



Dangerous liaisons: Social media as a (flawed) tool of resistance in Egypt

Executive Summary

Social media can be considered a double-edged sword for the Egyptian human rights movement. It plays an essential role in the work of both individuals and human rights organisations, allowing them to reach the public and spread a human rights perspective. However, the government, realising social media's potential, has launched a wide-scale attack on its users in recent years to "protect" the nation against false news, within a broader clampdown on freedom of expression and human rights, while simultaneously investing in boosting their own voice online and publishing their propaganda. This attack has made social media a source of danger for human rights defenders (HRDs), who can be arrested, subjected to smear campaigns and trolling, physically assaulted and other violations, for simply posting an opinion or sharing an article. The social media platforms themselves have not aided in combatting this repression, sometimes placing extra obstacles for the work of the human rights community.

As a result, the human rights movement has been trying to navigate these risks to continue speaking out by employing various strategies and taking precautions, such as not posting about certain subjects or refraining from using particular language. Awareness of digital risks is improving and will hopefully continue to do so. However, it was clear from interviews with HRDs conducted by EuroMed Rights that only so much can be done to mitigate the dangers in such a difficult and restrictive context, and to make it safer, the overall struggle for human rights must continue.

With unprecedented levels of repression becoming normalised under the COVID-19 pandemic, there are fears over what the new normal will be in the post-COVID-19 landscape. Regarding social media specifically, the social media platforms themselves have a responsibility to facilitate rather than hinder the work of the human rights movement, who should continue working closely with digital security experts. Guaranteeing freedom of expression in Egypt is the ultimate solution, which the international community must continue to push for by raising this issue and cases of detained human rights defenders with the Egyptian authorities, in consultation with the Egyptian human rights community.

Introduction

According to DataReportal, there were 42 million social media users in Egypt in January 2020.¹ In the words of Mohamed Lotfy, the Executive Director of the Egyptian

¹ DataReportal, [Digital 2020: Egypt](#), February 2020.

Commission for Rights and Freedoms (ECRF), social media, and especially Facebook, has become the “media battlefield” in Egypt where winning over or losing the population and support of public opinion happens.² This includes the fight for human rights amidst the worst crackdown on rights and freedoms in recent Egyptian history.

The Egyptian authorities have been increasingly repressing voices online in recent years. As elsewhere, fears surrounding encroachments on freedom of expression have deepened during the COVID-19 crisis. The narrative behind eliminating coronavirus fake news became a new Trojan horse to further curtail the space for independent voices.³ Arrests for social media posts are frequent, and while repression was already the norm, the current circumstances have rendered it more concerning as “the government is simply using this COVID-19 situation to do whatever they please,”⁴ according to Amira, a woman human rights defender (WHRD).

Social media and being present on online platforms are crucial for the human rights movement in Egypt, but these also present significant risks. In order to unpack this paradox and investigate whether more could be done to mitigate the dangers involved, EuroMed Rights spoke to nine Egyptian HRDs and representatives of Egyptian human rights organisations, two of whom are women and three of whom are still based in Egypt. A digital security expert was also consulted. This study therefore attempts to discuss this issue as seen through the eyes of the Egyptian human rights community.

Social media as a tool of resistance

Social media has played a key role in shaping recent Egyptian history and facilitating the fight against the status quo. The momentum for the 2011 January revolution has been partly attributed to events organised on social media. During the uprising, social media, and Facebook in particular, helped schedule and coordinate protests and inform the world what was happening in Tahrir Square.⁵ Despite the government’s intensifying efforts to prevent people from speaking out, social media’s potential as a mobilisation tool in Egypt remains, as demonstrated by the catalysation of the largest anti-government protests under President al-Sisi in September 2019, after former army contractor Mohamed Ali posted a series of videos on Facebook about government corruption. These protests were subsequently quashed through the arrest of over 4,000 people.⁶ The reason behind such protests will always be “the failure of the regime to deliver their promises or to fulfil the needs of the people” according to HRD Mohamed Zaree, however the “tool [...] used was significant.”⁷

Social media has developed into one of the only places for the human rights movement to reach the public, with the director of the Arabic Network for Human Rights

“Social media has developed into the primary means of resistance”

Gamal Eid,
director of ANHRI

2 Interview with Mohamed Lotfy, director of Egyptian Commission for Rights and Freedoms (ECRF).

3 EuroMed Rights, [COVID-19: A New Trojan Horse to Step Up Authoritarianism Egypt](#), May 2020.

4 Interview with woman human rights defender “Amira.”

5 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, [April 6 Youth Movement](#); The Guardian, [Egypt five years on: was it ever a ‘social media revolution’?](#) January 2016.

