then-minister Nabila Makram, and by the official X (previously called Tweeter) page of the Egyptian embassy in the USA for becoming the first Egyptian American actor to win the Oscars (Ragheb, 2019a).

The Egyptian symbolic nation-building efforts encompass also the creation of effective communication channels with the Egyptians abroad. In fact, these channels are an essential building bloc through which the social integration of expatriates can be achieved. Accordingly, in 2018, the MOE initiated the first forum, under the name of "On your vacation, we see and hear you" to directly communicate with the expatriates visiting Egypt, listen to their concerns, and take note of their insights and contributions (Abu-Ghanima, 2018). According to Nabila Makram, the forum, which included officials and representatives from different public institutions, aimed at creating a stronger connection with the second and third generations of emigrants while strengthening their national culture and identity (Ragheb, 2018a; Shawki, 2018). To further ease the communication with the expatriates, this forum was followed by several campaigns including for instance an initiative called "An Hour with the Minister". This latter consists of conducting regular virtual meetings with expatriates residing in different states in order to listen to their concerns and orient them with any procedures, policies or new initiatives (Ali et al., 2024, p. 36).

The attempts to deepen the expatriates' integration into the Egyptian social fabric crystallised in the launch of the Ministry of Emigration Dialogue Centre for Egyptian Youth Abroad (MEDCE). This latter is an important and interactive platform that encourages bonding among young Egyptian expatriates while encouraging them to share their ideas and suggestions for bolstering the national socio-economic development, (The Egyptian Cabinet, 2023).

Moreover, until 2023, seven forums were organised to target young

Egyptians who are studying abroad. These forums were intended to ensure and maintain a strong connection with these students, to create networking opportunities among them, and to offer them help in overcoming any obstacles (Ayman, 2021; Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates Affairs, 2021; State Information Service, 2022b).

Thus, through the use of inclusive and sometimes even paternalistic terminologies, the launch of cultural campaigns, and the initiation of public acknowledgements of expatriates' success, the Egyptian state showed tremendous interest in initiating a sense of pride and belonging to an Egyptian transnational community (Dawood, 2021, p. 48).

IV- Extension of Rights

1- Political Incorporation Policies

According to the literature, initiatives and policies that aim at boosting the levels of political integration and participation of the expatriates are of special importance as they enhance the feeling of belonging of the emigrants to their homeland, create a relationship of trust and enable a regular flow of remittances and investments (Gamlen, 2006; Itzigsohn, 2000). Hence, since 2015, the Egyptian state has shown a growing interest in creating a robust connection between the emigrants and their homeland which is reflected in its efforts to enhance their political incorporation and participation (Ali et al., 2024, p. 25).

The first set of policies that target the enhancement of political incorporation and participation reside in the parliamentary representation and the extension of voting rights to a wide range of expatriates. In fact, eight seats in the parliament are reserved for representatives of Egyptian expatriates (Embassy of Egypt in Washington DC, 2015). When compared to other states in the region such as Tunisia which allocates 18 seats for its emigrants (Ensari et al., 2023, p. 12), the number of parliamentary seats for Egyptian Expatriates is limited, but it is still considered to be an important step that can have a positive role in maintaining the expatriates' inclusion in the political arena. It is also worth mentioning that a wide range of Egyptian expatriates enjoy their voting rights without limitations. Accordingly, any citizen who holds an Egyptian passport, even if he/she possesses a dual nationality, has the right to participate in elections (Rabea, 2018; State Information Service, 2015). The voting process is also made easier by allowing embassy voting (Al-Noubi, 2015).

Additionally, it is interesting to note that the political incorporation and participation policies go beyond the extension of voting rights to include

extensive awareness campaigns about the importance of electoral participation. For instance, during the Parliamentary elections of 2015, the then-minister Nabila Makram made several tours worldwide including a visit to Kuwait, Jordan, and Australia to highlight the importance of participation in elections and to explain the voting procedures (El-Saeidy, 2015; Makram, 2022, p. 56). These efforts were complementary to a large electronic campaign, under the name of “*Barlamani*” (which translates into My Parliament), to reach all Egyptians living abroad and guide them through the electoral districts, the candidates’ list, and the voting procedures in their area of residence (El-Saeidy, 2015; Makram, 2022, p. 56).

Furthermore, in 2018, it was a priority for the MOE to further enhance the connection of the expatriates to their homeland by enabling them to easily participate in the presidential elections. Hence, in addition to tour visits by Nabila Makram, an operation room has been established by the MOE to ease communication with the emigrants, answer all their inquiries, and solve promptly any challenges they might face during the voting days (Kheir Allah, 2018; Makram, 2022, p. 56). Moreover, several awareness campaigns have been developed and shared through all official social media platforms to explain to the public the procedures and required documents for voting (Gouda, 2018). According to Nabila Makram, these awareness campaigns have reached around one million viewers (Gouda, 2018).

