

Fatih University

The Graduate School of Social Sciences

Master of Middle Eastern Studies

**BEING AN EGYPTIAN WOMAN POLITICAL ACTIVIST: AN ANALYSIS OF
MOTIVATIONAL DISCOURSES**

By

Maria Clara GONZALEZ CASTELLAR

May 2016

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Thesis Supervisor

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June 2016

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
For all Those Brave Women that Raise their Voice Loud



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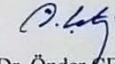
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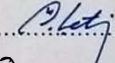
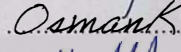
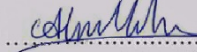
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ABSTRACT

BEING AN EGYPTIAN WOMAN POLITICAL ACTIVIST: AN ANALYSIS OF
MOTIVATIONAL DISCOURSES
Maria Clara GONZALEZ CASTELLAR

The thesis is dedicated to analyze the motivations that lead Egyptian women to become an actor of activism. In order to give a response the theory of Social norms, Beliefs and Motivations of Jon Elster detailed in his book *“Explaining social behavior: More nuts and bolts for the social sciences”* will be use it to explain the motivations that lead Egyptian to be a political activist. The research also examines to what extend the use of social media have been useful for the development of the women’s political activism in Egypt. Also explore if the NGOs and independent women groups persuade women to be politically activists.

The research examines the construction of the identity of the Egyptian’s women political activism based on two fundamental factors: a) the product of the rationality and b) the role and impact of social media in the process of activism. The methodology framework used in the research will be an adaptation of the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of Ruth Wodak, which examines: a) the use of particular content or topic and b) the discursive strategies.

Keywords: Political Activism, Egyptian Women, Rationality, Social Media.

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KISA ÖZET

KADIN SİYASAL EYLEMCİ KİMLİĞİNİN İNŞASI: MISIR ÖRNEĞİ **Maria Clara GONZALEZ CASTELLAR**

Bu tez, Jon Elster'in rasyonalite teorisini temel alarak Mısırlı kadınları aktivist bir aktör olmaya iten motivasyonları anlamaya çalışacaktır. Mısırlı kadınları siyasal aktivizme iten faktörleri açıklamada rasyonalite teorisinin sınanması adına Jon Elster'in motivasyonları, sosyal normları ve inançları incelediği "*Explaining social behavior: More nuts and bolts for the social sciences*" eseri temel alınacaktır. Araştırma, ayrıca, sosyal medya kullanımının ne ölçüde Mısır'da kadınların siyasal aktivizminin gelişiminde faydalı olduğunu incelemektedir. Son olarak, STK'ların ve bağımsız kadın gruplarının kadınları siyasal açıdan aktivist olmaya ikna edişleri incelenecektir.

Araştırma, Mısırlı kadınların siyasal aktivist kimliğinin inşasını iki temel faktör üzerinden incelemektedir: (a) rasyonalitenin ürünü olarak, (b) ve aktivizm sürecinden sosyal medyanın rolü ve etkisi. Araştırmanın metodolojik çerçevesinde Ruth Wodak'ın eleştirel söylem analizi (Critical Discourse Analysis/CDA) yaklaşımı uyarlanacaktır. Burada iki temel boyut incelenmektedir: a) belirli içerik ve konuların, b) söylem stratejilerinin kullanımı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyasal aktivizm, Mısır kadınlar, rasyonellik, sosyal medya

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INTRODUCCION

The human stage of human interpersonal relationships or in the field of human dynamics and social problems, it develops, in this case, the exercise of politics and power : origins, causes and consequences. As Octavio Paz (2009) states “the history of man can be reduced to the history of relations between the words and the thought. Every period of crisis begin or coincides with a criticism of language” (p.19). The language can be recharged of symbols or exclusive messages of wishes, desires interests, rationality and emotions that are expressed by humans.

The discoveries of science, the growth of human population and the exploitation of natural resources, make it even more complex for the economic, social, cultural, religious and political dynamics of modern society in the west and east. It is because of that complexity that the power could not fall on the shoulders of only one member, or only one part of society. On the contrary, it is a complexity that must fall equally and simultaneously on all opposite but complementary segments of society including men and women. Having said that, par excellence, concerns to the politics get involved in society and in their development, so that, it can contribute in solving issues and problems of the society.

However, inequality has prevailed. The inequality experienced in modern society is more pronounced in some regions of the world than others. This is due to the product of differences in conditions and status of one gender over the other , and as a result of the laws contained in the regulations of each country. Chiefly if every law is itself the fruit of all accumulated specific cultural traits to each system of government in which religion often plays or determined a major role.

According to article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”. Thus, in our condition of human beings, the right to liberty and freedom, the right to freedom of speech, the right to freedom of thought, the right not to be prosecuted from your thoughts, etc. should be respected and accepted as a fundamental human rights for all the nations in the world. The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights states that “*Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, language, or any other status. We are all equally entitled to our human rights without discrimination. These rights are all interrelated, interdependent and indivisible*” (United Nation Human Rights).

Under this doctrinal approach on universal respect for the spiritual development of human beings the topics addressed by the issuing agent or producer of such criteria and concepts must be received and accepted individually and collectively. It ‘s clear

then, that the counterpart that could be considered directly, or eventually, affected, shall have the equivalent right to respond, in similar terms of civilized confrontation. Whoever, then, owns this basic universal principle, according to which “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights will be absolutely valid at any time and place in the world. Also it lends itself a legal merit for anyone who feels and considers himself affected in their free exercise, and finds himself in the capacity of demonstrating the evidence and the burden of proof, see and go without further delay or preamble to the relevant international courts, and the pertinent authorities enabled for such similar purposes and effect in the world, in order to recover their violated rights.

It is for this reason that people in the world rise up and demand loudly on the streets and in the public square, their rights. People talk, shout, and write. They use all civilized means such as the radio, newspaper, television, Internet and other online media through the web. Under this contemplated perspective of "freedom, equality, dignity and rights", it has been observed that women in some Middle Eastern countries, during the last twenty years, have emerged to break their silence and strive for building a society where they can be politically active, and in an attempt to take or obtain a new opportunity to achieve the desired peace. Thus, it is understood that freedom built with the participation and representation and consensus of all members of society, mentally and intellectually free to speak, can help achieve the main objectives of a state.

However, if this participation and representation are not there, people need to change a situation that is unsatisfactory for one that is satisfactory.

Having said that, the thesis will analyze the motivations of Egyptian's women political activism by examining their interviews and posts in social media in order to understand the motivations of their activism. In addition, my thesis considers the impact of the use of social media in their role as activists. Thus, the aim of this thesis considers the following questions in order to explore the motivations of Egyptian women to become an actor of political activism: (1) How the theory of the explanation of human behavior of Elster can explain the motivations that lead Egyptian women to become an actor of activism? (2) To what extend the use of social media have been useful for the development of the activists in Egypt? (3) To what extend the NGOs and independent women groups persuade women to be politically activists?

The content of the thesis will be presented in four chapters: In the first chapter we will start discussing the conceptual framework of political activism and develop the theory of what motivates an actor to be politically active. This will be explained in three main arguments: a) the criteria of social norms, motivations and the mental states of beliefs, desires and opportunities; b) the impact and role of social media in the political activism of Egyptian women and c) the role of NGOs in the women political activism. The methodological framework will be drawn on the adoption of Ruth Wodak's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Thus, the categories of analysis based on the adaptation of

Wodak's discourse analysis approach will be a) the use of particular content and b) the discursive strategies. The second chapter will be essentially on historical framework. The chapter will present the two subchapters that will review the women's political enrollment rate in Middle East before and during revolution period and the women political activist context in Egypt. The third chapter is divided into two subchapters. The first part will be an explanation of the methodological framework used in the thesis and the second one will analyze the discourse of the Egyptian women activists based on the Critical Discourse Analysis and Theory of explanation of social behavior of Jon Elster. The data was collected from websites that included transcriptions of interviews or from the own personal pages of the activists. Finally, the fourth chapter will present the conclusions that summarize the result obtained in the research and recommendation for further research.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM

Nowadays, activist groups that operate freely and publicly, or from underground advocate an ideological and political struggle. In addition, the mechanism of activism utilized for activists go from actions performed in public events till actions written in social media to express interests and demands. As Larry Diamond (1997) states: “Citizens acting collectively to express their interests, passions, preferences, and ideas, to exchange information, to achieve collective goals, to make demands on the state, to improve the structure and functioning of the state, and to hold state officials accountable” (p.6). However, it is worth highlighting that not only groups are the ones who advocate, but also individuals express what they want to advocate irrespective of being part of a group of activists.

Recently, twitter, Facebook, Internet, and finally, propagandistic forms are being used as means to spread for what the activists are advocating for. This mechanism is reflected in the Egyptian case, which demonstrated the world the abuses of the regime bureaucracy and the corruption of the governmental institutions. In words of Dalton & Welzel (2014) “In the participant culture, people hold orientations toward all four

classes of political objects. They are aware of government, the processes of political input, and the outputs of government, and they adopt an activist view of their role as citizens” (p.4).

Political activism can be referred as all the combination of acts that certain individuals of the society has in order to express their own wishes or desires in order to generate-new alternatives of changes in different aspects of life, such as specific rights regarding minorities and so on. According to Inglehart and Norris (2003) “patterns of political activism within any nation are also dependent on particular institutional contexts and political systems, including the existence of democratic rights and civil liberties, the structure and organization of mass political parties, and the opportunities for political expression, organization, and mobilization within the society”. (p.103).

“Generally, the term "political activism" has the connotation of a full time career in political campaigning and organisation. But, political activity, it can be argued, can take numerous forms not merely as actions taken by those who spend the most time debating, promulgating ideas and strategy-making for change” (Roberts, 2004, September). The above conceptualize that there are two forms of political expression that an activist will use. According to Inglehart and Norris (2003) political activism, as a multidimensional phenomena has three common dimensions: Traditional, civic and protest activism. First, they classified in the traditional dimension the voting

participation, the party membership and the union membership as the most common and normal form of political activism. On the other hand, in the civic engagement they refer to the social movements and organizations. Finally, in the terms of protest activism, they integrate the forms of street protests or boycotts. “In the worst of the public scenarios, this form of protest activism is more expected to culminate in violence” (p.104). That is to say that there are two forms in which an actor will be a political activist. The first form is the political activism as participation inside political parties and the second one is the political activism outside of the political parties.

To summarize, it has been said that being an activist is an activity that individuals and certain groups have been used as a mean to protest or advocate for the different aspects of the political structure of the society. Thus, the use of activist is not only referred when individuals are members of a political institution, but by being activists in the streets or in other means. Now, the question is why an actor of a society decides to engage to the social behavior of activism. Thus, to the following subchapter will explain the theory that provides us the answer for the question above.

1.2 WHAT MOTIVATES AN ACTOR TO BE POLITICALLY ACTIVE?

As we said before, in order to examine our research question about why the Egyptian women have decided to be political activist, it is important to understand “how their minds work” (Elster, 2007,p.67). Thus, this subchapter will give us an introduction from the perspectives of social norms, motivations and beliefs, desires and opportunities that will give us the answer of the motivational aspects of political activism. As Elster (2007) says “*mental states as desires and beliefs are important to understand and explain the social behavior of a person*” (p.56). Thus, social norms, beliefs and motivations will give us the key to understand the mind of an activist in order to understand the causes that lead them to be involved in political activism.

1. Social Norms

In some countries of “The Middle East” or Muslim states, such as Egypt, the Sudan, Saudi Arabia, or the Islamic Republic of Iran, where conservative Islamic laws control the social, political, judicial and economic aspects of the civil society, women have turned into second-class citizens in many domains of public life (Bayat, 2007, p.161). By this mean there are women converted from a contemporary citizen to a citizen systematically discriminated from the society or the state.

