Media History of Modern Egypt:
A Critical Review

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Ⅰ. Introduction

We may classify the history of media[1] into three categories: the history of journalism, the history of mass communications, and the history of media. The Japanese media studies scholar Sato draws attention to the fact that;

> Many scholars tend to write the history of journalism as a process of increasing freedom from the influence of state power, and the myth of prominent journalists…. In contrast, the history of mass communications is... critical that journalistic history be a description of ideals, yet instead, it tends to focus on quantitative description, for instance, how many journals/newspapers were sold and what were the ratings of TV programs. The history of media is the new one and it tends to be the makeup of the ideology and the reality [Sato2009: 102].

Applying this categorization to Arab media studies, which incorporates media history, we find that most of the studies relate to the history of journalism and the history of mass communications. Here, for example, it will be pertinent to highlight two English works and one Arabic work that are quoted many times in Arab media studies. Firstly, *The Arab Media*, written by famous Arab media scholar William Rugh, gives an overview of the media systems in eighteen Arab countries and classifies them into three (four in his recent work)[2] categories according to the degree of state control of the media: the mobilization press, the loyalist press, and the diverse press (and the transitional press) [Rugh 1979; 2004]. He describes the media history of each Arab country and the state's control of the media. We can regard his study as the history of journalism because he mainly focuses on the print media and his perspective is just a reverse of liberation from the state control. Secondly,

[1] Although the word "media" has multi-meanings, I use "media" as meaning mass media, particularly the print media, radio and television.
[2] Rugh classified the Arab media system into three categories in his 1979 work. He later modified it and added one category, giving a total of four categories, in his 2004 edition. I use the 1979 edition without making a judgment as to his system of classification. Mellor, a critic of Rugh's classification, summarizes these classifications in her work. (See "*The Making of Arab News*" [Mellor2005].)

Broadcasting in the Arab World, by Douglas Boyd, overviews the Arab media in nineteen countries [Boyd 1999]. As many researchers have pointed out, this book is descriptive and lacks analysis. It focuses mainly on media law and quantitative descriptions of the time spent on the air by radio and TV stations. So, it may properly be classified as a history of mass communications. Thirdly, *Radio and Television in Egypt* which was written by the leading media scholar ʻĀṭif ʻAdlā al-ʻAbd focuses on the history of radio and television in Egypt [ʻĀṭif2008]. It is true that it focuses on particular countries' media history and contains a lot of information, but it is descriptive and lacks analysis, too. This tendency, as Muhammad Ayish pointed out, is evident not only in this book, but is common to many media studies carried out by Arab researchers [Ayish2008].

Thus, many earlier studies that deal with media history in Arab countries can be classified into two categories, that is, the history of journalism and the history of mass communications; we thus see a dearth of studies that deal specifically with the history of media. However, since media are not only about new technologies, but also the makeup of technologies and social contexts, we also need to describe "the history of media," which considers media as a mixture of ideology and reality. It is true that the most focused topics in contemporary Arab media studies concern new media such as satellite TVs and the Internet, the laws and customs that regulate the media are a continuum of those relating to early media.

The aim of this paper is to describe the history of media as well as to make obvious what kind of ideology shaped the history of Egyptian media. It will do so by portraying the dynamics between media and society from the earlier 19th century to the end of the 20th century, with special focus on the period between 1952 and 1990. To this end, the following research questions are answered in this paper. First, what is the footprint left by the Egyptian media? Second, what kind of ideology marked the history of Egyptian media? And is that ideology consistent or inconsistent? I try to shed some light on these questions in the remainder of the paper.

Ⅱ. Synthesizing Existing Postulates

Before we start to write Egyptian media history, we have to consider how to approach the writing of it. For example, DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach advanced four postulates on which they suggest media theories are based: structural functionalism, the revolutionary perspective, the social conflict model, and symbolic interactionism [DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach1989: 31-38]. In the same way, James Curran advanced six postulates in describing media history: liberal, feminist, populist, libertarian, anthropological, radical [Curran2002: 40]. Thus, there is not just one postulate or model to interpret the history of media. And we do not need to choose which is the correct interpretation of history.

According to DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, what is importance is that we acknowledge all interpretations that depict some facet of the truth and then synthesize those existing postulations. Curran also emphasizes synthesizing and he furthermore suggests that we consider some media simultaneously because preceding historical narrative treated each medium such as magazines, newspapers, radio, cinema, and TVs separately. Curran says, "The advantage of this approach over the more traditional institutional one is that it brings out more clearly the way in which the media shaped―and was shaped by―the development of modern society" [Curran2002: 47].

