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The 2011 Egyptian Revolution: Its effects on the Egyptian community in the UK in terms of political participation, media use, belonging, and Egyptian identity

Rua Al-Sheikh

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The 2011 Egyptian Revolution: Its effects on the Egyptian community in the UK

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Rua Al-Sheikh

Abstract: This research seeks to examine the role played by the Egyptian Diaspora living in the UK

during the 2011 Egyptian revolution and the extent to which they participated in it. The aim is to

detangle the factors impacting the UK Egyptian community in terms of identity and belonging, and

discuss whether the 2011 uprising had increased their political involvement through mass media or

not. The assumption that diasporic communities are politically apathetic is considered. Little research

has been conducted in this area of Diaspora, and a qualitative approach has been used to explore this.

Preliminary findings indicate that Egyptians in the UK are more involved in political activities with

regard to Egypt since 2011 uprising. When the Egyptian revolution broke out, some Egyptians living in

the UK engaged in the revolution by voicing their opinions over the Internet and social media, while

others travelled to Egypt to participate in the uprising.

Keywords: Diaspora, Egyptian revolution, political engagement, social media, Egypt-UK

Introduction

The majority of research conducted on the 2011 Egyptian revolution concentrated on the participation

of Egyptians living in Egypt, and how the social media has played a significant role in encouraging them

to participate. In contrast, the focus of this project is on the Egyptian diaspora in the UK, and the role

played by them in the revolution.

According to Egyptologists such as Reem Saad (2012), the Egyptian revolution is considered to be a

turning point in the country's history. Egyptians decided to revolt in early January 2011, immediately

after the uprising in Tunisia in late 2010, and after the fall of president Bin Ali. The deaths of Abu Azizi,

an ordinary Tunisian man, and Khaled Said, a young Egyptian who was tortured by the Egyptian police

and then died, triggered the unrest in the region (Manhire, 2012).

The Middle East, not excluding Egypt, has witnessed difficult economic, political, and social

periods during its recent history. Unemployment in the region has, for instance, been a key factor for a

long time (Vargas 2012). Forty million Egyptians were reported to live below the poverty line under

President Hosni Mubarak's regime (Al Aswany, 2011). Moreover, President Mubarak was planning to

present his son, Jamal Mubarak, to succeed him. Egyptian citizens were unhappy with Mubarak's

government, and the idea that his son would take over the presidency caused a certain dread. The beginning of the uprising saw many Egyptians, including Al Aswany (2011), a well-known novelist and one of the co-founders of the political movement, *Kifāyah* ('Enough'), holding pessimistic views regarding the success of a revolution. However, the wave of rebellion soon reached Egypt, and the citizens were motivated to revolt, immediately after the Tunisian uprising in 2010. Almost one million Egyptians participated in the demonstration in Tahrir Square in Cairo only on the 25th of January. This encouraged others to join protests and support their fellow Egyptians in the streets. According to Al Aswany (2011), the Egyptian revolution offered a sense of solidarity among Egyptians by giving them a feeling of being members of one family (p. ix).

The majority of articles written by scholars on the participation of Egyptians concentrate on those living in Egypt. However, there is a dearth of studies focusing on Egyptians living in Diaspora. The aim of this paper is to fill this gap by focusing on Egyptian Diaspora in the UK, including those who were born in Egypt or the UK, and their role in the revolution.

1. Literature review

Responding to an email sent to the Office for National statistics regarding the number of Egyptians in the 2011 UK census, the number of Egyptians who were born in Egypt but currently residing in the UK is 29,821. However, this number does not include Egyptians from the second and third generations who were born in the UK, but whose families were originally from Egypt. There is an acute need for further studies amongst this community of Egyptians in the UK. Furthermore, it is important to include second and third generations of Egyptians in order to examine the youth's opinion of their identity and whether they classify themselves with regard to ethnic, cultural or religious identities.