According to Elster (2007) “social norms are sustained by emotions” (p. 160). This a social norm can be explained from the idea in where societies have misunderstood the position and significance of women in Islam, for example, the honor and the pride. Both are emotions and as emotions have determined the social norms that rules the society. In the in the Muslim patriarchal societies these rules have set up the role of women in the society by deteriorating and given a new shape of the concept of women in Islam regarding to what women should act or say. This “rules” bring into the society gender inequalities that, in selected cases can be a motive for women to be activists. As Elster remarked: “Social norms tell people what to do”. Nevertheless, not all the societies can be driven by the same ideologies because “what is obligatory in one society may be supererogatory in another” (Elster, 2007, p. 98).

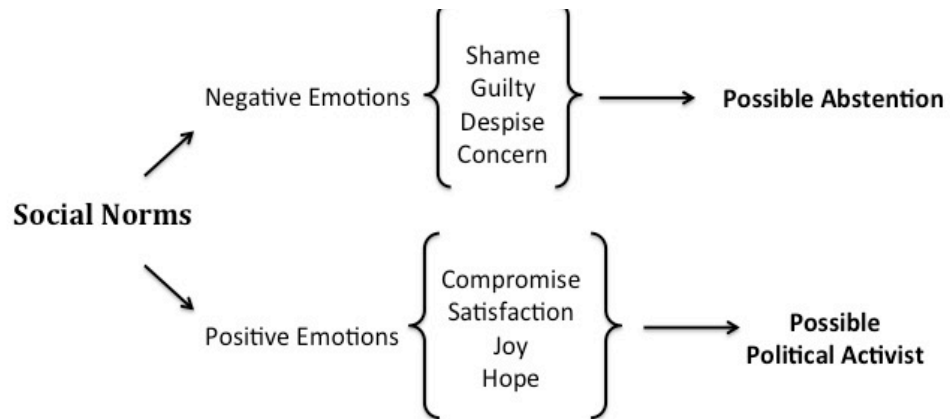


Figure 1.1 Social Norms.

Hence, women activists in Egypt pursue a new social norm that could replace the preceding one. However, even though women feel motivated to fight for equality of gender and rights, social norms and emotions can restrain them to act. In one hand if negative emotions such as shame, guilty, concern or despise are in the mind of the “possible actors”, the most possible scenario is the abstention. This scenario can be specified for an actor A that despite that wants to become an activist, it is surrounded by the risk to be socially excluded for those who seems its actions as shame for the society. Eventually, this rejection from the society may lead to commit violence against actor A. In the other hand, in contrast with the scenario mentioned above we find the actor that was not driven by negative emotions and eventually decides to be part of an scenario of activism. Thus, if the actor B is motivated by positive emotions such as compromise, satisfaction, joy or hope, actor B would be the candidate to be a political activist because its actions are driven by emotions that would allow it to pursue its objectives. In the words of Elster, social norms can mandate or restring an actor to be politically active based on emotions. Simply, actors are regulated by socials norms and social norms tell them what to do. In our case of Egypt, women decide to act in base on their own social norms, either based on their family values or society values, which claim an important role of influence in their possible actors of activism. Thus, it is in the mind of the activist to follow the norm and abstained from the role of activism or do not follow the norm and become an activism (*see figure 1.1*). As Jon Elster (2007) states: “a social norm is an injunction to act or to abstain from acting” (p,354).

2. Motivations

RATE IN MIDDLE EAST: 2011-2015 According to Elster (2010), all that drives a social actor or agent to perform a certain action can be explained from the viewpoint of human emotions, which can be weak or strong. Thus, it can even lead to move any adverse feeling. Moreover, in case that emotions are strong, it can displace any adverse feeling and therefore the action would be realized regardless of possible circumstances. In this case, when an agent is an activist, and their life is in risk, their emotions of advocating for their rights are stronger than the circumstances that might be catastrophic, including dead. This is what Elster calls “the strength of motivation”. This means that when the motivation is higher than the consequences, they do not hesitate to act Thus, the possible circumstances for an activist can be neutralized by the effect that produces the motivation in their mind. As Elster (2011) exemplify in one of his cases, these negative possible circumstances may be considered by the actor as circumstances that are not “highly valued” (p.58) . Thus, for an activist “it cost less” (p.58) being hurt in their protest than quit without have tried for it.

$$\uparrow \overset{+}{SM} > \overset{-}{SI} \downarrow$$

SM= Strongest Motivations
SI= Smaller Incentives

Figure 1.2 Strength of Motivation based on Elster's (2010) Theory (p.108)

In brief, to Elster (2010), the strongest motivations have a greater impact than the smaller incentives (p,108). The mere fact to engage in the protest, in one way or other, is equal to being hurt by the public forces. Having said that, the equivalence between protest and being hurt, the idea of activism becomes a motivation of strong impact, which is nurtured and shaped in terms of longing and desire that has a greater impact than being hurt and also therefore the risk of being hurt it cost less and it is not important for them (*see figure 1.2*).

1. Beliefs and desires

To Elster (2007), “interpreting an action requires us to explain it in terms of the antecedent beliefs and desires (motivations) of the agent” (p.53). This means that in order to understand why an action is realized we must understand the underlying factor behind that action: the beliefs and desires as motivational aspects that would lead them to act. This also applies to the Egyptian women, who were leaded by those mental states of beliefs and desires to become an activist. To Elster (2007) the desires have a crucial impact on influence in the beliefs in this way: “A desire can provide a reason for investing a specific amount of resources in information acquisition. The information thus obtained may serve as a reason for holding a certain belief” (p.133). Every revolution, every protest needs to start as a plan. The plan is settle down by those who

organize the revolution, those who want a change and in order to call for other people that one to join, they need to spread the information such as the place, date and time of protests. This information is searched by those that are influenced by the desire of change. Thus, once the information is acquired it may be serve as a reason to believe that they can join to. Further, it will make them belief that their participation and persistence can guarantee a change. As Elster (2007) says: “the desire induces specific behavior that will in turn induce a specific belief the agent wants to hold” (p.134).

Regarding to all mentioned in the subchapter of what motivates an actor to become an activist it seems that the answer it is given from sociology and the explanation of social norms, motivations and the mental states such as the beliefs and desires can be a cause of the interest in our case of an action. Now, in the following section we will explain the impact and role of social media in the political activism of Egyptian women.

1.3 THE IMPACT AND ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

When it comes to information and communication, modern technology plays a prime role in the political activism, especially in the riots that began in Egypt on January 25, 2011. As it is known in the context of Egypt, the revolution took place in two scenarios: the scenario of Tahrir Square and in the scenario of social media or the

Internet. Thus, both scenarios served as a mechanisms of protests for an activism. According to Eltantawy & Wiest (2011) “New communication technologies—especially social media via the Internet— have become important resources for the mobilization of collective action and the subsequent creation, organization, and implementation of social movements around the world. The development of social media created opportunities for Web-fueled social movements, or cyberactivism, to change the landscape of collective action. Cyberactivism is a growing field of scholarly inquiry, though it is not yet well understood, and it is largely lacking a clear, cohesive direction” (p,1207). "The radio, networks and television channels were an important key to motive activists and citizens interested in participating in the public debate, an instrument that strengthened political activism. According to Gigi Ibrahim: “Before the revolution, social networks played a really important role. They were not the means of the revolution but they were definitely the tools that were used to communicate” (UNESCO, 2011, p.12). Even though the Egypt blackout people from Internet (Glanz, James; John Markoff, 2011, February 15), the impact of social media (Twitter, Facebook, YouTube) as active agents in the "Arab Spring" was positive.

The use of Internet via computers and mobile phones facilitates individualized mass communication. Being so, the content created by the user, can be shared in the act with a virtual community. Hence the social sciences devote considerable interest to the analysis of the causal relationship established between technological innovations and

sociopolitical where highlights the impact of new technologies and their contribution to the processes of political change. In addition, throughout technology Gigi Ibrahim “mobilized crowds on Facebook and Twitter, kept the internet community around the world informed, organized street rallies and waved banners, her mobile telephone always within reach. Thus, “*yet social media played a crucial role in organizing this historical event that is changing the world*“ (UNESCO, 2011, p.11).

Through the use and the recurrent use of digital platforms, available to all, it is possible for the citizen to participate, contribute and propose solutions to its initiatives. However, cyberspace or the computing and communication technology is a tool or an opportunity that facilitates the civic work or activism. Thus, this tool, called “*digital politics*” is just a mean of activism not the end. Now, what is the digital politics? According to Nathaniel Ashford (ActionAid) “The digital revolution is more than a political revolution. It is definitely a social and cultural revolution”(Política Digital, 2010, May 7). The digital revolution will then be understood as the development of criteria or guidelines of public nature and collective or national interest defined within a community of persons or institutions connected, or both, in a mixed manner, to gestate and encourage action and democratic participation. It is a kind of Athenian agora, discussion area, of formulation of proposals and of group decision making by consensus, on specific purposes of general or group interest, both for members of the group and to the responsibility of non-members referenced to the digital community.

Thus, the digital politics being an instrument in the service, in this case, of the political, partisan or common interest: environment, health, early childhood, civil defense, animal protection and so on, NGOs regarding to women's activist character use the system to group and recruit members or passive participants in their democratic campaigns and political indoctrination. In addition NGOs use the media to encourage women to be politically active as is the case of the United Nations Development program in Egypt that throughout the discourse and advertisement of Public Service Announcement in YouTube and National Egyptian Channels motive women to empower women to be involucrate in the politic life due to “political participation is a right to every girl”¹.

The concept of digital revolution, rather than a political revolution it is definitely a social and Cultural Revolution. And of course, today anyone with access and technical capacity to understand the operating management system could become an activist throughout social media or blogs. This can be reflected in the case of anonymous activist in the blog “Egyptian Chronicles” where she expresses her unconformities and own ideas about the daily occurrences regarding to the political and social protests. However, it should be noted that there were some activists that did not have access to social media. Some of them as Salma el Tarzi, even though she had a phone, she just used it to take

¹ Watch the documental of UNDP Egypt from YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jp7o1exIUIs>

picture but she did not post any comment or announcement of any social media or Internet. *“I use it as a camera. We don’t have Internet, we don’t have Facebook and although we don’t have phones we still are coming by thousands so I don’t think his plan is working very well”* (Corcoran, 2011, February 15) . Thus, just who had an access to the Internet and social media could use the Internet as a tool of communication. According to Gawhry (2012) *“social media networking sites can be characterized by its ability of instant communication/interaction, real time dissemination of information, free access to information, speedy reaction to events, affordability, the ability to self publish,⁹¹ and most importantly, the ability to discuss sensitive topics openly that state-owned traditional (or conventional) media could not”*(p,36).

In summary, the social media and Internet had an important role in the process of keep updating the people about the revolution. However, the social media was a means that motivated other people to join the revolution. The following chapter will give us an overview of the political context of women in the Middle East during the years of Arab spring.

1.4 THE ROLE OF NGOS IN THE WOMEN POLITICAL ACTIVISM

Now the question is if the women who decide to be activists or politically active either in the political arena or as an activist of human rights, are supported or persuaded

by NGOs or women's groups in Egypt. Even though there were several civil groups, such as Tahrir Bodyguard, OpAntiSH and Basma that were created to protect women and establish actions to prevent rape during the protests (Massena, 2015, September 17), there were other organizations such as Nazra for Feminist Studies and The National Council for Women in Egypt that worked in the empowerment of women during and after the revolution. In one hand, the first one, Nazra for Feminist Studies (n.d), in its official page is described as a "group that aims at contributing to the continuity and development of the Egyptian and regional feminist movement in the Middle East and North Africa". One of the objectives of Nazra are: *a) supporting women human rights defenders through providing legal, psychological and medical support and b) Supporting women's political participation and their contributions to the public spheres in order to mobilize women's rights as social and political rights*" (Nazra for Feminist Studies, n.d).