In Egypt, as we shall see, the relationship between the media and the nation has traditionally been strong. And though the literacy rate, which is low, has been improving during the latter half of the 20th century, many Egyptians cannot fully access the print media[3]. On this historical backdrop, I concentrate on liberal and populist approaches which are postulates of Curran's classification. The former sees media history as the process of being liberated from government and the latter sees it as the process of transferring media from a handful of elites to the masses. Though also conscious of the anthropological media historian's view that the media played an important role in creating "imaginary communities," this paper will more concern itself with the synthesis of liberal and populist perspectives.

Ⅲ. Transplantation of Modern Media (1800-1882)

Scholars say the history of media goes back to the earliest appearance of man, according to Hogben's analysis of the Wall paintings in Lascaux [Hogben1974]. In Egypt, it is possible to begin the history of media with the papyri. Even so, there is no doubt that the media that have shaped modern societies are the electronic media and those based on duplication technology. For this reason, the media considered in this paper are the mass media such as print, radio and television.

In Egypt, the birth of the mass media began in the early part of the 19th century with the invasion of Napoleon's troops. The impact of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 was so strong, it led to Egypt embarking on its own modernization. This modernization was initiated by Muhammad ʿAlī (1769–1849) and continued by his family and descendants. They tried to modernize the country in various ways, one of the most important being to install and expand the infrastructure of Western information systems which were thought to be indispensable for constructing a modern state.

Soon after Napoleon's invasion, Napoleon started to publish two French newspapers: *Courie de L'Egypte* and *La Decade Egyptienne* [Izumisawa1990: 51].

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[3] According to the UNDC account, the illiteracy rate was about 30 % in 2007/2008.

These two are said to be the first newspapers in the Arab world. In 1799, Napoleon returned suddenly to France because of the escalation of the war in Europe. Two years later, French troops stationed in Egypt were expelled by the allied forces consisting of the British Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Though Napoleon had left, the concept of the newspapers remained. After settling the country's internal unrest, Muhammad ʿAlī embarked on the project of modernizing "his empire." In 1821/1822, he established a publishing house in Būrāq. The national newspaper named *al-Waqāʾiʿ al-Miṣrīya* (Events in Egypt)[4] was printed[5] there. This printing house played an important role in the print media's establishment from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century. It also played a vital role in Egypt's becoming one of the leading cultural centers from the period of the Arab Renaissance down to today.

In addition to these print media, transportation infrastructure was also constructed and expanded. In 1820, the Maḥmūdīya Canal, which shortens the water route between Cairo and Alexandria, was constructed. In 1859, the railway between Cairo city and Suez city was completed. And after 10 years in the making, the Suez Canal was completed. We can say that of the majority of the fundamental infrastructure that was needed for transportation was established in this period.

While there was rapid modernization of infrastructure, social change lagged. A researcher pointed out that the growth of the city population was stagnant between the second half of the 19th century until 1882 [Yokota2006: 84]. And while it was true that the new industries which appeared because of the existence of railways and canals might have changed the structure of Egyptian society, the number of people who enjoyed the revolutionary changes in the transportation system still remained few[6] and the people who benefited from the establishment of the print media are thought to have been limited to a handful of social elites.

Ⅳ. The Occupation and the Developments of Media (1882-1952)

1. The Upheaval in the Print Media

Though the print media grew thereafter, the turning point was in the 1880s. From the reign of Muhammad ʿAlī, modernization proved costly to the Egyptian government, which became heavily indebted to European countries such as Great Britain and France. For example, during his reign, Ismāʿīl (1863–79) promoted modernization projects. One of the most remarkable projects was the Suez Canal. This project

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[4] This paper became the official gazette and its editor included leading Egyptian figures such as Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī, Muhammad ʿAbdū, and Saʿd Zaghlūl. It continues to be published and sells 2,400 papers a day [Yamaguchi2006: 84].

[5] It was published for the first time in 1928 in Turkish and Arabic letters [Mellor2005: 27]. There are various opinions about the first newspaper in the Arab world. Some say that the oldest one is *al-Tanbīh* (The Notice, The Information) in 1800 [Mellor2005: 27].

[6] The population in 1882 was 7.84 million, with 4.8 % of it distributed in Cairo and 2.9 % of it in Alexandria [Yokota2006: 84].

generated considerable income and contributed to Egypt's obtaining greater independence from the suzerain power, the Ottoman Empire, by paying it money. However, once economic prosperity declined, the only thing left to Egypt was enormous debt, which led to interference by the great powers. When Aḥmad ʿArābī tried to revolt against the state, which was completely reliant upon the great powers, the result was occupation by Great Britain.

During the occupation, the British colonizers embarked on building infrastructure for transportation. In addition, the British did not strongly oppose freedom of speech, though they interfered a great deal in Egyptian internal affairs such as its politics. For this reason, activities related to the print media were encouraged and the press attained its highest standard in Egyptian history. The leading Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahrām* (The Pyramids) was started by a Lebanese brother in 1867 at Alexandria and moved to Cairo in 1900. A report states that 237 local newspapers came into existence between 1924, the year the first local newspaper appeared, and 1952 [Izumisawa1990: 53]. By 1898, the number of newspapers and magazines had reached 200 and the number of Arabic newspapers printed in Cairo had reached 15 [Yamaguch2006: 229].