6 As documented by the Egyptian Commission for Rights and Freedoms.

7 Interview with human rights defender Mohamed Zaree.

Information (ANHRI), Gamal Eid, referring to it as perhaps “the primary means of resistance,” since other spaces have been blocked or shut down.⁸ Many websites are blocked, and there are very few independent media sources; those that exist are often attacked or are at risk of attack.⁹ Mohamed Lotfy emphasised, however, that social media in Egypt was “not anymore a form of last resort” for the human rights community, which he believes was the case a few years ago, but now the “mainstream place” to share information for human rights activists and organisations, as well as the government and their propagandists.¹⁰

All those interviewed highlighted social media’s importance in their work, either in their capacity as human rights organisations or individuals. Social media allows them to reach the public quickly and effectively, share news and publications, launch campaigns, mobilise supporters, raise awareness, monitor, document and expose human rights abuses and provide a different narrative to that of the regime. Three interviewees mentioned that social media is perhaps replacing traditional ways of working for human rights organisations, such as relying on statements posted on their websites.¹¹ One HRD stated that “being able to talk on social media is getting the role of human rights organisations on a more grassroots level... having social media that is guaranteed to reach thousands within the issuance of a statement or update is definitely a step forward.”¹²

WHRD Amira underlined that “when everything in the news is fake news and disinformation, the only place where you can try to verify or access information is social media.”¹³ This contrasts with the standard discourse that social media is a breeding ground for fake news, thus highlighting the extent of disinformation found in newspapers and media outlets and the difficulty of accessing credible information in Egypt. Certain high-profile activists on the ground such as Gamal Eid are still able to use it to express political and human rights opinions, however others have spent substantial time behind bars for being outspoken.

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Meanwhile, activists in exile are also able to take up the mantle of providing an alternative narrative to that of the government through social media, particularly as many foreign media and human rights websites are blocked in Egypt.¹⁴

The Egyptian government’s relationship with social media

As a result of social media’s potential for creating an opening in Egypt and its use by the opposition, the government “is terrified of it,” according to some of those interviewed, and they consider this fear as a driving force behind the harsh crackdown.¹⁵ The regime’s repressive campaign is partly justified through a narrative of protection: rumours and fake

8 Interview with Gamal Eid, executive director of the Arabic Network for Human Rights Information.

9 For example, raid on Mada Masr. Mada Masr, [Plainclothes security raid Mada Masr office for several hours, detain 3 including Chief Editor Lina Attalah](#), November 2019.

10 Interview with Mohamed Lotfy.

11 Interviews.

12 Interview with HRD.

13 Interview with Amira.

14 Interview with digital security expert.

15 Interviews.

news on social media constitute a danger to the nation, and therefore their heavy-handed approach to restricting expression on social media is to “protect” the nation-state.¹⁶ Such rhetoric is exemplified in an official statement issued by the Public Prosecution on Facebook that says it “assures that protecting these cyber borders [...] is a means of addressing a phenomenon abused by forces of evil [which] seek to destroy our society, demolish its values and principles [...]”¹⁷ In this way, the government attempts to delegitimise human rights and the work of human rights organisations and activists, and other opposition voices. During the COVID-19 pandemic, this rhetoric has grown to include the defence of “family” values, with the arrest of several women social media influencers on TikTok on the charge that they are attacking the family values of Egyptian society and spreading immorality.¹⁸

Increasing restrictions were placed on social media, and the online space in general, by the Egyptian government in the aftermath of the revolution, within a broader crackdown on rights and freedoms. For example, in 2014, the authorities announced plans to systematically monitor social media platforms.¹⁹ An intense campaign was launched to block websites in May 2017, and since then at least 547 websites have been blocked.²⁰ Meanwhile, arrests for digital expression have been shown to increase since 2011, particularly from 2016 onwards.²¹