And in the other hand is the National Council for Women in Egypt which is a governmental institution created in 2002 that has a relevant role in the empowerment of women in Egypt to the fact that it has been working in several companies throughout Egypt and has cooperated with other feminist and activist organizations such as the one mentioned above.

Within the objectives of the council are included: *“empowering women in the political domain encompasses: a) solving the problems impeding women's participation and creating an enabling media environment which endeavors to change the image of women and their self-perception as well as the way they are perceived by others through their local communities; b) asserting women's right and role as citizens participating in the formulation of the other; and c) ensuring that the issues of promoting women occupy a prominent position in the media and cultural discourse”* (Khodair & Hassib, 2015,p.7)

During the period covered by the paper done by Khodair & Hassib (2015), it has been strengthened at the national level the cooperation between the National Council of Women, the public entities and NGOs (including organizations of civil society and dedicated to information and research), by the signing of protocols of cooperation and joint efforts to achieve gender equality. The National has relied on telecommunications such as *“Radio and Television in order to Broadcast Services launched a media campaign back in 2003 called Women Development Enhancement via Awareness Campaigns. The campaign aimed at raising women’s awareness about their rights and the available services provided by institutions working on the advancement of women. Similarly, the NCW in collaboration with The Ministry of Culture held several awareness raising seminars and workshops on issue at hand, in addition to the training programmers provided by the NCW to influential media personnel to increase their*

awareness of the role of women in society and of women's issue" (Khodair & Hassib, 2015,p.8).

It will be more appropriated to say that the "role" of these two organizations seems to be more as protectorate of activism in women that being a promoter of activism and equal rights. Despite the fact, that the mission of both organizations is providing us information that is just a supporter of activism, it doesn't generalize that all the NGOs in Egypt are involucrate in this process of supporting activists.

Regarding to NGOs it is seems that their role is more protective that persuasive. Even thought the initiatives of Egyptian women to be politically active have been protected to those social movements, NGO and especially for the National council for women in Egypt, as Nuria Tesón says, their role is more of supportive due to the women become an activist by their own incentives.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 WOMEN'S POLITICAL ENROLLMENT

Going back to the pre-Islamic era, the status of the women in the Arabian society was not more than of inferiority and of a degrading attitude. Women were viewed as slaves or objects and property to men. In words of Haifaa Jawad (1998,p.1) “Women were viewed as the embodiment of sin, misfortune, disgrace and shame, and they had no rights or position in society whatsoever.” On the contrary, when the Islamic era result from the revelations to the Prophet Mohammad; Islam gave an important value and appreciation to the status of women. According to traditions in the pre-Islamic era men found the birth of a female child as an impure or disgrace act that put in risk the honor and pride of the family, specially the father’s pride up to the point of killing them, an action named as infanticide. *“Female infanticide and feticide are predominantly practiced in regions of significant poverty and overpopulation. One reason boys are more valued than girls is preserving lineage, as family lineage and family name are carried only by males in most societies. Also, children are expected to care for parents in their old age in many countries, so raising a son becomes a better investment because once a girl marries, she becomes the property of her husband and of virtually no value to her parents. Some women resort to female infanticide and feticide in order to protect their daughters from a life of objectification and subjugation in a society dominated by men, where there is a prevalent anti-girl attitude”* (Yapi International, n.d). With Islam, this practice was banned and viewed as a murder or sin: “Kill not your children on a plea of want. We provide sustenance for you and for them. Come not near shameful deeds, whether open or secret. Take not life which Allah has made sacred.” (Quran: 6:151).

However, despite that Islam condemns the infanticide of a newborn, nowadays in countries where Islam is practiced, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan and India, this act is still being used as regular practice, specially in newborn females.

In fact, regardless of Islam gave a status of equally between men and women and its clear in the message in the Quran where it says that: “...and women have rights similar to those against them in a just manner...” (*Qur'an*, 2:228), as I said before, Selected Muslim men and Muslim society, individually or collectively, have misunderstood the position and significance of women in Islam deteriorating and giving a new shape of the concept of women in Islam regarding to what women should act or say. In other words changing its own essence of women with its rights included. Thus, bring into the society gender inequalities that, in selected cases can be a motive for women to be activists.

In view of the above, women in Egypt regarding to religious and ethnic issues, have left behind the idea of activism due to the incomprehension of the society and, inclusive, relatives that contemplate the idea of “political activism” as a concept that just involucre men and for any reason has to be exercise for women. Then, as “women in Islam” it is not their duty to be involucrate in ideas of politics and justice.

There is a stigmatization and belief into Islamic society that women cannot be part of any form of politics because it is not their duty as a “woman”. In addition there are radical Muslims that can attempt to say that this is forbidden for a woman. Despite of all those obstacles for women, they have found their to be include in the scenario of men rather by advocating for new social, political, economic changes that eradicate all kind of negative matters that a regime has in order to bring to the nation a new perspective of life or being participate in the political institutions. One of those ways was the one bestowed by the uprisings that started in 2011 that marked a new era for the actions of women into the politic and social arena in the Middle East.

Thus, on December 2010 started a movement of a series of political and social manifestations that were going to be launched or imitated along Arab nations in the Middle East. across the Region, many are expressing concern that efforts to advance women’s rights and access to opportunities may be halted, and even reversed. The ideology, which advocated for the end of dictatorship, for the pursuit of equal rights, new opportunities and democracy, altered the future of Arab nations. The movement that later on was going to be called Arab spring or Arabic rebellions produced some progressive and damaging changes in some Arab nations that followed the ideology, but also gave a beginning to counterinsurgency groups and wars. In Tunisia, were the manifestations started, a country drawn by the oligarchy, which the power was managed by families, the manifestations on 2010 carried Tunisians and the Tunisian Army to the

overthrown of Zine el Abidine Bin Ali. The jasmine revolution as it was called, brought some new modifications to the social and political system, specially the transition to democratization.

However, unlike from Tunisia and other Arab nations such as Algeria, Bahrain or Morocco, where the manifestation did not bring a series of violence or cruelty, other Arab nations such as Syria, Libya, or Egypt did have and still trapped in that cycle of brutalities. Syria an Arab nation that have been leading a group of citizens against the abusing government of the Bashar al Assad and the long dictatorship of the Assad family for more than 40 years. In Egypt the ousted of Hosni Mubarak by the Egyptian Army, caused new elections that gave a new leader, Mohammed Morsi, that later on was causes of protests due to the doubt of his legitimacy.

Regardless of the fact that in time of protest of manifestations, men are the leaders of it, the role of the women in the Arab Spring was considered unique and adventurous. from protests in the streets to Social Media, women actively shared the same concerns as male protestors, and included veteran women's rights activists as well as scores of young women who had never before been politically engaged" (Harvard Divinity School, n.d). The women's role on the Arab Spring it was not only limited into protests, but also engaged in their labor as promoters in a peaceful way through social media, radio, television and others.

From the Maghreb to the Middle East, women were key players in development of the advocacy and support of the protests that took places in the main places and cities of those Arab nations. There was a huge diversity of women who had the courage to participate. Educated or not educated, employment or unemployment, from young women to old women they took their right, raise their voices and used their moves and means to protests regardless of the consequences of their involvements. Despite the fact that protesting meant putting in risk their lives, their optimism for their contribution was even bigger than the fear of their participation.

In each country there are women that were the key leaders or a special key for the movement or interest of other women or other activists in the Arab revolution which however, somehow or other, were and are still considered as a heroin from their own country and to others, that found on them courage to raise their voices. In Yemen, Tawakul Karman was recognized as one of the main leaders in the Yemeni revolution during the Arab spring for their role of promoting in a peaceful way her opposition and advocacy of liberation from the regime of Ali Abdu Allah Saleh that lacked of basic freedoms and rights for all Yemenis. Also, she became the first Yemeni and the first Arab woman to be awarded to the Nobel Prize (Nazeer, 2013, December 12). No far from Yemen we find that in Bahrain, the human rights activists, Zainab al Khawaja had an important role during the uprising by protesting throughout her own account on

Twitter. However, her participation in the Bahraini uprising and her courage to be a human rights activist brought her till the imprisonment in the present year. Razan Ghazzawi, in Syria, during the uprising was challenging the president Bashar al Assad and the Syrian Government throughout her blog. Manal al Sharif, in Saudi Arabia were considered as a important figure for her constant activism regarding to the women human rights of Saudi Women and the women's right to drive campaign in 2011 (Nazeer, 2013, December 12).

In Libya, Salwa Bughaighis, was a public figure and activist that was an essential figure during the uprising in Libya due to her battle against the government and her commitment with the National Transitional Council of Libya² in order to achieve the order in the post revolution (Bouckaert, 2014, June 26). She was assassinated on 2014. The murder of Bughaighis was condemned for different international actors such as the European Union, The United Nations and different political activists and to many others that appreciated her continued perseverance against the infringements of human rights as an inspiring model of struggle to follow.

Summarizing the said above, those women were just a few of women who joined protests and started their own way of activism throughout Middle East during and after

² The NTC after the revolution and the overthrow of Muammar Gadhafi governed Libya for a couple months till found a democratic solution for a new government.

the Arab Spring. However, after it, there were women or groups of women who started to circulate around all Middle East advocating for their own interest and desires. In Egypt the situation was not different. Even though throughout the history women in Egypt has been linked to feminism, since the uprisings of Arab spring women have been follow the course activism creating a new identity for what it is to be politically active. During the Arab spring a bunch of women along men took the Tahrir Square to protest against the regime of Hosni Mubarak. Asmaa Mahfouz, an Egyptian political activist, was one of the leaders that encouraged people to participate in the protests of the 25th January of 2011, date that initiated the “White Revolution” as it is also called the series of protest during the Arab spring. Mahfouz inspired thousand through a video posted in her social media where she invited to all Egyptians to join the Tahrir Square on 25th January of 2011 to promote a new beginning for Egypt with no corruption and more human rights. On her words: *“Come down with us, and demand your rights, my rights, your family's rights. I am going down on January 25th and I will say "NO" to corruption. "NO" to this regime!* (Luthfullah, 2011, March 23). In brief the participation of women in the Arab spring *“not only shatters the traditional stereotypes about Arab women, viewed as oppressed passive and voiceless, but also sheds light on their determination to chart and reshape their own destinies”*(Shihada, 2011, December, p,285). Therefore, to know the path of feminism over the years till the Revolution in 2011, the following subchapter will provide us a brief information about it.

2.2 THE WOMEN POLITICAL ACTIVIST CONTEXT IN EGYPT

It is important to explore the events of the past to understand the consequences and their influences in the present, as the American astronomer Carl Sagan said once: “You have to know the past to understand the present”. Indeed, even though the feminism in Egypt and all the debate of the Egyptian women taking part in the political activism in the 21st century seems to be new, the feminism and activism had their beginnings in the colonial epoch during the protectorate of Grand Britain in Egypt. Thus, the Egypt’s first feminists were Huda Sha’rawi, a woman belonging to the Egyptian middle class who was influenced by Europe, and the ideas of equal rights between man and woman and Mounira Sabet who was the director of the *L’Espoir* a Cairo newspaper financed by the political organization and nationalist liberal political party *Wafd* (Gender Across Borders, 2009, May 28).

According to Al-Ali, N. (2002) the history of the origin of Egyptian feminism and the development of the Egyptian women’s social movements and organizations seems to be a result of concerns that motivated women to be participative of historical contexts that occurred during times of war or independence. Even though there is not an exact date of origin Al-Ali argues that: “Many studies dealing with the Egyptian women’s movement begin their analysis with women’s participation on the 1919 revolution and the subsequent rise of feminist activism associated with Huda Sha’rawi

and The Egyptian Feminist Union” (Al-Ali, 2002, p.6). Shaarawi, is still being one of the most influential women, not only Egypt, but also in the region of Middle East and North Africa who advocated grand part of her life for Equal rights for women in the social, political, educational sphere in Egypt in company of feminists like Nabawiyya Musa, Ceza Nabarwi and Malak Hifni Nasif .