Among the reasons the print media grow in this period was that the British did not stifle the free press. But there were other reasons. First, foreign presses which were protected by extra-territorial rights played an important role in those early days. Particularly, French journalists and newspapers supported the opposition against British occupation and also supported the local press with money and technological training [Yamaguchi2006: 230]. And second, leading Egyptian figures also played an active role in the print media. For example, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, Egyptian political leader and founder of the National Party, issued the newspaper *al-Liwā* (The Standard) in 1900.

These papers and magazines were intended to appeal to many people. The elites tended to have their own political parties and aimed to recruit as many supporters as possible through magazines and journals. Although the illiteracy rate was quite high, the number of schools was increasing and many elites and leaders of parties tried to get support from students. As Erlich notes, nationalistic papers such as *Nahd al-Shabāb* (The Awakening of the Youth)[7] were widely circulated in universities [Erlich1989: 103-104]. We can say that this period was characterized by a strong connection between political parties and the print media, and the many presses were essentially concerned with opposing British colonialism, though there were differences between them.

2. The Start of Radio Services in Egypt

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[7] Erlich describes the Egyptian school system in the twentieth century. *Nahd al-Shabāb* was published for the first time in 1934 [Erlich 1989: 103–104].

In 1925, radio began broadcasting. As Figure 1 shows, the start of radio services in Egypt is earliest in the Arab countries. In the early days, there were over 100 amateurs broadcasting their programs. But the government promulgated an official announcement that it would shut down all private radio services in 1931; it began two official broadcasts[8] in collaboration with British Marconi Company in 1934. The collaboration was cancelled in 1947 and the Egyptian government started the broadcasting services by itself. Some suggest that Egypt cancelled the agreement with Marconi Company because of pressure from Egyptian nationalists and the aftermath of anti-colonial movements. While there were two official nationalized radio services, the number of radio services and audiences was limited and the authorities did not succeed in using radio for political ends. It is true that the radio was much more closely connected with the government than was the press in this period, but it was only after the revolution that radio came to be utilized assertively and to be accessible to the masses.

Figure 1. The Date of First Radio Services in the Arab Countries

| Egypt	1925	Sudan	1940	Kuwait	1951
Algeria	1925	Syria	1941	Mauritania	1961
Morocco	1928	Bahrain	1942	UAE	1966
Tunis	1935	Somalia	1943	Qatar	1968
Iraq	1936	Yemen	1947	Oman	1970
Lebanon	1938	Jordan	1948		
Libya	1939	Saudi Arabia	1949		

Source: ['Āṭif and Nohā 2008: 13]

Ⅴ. **Nationalization of Mass Media (1952-1970)**

On July 23, 1952, the revolution instigated by the Free Officers took place, and the new government started to mobilize all of the mass media. Figure 2 shows the transformation of the mass media—the dotted line represents the state of the media before 1952. As can be seen, the press and radio were mobilized more than before as they became more widely accessible to the masses. Particularly, since radio and television were very influential, the government took firm control of them. As was typical of developing countries in the third world, Egyptian government adopted a top-down media policy in the name of national development.

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[8] Two radio services included the Main Program (Radio Cairo) and the European Program. They broadcasted for 14 hours and 4 hours respectively.

Figure 2. Transformation of Mass Media between 1952 and 1970
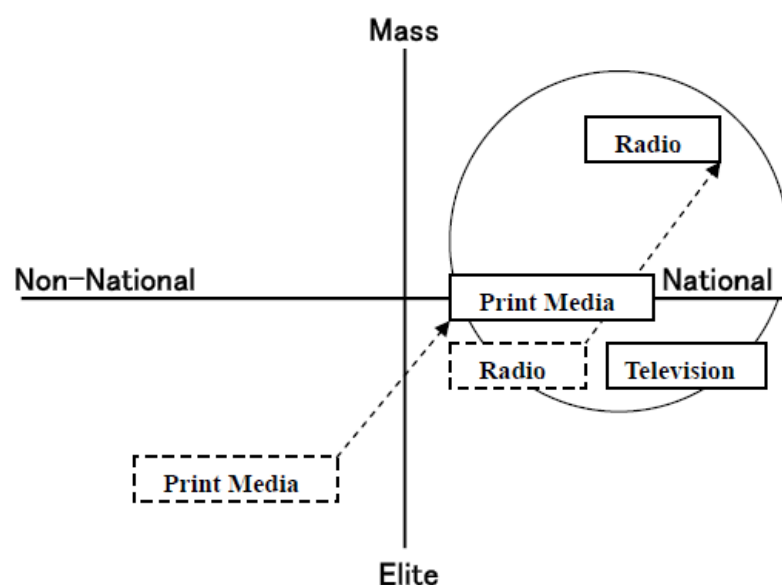
1. The Revolution and the print media