A commissioned report amongst the Egyptian community in England, Communities and Local Government (CLG) (2009) recently aims to unravel the way Egyptian community relate to their homeland and their faith (particularly Islam). The CLG study reveals the difficulties, especially the second generation Egyptians face, living in a cross-cultural or trans-national society, and due to different cultures and religions in particular. On the other hand, due to the shared religion, language and cultural traditions, Egyptians who migrate to Gulf countries don't suffer from problems with regard to religion and language (Hadley, 1977). Therefore, for Egyptians, the transition to an Arab country is not the same as migrating to a European country. Consequently, Egyptians who decide to migrate to Gulf countries are not named 'Diasporic groups' while those who wish to migrate to Europe can be named 'Diasporic groups'. Kalra *et al.* (2005) differentiate between the term diaspora and immigration as 'diaspora' is a more complex term which includes a group of people who have never

migrated, such as members of second-generation immigrant families. In addition, diaspora involves more settlement in host countries or those with dual identities such as Egyptian-British (Kalra *et al.*, 2005), unlike Egyptians who have settled in the Gulf whose notion of return is common.

There are a few studies conducted on Arab communities in Britain such as these conducted by Madawi Al-Rasheed and Camila El-Solh (1992). Another example is the study by Caroline Nagel (1998) who studied Arab communities in Britain, in terms of Arab identity and integration into the host country. Her results showed that some Arabs in Britain neither integrate with the host country, nor stand out as a separate identity or race (Nagel, 2008). Usually Arab groups analysed in such studies include Yemenis, Moroccans and Iraqis (Karmi, 1997). Nevertheless, the Egyptian community in the UK had not been under scholarly scrutiny before 1997.

Ghada Karmi (1997) considered the Egyptian community in the UK to be the largest Arab ethnic group. The most interesting finding Karmi came up with is how some Egyptians lacked the sense of patriotism. For instance, many respondents did not wish to return to Egypt, due to the difficult economic conditions back in Egypt (Karmi, 1997). Since then there have been limited academic papers written on the Egyptian UK Diaspora and its political links with the country of origin. This research project seeks to fill this void by focusing on Egyptians in the UK and the impacts the recent uprisings in Egypt have had on their political participation, socialisation, belonging and identity. Theoretically, the project rests on the concept of Diaspora as a process that binds several communities around the world, based on two co-ordinates: homeland orientation and boundary maintenance (Cohen, 1997; Brubaker, 2005). The group of Egyptians in the UK is mainly overlooked and under-represented in research and it is here that this paper hopes to make a significant contribution. This is also topical in the wake of the 2011 uprising which is claimed to have engaged Egyptian Diaspora communities in solidarity with those inside Egypt.

One similar study conducted on Syrian migrants argues that Syrian Diaspora activists acted as 'cultural brokers', linking protesters' voices inside Syria to the outside world, bridging the gap between new and mainstream media, and collaborating with journalists to translate messages and views (Andén-Papadopoulos & Pantti, 2013). Severo and Zuolo (2012) conducted another study on Egyptians abroad, in Italy in particular and defined the Egyptian community as fluid and shifting. Moreover, they noted the emergence of a trans-national Egyptian community (Severo & Zuolo, 2012, p.78). It is interesting to investigate whether a sense of belonging, pride and patriotism exists among Egyptians in Diaspora. It is also interesting to study the impact of new and social media on the cultivation of this sense of nationalism (if any) among Egyptians in diaspora, claiming that social media played an important role in the Arab Spring (Howard and Hussein, 2011).

A recent study amongst Egyptian diaspora is reported by Işık Kuşcu (2012) which looks at the role played by Egyptian-American diaspora group during and aftermath the 2011 revolution and how this group can influence both homeland and host country's politics. It is claimed by Kuşcu (2012) that the Egyptian-American diaspora group is connected to their homeland by following the events there. Furthermore, the 2011 Egyptian revolution has been a turning point with regard to more involvement among Egyptians abroad in Egyptian affairs than in Mubarak's era (p.121). Nowadays thanks to new technology, communications and transport, diasporic groups are more connected to their homelands than before (Kuşcu 2012). This confirms Safran's view (1991) that homeland occupies a central position as an important component of diasporic identity (p.123). As a result, the relationship between diasporic groups and homeland is concrete.