Huda Shaarawi, who was one of the pioneers of the Egyptian feminism and founder of the Feminist Union. Also, “Shaarawi fought for women’s rights by organizing in 1909 Mubarret Muhammad Ali, a women’s social service organization. In 1914 she helped to form the Union of Educated Women in 1914” (Gender Across Borders, 2009, May 28). Nowadays, Shaarawi has been a model to follow for those young and adult women activists that have taken the medias and the streets to express their own desires. The Feminist Union was founded in 1923 and in its agenda called for political rights for women, changes in the personal status law (especially for controls on divorce and polygamy), equal secondary school and university education, and expanded professional opportunities for women. its activism was characterized by dynamic interaction and tensions between women’s feminism and nationalism. Al-Ali, N (2002,p.6). The Egyptian union focused its social activists actions by looking for a change in the Egyptian system that could provide more rights for women regarding to educational, legal and political matters. This union was looking for the right of women

to participate in political matter such as the representation in the parliament and the right of vote (Gender Across Borders, 2009, May 28).

In the 1970's as a part of the larger Islamic revival or Islamic Awakening (al-Sahwa al-Islamiya) in the middle east, in Egypt appeared "the women's mosque movement" that rapidly became an a popular religious movement in Egypt due to the era of secularism and "westernization" (Abu-Lughod, 1998, p.3). According to Lughod, these movement appear as a movement to reveal against the "secular government" as a product of British protectorate following the years of the World War I. To her, more than a religious movement, it is seem as a act of political activism due the fact that women were activists in the Egyptian society, exposing their "religious matters" to recover the identity that it was lost during the days of the "Western influence". I agree to her, due the fact that regardless it was "a religious issue" what the women participant of the Mosque movement were trying to spread, they were politically enrolled in the society by transmitting ideas of change in the Egyptian society. In addition, by the simple fact that "transmitting or spreading ideas" they are advocating for something that categorized them as an activists.

Despite the fact that "*women have always been part of national and social movements and of politics*" (Kamal, 2014, p.557), the participation of women, since the uprising in 2011, tried to break all ties of subjection of the prevailing laws for the purpose to build new political values. Thus, after the revolution, women that were

activists in the uprising become in an inspiration for other women that wanted to start their own activism in matters of social issues and human rights. As in the interview with Nuria Teson she states that: “after the revolution women found and public space and more freedom to demand for personal fights”. In words of the activists Gigi Ibrahim, during the uprising, *“women were leading strikes, chants and protests and getting arrested and being tortured. In my experience in the Egyptian uprising, there was no difference between men and women within the mobilization process or protests”* (UNESCO, 2011). Following the years of the revolution, groups of women were including themselves in different activist groups that were advocating for different matters such as the Muslim women’s society, New woman foundation, Karama, the association for the development and enhancement of women and the April 6 youth movement are one of the many that nowadays call to persuade and encourage women to become part of the movements of activism, feminism and political participation.

In words of Hatem (2011):

“During the 18 days of the uprising against Hosni Mubarak’s autocratic rule, the streets were filled with women from across the Egyptian social spectrum. Young and old, veiled and unveiled, poor and affluent - women came out in force to support the movement for a democratic revolution. Yet the gender politics of post-Mubarak Egypt look startlingly

familiar, with women's participation in rebuilding the Egyptian state tightly controlled by the transitional government” (p.36).

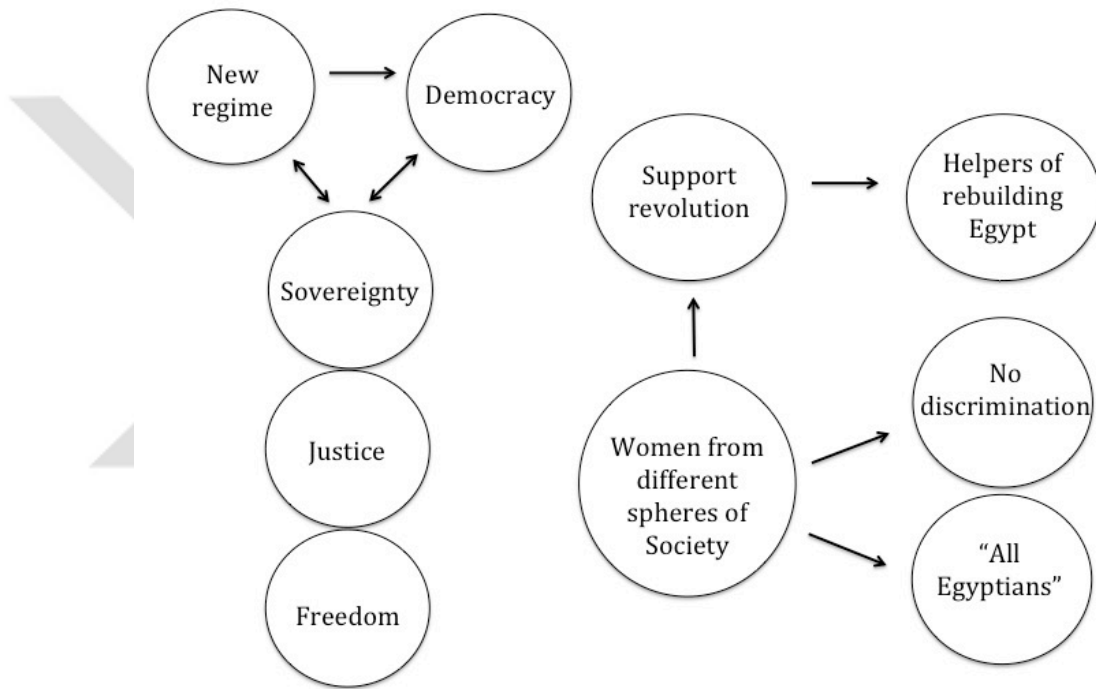


Figure 1.3. Topics of women's role in Egyptian revolution according to Hatem.

Summarizing the words of Hatem regarding the women in the Egyptian revolution, in the following diagram (see figure 1.3) we can analyze that the relevant topics that emphasize the role of women in the revolution of 2011 are:

- The motivation for protesting it was to change the “autocratic regime” for a democratic regime, where Egyptians were looking for their own sovereignty. Thus, they were looking for rights, justice and freedom.

- The content of the protest, more than seem as religious issues, human rights advocates or gender equality, it was more related to the fact that they were all Egyptians defending their own territory

- No matter the race, the sex, the religion, social class, if they were educated or no, they were all together advocating for own cause.

Indeed, people were unified, they were all together no matter the differences. They were fighting the same enemy and it was crucial for the development of the protests. But this not was only the union between women and men but also the fact that women were all together, and from different backgrounds they decided to join. *“The most important fact about the role of women during the revolution is that ordinary women from working class families and poor neighborhoods joined the protests. It was not just middle class girls and educated women like us. Women from all walks of life joined the revolution. I met a woman in the streets who said, ‘my husband does not want be here but I came anyway.’ Millions of Egyptian women came into the streets for the first time and joined equally with men in demanding a free country”* (Peace Policy,

2011,

July

6).

The protests against “the corrupted” regime of Hosni Mubarak and its followers was a new initiative to women to promote a change and a society in which they could be considerate as important figures that could seek for benefits and could promote their feminist ideas. However, more than activism in streets, the activism in Egyptian women has been also an enrollment in politics and judicial rolls into de government.

After the revolution, the situation of women did not find a huge change regarding to human rights, gender equality or participation in politics; some of the women associated themselves into organizations that claimed for the issues mention above. However, in the article 11 of the Egyptian constitution was adopted, after the referendum in 2014, new opportunities for women in the area of legal and politic issues. The article states that: *“The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure the appropriate representation of women in the houses of representatives, as specified by Law. The State shall also guarantee women’s right of holding public and senior management offices in the State and their appointment in judicial bodies and authorities without discrimination”* (Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt, 2014, January 17, p.7). According to internationalist analysts this referendum of the new constitution in Egypt in 2014, was a product of the massive “yes” that women decided to give in order to break the tides of suppression of figures that tried

to lead the country to the abyss. And in order to celebrate their “Women took to the streets during the two days of referendum over Egypt’s constitution, ululating, clapping and challenging the red lines of female propriety by dancing in broad daylight in public” (Tadros, 2014, January 17).

The World Bank stipulated that in 2011 and 2012 women in Egypt just were members of the House of Representatives, *Mağlis an-Nowwab*, in a 2%. To the difference of 2011 and 2012, after the parliamentary elections at the end of the 2015, 75 Egyptian women were elected as members of this important organ of the state. Besides, the president Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi elected 14 women more to be part of the house. In total the representation of women in the house is of the 14.9% (El-Behary, 2016, January 5). The number of women could be higher in the parliament, but not all the parties allow the nomination of women in them. *“It seems the political parties settled for the quota stipulated by the Parliamentary law, as most of the political parties either did not nominate woman for individual seats or nominated a limited number of women. According to ECWR statistics, 23 political parties did not nominate any woman as individual candidates. Meanwhile, Wafd party, which nominated the highest number of women, nominated only 9 women out of a total of 149 candidates for individual seats”*. (Egyptian Center for Women Rights, 2016). Even though the Egyptian women participation is still low in the unicameral parliament conformed by 568 seats, it considered that the elections of 2015 represents an important step in the path of the

Egyptian women to be part of the decisions of their country in contrast to the previous years. Now, once this part is completed, the following chapter will contain the analysis of the discourse of the Egyptian women activists to illustrate de Jon Elster's Theory and the analysis of the adaptation of Ruth Wodak's work on critical Discourse analysis.



CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.1 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The methodological framework used in the research will be an adaptation of the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of Ruth Wodak (2001) in order to analyze the discourse that Egyptian women activist implemented in order to address to the Egyptians and the world. Thus will provide us tools to comprehend the internal aspects of the woman an activist explained by the mental states and social norms of Jon Elster (2007); and the external aspects such as social media during the revolution of 2011 in Cairo, Egypt.

Thus, the categories of analysis based on the adaptation of Wodak's discourse analysis approach will be:

- a) The use of particular content or topics belongs to the framework of the discourse of women politically active.
- b) The discursive strategies that will give help us to analyze the discourse used for Egyptian women activists. Thus based on the work of Wodak.

These strategies are:

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● membership categorization ● biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies ● synecdoches (pars pro toto, totum pro pars)
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits ● implicit and explicit predicates
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of (discriminatory) utterances

Table 1. Discourse strategies Wodak, R (2001, p.73)

Despite the valuable and abundant bibliography of studies and theories related to the subject such as Victor Vroom in his book “Expectancy Theory (1964)” and Douglas McGregor in his book “Theory X and Theory Y (1960)” of human motivations none of them has gave an amply cooperation to the social sciences in the attempt to explain the status of the mind in social phenomenon, which in our case is the social phenomenon of political activism. Therefore, Jon Elster’s theory has been chosen due to the thesis, as I

mention before, will analyze the internal aspects of the Egyptian women that got engaged to the activism during the revolution of 2011. Thus, for the purpose to understand why women becomes an activist, the mind of the women activist needs to be analyze on the basis of social norms, motivations and the mental states such as beliefs desires and emotions specify in the research of Jon Elster presented in his book *“Explaining social behavior: More nuts and bolts for the social sciences (2007)”* for the purpose to understand how the mind of an activist works.

In order to the analyze the discourse of political activism in Egyptian women activists we will use:

1. The interviews realized by Mona Abdel-Fadil in its article: *Sowing the Seeds of The Message: Islamist Women Activists Before, During, and After the Egyptian Revolution*” in 2014 to journalist activists.
2. The interview realized to Gigan “Gigi” Ibrahim by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published in the publication *“How Youth Drive Change”* in 2011.