As to the press, the revolutionary group established a publishing house named Dār al-Taḥrīr (The House of Freedom) in 1952. Within that year, they started to publish the daily newspaper *al-Akhbār* (The News), which became one of the most widely circulated newspapers in Egypt. In 1953, they banned the political press and started to publish the leading newspaper *al-Jumhūrīya* (The Republic) from Dār al-Taḥrīr. The following year, the year Nasser came to power by overthrowing and detaining the president Muhammad Nagīb, the journalists' association was suspended. Accordingly, the revolutionary group stifled the freedom of speech and tried to utilize all the media as propaganda tools.

Although control of the media by the new government started soon after the revolution, Rugh refers to the year 1960 as being a watershed[9]. In 1960, Law no.156 was promulgated and "no newspapers could be published without the permission of the country's only political organization, the National Union (later renamed Arab Socialist Union). The law also transferred ownership of the four large private publishing houses…the law required that the National Union appoint the boards of directors for the newspapers it owned" [Rugh1987: 37]. In addition to transferring the ownership of the print media, "censorship was imposed on the press for five months after the 1960 law and imposed again after the 1967 war with Israel" [Najjar2008: 225].

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[9] Rugh classifies the period from 1954 to 1960 as the "non-partisan" period and after 1960 as the "mobilization" period. In his book published in 2004, he mentions a "transitional" period from the middle of the 1970s [Rugh1987; 2004].

2. Radio as a Strong Political Tool

In addition to his use of the print media, Nasser utilized the electronic media. Particularly, radio was widespread and an integral part of everyday life in this period. This can be explained by the following two reasons. First, as shown before, the illiteracy rate has traditionally been high in Egypt and people enjoyed the radio services as a means of information and entertainment. Second, the revolutionary group promoted the spread of radio[10] as an effective political tool. These two elements worked together and radio permeated Egyptian daily life. In 1953, the famous radio program, the Voice of the Arabs, started and it broadcasted the ideology of the revolution. The program was said to be Nasser's mouthpiece and it disseminated the ideology of Arab Socialism, in other words, "Nasserism." Arab socialism advocated pan-Arabism, which called for the collaboration of Arab countries against the world powers. Through the Voice of the Arabs, Nasser tried to establish himself and Egypt as the leader of the third world. Thus, radio played a crucial role in contributing to Nasser's fame and his charismatic image inside and outside of Egypt. The Figure 3 shows that the transition of radio services for internal and external audiences. The increase rate of both services is obvious high.

Figure 3. The Number of Internal and External Radio Services between 1952 and 1970
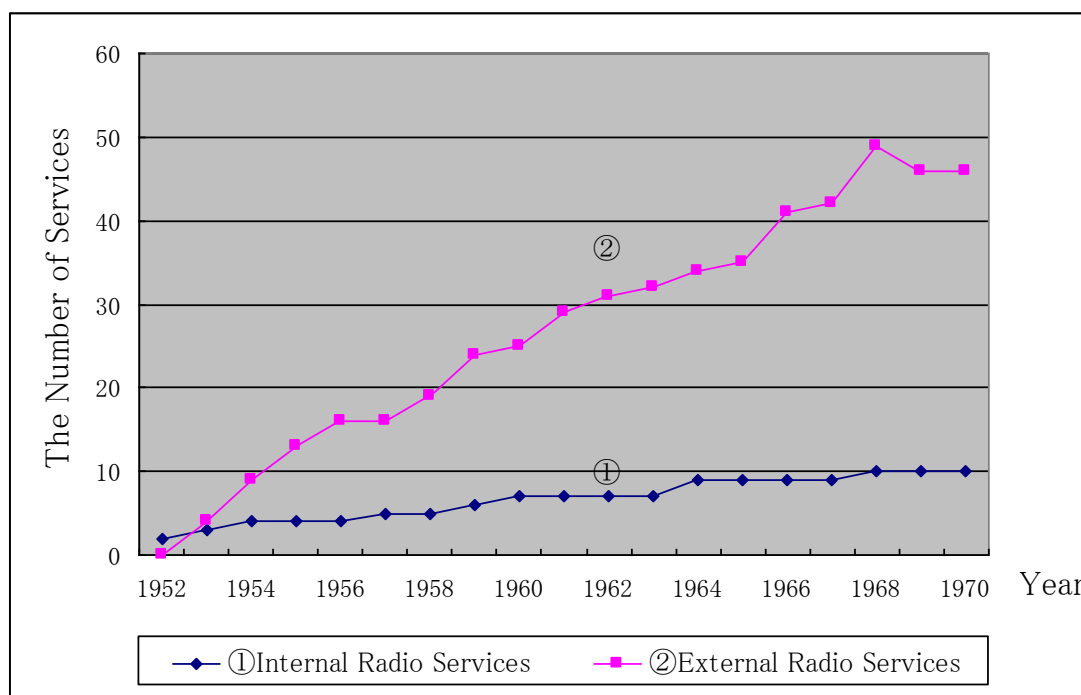
Source: ['Āṭif 2008: 223; Amin and Napoli2000; Boyd1999: 30-31］ and homepage of ERTU