One important contribution to the debate surrounding Egyptians in the UK is the study of Sameh Fawzy examining the Egyptian community in the UK and their participation in the aftermath of the Egyptian uprising (2012, p. 42). In his analysis, Fawzy (2012) argues that one of the most important changes that happened after the fall of Mubarak's regime in 2011 is that Egyptians abroad are more willing to participate in rebuilding Egypt (p. 43). Before the uprisings, Egyptians believed that nothing could be changed - after the revolution, many people became hopeful of change, which strengthened the relationship between migrants and their homeland. The majority of Egyptians in Britain are considered to be highly-educated and the focus of Fawzy's study presents is the reasons for the emigration of Egyptians to other countries. Labour, studying and seeking better standards of living are the most common reasons for leaving Egypt (Fawzy, 2012).

With regard to social media and the uprising, according to Tufekci et al. (2012), many protesters heard first about the uprising in Egypt in 2011 via Facebook. In addition, Egyptians used Facebook heavily with regard to distributing videos and photos of protests in Tahrir square despite its recent introduction to the Egyptian society.

2. Diaspora theory

Diaspora has always been a controversial concept in terms of definition. Some scholars define it as the social organisation that connects people living in a host country, with their homeland (Wahlbeck 2002). Kalra *et al.* (2005) associate the diaspora concept with relocation, dispersal and forced movement (p. 10). Diaspora can be approached in three ways: (i) its relationship with forced movement (refugee or asylum status) or voluntary geographical relocation of people (Wahlbeck, 2002). Vertovec (1997) argues that Diaspora is 'a mode of cultural production' (p. 229) which is related to the outcome of relocation and how it might affect migrants' lives in dealing with dispersal and

forced movement; (ii) its political connotation, and how politics might contribute to the concept of Diaspora (p. 228). In this sense, politics might be the main cause of this phenomenon and why people suffer from dispersal and relocation. Finally (iii) some scholars, such as Cohen (1997), consider diaspora as a social organisation (p. 229), and, according to Van Hear (2005) it constitutes a transnational community (p. 230). In terms of a transitional community, globalisation has played a significant role in creating this situation. Nowadays, diasporic groups are no longer isolated, thanks not only to globalisation but also to modern technology (Van Her, 2005) The Internet has quelled feelings of loneliness and nostalgia by enabling diasporic groups affected by geographical boarders to continue to communicate (Graziano, 2012).

3. Methodology

This research adopts a qualitative approach including semi-structured interviews together with ethnographic examination amongst Egyptians in the UK. These methods have been selected to scrutinise the effects of the Egyptian revolution on Egyptians' daily lives in the UK. Piaget (2008) argues that the qualitative method involves engagement in people's lives and their in-depth feelings and experiences. Therefore, a qualitative approach in this case is considered to be the most appropriate.

Semi-structured interviews were selected in this paper for many factors. First, according to Kvale (2007) interviews can be defined as a conversation with structure and rules. Second, interviews are considered to be 'a conversation site for knowledge' (p.7). In addition, Longhurst (2010) argues that semi-structured interviews help the researchers to elicit details about a chosen topic. Although the interviewer prepares set of questions to be asked, semi-structured interviews can unfold new topics without advanced preparation to tackle in depth. According to Longhurst (2010) focus groups is defined as a group interview of 6-12 persons to tackle a chosen topic. Focus group has not been chosen as this paper seeks to examine personal experience and feelings of Egyptians in the UK. Consequently, semi-structured, face to face interviews are chosen to gather information with regard to effects of revolution on Egyptian diaspora in the UK.

Research questions focus on:

 To what extent has the revolution affected Egyptians in Diaspora, in terms of identity and sense of belonging, and whether they have increased their political participation in virtual campaigns/activities concerning Egypt?