The Egyptian authorities’ efforts to shut down the online space are codified in their draconian legislation. In 2018, they passed the Media Regulation Law, which stipulates that social media accounts with over 5,000 followers are treated as media outlets and can therefore be subject to censorship and penalties for publishing false news, and the Cybercrime Law, which allows the mass surveillance of communications, and legalises censorship and website blocking.²² However, some interviewees considered the 2018 laws as mainly serving to spread further fear and provide legal cover, as the situation was already dangerous.²³ Indeed, Egypt has a cocktail of different laws which can be used to bring charges for violations of digital expression.²⁴ Mohamed Lotfy explained that “in countries like Egypt where rule of law is not a reality, laws become sort of a political statement. The government needs to send the signal to the population, the political class and the executive authorities that there is this new law ‘so we are not joking now.’”²⁵

In parallel, the government uses social media to spread its own propaganda and actively target independent voices. This, in addition to the political and economic cost, are seen as some of the reasons why they have not blocked social media platforms outright.²⁶ Indeed, the Cost of Internet Shutdown Tool, developed by NetBlocks and the Internet Society,

16 Open Technology Fund, [Digital Authoritarianism in Egypt](#), October 2019, pg 12 & interview with Amira.

17 Egyptian Public Prosecution, [social media post](#) on 2 May 2020.

18 The Guardian, [Egypt arrests young women who posted clips on TikTok](#), June 2020.

19 Amnesty International, [Egypt’s plan for mass surveillance of social media](#), June 2014.

20 Association for Freedom of Thought and Expression, [Out of sight: a study on the effects of three years of blocking news websites](#), June 2020.

21 Open Technology Fund, [Digital Authoritarianism in Egypt](#), October 2019, pg 6.

22 EuroMed Rights, [Statement opposing Egypt’s legalisation of website blocking and communications surveillance](#), September 2018, & Reporters without Borders, [Egypt’s new cybercrime law legalises Internet censorship](#), August 2018.

23 Interviews with Mohamed Zaree and Mohamed Lotfy.

24 Open Technology Fund, [Digital Authoritarianism in Egypt](#), October 2019, pg 17.

25 Interview with Mohamed Lotfy.

26 TIMEP, [Global tech and domestic tactics: Egypt’s multifaceted regime of information controls](#), January 2020.

estimates that if Egypt shut down social media for just one day, the total cost would be \$18,835,979.²⁷ The authorities have set up a number of fake accounts and “electronic trolling committees” which they use to promote their narrative, hide any state blunders, and smear opponents and critics. It was reported in April 2020 that Twitter announced removing thousands of fake accounts linked to the Egyptian government.²⁸ Setting up fake accounts is in violation of article 24 of the Cybercrime Law, which states that the penalty for this practice is three months in prison and a fine between 10,000 and 30,000 EGP.²⁹ This clearly demonstrates the contradictory approach of the Egyptian government. The Egyptian authorities have been instrumental in shutting down Facebook pages of activists and trolling their accounts.³⁰ Some interviewees mentioned that they thought not all state propaganda campaigns and trolling attacks were actually government-engineered, since part of the population bought the government’s narrative and promoted it themselves, demonstrating the “effectiveness” of the government’s efforts.³¹

Social media as a source of danger for the human rights movement

The government’s crackdown on social media is used to repress the human rights movement, rendering it a source of danger for HRDs. Through their legal cover and protection narrative, the government attempts to justify arrests for violations of digital expression on trumped-up charges such as “publishing false news,” “joining a banned group,” and “misuse of social media,” which have dramatically increased in recent years.³² Many HRDs end up in prolonged pre-trial detention on these accusations, often when

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Mohamed Zaree,
human rights defender

trying to defend others.³³ For example, journalist Solafa Magdy was arrested in November 2019, and interrogated about her defence of detained fellow journalist and WHRD Esraa Abdel Fattah, whom she had been very active in supporting via social media.³⁴ Gamal Eid commented that “it is more like a cat-and-mouse game where someone posts something online, gets arrested, causing anger and criticism, and arrests, and exposing, and arrests.”³⁵ Once they end up in pre-trial detention, they may not be released for many years.³⁶ As Mohamed Zaree described, “it is dangerous. I could be in jail for two years in pre-trial detention, and when they are going to release me, they will bring a new case against me in order to have another two years in pre-trial detention, and so on.”³⁷

27 Netblocks and the Internet Society, [Cost of Shutdown Tool](#) (this estimation includes Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Whatsapp and Instagram). Accessed August 2020.

28 The Guardian, [Twitter deletes 20,000 fake accounts linked to Saudi, Serbian and Egyptian governments](#), April 2020.