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[10] A shortwave transmitter was installed. The program "the Voice of the Arabs" was started on July 4th, 1953 [Boyd1993:27].

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3. Television

As regards television, the first TV channel (Channel 5) went on the air in July of 1960 and the second one (Channel 7) followed the next year. These two were broadcasted to the entire nation. While both channels had similar programs such as news, Channel 5 tended to focus on development programs and educational programs, while Channel 7 tended to feature more entertainment and religious programs. In 1963, the third channel (Channel 9)[11], whose target was the foreigner living in Egypt, began broadcasting. But in this period, the prices of television receivers were so expensive that the number of receivers was limited to a handful of people (See Figure 4).

Figure 4. The Number of TV Receivers (Rs. In thousand)

Year	The Number of Receivers	Population
1960	39	26,580
1963	200	27,950
1965	328	29,390
1969	498	32,500
1970	527	33,330
1973	819	35,620
1992	5,919[12]	55,160

Source: ['Āṭif 2008: 223; Boyd1999: 41]

## Ⅵ. Transformation of Media after Nasser (1970-1990s)

In Nasser's era, all media were heavily utilized as political tools for the mobilization of people as well as for the national development. The government centralized the controls of the media. But the situation changed after the sudden death of Nasser in 1970. Soon after Nasser's death, Sadat succeeded as president. He revised the previous policy and accessed to the West. He started an open-policy and encouraged the market system. As for his media policy, he started to loosen the controls on the press though he kept tight control of radio and television. Amin and Napoli regarded the period after 1970 as one of gradual liberation of the media from the government [Amin and Napoli1995]. But the fact is that the gap of governmental control between the print media and the electronic media expanded. Figure 5 shows the transformation that took place after the 1970s until the 1990s. While both of the print media and electronic media became more widely available to the masses, there were

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[11] After the war with Israel in 1967, the third channel ceased broadcasting. By 1985, there were just two TV channels in Egypt.

[12] The number of white-black television sets was approximately 3,355,757～3,677,222 and the number of colored television sets was 2,454,596～2,350,456 ['Āṭif 2008: 223].

big gaps in their regulation by the government. In the following, we see the transformation of each medium.

**Figure 5. Transformations of Mass Media after 1970**
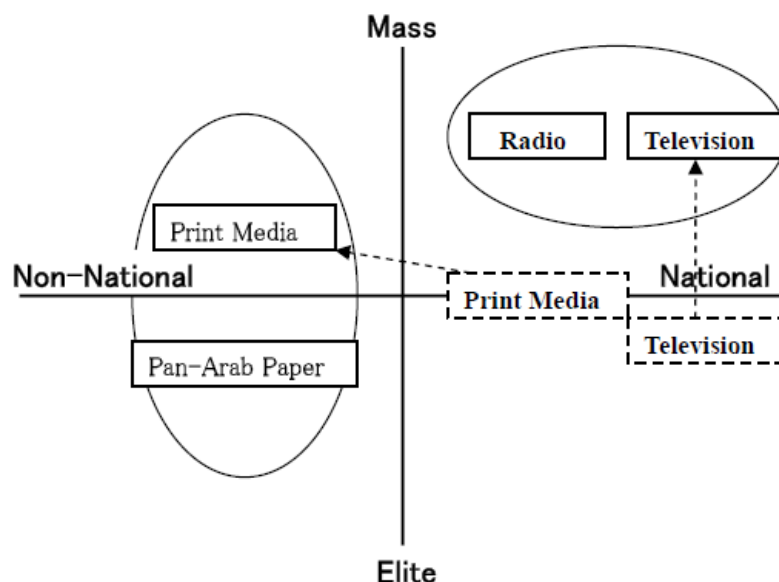
1. The Print Media

The liberalization of the print media started soon after Sadat came to power. One of the goals of this liberalization was to weaken the Arab socialists by promoting journalists who opposed them. Sadat released a number of journalists that were imprisoned in Nasser's era and they went back to their professions. Between 1974 and 1975, many journalists discussed the issue of reinstituting a multi-party system [Rugh2004: 159]. In 1975, the Law no.156 issued in 1960 was revised and the higher press council was established and it held 49% share ownership of the major publishing houses. Though there remained strong governmental control, the regulation of the five major publishing houses became more indirect. Furthermore, the year 1976 saw the institution of a multi-party system and the right to publish political papers was granted. After that, several non-governmental papers appeared. But after 1977, Sadat tightened regulation of the press to stifle critical opposition and maintained tight controls until his assassination in 1981.