- How did Egyptians in the UK use media including social media vis-à-vis traditional mainstream media, particularly pan-Arab and British TV, during the time of revolution?
- To what extent has the 2011 Egyptian revolution represented a turning point to Egyptians'
 political participation in the UK given the stereotype of Diaspora communities as politically
 apathetic as the idea of living outside the home land makes you isolated from what's going on
 in the country?

Ethnography was chosen based on observation and field notes gathered from protests organised by Egyptian community in the UK. Ethnography involves describing people and their culture and environment as an impassive observer (Hammersley and Atkins 2007). Ethnographic work includes attending protests and marches organised by the Egyptian community in the UK. Getting involved with events organised by Egyptians in the UK is beneficial in terms of accessing UK-Egyptians who do not use social media sites. Also, ethnographic work has been selected in order to examine the political activities of Egyptians in the UK.

There are several Egyptian communities living in the UK (Karmi, 1997) - some with strong links to their country of origin (Egypt). The selection of participants to be interviewed in the semi-structured interviews was based on the following criteria not all Egyptians in the UK were eligible to participate.

Interviewees must:

- be of Egyptian descent, either born in Egypt or the UK
- have resided in the UK since 2011
- have witnessed the 2011 revolution: either in the UK or personally in Egypt
- be 18 years old or more

To access participants, Egyptian groups on *Facebook* have been identified, such as Egyptians living in the UK, particularly London, where most of them reside. Almost sixty members of those groups have been contacted by sending a Facebook message explaining the reason for the project and whether they would be interested in participating or not. Twenty people have responded, while others have stated that they had left the UK or were not interested in the topic. Participants who agreed to participate were sent the information sheet giving more details about the project. Also, in order to access participants, an advertisement has been distributed to various universities, the Luton Mall, restaurants and cafes and listing the criteria that should be met. An advertisement on the website,

'Meet up', has been placed, in the hope that group members from the Arab and Egyptian communities will respond. Five interviews from the website members have been conducted.

It is worth mentioning that an ethics approval form has been completed in order to conduct a project involving human participation. University of Bedfordshire provides a form for every student to fill in before collecting data.

4. Discussion and preliminary results

The researcher has established contact with seventeen interviewees living in the UK, and intends to add another five, in order to present a substantial database for analysis. This section shall present the preliminary findings, following the fieldwork conducted in the UK. For confidentiality purposes, the participants shall be referred to as *Interviewee 1, 2,* and so on, in order to protect their identity. Preliminary analysis of the interviews has identified three themes, using Dey's (1993) method of identifying categories and sub-categories for analysis. The following section discusses these three themes:

4.1 Theme one: Political participation

The first category is political participation among Egyptians in the UK. This category includes the role of Egyptians in UK, the difference between first and second generation participation and more involvement among Egyptians in Egyptians political activities.

4.1.1 Role of Egyptians in UK in the uprising

Egyptians who were born in Egypt view political participation differently from those who were born in the UK. Those born in the UK believe their role in the UK is more powerful than travelling to Egypt to participate. However, Egyptian-born citizens residing in the UK believe their role will be more influential if they participate collectively in Egypt. For instance, *interviewee 6*, born in Egypt, states: "if there is going to be a second revolution in Egypt, which is coming soon, I prefer to be in Egypt with my friends and family".

On the effect of participating in protests in the UK to support the Egyptian uprising, interviewee 6 comments, "the effects of protesting here in the UK are limited, while in Egypt, you can sense you are doing something for your country [...]". This doesn't refute the fact that Egyptians abroad can play a role, at least to show solidarity among Egyptians abroad and their fellow Egyptians back home [Egypt] by sharing their demands and sufferings. In order to prove how Egyptians in the UK

show solidarity with Egyptians back in Egypt, the Facebook group '25th Jan Egyptians in the UK' organised an event entitled 'Freedom and dignity to our people back home' on 21 October 2014.