3. The interview to Gigi Ibrahim by the New Internationalist Magazine in 2011.

4. The article of AlJazeera written by Fatma Naib in which Mona Seif, Gigi Ibrahim and Salma El Tarzi described their participation in the protest in Tahrir Square in 2011.

5. The interview done by Phil England of the New internationalist magazine to Gigi Ibrahim in 2011.

6. The interview to Salma el Tarzi for the Australia's program, *Foreign Correspondent* in 2011.

7. The video recorded by Asmaa Mahfouz and posted in her personal Facebook account one week before the revolution started on February 25, 2011.

8. The interview done by Jamal Mahjoub to Ahdaf Soueif in 2011 in the online Magazine of art & politics, *Guernica*.

9. The interviews done by the non-governmental organization “*Code Pink*” in the Tahrir Square at the moment of the revolution.

10. The interview done by David Zlutnick to Gihan Abouzeid for the nonprofit organization, “*Truthout*”.

11. The interview conducted by Shawna Carroll Amal Abdel Hadi for the international human rights NGO, *FIDH*

12. The interviews of Mona Eltahawy published in The Guardian and the station NPR.

13. The interview of Noha Tarek Abbas transcribed in the website, *Peace Policy*

14. The interview to Sarah Nagaty in the website, Marxist Student.

15. The interview that I realized to the Journalist and writer Nuria Teson throughout Skype on May 17, 2016

The main cases of Egyptian women activist figures that we will analyze are:

1. Amina and Abeer, two journalists that used to be part of the social team of IOL a website that provide a platform, which fused secular disciplines with Islamic teachings, and, to offer users a contemporary and life-relevant Islam Abdel-Fadil, M. (2014). They were part of the revolution by informing from the Tahrir Square an as activists.

2. Ahdaf Soueif is a novelist, cultural and political commentator. She wrote about her memories and the experiences of the revolution of Egypt in her publication: "*Cairo: My City, Our Revolution*".

3. Asmaa Mahfouz an Egyptian considered one of the founders of the April 6 Youth Movement.

4. Gigi Ibrahim is a political scientist from the American University in Cairo. She started her social activism since the

Egyptian revolution where she was reporting about the revolution from Tahrir Square in her social media.

5. Salma el Tarzi is an Egyptian writer and director of the documentary *Underground on the Surface* (2013) that awarded as a best director in the Dubai International Film Festival in 2013. Further, she was an activist during the Arab spring in Egypt.

6. Mona Seif is an Egyptian human rights activist and biologist that help to inform the world about the revolution throughout her social media.

7. Mona Eltahawy is a columnist and international public speaker that had an important role during the revolution of 2011.

8. Noha Tarek Abbas is a student activist from the Cairo University.

9. Amal Abdel Hadi was one of the founder and member of the New Woman Foundation in Egypt.

10. Gihan Abouzeid is an Egyptian writer. She is a member of the feminist theater group *Ana El He kaya* in Egypt.

11. Sarah Nagaty is an Egyptian student an activist.

3.2 ANALYSIS OF THE EGYPTIAN CASE OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM

In order to elaborate my theoretical approach from the adaptation of the Ruth's Wodak work of the Critical discourse analysis. Thus, we will analyze, from her adaptation of CDA, the discourse of 9 important activist women during the revolution of 2011 in order to connect reinforce it with what it has been saying regarding to the what makes an actor to become an activist in the explanation based on the work of Jon Elster. Thus, the following ten discourses will give us an structure to analyze the content and strategies that develop an idea of what is being an activist and the desires, the social norms and beliefs behind words.

1. Gigi Ibrahim and the proud of revolt: The spirit of struggle

The following discourse was identified in the interview as a topic referring to process of the revolution, the causes, the mobilization, the role of women in the revolution and the process of elections and desires of democracy from the revolutionaries.

“When they call ours a Facebook or an internet revolution – that’s just bogus. Yes, we use the internet to communicate and spread information, but if the struggle wasn’t there, if the people didn’t take to the streets, if the factories didn’t shut down, if workers didn’t go on strike, none of this would have happened” (England, 2011, May).

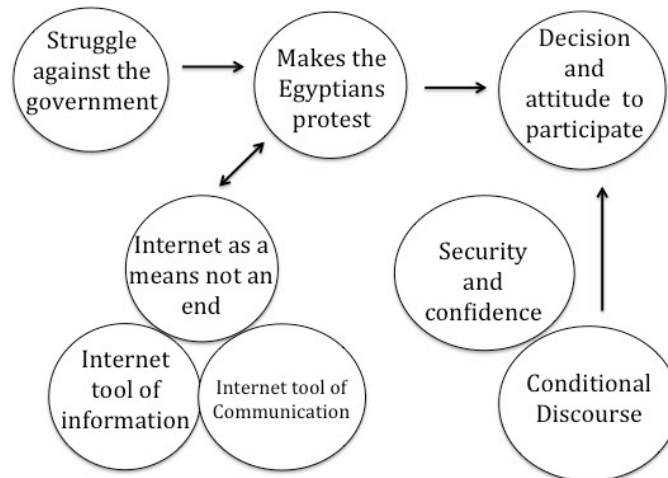


Figure 1.4 Discourse of “Gigi Ibrahim” about the revolution. Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

Regarding to the content, it seems to be a content of social media and struggle in which she shows to justify the need of the revolution. In other words the struggle is a justification for revolution, for taking part as a legitimize activist in the uprising. Further the she linked the role of social media as a mean of the revolution rather than the end of it.

There is no any doubt that there was a struggle of the Egyptians regarding to the administration of Hosni Mubarak. Gigi, in her interview show her confidence and security in her “conditional discourse” by saying if “*if the struggle wasn’t there*“ probably anything like “*if people didn’t take to the streets none of this would have happened*”. Clearly, she is using an argumentative strategy to justify a negative struggle, the resolution itself. In addition in her discourse she clarify that the revolution on Egypt wasn’t an “internet revolution” as some people addressed; she, in context, described that the internet was used as a tool for spread a message of “change”, to motivate “Egyptians” to advocate for a “new Egypt” and to keep informed the public about what was happening in those days of uprising. The above discourse can be a representation of the use of Perspectivation/framing or discourse representation, due the fact that she is describing what in reality was the revolution and also she is expressing her position as a activist of the revolution; that the internet was the media but not the end”. However more than classify her discourse as sentimentalism or patriotism we will categorize as a discourse seized by proud and responsibility. (See figure 1.4).

Indeed, the Internet played an important role in the revolution. As Gigi Ibrahim expressed, the internet and hence the social media was an important key not only for those who wanted to spread the information from the Tahrir Square, but also from those that spread the information from other place different from the Square. The only fact by being involved in the revolution by using the Internet without the need to go to the main square where the revolution was taking place made a person an activist. As the activist Abeer said: *“In the beginning, I did not go to Tahrir, but I was participating in the revolution journalistically, I mean, I was trying to write as many articles as I could and publish them on our website (...) but most of all I was trying to participate through stories (...) in order to communicate my point of view”* (Abdel-Fadil, 2014). Clearly, she did not go to the main square the first days of the revolution, but indeed she was participating writing about the revolution out of the Square and make them published in the website of the organization she was working for or another website that could accept her ideas.

2. Ahdaf Soueif: The Unity in the Revolt: Egypt for Egyptians

The following discourse of Soueif is an attempt to continue with the speech of the interviewer in order to start with the interview. The Interviewer said: *“One striking aspect of Tahrir was the way it broke all the social barriers. Rich, poor, Westernized, non-Westernized, suddenly brought together by the sense of being Egyptian which had*

been denied for many years”. (Mahjoub, 2011, March 15).

“You were there because you wanted the regime to fall. That was the basic position, and from there you started talking to people and soon you were talking about all sorts of other things and discovering just how communal everyone felt, how similar and how your values, the values of offering whatever food you have to the next person, or of listening to someone telling you something, or laughing at the same joke, were the same. People just rediscovered being part of the same community, rediscovered being Egyptian. And they articulated that, they said the regime was scaring us of each other. And here we are, and of course we find there is nothing to be afraid of. We celebrated mass and Friday prayers one after the other and everybody said the amens together to everything. The Muslim cordon freed a space for the Christian prayers and the other way round. The national anthem was sung in Coptic. People really rejoiced. It’s hard to convey the sense of joy and relief at shaking free and discovering that underneath you were what you had long ago thought you were. That it was always there. That all of what has happened to us could be shaken off because all the true stuff—what it means to be Egyptian—was still solidly there. And the constant expression and articulation of it, the consolidation, was remarkable” (Mahjoub, 2011, March 15).

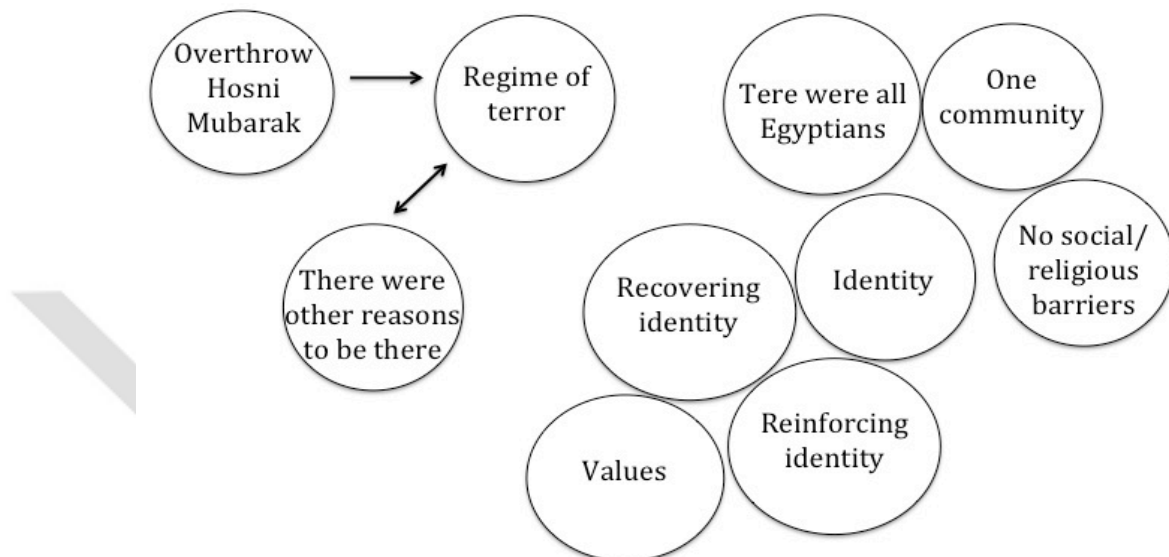


Figure 1.5 Discourse of “Ahdaf Soueif” about the revolution. Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

Regarding to the content, it seems to be more of being “Egypt for Egyptians” something close to the Monroe doctrine of “America for Americans”. Thus, this can be categorized as a nationalist discourse topic on content due to the fact of the moment that they were

facing were crucial for Egyptians and they were the only ones capable to stop Hosni Mubarak and with the facility to change the regime. No one else could do it for them, just the “Egyptians”.

According to the above it seems that Soueif is implementing a referential and perspectivation discursive strategies due to the fact that she is labeling the social actors in the revolution as an actors that were connected to each other such as the details on everyday life like offering foods, laughing at same jokes as she illustrated above. Thus, it wasn't a religious or social, e inclusive political barrier that could separated them; they were together for a main position that was overthrow Hosni Mubarak, and all the them were sympathized with that "goal". However, there was other sort of things that were in their minds in order to protest for justice. Soueif, labeled them as an "Egyptians" or in other words "brothers and sisters" that forged one community in which they could recover and reinforce the identity of being from the same country. Her discourse shows us a description and narration from her point of view how Egyptians knew each other more and were forcing new values of tolerance and respect from one to another regardless their conditions because they were there listening each other calamities (*see figure 1.5*).