For a while after Sadat's death, his successor Mubarak kept the tight control over the media in place. But he gradually loosened it and the press gained the right to express more freely. In 1984, the New Wafd party published its own newspaper named *al-Wafd* (The Delegation), which had a circulation of more than half a million in the 1990s. Though criticism of Mubarak and his family was prohibited, the non-governmental papers incited political debates. By the 1990s, several non-governmental publications had appeared. Figure 6 shows there were publishers

of 263 licensed papers in 1993. It is true that the governmental newspapers counted for the large share of them. But there were many non-governmental newspapers, too. In addition to internal newspapers, Arabic newspapers published in London and Paris appeared and were circulated in Egypt. Some of them included newspapers *Sharq al-Awsat*, *al-Ḥayāt,* and *Qudus al- ʿArabī*.

Figure 6. Licensed Newspapers in 1993
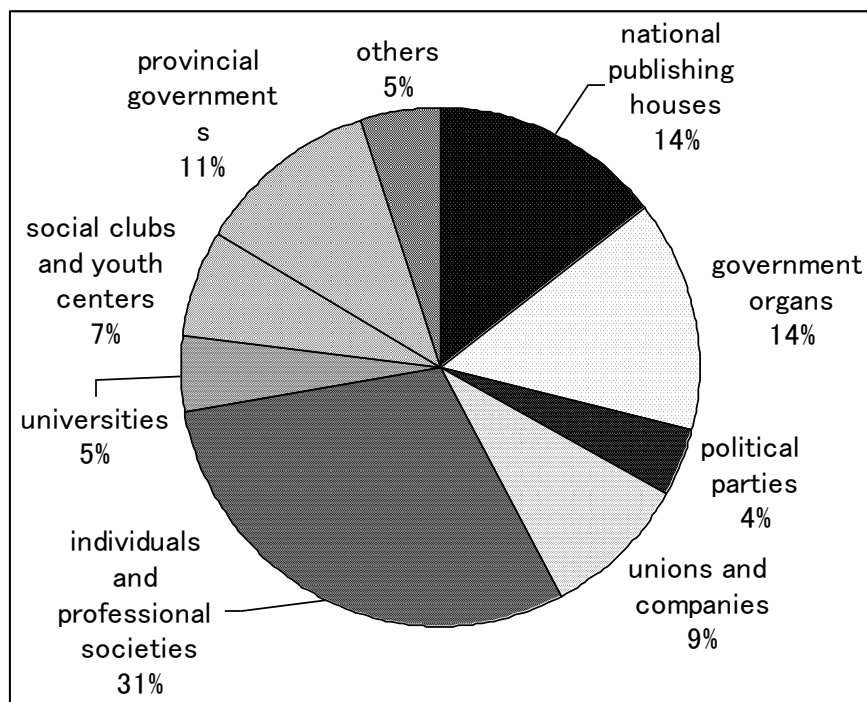

Source: [Rugh2004: 198]

2. Radio

One month before Nasser's death, he created an organization to oversee four departments: radio, television, finances, and engineering. The organization was named the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU) and was located in central Cairo. The ministry of information supervised the ERTU and all electronic media came under the instruction of the ERTU after 1970 [Boyd1999: 41].

Figure 7 shows the increase in the number of domestic radio services. In Nasser's era, the services targeted audiences around Cairo. Some services are still well known. The Voice of the Arabs was the most famous services and was thought to be the mouthpiece of Nasser. Other services such as the People's Program were also influential; the People's program was used to enlighten people who had minimal education. After 1970, the growth of radio services stagnated. But local radio services grew in numbers after a law was passed in 1979 to promote the development of the local areas. Before 1979, there was just one local radio service in Alexandria. The number of local radio services increased by 1995, there were 11 local radio

services.