These efforts also persisted during the 2019 elections for the constitutional amendments, and the 2020 parliamentary elections. Hence, a campaign named “I know ... Participate, even if abroad” has been launched. This latter aimed at addressing the importance of the expatriates’ participation in the referendum while responding to any inquiries regarding the voting process (Ragheb, 2019b; State Information Service, 2023c). Additionally, during the senate’s elections in 2020, the MOE worked on creating rapid and effective communication channels, including the use of emails and phone messages, to respond to all expatriates’ questions (Hosny, 2020). Finally, it is interesting to note that the terminologies used for the email address dedicated to responding to voting inquiries were carefully chosen to highlight the importance of the expatriates’ insights and participation: Egyexpicare2020@gmail.com.

2- Extension of Civil and Social Services

Besides political participation, the state initiates some efforts to extend some social services for the expatriates.

These social services include attractive offers. For instance, in 2022 the MOE, in cooperation with the Ministry of Civil Aviation, presented special discount offers on EgyptAir flights for the families of expatriates. These deals are offered to the expatriates to facilitate and increase their number of visits to their homeland (El-Sayed, 2022; Ragheb, 2023).

Additionally, the social services covered the psychological health and safety of young expatriates. For instance, in 2022, the Ministry of Emigration announced the initiation of a campaign named “*Etkalm .. Matkhafsh .. Masr Ma’ak*” which translates into “Speak up .. Don’t be Scared .. Egypt Stands by You” (Ragheb, 2022; State Information Service, 2022d). This campaign, implemented in cooperation with an online psychotherapy centre named Shezlong, targeted all expatriates suffering from any stress, anxiety, culture choc, loneliness, depression, bullying, and inability to cope with different cultures, in addition to any other challenges they might be facing (Ayman, 2022).

However, it is worth mentioning that although there are some attempts to extend social and civil services to Egyptian emigrants including for example the issuing of life insurance certificates for all Egyptians working abroad (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates’ Affairs, 2022; State Information Service, 2021), these attempts remain minor as the initiatives are limited in scale and number and they are, in some cases, implemented temporarily.

V- Extraction of Obligations: Incentive-Based Initiatives

It is important to note that the extraction of obligations can take different forms. Some states, to ensure a high level of expatriate contributions to the economy and national development, choose to impose restrictions and obligations. This can take the form of a “brain drain tax” that is applied in some states such as the USA or Switzerland (Gamlen, 2006, p. 13). This policy imposes certain taxes on nationals who reside or work abroad (Gamlen, 2006, p. 13). However, when it comes to the Egyptian case, the state applies an incentive-based approach to this matter. This approach includes economic incentives to enhance remittance rates and investments, as well as initiatives to boost knowledge transfer.

a. Economic Incentives

As part of its strategy to boost the financial contributions of Egyptian expatriates, the state offers attractive incentives and services to increase transactions in hard currency. For instance, in 2022, the state announced the

launching of a new initiative which allows custom-reduced car imports for all Egyptian expatriates, aged 15 years or above, in exchange for a five-year deposit in hard currency (Egypt Today, 2023; State Information Service, 2024). This initiative not only helps in enhancing financial flow in hard currency, but it also helps in facilitating the re-integration of the expatriates into their homeland by easily importing their cars. The following year, the Egyptian Banks, specifically the National Bank of Egypt (NBE) and Banque Misr, issued dollar savings certificates with attractive interest rates (7% and 9% interest rates) (Mounir, 2023; State Information Service, 2023d). This initiative has been adopted as a result of the cooperation between the MOE, the Central Bank of Egypt, and the Egyptian local banks; and it aims, according to Ambassador Noha El-Gendy, at enhancing the financial transactions in hard currency, supporting the national economic development and providing additional income for the Egyptian expatriates through the attractive interests (Hany, 2023).

Furthermore, to elevate the investment rates, the MOE initiated, in 2023, an awareness campaign titled “Egyptian Investors Abroad Answer: Why We Invest in Egypt?” (State Information Service, 2023b). This initiative intends to foster emigrant’s investments by guiding them through the Egyptian market, highlighting investment opportunities, and orienting them to minimise any possible obstacles they might face (State Information Service, 2023b). The initiative consists of testimonial videos done by experts who explain and provide insights about their investment experiences in Egypt. Thus, it helps in creating a sense of trust and inclusion in Egyptian society and among domestic investors (Zain, 2024). These initiatives have been accompanied by some efforts conducted by the MOE to encourage Egyptians living abroad to invest in the Egyptian economy by initiating the “Egyptians Abroad Investment Corporation” (General Authority for Investment and Free Zones, 2023), and the organisation of several exhibitions to enhance expatriates’ real estate investments (Massad, 2023).