Interviewee 15 shares the same opinion with interviewee 6, in terms of the limited role of Egyptians in the UK by stating "I don't believe in protests here in the UK as they are ineffective and that's why I didn't participate in any protest in the UK regarding 2011 uprisings". On the other hand, interviewee 1 believes her role as an Egyptian in the UK is more powerful than going to Egypt: "I believe participating here in the UK is more powerful in my case, than going back to Egypt".

Interviewee 1 was born in the UK, so the place of birth can play a role in this case. Because other participants such as interviewee 6 above, who has lived all his life in Egypt and has family and friends in Egypt, expresses different views.

4.1.2 First vs. second generations' political participation

It is notable that the first and second generation Egyptians in the UK view the uprisings in different perspectives. For example, *interviewee 2* believes the uprisings were not necessary; while *interviewee 3* feels that first generation of Egyptians have played a negative role in the uprisings: "Older generations were living in a stable lifestyle and don't want to change, while the younger generation wanted the change, and suffer more than the older generation in terms of finding a job and other economic problems, and that's why older people were against protesting".

Interviewee 10 expressed how she wanted to participate in the uprisings as an Egyptian, but her parents were against it, and were really concerned about her participation. On the other hand, younger generations of Egyptians were pro-uprisings and many of the interviewees participated in the protests, whether in Egypt or the UK.

4.1.3 More involvement among Egyptians in Egyptians' political activities

To conclude, although Egyptians in the UK have faced difficulties in terms of participating and protesting, more engagement is noticed among Egyptians in the UK, especially after the revolution. Egyptians in the UK believe their voice might make a difference, especially in terms of elections and their participation. *Interviewee 13* expresses how he feels that elections after the revolution are important, and all Egyptians should participate, unlike the situation during Mubarak's regime. *Interviewee 13* expresses "the results of the elections were expected, Mubarak was the only candidate and would obviously win, and therefore, voting in the elections would be useless". However, after the

revolution, elections have become meaningful. *Interviewee 14* shares this point of view with *interviewee 13:* "after the revolution, elections were more effective than in Mubarak's time".

4.2 Theme two: Belonging and loyalty

The second theme explored is the sense of belonging and loyalty to Egypt; almost all participants interviewed were loyal to Egypt, despite of their place of birth. For example, *interviewee 4* is 'loyal to Egypt' and believes he is Egyptian and British at the same time, although he was born and raised in the UK: "My homeland is Egypt and although I was born in the UK, I look Egyptian and my way of living is Egyptian, and I am a foreigner here, as British people always ask me where I am from, originally?".

When asked if he experienced a sense of identity crisis, *interviewee 4* said "It is an identity crisis, but I don't think it's a problem, as I am an Egyptian living in the UK as I feel Egyptian in everything: culture, food and religion, and this is what makes a human being". *Interviewee 9* (18 years old) believes that at an early age, an identity crisis is normal and every teenager will go through it, but family plays a significant role in knowing who you are and how to deal with identity crisis or such confusion.

There is also a sense of pride among Egyptians in the UK. For instance, interviewee 4 states: "I was proud before the revolution, then I was extremely proud of being Egyptian during and after the revolution". However, the sense of pride has been declined recently, due to the mistakes the new Egyptian government has made. *Interviewee 4* expresses his feelings by stating: "everything went wrong in Egypt after the revolution and this has made me less proud".

4.3 Theme three: Media role

The final theme is the role of media according to Egyptians living in the UK. Media, social media in particular, has played a significant part in the uprising.

4.3.1 Social media as a source of information

In terms of source of information, the younger generation consider social media as a source of information with regard to keeping updated on Egypt's news. Participants aged 18-30 believe that Facebook is the main source of information for them. "My source of information about Egypt is social media, and I can differentiate between fake and true information", *interviewee* 6 said. On the other hand, participants who are 30+ do not trust social media as a source of information. *Interviewee* 15 (50 years old) expresses that the reason behind mistrust of social media is the inaccuracy and inadequacy of social media.