29 The Arabic Network for Human Rights Information, [Silence Legislation](#), September 2018.

30 Middle East Eye, [Revealed: seven years later, how Facebook shuts down free speech in Egypt](#), January 2018.

31 Interviews (such as with Amira, Mohamed Lotfy).

32 Open Technology Fund, [Digital Authoritarianism in Egypt](#), October 2019, pg 41.

33 See EuroMed Rights’ page [Human Rights Behind Bars](#) for numerous examples.

34 Amnesty International, [Three Journalists Arbitrarily Detained](#), December 2019; Solafa Madgy’s [twitter account](#); EuroMed Rights, [Solafa Magdy’s Profile](#).

35 Interview with Gamal Eid.

36 See EuroMed Rights’ [report](#) on pre-trial detention in Egypt.

37 Interview with Mohamed Zaree.

The risks of speaking out on social media are not limited to arrests on trumped-up charges. HRD and journalist Ahmed Gamal Ziada listed “enforced disappearance, censorship, job loss, threats against family members, smearing, and systematic online campaigns” in addition to the risk of prison.³⁸ For Gamal Eid, his perseverance in speaking out led to his car being stolen, physical assault and an almost daily smear campaign in the media controlled by the security apparatus,³⁹ such as being referred to as “more dangerous than coronavirus.”⁴⁰ In terms of IT security, the digital security expert interviewed for this study noted that governments often try to hack social media accounts to read private conversations and access private groups,⁴¹ and they can be used to monitor and track individuals’ movements. This is again demonstrated by the case of Gamal Eid, who was subjected to two attempts to steal the password to his Facebook account and one attempt to steal his Twitter password during the COVID-19 lockdown.⁴² One way used to obtain login information to social media accounts is through phishing campaigns, whereby attackers create malicious websites that imitate the login page of services such as Gmail or Facebook and gain access to victims’ credentials when they enter their username and password.⁴³ Between November 2016 and February 2017, 92 phishing messages were documented relating to the Nile Phish: a large-scale phishing campaign against Egyptian civil society targeting organisations such as ECRF and the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS), as well as individuals.⁴⁴

The risks involved are also dependent on personal circumstances. Three interviewees referred to the heightened risks faced by junior employees of human rights organisations or lower-profile activists, such as ECRF’s housing researcher Ibrahim Ezz el-Din who was forcibly disappeared for 167 days in 2019 and is still in pre-trial detention at the time of writing.⁴⁵ However, being well-known does not necessarily protect Egyptian HRDs from arrest. For example, activist Alaa Abdel Fattah, while being very high-profile, previously served a 5-year sentence and was re-arrested in September 2019.⁴⁶ Individual activists are more vulnerable, as according to Mohamed Lotfy, “if it is personal, if you are an activist on your own, sitting there alone, not an organisation...then you have every right to be scared that maybe the police will come and arrest you.”

**“If you are an activist on your own,
then you have every right to be scared”**
Mohamed Lotfy,
human rights defender

Shaymaa Elbanna, a WHRD working for the Committee for Justice, emphasised that the attacks on social media are exacerbated for WHRDs, who are seen as the weakest link in the movement.

She explained that smear campaigns against WHRDs often use their personal photos and information, and that this was the case for journalist Esraa Abdel Fattah, who was subjected to a smear campaign on social media using her personal photos before her arrest in October 2019.⁴⁷ Since they are political, public actors, WHRDs challenge patriarchal and sexist norms that confine women to the private sphere and this can trigger public hostility against them, which is not necessarily the case for men HRDs. In

38 Interview with Ahmed Gamal Ziada.

39 Interview with Gamal Eid.

40 Elfagr, [Youth journalists to Gamal Eid: “you are more dangerous than corona.”](#) May 2020.

41 Interview with digital security expert.

42 Interview with Gamal Eid.

43 Amnesty International, [When Best Practice Isn’t Good Enough: Large Campaigns of Phishing Attacks in Middle East and North Africa Target Privacy-Conscious Users](#), December 2018.

44 Citizen Lab, [Nile Phish](#), February 2017.

45 Interviews. See EuroMed Rights’ [profile](#) for Ibrahim Ezz el-Din.

46 EuroMed Rights, [Alaa Abdel Fattah’s profile](#).

47 Interview with WHRD Shaymaa Elbanna.

a society where women's bodies are policed and face unattainable expectations of decency, sharing private images and undermining their "morals" for being indecent or too "Western" elicit criticism from the general population against both them as individuals and their cause. In that sense, WHRDs are easier to target.