Figure 7. The Number of Central and Local Radio Services between 1952 and 1995
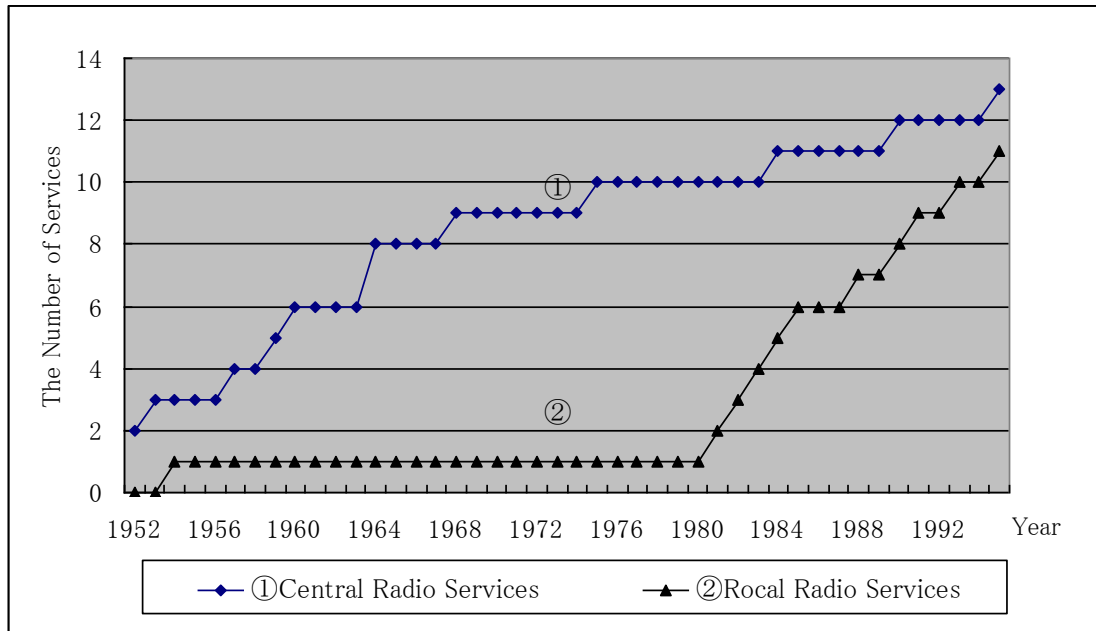
Source: [ʿĀṭif 2008; Boyd1999] and homepage of ERTU

But the increase of local radio services did not mean liberation from direct governmental control. In 1981, the government instituted a network system and categorized all the existing radio services into seven networks (other networks added respectively in 1995 and 2000). It is true that the diversification in radio services occurred, but the government still kept tight control over radio broadcasting till 2000 when the government permitted a private company to launch a radio services in Egypt.

The content of radio broadcasts showed another aspect of media regulation. After 1970, radio services such as the Voice of the Arabs and the People's Program, which were promoted in Nasser's era, reduced their broadcasting hours substantially and radio programs that were in support of national development stagnated. In contrast, religious programs increased more than any other. After the 1970s, many scholars pointed to the rise of Islamic Revival. Therefore, it is realistic to assume that the government took a flexible media policy in response to the transformation in ideologies and hegemony.

3. Television

Although television receivers were still expensive for the masses, people purchased them in the 1970s and 1980s. The number of TV receivers increased tenfold from 1970 to 1992. Statistics show that the TV receivers reached nearly 6 millions in 1992

['Āṭif 2008: 223]. A number of laborers came back from the Gulf States that were flourishing with oil money; they purchased TV receivers and VCRs (Video Cassette Recorders) and came back to Egypt with them.

As television came to be more widely available, the number of channels also increased. In 1985, the third channel that had ceased operating after the war in 1967, resumed broadcasting. And by 1996, there were eight channels many of them for the audiences who lived in local areas. The TV channels diversified substantially as Figure 8 shows. But governmental control of TV broadcasting is still strict even today. The government has supervised all of the terrestrial TV channels through the ERTU and the television programs are apt to reflect the government's opinion. For example, the government granted TV programs to Islamic preachers who did not oppose the government while the programs against radical Islamist groups were increased soon after the attempted assassination of Sahwat Sharīf who was the minister of information. Further, TV programs did not discuss the controversial issues highlighted in the non-governmental papers. Throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, television came to be the central medium in Egyptian society and it remains influential even to today. The situation began changing after the appearance of satellite TVs in 1990s, but the government still tries more or less successfully to control this medium.

Figure 8. Terrestrial TV Channels

Channel	Year	Area
Channel1	1960	Egypt
Channel2	1961	Egypt
Channel3	1962-1967/ 1985	Greater Cairo
Channel4	1988	Suez canal
Channel5	1990	Alexandria
Channel6	1994	Delta
Channel7	1994	Upper Egypt
Channel8	1995	Aswan

Source: [Guaaybess2001; 64]

Ⅶ. The Influence of Islamic Revival

Many scholars point to the 1967 war with Israel as central to the emergence of Islamic Revivalism. It is true that there were signs before the 1960s. From the 1950s, some activities by the Ulama, which Kosugi calls "the Renaissance of Islamic Jurisprudence,"[13] began to be noticed in Egypt and Syria [Kosugi1994: 124-133].