4.3.2 Mainstream media

In addition, Egyptians have little trust in the reportage of the mainstream media, Arabic or Western, but particularly Egyptian. *Interviewee 14* expresses how he has lost trust in Arab media in general, and specifically Egyptian media, because of their hidden agenda.

Conclusion

To sum up, studying the effects of 2011 revolution on Egyptian diaspora has demonstrated interesting findings. In this paper, a qualitative approach has been adopted. Interviews with Egyptians in the UK have demonstrated the following: UK-Egyptians are more involved in Egypt's politics. The place of birth has played a significant role in deciding on participating in the uprisings either in Egypt or in the UK. For instance, Egyptians born in Egypt preferred to take part in Egypt while those born in Britain believe taking part in the UK would benefit Egypt more than participating in Egypt in terms of raising awareness. Moreover, Egyptians in the UK have a strong identity in terms of building a strong relationship to Egypt.

Finally, in terms of media role, Egyptians in the UK face difficulties trusting mainstream media and social media. Among diaspora groups worldwide, Egyptian diaspora in the UK has not received enough attention scholarly. Consequently, this project has discovered the effects of 2011 revolution on Egyptians in the UK, giving the fact they are Egyptians even if living abroad.

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Appendix

Table 1: list of Interviewees

Participant	Age	Gender	Place of birth	Marital status	Political participation	Passport	interview Language	Interview date	Interview Iength
1	22	Female	UK	Single	Non- activist	Dual*	English	4.4.2014	1.5 hour
2	43	Male	E**	Divorce d	Non- activist	Dual	Arabic and English	20.8.2014	1.50 hour
3	36	М	E	Single	Non- activist	E	Arabic	1.9.2014	1 hour
4	33	М	UK	Single	Non- activist	B°	Arabic and English	1.9.2014	1 hour
5	32	М	E	Single	Blogger	Е	English	22.9.2014	1 hour
6	20	М	E	Single	Online activist	E	Arabic	10.10.201 4	45 mins
7	31	F	E	Married	Online activist + an activist	E	Arabic	12.11.201 4	1 hour
8	26	M	E	Single	Non- activist	Non	English	13.11.201 4	1 hour
9	18	М	UK	Single	Non- activist	В	English	17.11.201 4	1 hour
10	24	F	US	Single	Non- activist	Dual	English	13.12.201 4	1 hour
11	50	F	E	Divorce d	Non- activist	Dual	Arabic	15.12.201 4	1 hour
12	37	М	E	Single	Non- activist	Dual	English and Arabic	19.12.201	1 hour
13	32	M	E	Married	Non- activist	E	Arabic	22.12.201 4	1 hour

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14	33	М	Е	Single	Non-	E	Arabic	24.12.201	1 hour
					activist			4	
15	50	М	Е	Married	Non-	Dual	Arabic	26.12.201	1 hour
					activist			4	
16	36	М	UK	Single	Non-	Dual	English	11.1.2015	1 hour
					activist				
17	20	F	UK	Single	Non-	Dual	English	20.5.2015	1 hour
					activist				

^{*}Egyptian and British nationalities

Table 2: Ethnographic events ¹

Event	Location	Date
Rabaa - 1 st anniversary	The Egyptian embassy in	16/8/2014
march	London	
'Freedom and dignity to our	The Egyptian embassy in	21/10/2014
people back home' event	London	

Biography

Rua Al-Sheikh is a PhD researcher in Media studies at the University of Bedfordshire, UK, expected to graduate in October 2017. She completed an MA in Cultural History, Memory and Identity from the University of Brighton, UK and a BA in Sociology and Media studies from the University of Sussex, UK. Her research interests include the Middle East, Diaspora, Egypt, Iraq, Egyptian revolution, the UK, identity, belonging, social media and mainstream media

^{**} Egyptian British

¹ The events above are attended by the researcher in order to observe protests organised by Egyptians in the UK.

Contact author(s):

rua.alsheikh@study.beds.ac.uk

Contact for(e)dialogue

General inquiries at foredialogue@leicester.ac.uk

Editorial inquiries at foreditorial@leicester.ac.uk