Her discourse, in contrast of the discourse of Gigi Ibrahim above, demonstrates her sentimentalism and proud of being part of a revolution not only by participating as an activism, but also as a individuals that could reinforced her part of being an "Egyptian" by connecting with others Egyptians like her.

It seems that the main issue is that everyone is looking for a change, and to get that change they need to overthrow Mubarak and his regime. In interviews made by the organization Code Pink to women in the Tahrir Square on February 14, 2011 apparently what motivates a woman to be politically active is to look for change. As one of the interviewees said: *“I’m here because what they are doing is not acceptable. We want change...we want social justice...we will bring our change”* (Code Pink, 2011, February 11). In the interview made to Nuria Tesón she says that even though the government is taking measures to stop the activism, in form of protest, by using the tactic of sexual harassment in public space, women have intensified this “struggle” to defend their own positions. Clearly, women have ignored the measures that the government has taken. They have forgotten how far the measures and punishments can be.

3. Asmaa Mahfouz: Tenacity and Advocacy

The following speech is just a part of the whole transcription of the speech that Asmaa Mahfouz posted initially in her Facebook page days before the Revolution. In her speech she calls to the Egyptians to join the protests on January 25, 2011.

“...I’m making this video to give you one simple message: we want to go down to Tahrir Square on January 25th. If we still have honor and want to live in dignity on this land, we have to go down on January 25th. We’ll go down and demand our rights,

our fundamental human rights. I won't even talk about my political rights. We just want our human rights and nothing else. This entire Government is corrupt – a corrupt President and a corrupt security force...” (Luthfullah, A. 2011, March 23)..

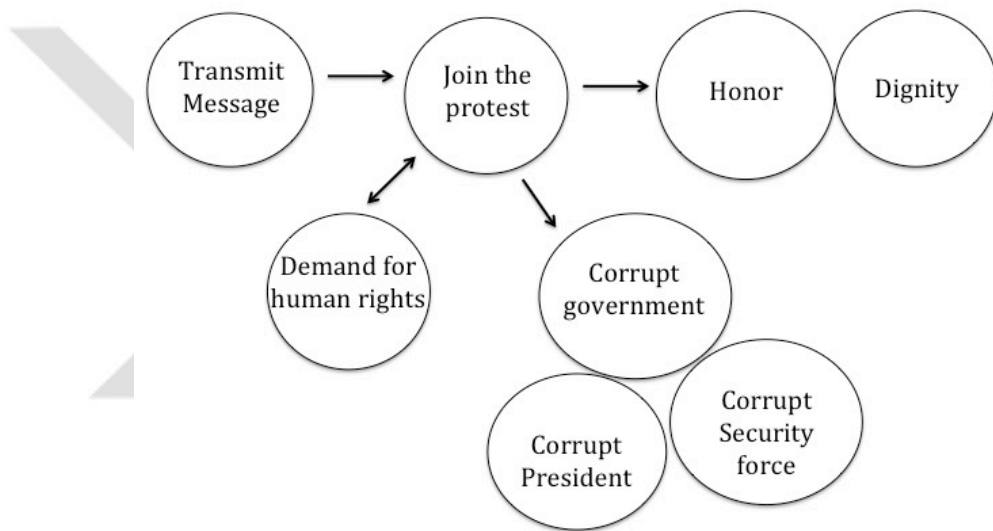


Figure 1.6 Speech of “Asmaa Mahfouz” about the revolution Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

The content of the discourse is regarding to human rights. As she mention they just want to advocate for their fundamental human rights that supposedly has been taking away from the “corrupt government”.

The goal of Mahfouz in her speech is to transmit the people and urge them to join the protest. Her speech is implementing the perspectivation and intensification

discursive strategies. First, her discourse can be categorized from the perspectivation strategy due to the fact that she is denoting and expressing her enrollment in the protest of the January 25th by addressing not to one sector of the Egyptian society but to each individual that conform each corner of the Egyptian society. In addition she is expressing her commitment with the cause of revolution against the government. Second, her discourse can be categorized as a intensification strategy because she is not talking about just the “Egyptian government”, in fact she is making an intensification of the term “government” by labeling as a entity classify as a “completely corrupt” from the president to the security force. At this point, for her it is clear that the only reason which she wants to join the revolution is because she wants to fight for her human rights; but also, because it is of compromise to herself and her and an act to keep her honor and dignity in her land, Egypt (*see figure 1.6*).

Despite that the main goal was a change and the overthrown of the President Mubarak, this unleashes other motivations such as the desire of democracy and the freedom of speech. *“I want democracy which is something that I personally never had. I’m 33 years old. Mubarak was in rule since I was three. I’ve never had democracy, I don’t know what it is. We want to be able to vote properly. We don’t want the emergency law. We don’t want to feel frightened by the government. We don’t want the oppression, we don’t want all of this. We want to have freedom of speech. We don’t want journalists to be taken to gaol. We don’t want to be scared to say something. We don’t want to be*

scared that they track us on Facebook or our mobile phones for saying what we think”
say Salma el Tarzi in a interview with the Australia's program *Foreign Correspondent*
Corcoran, M. (2011, February 15). The content in the discourse above transmit us to the
desires not only for Salma, but also for all the Egyptians that want a change for their
country. They want something that just democracy has, or attend to has, freedom and
human rights. Basically, these “goals” where some of the many ones that lead the
activist women to protest, not only looking o achieve a change, but also looking for
those mentioned above and more.

4. Mona Seif: Revolution of Peace.

The following speech is just a part of what Seif told ALJazeera about her
correlation in the process of the revolution.

“I was amazed by the peoples’ determination to keep this peaceful even when we
were under deadly attacks. When we caught the pro-Mubarak thugs, the guys would
protect them from being beaten and say: 'Peaceful, peaceful, we are not going to beat
anyone up’. That was when I started thinking: 'No matter what happens we are not going
to quit until Mubarak leaves'. The spirit of the people in Tahrir kept us going. My friend
and I had the role of ensuring that all of the videos and pictures from Tahrir were
uploaded and as the internet connection was bad in Tahrir, we would use a friend’s

nearby flat to make sure the images made it out so everyone could see what was happening in the square” (Naib, 2011, February 19).

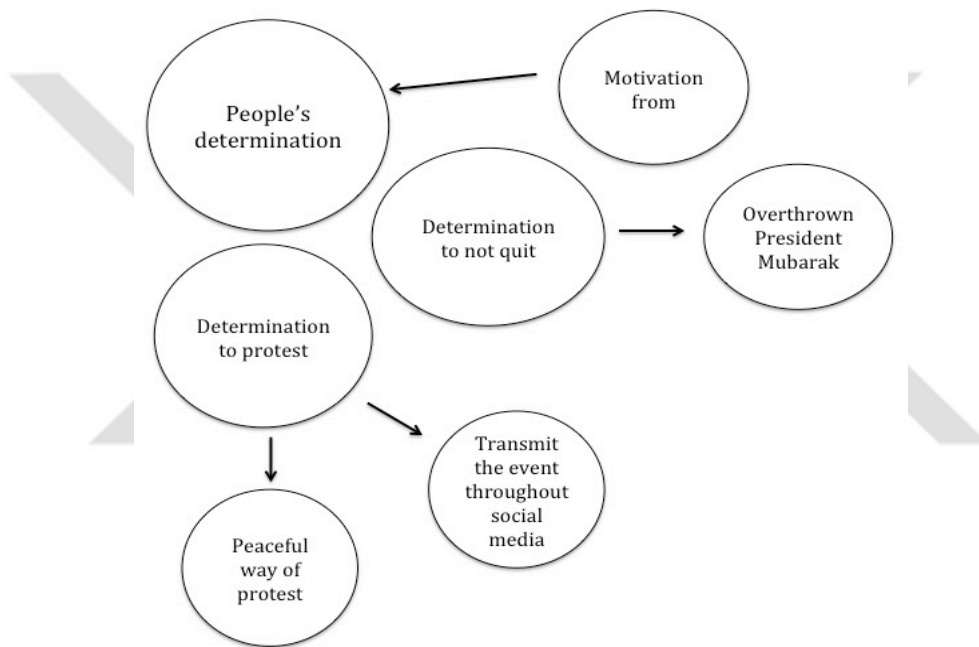


Figure 1.7 Discourse of “Mona Seif” about the revolution. Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

The content show us that the main structure of her discourse is about the people’s determination for change, but also it show us, once again, that the role of social media/internet was crucial in the development of the revolution, to keeping update the people about what was happening in the Tahrir square. Despite the bad connection to Internet in the Tahrir square she found “relevant” the need to keep updating in her social

media the events that were happening in that specific moment. Due to this she had to turn to her friend's place to upload the content to her social media.

In the discourse of Mona Seif the motivation that keeps the people in Tahrir square, especially her, seems to be in one hand the determination of the people in their constant patience to not quit till president Mubarak leaves the presidency and on the other hand the patience to resist against the security forces in a peaceful way. Her discourse seems to be categorized in the discursive strategies of perspectivation and argumentation. First, she is expressing her enrolment and her position in the revolution as a reporter of the events in the Tahrir square by using her phone and posting in her social media and also by describing that the protesters used to keep a peaceful way of protests. Second, because she is justifying that the spirit of the people in Tahrir square fortified the desire to keep protesting against the president till he quit regardless of "no matter what happens" (*see figure 1.7*).

The "no matter what happens" is linked with the discourse of Asmaa Mahfouz when she said: *"I will not set myself on fire! If the security forces want to set me on fire let them come and do it"* (Luthfullah, A. 2011, March 23). Thus, according to Elster, her motivations can be explained in the context of rationality in which everything that drives or is liable to drive an activist to make protests would be based on so-called positive emotions; the interest for a change i.e. The despair and desire to provoke the

abolishment of the former government in Egypt back in 2011 guided Asma Mafouz's life and other activist's life's to put in risk their own life, which it can be called a suicide. This would be valid for a Muslim in danger of death, since the subject who acts under those circumstances, wins the right to go straight to heaven due to the fact that "she fights for a good cause".

The case of the Asmaa Mahfouz was not the only one that was exposed to danger or to some kind of punishment from the government. As her there were some activists as it is the case of Salma el Tarzi who despite she was concern about what the public force was doing again those who were protesting in Tahrir Square she kept their cause at the finest level of decision. She said: *"What they do is that they shoot on the ground so the capsule explodes and then all the bb metal points they just fill your body"* (Corcoran, 2011, February 15).. Hence, the cases of "risk" of Asmaa Mahfouz and Salma el Tarzi can be illustrated and explained from what Elster calls the "strength of the motivation". In the role of Asmaa and Salma what motivated them to become activists was the desire of change for her country and the belief that if they never give up they could achieve their goal.

According to Amnesty international (2012, March 9) during the 18 days protest in Tahrir Square in Cairo, at least 18 women activists that were protesting, were taken into military detention for couple of days in which virginity tests, beats, electric shocks

were performed on them. Further, there were cases of sexual assaults performed for public forces, as was the case of the correspondent of CBS news Lara Logan or the case of the activist Egyptian activist Ghada Kamal was “*grabbed, slapped and beaten by an army officer this week during five days of violent demonstrations demanding an end to military rule*” (Zayed, 2011, December 21).. Further, mention should also be made the case of Mona Eltahawy, which was sexually assaulted by the police while she was protesting: “*I was basically left in this abandoned workshop cornered by four or five riot police,*” she says. “*They just started beating me with their sticks and that's how I broke my left arm and broke my right hand. And then they dragged me into the no man's land. And that's where they sexually assaulted me*” (Navarro, 2011, November 27). The experience lived by the two activists mentioned above regarding to sexual assaults can lead to the conclusion that in somehow women were motivated by the certain motivations founded on positive and strong emotions that displaced from their mind the negatives circumstances that could be caused by their participation in the protest. Even in the knowledge that the dead could catch them, as was the case of Shaimaa Sabbagh³, they never gave up. The frequent sexual harassment and rape in public events in which they participate, including women in the service of the regime, with often- taken justice into their own hands, divide the Egyptian population. According to a report by UN Women, more than 99% of women in Egypt have been sexually harassed in any way.