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[13] For example, the Ulama contributed to interpreting Islamic jurisprudence and creating an Islamic

But the 1967's war impact was crucially important and many scholars more or less agree that the war was a watershed. The historic defeat led to the charismatic image of Nasser, as well as his ideology Arab Socialism, being questioned. That ideology lost its credibility with the masses. And it's possible that this loss of credibility was promoted by the media. Boyd refers to the role of Aḥmad Sa'īd, who was director and chief announcer at the Voice of the Arabs. Boyd writes, "It had been Sa'īd who had contributed most to the psychological defeat that Egyptian and other Arab felt immediately after the war" [Boyd1999: 28].

After the war, one TV channel (Channel 9) which broadcasted foreign-oriented programs was suspended. On the other hand, the nationalistic, educational, and religious programs increased on television after the war [Boyd1999: 40]. And the news about the appearance of the Holy Mary was widely publicized in newspapers such as *al-Ahrām* in Egypt creating a sensation. And President Sadat willingly supported Islam in contrast with Nasser. His intention was to neutralize the influence of Nasser's supporters, the Arab Socialists. In 1971, Arab socialists and supporters of the Soviet Union were purged. Sadat also made Sharī'a, Islamic law, part of the foundation of the Egyptian constitution. Just like Nasser, Sadat also used the media to promote his policy. But Sadat's media strategy was one of appealing to the feeling of attachment the masses had for Islam, rather than relying on personal charisma as done by his predecessor Nasser. By showing the people that his government was a defender of Islam and the practice of it, he sought to foster the sense of his government's legitimacy and justify the oppression of his rivals on the basis that they were not adherents of Islam. Now, the media came to be utilized assertively in the name of Islam more than national development.

While the volume of Islamic programs increased after the defeat of the 1967 war, other media strategies that fostered Islamic tendencies were also utilized. One of them was the featuring of TV preachers and their programs. In 1973, Sheikh Sha'arāwī, one of the most famous Islamic intellectuals in Egypt, appeared on TV and started preaching [Lazarus-Yafehh1982; Yukawa1993]. The program he appeared on was broadcasted in the afternoon after the Friday prayer and watched by Egyptians with their families[14]. The TV programs in which Sha'arāwī appeared showed 4 times a week [Fauzī 2008: 14]. Similarly, Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd, who spoke about science from the point of view of Islam, started to appear on TV from 1973 and became popular. From the 1970s, television sets became widely available so that the effect of those programs and the popularity of Islamic TV preachers were significant.

From the 1970s through to the 1990s, the government utilized Islam in the

dictionary.

[14] When I asked Egyptians about Sha'arāwī 's program, they related his program to the memory of spending time with their family.

media effectively. By the time of Sadat's assassination, the influence of Islamists had become stronger than Sadat might have imagined. While Sadat promoted Islamic programs in the media from the first half of the 1970s[15], he also started to strengthen control of the media[16]. Though the media policy of Sadat and his successor Mubarak might have been paternalistic in the name of Islam, there was some contribution to enhance and prevalence of Islamic value.

Ⅷ. Conclusion

A consideration of Egypt's media history reveals that the adoption of any single theory of media history is not adequate. Further, it is not enough to read it as a straight history that conforms to either the liberal or populist schools thought, that is, as liberation from the government or the elites. The print media after the 1970s led to controversy. But as we saw in this paper, the electronic media had not changed by 1990s. The regulatory gaps between the print media and the electronic media grew through the 1970s and the 1990s. Radio and television are not hampered by country's literacy rate. They have proven to be such influential media that the government has imposed strict controls on them. It is true that that diversification in electronic media has also occurred, but the controls imposed on these have also became more complicated.

And, in this paper, we reviewed the Egyptian media history from the early of 19th century to the end of the twentieth century. As shown, the Egyptian media has been closely aligned with certain ideologies. Ideology affected the formation of the Egyptian media, its contents and, of course, the manner in which the state sought to control it. The two most important ideologies, in my opinion, are the notion of "national development" and "Islam," in other words, the media was used to propagate propaganda "for the nation" and "for Islam."

The former ideology played an important role at the start, while the latter dominated after the 1967 war. The state utilized those ideologies paternalistically from the 1970s onward. But there is any room which can't be reduced to the only to state power's intention or strategy. The ideology must have effected to the media and its content over the intention of the powers.

However, the dynamics between the media and the ideologies are complicated. Therefore, more research is required. For example, the following questions should be considered. First, how does the notion of "national development" affect the role of the media? And what is its relationship to Islam? Second, what is

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[15] The air time of Quran programs (radio) was increased.

[16] For example, Sadat increased the oppression of journalists in 1979. And in 1981, *al-Da'wa* was banned again along with the paper *al-Shā'b* (the people). In 1980, law no.148 was issued which in effect stated that any press regarded to have insulted the nation would be prohibited [Mellor2005: 33].

the situation since the 1990s? The use of satellite in broadcasting has become prevalent and it has been a significant impact on the media since the 1990s. These are all topics for further studies.

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