If HRDs are forced into exile, they are no longer at risk of arrest but can be subjected to smearing and their family may face reprisals.⁴⁸ This is illustrated by the recent campaign of harassment and threats waged against HRD Mostafa Fouad's family.⁴⁹ If exiled HRDs are working for an organisation with branches inside the country, they know their actions can potentially put their colleagues in Egypt at further risk.

Another menace and challenge for the global human rights movement originates from the social media platforms themselves. The digital security expert detailed his concerns regarding the alleged cooperation between social media companies and repressive governments, as the companies do not want to be blocked in a country such as Egypt and therefore are likely to compromise on privacy and information in order to operate.⁵⁰ Some HRDs reported disturbing cases of posts deleted or accounts suspended by social media platforms, such as WHRD Amira who commented that "a lot of the time, Facebook itself would delete my posts... at least four instances when I was talking about sexual harassment and sexual assault, especially at the hands of military officers, or police officers and so on."⁵¹ Other interviewees reported difficulties getting some of their organisation's content published.⁵²

The impact of COVID-19

The outbreak of COVID-19 has exacerbated the situation, as it is believed that the regime is trying to hide the real extent of the pandemic and eliminate any criticism of its management of the crisis, while using the state of emergency to further repress opposition voices. The Public Prosecution announced on 28 March 2020 that individuals spreading false information about coronavirus would be at risk of imprisonment and fines of up to 20,000 EGP.⁵³ Since the pandemic, a number of social media accounts have been blocked by the authorities, without always providing the reason for the block.⁵⁴ Many arrests have been made for social posts related to coronavirus, including lawyer Mohsen Bahnasi following a post on social media calling for the release of Egyptian prisoners amidst the COVID-19 outbreak.⁵⁵ Moreover, the digital security expert commented that with COVID-19, an increasing number of bugs were found in devices linked to human rights work with the move to digital working and individuals using their personal devices, which are not necessarily protected.⁵⁶

48 Interviews.

49 Civicus, [Egypt: End Reprisals, Harassment and Threats against Civil Society Leader Mostafa Fouad](#), June 2020.

50 Interview with digital security expert.

51 Interview with Amira.

52 Interviews, i.e. Committee for Justice.

53 Ahram, [jail term and EGP 20,000 fine for spreading rumours about coronavirus](#), March 2020.

54 Reporters without Borders, [Egypt blocks online "fake news" about coronavirus](#), April 2020.

55 Front Line Defenders, [Arbitrary Detention of Human Rights Defender Mohsen Bahnasi Amid Growing COVID-19 concerns](#).

56 Interview with digital security expert.

Impact & resilience strategies

The government's crackdown on social media has led the Egyptian human rights movement to adopt different strategies and precautions in order to continue using social media, and it was clear from the interviews that each HRD "is applying their own risk assessment."⁵⁷ Some interviewees mentioned that the risks had succeeded in spreading fear, whereby an increasing number of people are afraid to express their opinion. However, the theme of resilience was recurrent in the conversations with the HRDs, such as one HRD commenting: "it is just a decision: that we will keep going and take the risk."⁵⁸ Moreover, there was a general feeling that "getting rid of opposition voices in Egypt is a fictional thing," since there will always be others prepared to continue if some are too scared.⁵⁹ The importance of having activists in exile to raise their voices was also highlighted.

For both individuals and human rights organisations, there was an emphasis on respecting red lines and choosing words, what they share and how it is shared very carefully so as not to open the door for smearing and charges of false information. In the words of Amira, "I can see the self-censorship happening everywhere, even on an individual level."⁶⁰ For example, one HRD was hesitating whether or not to share a Washington Post article on a torture lawsuit filed by human rights advocate Mohamed Soltan in the US against a former prime minister on his personal social media account, and decided not to as he could be accused of being associated with the case.⁶¹ At least two of those interviewed had taken the decision to refrain from posting their opinions on social media as individuals, and preferred to do so through their organisation. In another case, HRD Kareem Taha from the Egyptian Front for Human Rights decided not to publish a report on the exportation of light weapons from the Czech Republic to Egypt in Arabic in order to avoid unwanted attention, instead publishing solely in English and Czech.⁶²

"I can see the self-censorship happening everywhere, even on an individual level"