³ Shaimaa Sabbagh was an activist that raise her voice in violent protests that subsequence led to her dead. She was a young woman activist from Cairo that started her journal in political activism since the Arab Spring in Egypt in 2011.

According to the article “*This is our Square*” by Vickie Langohr (n.d) published in the *Middle East Research and Information Project* these cases were more perpetrated by the public forces such as police and military and also Mubarak supporters rather than being perpetrated by the activists men in Tahrir square. “During the revolution, though, a miraculous transformation occurred. Men were more considerate, and we could participate freely without being hassled. I could just walk around the Square, even after midnight, without any problems. Even the Islamists said nothing. No one told us it was wrong to be in public at night with men” states Noha Tarek Abbas one of the activists in Tahrir Square (Peace Policy, 2011, July 6).

Till the date it hasn't been published official reports on virginity tests that were carried out in the spring. However, state media and other outlets have conducted a media campaign to incriminate these despicable acts to the victims themselves, for having participated in demonstrations; for being in the wrong place, or to attack the army. This will have a dangerous effect on society in the future, when these acts and types of behavior against women become acceptable. Apparently, all these acts remain unpunished. There is no research, no results. Not even a decent apology and no serious work to prevent this from happening again. The consequences will be serious for society. Especially if the media make excuses and sold to the public the idea that this behavior acceptable.

5. Salma el Tarzi: Struggle for Revolution.

“The duties in the square were divided. We were very organised. Something changed in the dynamic between men and women in Tahrir. When the men saw that women were fighting in the front line that changed their perception of us and we were all united. We were all Egyptians now. The general view of women changed for many. Not a single case of sexual harassment happened during the protests up until the last day when Mubarak stepped down. That is a big change for Egypt. The fear barrier was broken for all of us. When we took part in the protests it was just a protest for our basic human rights, but they [the regime] escalated it to a revolution. Their brutality and violence turned it into a revolution. What started as a day of rage turned into a revolution that later toppled the regime that had been in power for 30 years. They [the regime] empowered us through their violence; they made us hold on to the dream of freedom even more. We were all walking around with wounds, but we still kept going. We were even treating injured horses that they had used in their brutal attacks against us” (Naib, 2011, February 19).

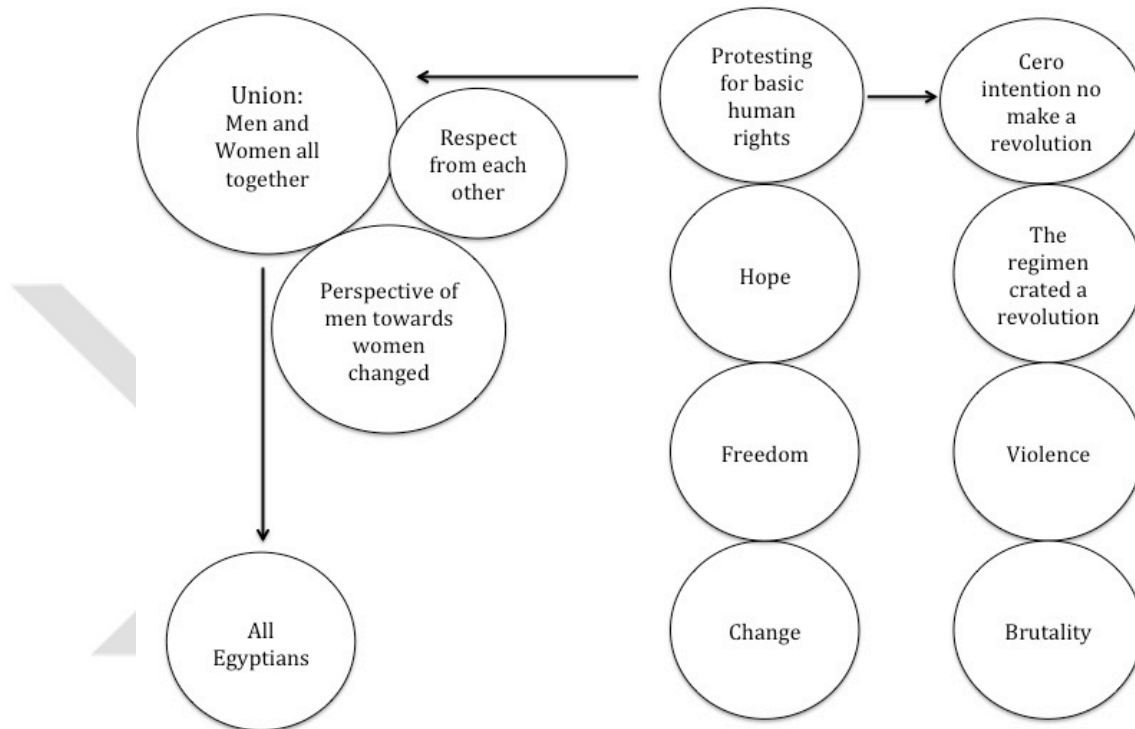


Figure 1.8 Discourse of “Salma el Tarzi” about the revolution. Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

The content of the discourse is related to struggle of the revolution and unity forged during the events in the Tahrir Square.

Regarding to the discursive strategies, it is found in her discourse preferential, argumentation and perspectivation strategies. First, in preferential strategies, she is making a construction of a forged identify of “all Egyptians” during the unity of men and women against Hosni Mubarak in the Tahrir Square. Second, argumentation

strategies is used because she is justifying that the revolution wasn't created by the people in the protest but by the regimen in its use of violence and brutality against them. Also she is justifying that an equally unity between and women and men were possible because men saw that women were brave as them in the protests. In other hand a perspectivation discursive strategy is used because she is expressing her involvement in the revolution by expressing the events that made a unity possible such as the reasons for what people was protesting, the respect that people, men and women, felt from each other and the intentions to not create conflict between people, just protest in a peaceful way. Finally, there is a representation of the intensification/mitigation discursive strategy when she intensifies the coercive use of force of the public forces as brutal and violent (*see figure 1.8*).

6. Gihan Abouzeid: ;No to Mubarak!

The following speech claims to answer what the interviewer ask her about her personal experience in the revolution and to express her point of view of the aspect that made change everything so radically.

“I think I was just like one of many Egyptians who got very emotional by the big events. We were able to say "no" for the first time in our lives, and against the big head—against Mubarak himself, against the president, against the regime. So that

moment was very exceptional for everyone, and particularly for activists and for people who were already working or had any interest in change in general. So I just was one of those people so I went to [Tahrir] Square. I was actually playing two roles; I was observing and watching people, watching what's going on around me, and who's there, and gender issues, and ages, and different social classes. So I was there as almost a researcher, and at the same time I was also there as an Egyptian, as a citizen. I think I spent a few days at the beginning—I couldn't believe at the beginning, "I'm here in the square, I'm talking loudly. We're saying 'no' to Mubarak. We are asking him to leave." Particularly the first day, it was like a dream” (Zlutnick, 2012, September 27).

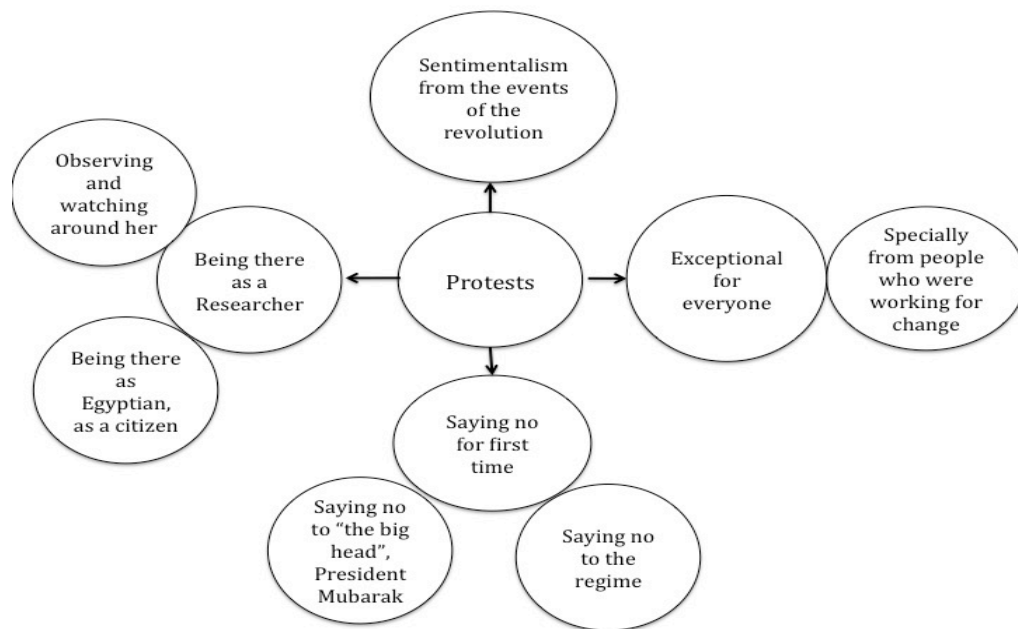


Figure 1.9 Discourse of “Nihan Abouzeid” about the revolution. Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

The content of the discourse is related to the rejection from the Egyptians to the regime and the president Mubarak.

The discourse of Gihan reflects the determination of Egyptians to for their first time say no to the regime of Mubarak. Further, her discourse reflects the discursive strategies of referential/nomination, perspectivation/framing and intensification. In the category of referential/nomination strategies we find exemplified when she categorizes herself as a Egyptian and as a researcher that when to Tahrir Square to say to NO to the regime and the president as to watch and observe the people who were around her advocating for a change irrespective of gender, age, social class. They were all Egyptians. Second, the perspectivation strategies is illustrated in her own involvement in the protest, most specifically, when she report that she went to the Tahrir square raising her voice in a loudly way to join the other protesters or activists to say no to Mubarak and to ask him to leave the presidency. In other words, she is affirming that she was part of the revolution as an activist, which means that she is expressing her enrolment. Finally, the use of the intensification strategies is reflected when she addresses to the president Mubarak as the “big head”. Clearly, she is intensifying the role of Mubarak. Further, this strategy can be exemplified when she describes her first day of involvement in the protest as a dream. Thus, she is using the word “dream” as an example of intensification to describe the status of her enrolment as an activist. In fact what made

women to be active is the fact that they saw as a kind of encouragement the fact that it was possible to make Mubarak leave the president (*see figure 1.9*).

7. Amal Abdel Hadi: Enrolment of women in the Uprising

Amal was asked by the interviewer “In what ways were women involved in the protests in Egypt?”. Therefore, she answered:

“Women were involved in every aspect of this revolution: in confrontations on the front line, in confrontations with the security forces, organising, writing slogans, shouting, sleeping in Tahrir Square during the sit-ins... Some women were there throughout the 18 days of the protests. Women are also among the martyrs of this movement. Women were killed by the security forces. Some women were also arrested and detained. The majority of the women involved were young women, but there were women of all ages and all walks of life. For example housewives who had never been involved in this type of action before, came to protest with their children, activists from all the political movements, from the Muslim brotherhood to communists, participated in the demonstrations. Members of our organization were active in the protests, as individuals, we didn’t go to the demonstrations as the “New Woman Foundation”. But when we spoke with people, they knew we were from NWF. I was in Tahrir Square every day and I slept in the square for several nights. Women and men were comrades in

the protests. This was an incredible, incredible time in Egypt. Millions of people were gathered in the same place. And women were not afraid. We witnessed no instances of sexual harassment for example. There was a sense of complete respect, complete support, and complete solidarity towards the women. Women, particularly the younger ones, slept for days in the square” (FIDH, 2011, March 7).