Accordingly, the state’s initiatives addressing remittances and investments are diverse in nature as they take the form of offers, attractive interest rates, customs legal reforms, awareness campaigns, and the initiation of an investment corporation. However, despite the comprehensive nature of these initiatives, the remittances witnessed a drop in 2022-2023 (as shown in the aforementioned Graph 1). Hence, the initiatives’ scale of implementation needs to be widened while reaching a larger number of Egyptian expatriates and their immediate outputs need to be evaluated.

b. Knowledge Transfer Initiatives

To complement the economic incentives, and since the portion of educated emigrants is incrementally rising, the state aimed to target the highly skilled emigrants while attempting to benefit from the concept of “brain circulation”.

Firstly, a series of conferences titled “Egypt Can” has been launched under the auspices of President Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi. The first edition took place in Hurghada in 2016. It targeted Egyptian scientists, experts, and scholars to benefit from their knowledge and expertise and enhance their contributions to national development (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates’ Affairs, 2018). The following year, the second edition aimed at celebrating the achievements of Egyptian women living abroad while highlighting the importance of their contribution to national development (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates’ Affairs, 2018; National Council for Women, 2017). This second edition was the fruit of cooperation between the MOE and the National Council for Women (Ragheb, 2017).

Thereafter, the third edition of the conference took place in Luxor, a choice symbolising the extensive pharaonic history, under the name of “Egypt Can with the Sons of the Nile” (Ragheb, 2018b; State Information Service, 2018c, 2018a). This conference aimed to benefit from the expatriates’ expertise in issues of agriculture, irrigation, and water resource management (Ragheb, 2018b; State Information Service, 2018c, 2018a). During the following years, more editions took places including the 2018 conference titled “Egypt Can with Education” (Egyptian Information Portal, 2018; State Information Service, 2018b), the 2019 edition which came under the name of “Egypt Can with Investment and Development” (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates’ Affairs, 2019a; Ragheb & Hamada, 2019), and the 2022 “Egypt Can with Industry” (State Information Service, 2022a).

Additionally, a series of conferences were held targeting mainly the younger generations, to enhance the effective circulation of ideas, ensure proper communication, and fortify their social integration into the Egyptian state. Starting in 2019 and until 2023, the MOE has launched four editions of the “Egyptian Entities Living Abroad Conference” (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates’ Affairs, 2019b). This conference provides an opportunity for Egyptian expatriates to have direct and personal interactions with some policymakers, express their needs and demands, present their ideas and

suggestions regarding national pressing issues, and get better informed about Egyptian policies (Ministry of Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates' Affairs, 2019b). One of the main objectives of this conference was the enhancement of the national identity of the young ones as they constitute, according to the statement of Gendy, a significant component of the Egyptian soft power (State Information Service, 2023e). It is worth noting that the conference has been growing in scale while reaching 1000 registered participants in 2023 (State Information Service, 2023a).

Although conferences are important for knowledge circulation and transfer, it remains important to analyse their end product. In fact, many vital topics have been brought to the table in the aforementioned conferences including the pressing issues of water management, industry, and education. It is also worth noting that a recommendation for creating an investment corporation for Egyptian expatriates was submitted during the 2022 edition of the Conference of Egyptian Entities Living Abroad. In 2023, this company was founded by ten of the most prominent Egyptian businessmen living abroad (General Authority for Investment and Free Zones, 2023). Furthermore, the 2022 "Egypt Can with Industry" led to interesting partnerships including the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Suez Canal Economic Zone and the German firm H2 (Adel, 2022). This latter aims to enhance the cooperation between the two entities to establish a waste-to-hydrogen plant in Port Said (Adel, 2022).

Thus, based on the aforementioned analysis, the idea of knowledge transfer is an integral part of the Egyptian strategy for expatriate engagement. It is not done based on imposition of obligations on the expatriates, but rather it is incentive-based through the organisation of a series of conferences targeting scholars, women, and youth. However, although these conferences are interesting, their long-term outcomes need further evaluation.

In conclusion, this research aimed at analysing the state-centric policies and initiatives addressing expatriates in light of A. Gamlen's diaspora engagement typology. The paper diligently analysed the importance that the Egyptian expatriates represent to the state while highlighting the value of their potential financial and human capital contributions. Thereafter, the paper introduced the mounting political will and interest in engaging the expatriates; this latter is reflected in the constitution and the Egypt 2030 agenda. Based on this political will, the paper utilised Gamlen's diaspora engagement typology to analyse the state-centric policies and initiatives. Accordingly, the analysis

revealed that the public initiatives encompass a wide variety of aspects including institutional reforms, the re-establishment of the MOE, a rich symbolic nation-building approach, in addition to initiatives to extend political rights and social, and civil services. They include as well some interesting attempts to boost flows of remittances, investments, and knowledge transfer. Thus, while it is possible to conclude that the initiatives meet the different categories of Gamlen's diaspora engagement policies, some aspects of the Egyptian expatriate engagement policies need more development such as the extension of social and civil services, and the economic incentives to boost remittances and investments. Finally, it would be interesting, for future research, to go beyond the state-centric approach while exploring the role of Egyptian non-state actors in the file of expatriate engagement.

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