**Amira,
woman human rights defender**

Three representatives of organisations explained that in order to avoid being accused of spreading false news, they were resorting to using more technical language or legal context in which to frame their human rights updates. For example, ECRF's strategy is to post legal updates on human rights issues, such as "the lawyers attended a court session and this is the outcome of the session," in simple language, rather than taking the stance of an opposition platform.⁶³ They saw this to be successful, especially with their Facebook page having over 86,000 followers. However, the representative of another organisation, who felt they were being "forced into this corner of being really, really technical" to avoid accusations such as inciting hatred, considered this to be an obstacle to reaching the population at large.⁶⁴ Interviewees indicated that human rights organisations have had to tread even more carefully when addressing COVID-19,

57 Interview with HRD.

58 Interview with HRD.

59 Interview with Ahmed Gamal Ziada.

60 Interview with Amira.

61 Washington post [article](#).

62 Interview with Kareem Taha.

63 Interview with HRD.

64 Interview with Amira.

in terms of language and information in their statements, and have not always been able to address the crisis in the way they wish. ECRF, when posting about a detainee who had contracted the virus, had four people, including their director, reviewing a text of three paragraphs to ensure that the information relayed could not jeopardise their position.⁶⁵

Publishing anonymously or under pseudonyms was also an option chosen by the colleagues of one of the interviewees, however she mentioned that this reduced the credibility of the publication.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the digital security expert emphasised that using a social media account under a pseudonym could serve to heighten the risks, as the authorities will want to know who is behind the account. He explained that if the person behind the account is arrested, no one will know as the account is anonymous. Moreover, if this account is blocked, it is very difficult to convince the social media platforms to reopen it as they cannot confirm the identity of the account user.⁶⁷

Everyone interviewed mentioned various technical measures that they took on an individual or organisational level, for instance using a virtual private network (VPN) – despite this being criminalised under the Cybercrime Law,⁶⁸ verifying their social media accounts, ensuring admin accounts for pages are not linked to personal accounts, installing protection software, and using secure passwords. Working with digital security experts is essential, as they are able to provide technical support and advice, can retrieve suspended accounts and help get accounts suspended when an individual is arrested, so the security apparatus cannot access the chats on the individual’s device and arrest others. Indeed, the digital security expert commented that awareness among Egyptian HRDs regarding the precautions they should take on social media is increasing. He pointed out some recurrent errors,

“At the end of the day, no one is safe in Egypt”
Mohamed Zaree,
human rights defender

such as not updating account verification methods and having only one admin for a page, and problems reaching out to rural areas, but in general he felt that the necessary measures were increasingly being taken.⁶⁹

Interviewees indicated that these precautions could only go so far for those still inside Egypt, since nothing can protect individuals who are stopped by security forces in the street and forced to hand over their devices, which is a constant risk and was shown to take place on an unprecedentedly wide and systematic scale following the protests of September 2019.⁷⁰ Kareem Taha, finding himself in such a situation a few years ago recounted that “in the end, I gave up and I opened everything and I showed them everything.”⁷¹ Although digital security could be slightly improved, Mohamed Zaree commented that “at the end of the day, no one is safe in Egypt”⁷² and social media cannot be made entirely risk-free.

65 Interview with Mohamed Lotfy.

66 Interview with Shaymaa Elbanna.

67 Interview with digital security expert.

68 Under article 22 of the Cybercrime Law, “whoever possesses, acquires, obtains, sells, makes available, manufactures, produces, imports, exports or circulates any device, equipment, software, pass codes, passwords or any similar data without permission from the [National Telecom Regulatory] Authority (NTRA), good reason or legal justification” can go to prison for a minimum of two years as well as having to pay a fine. Mada Masr, [How will you be affected by the new cybercrime law: a guide](#), August 2018.

69 Interview with digital security expert.

70 Association for Freedom of Thought and Expression, Annual Report on the State of Freedom of Expression in Egypt for 2019, February 2020.

71 Interview with Kareem Taha.

72 Interview with Mohamed Zaree.

[Digital security resources for human rights defenders](#)

Surveillance self-defense: tips, tools and how-tos for safer online communications, by the Electronic Frontier Foundation

<https://ssd.eff.org/> (Available in several languages, including Arabic and English).

Digital protection resources developed by human rights activist Mohammed Musqatti:

<https://digital-protection.tech/about-us/> (Available in Arabic).

Security-in-a-box: digital security tools and tactics, by Tactical Technology Collective and Front Line Defenders:

<https://securityinabox.org/en/> (Available in several languages, including Arabic and English).

[EuroMed Rights can put HRDs in contact with a digital security expert for advice.](#)