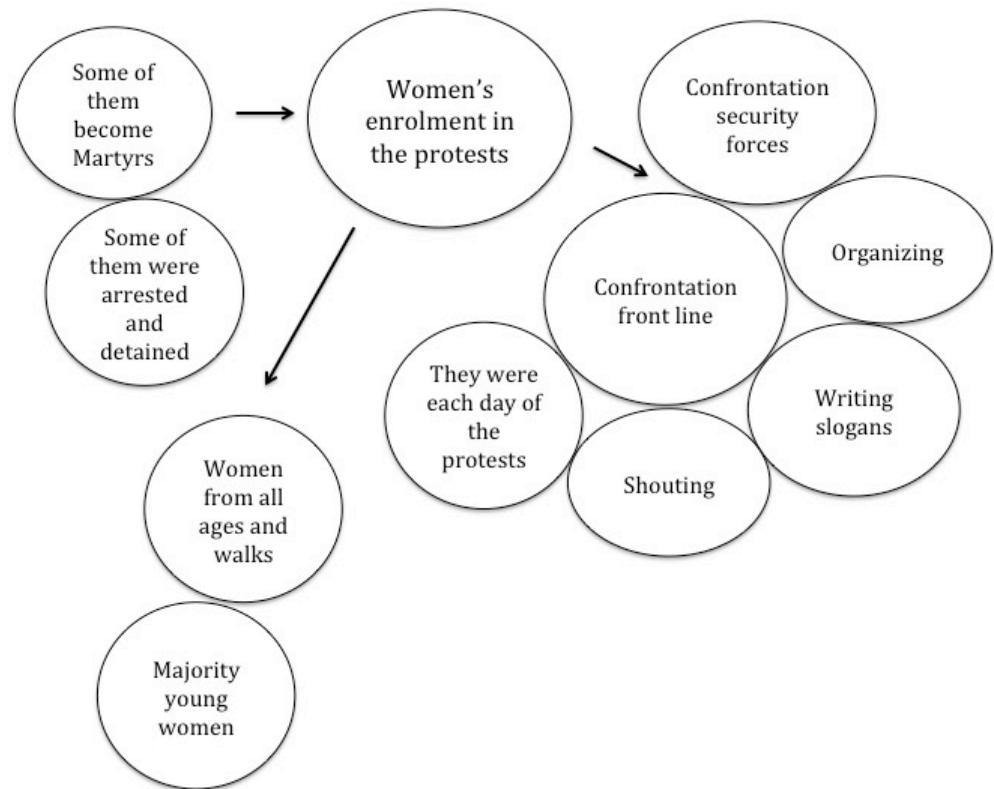


Figure 1.10 Discourse of “Amal Abdel Hadi” about the revolution. Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

Clearly, the content of her discourse is about her description of the enrolment of women in the protests during the revolution in 2011 in Egypt.

Within her discursive strategies what we find is that the perspectivation strategy is being illustrated in all her discourse. She is expressing and describing in one hand her enrolment as an activist in the Tahrir Square and the enrolment of those women that, as her, joined the path of activism during those days of protests. Further she is narrating the assorted ways of women to participate. They were doing every kind of things in the protests, since the confrontation of the public forces till organizing protests. There was a place for all women that wanted to participate; they could adapt themselves in activities that they could felt more comfortable with. Also, every woman from different positions on the society could join (*see figure 1.10*).

8. Mona Eltahawy: “It is the most exciting time of my life”

The following belongs to the opinion article that Mona Eltahawy wrote for *The Guardian* regarding to the revolution and her thoughts about it.

“It is the most exciting time of my life. How did they do it? Why now? What took so long? These are the questions I face on news shows scrambling to understand. I

struggle with the magnitude of my feelings of watching as my country revolts and I give into tears when I hear my father’s Arabic-inflected accent in the English of Egyptian men screaming at television cameras through tear gas: “I’m doing this for my children. What life is this?” (The Guardian, 2011, January 29).

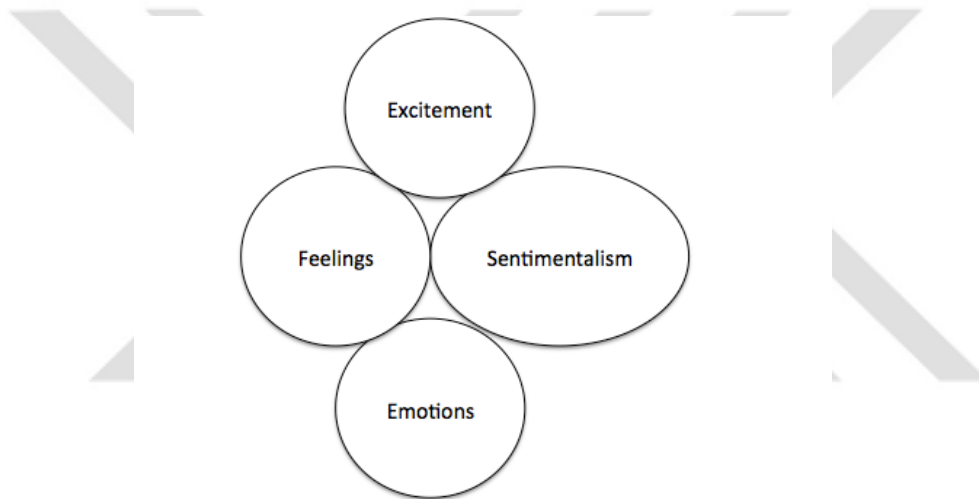


Figure 1.11 Discourse of “Mona Eltahawy” about the revolution. Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

The content of her discourse it could be more related to her sentimentalism to see her country passing by hard times, most precisely the struggle itself that generates feelings and emotions.

As was the case of Amal, the discourse of Mona denotes just one discursive strategy of perspectivation. To her the revolution was a moment that stimulates her to react sentimentally. The struggle itself produce on her certain concern and emotions that

cause motivations to become an activist. We can denote that the events of the revolution make her to raise awareness about the rough patch that the Egyptians were going through. Her questions about “How did they do it? Why now? What took so long?” tell us that she wanted the revolution take place before; she was concerned about a revolution before, she had it in her mind. Also, it seems that she does not apprehend why the moment that happened the revolution was the indicated to start and why people had to wait all the time that they struggle when they could made it long time ago (*see figure 1.11*).

As Elster (2007) the mental states of emotions or sentimentalisms provoked on her a sense of relationship with the revolution. Those emotions, also lead her to reinforce the desires to become an activist not only by protesting in the streets but also by protesting from her social media.

9. Noha Tarek Abbas: The Peaceful Message of Revolution: Our actions had to be our message.

The following belongs to the transcript of an interview made to Noha Tarek on 2011. In the interview she mentioned two important points, first one regarding to the role of women and second the important of women in the revolution.

“When we planned the actions that started the revolution on January 25, we made sure to avoid not only physical attacks but also verbal abuse. We wanted to be nonviolent in word as well as deed. Even when the police began beating and shooting us, we tried to keep calm. We knew that if we attacked the police we would be sending the wrong message to the people of Egypt. We were engaged in an image war with the government. We were seeking to reach the people in the middle and needed to maintain a positive image. Our only tools of communication were Facebook and the Internet, and these were shut down part of the time. Our actions had to be our message” (Peace Policy, 2011, July 6).

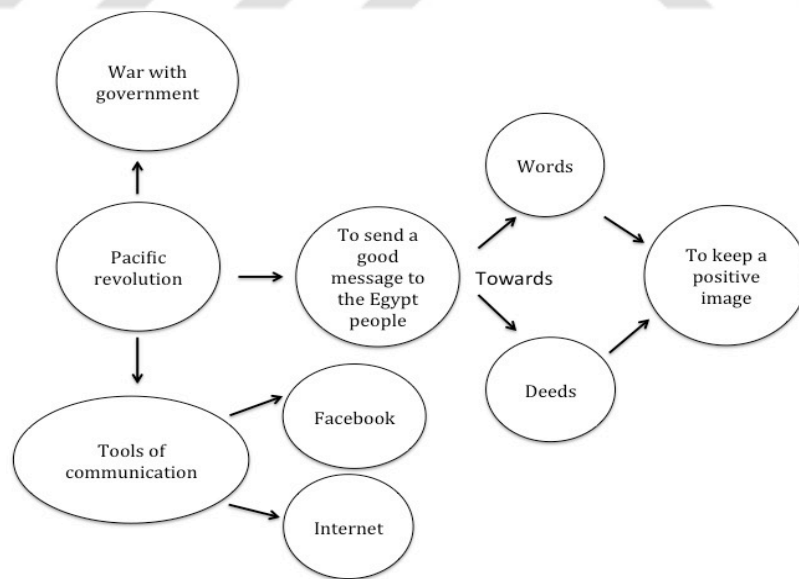


Figure 1.12 Discourse of “Noha Tarek” about the revolution. Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

The content of her discourse clearly illustrate that the revolution were going to take the shape of a pacific revolution as much in deeds and in words. Further, about the tools of communication during the revolution: the Facebook and Internet.

The discourse strategies, as the discourse of Amal and Mona and is an example of perspectivation strategy because first she is describing that the revolution was a war against the government, but a war completely pacific in all the way possible. She expressed that they were going to remain pacific even if the police were going to attack them, because that was how the revolution was planned. It was not going be a revolution of physical attacks or verbal abuse but a revolution that was going to send a good message to the Egypt people because as she said: “our actions had to be out message. However, there were tools such as Facebook and Internet they used to send a message, to communicate. Once again, we can reaffirm the important and the impact of Internet and social media during the revolution as their role of “keeping update” or “informing” *(see figure 1.12)*

The revolution was planned and the information of a pacific revolution was spread. Thus, as we mention before, the Elster’s statement about that the influence of desires in beliefs, it can be illustrated in what Nora Tarek said. The information obtained about that they were going to be enrolment in a non-violent revolution was an encouragement that made them belief that only to pacific actions the change was

possible. Further, this statement of desire-belief can be illustrated from the discourse of Salma el Tarzi which she said: *“I mean this is not what we want. I think he’s (Mubarak) starting to make one compromise after the other, trying to gain time but this is not what we want. This is not acceptable so it’s very hard for us to trust him or to believe him, we can’t even imagine if he stays until October the amount of damage he’s going to make in the country before he leaves because he’s not just going to go and leave peacefully”* (Corcoran, 2011, February 15). Her statement is regarding what she thinks about the Mubarak president. But this belief was originated from the information that the President Mubarak shared. To her, and for the rest she is speaking for, it was hard to believe in Mubarak and his compromises because for them these ones were just a justification to stay in the power. Thus, these lead her to belief that if he stays making compromises for staying in the power it was going to result in damage and prejudice for the country. Hence, we can define that these belief of concern it was exactly what kept her motivated to fight against him. More precisely, for the desire to avoid damage, she believed that by not quitting in the protest was the best way.

10. Sara Nagaty: The Dual Role of Women in the Protestas.

Sara Nagaty is asked to answer about what was the role of women in the revolution and what were the things that change for women due to their participation. Therefore she answered the following:

“Women played a dual role. Firstly, they had a great presence all over the streets of Egypt. I don’t think that Egypt has seen that many women protesters in its history. For quite a conservative society, the numbers of female protesters was incredible. Secondly, those for whom it was not easy to go out and protest as often as men played an essential role from home. When various means of communication were cut off during the very first days of the revolution, women who stayed at home played a role in the organisational aspect of these protests. We only had landlines to use and many women who stayed at home next to the landlines while there men were in the streets protesting were the only means through which communication between protesters took place. Those women who were out in the field provided medical care to people shot or injured during the protests, in fact this work was mainly dominated by women who also, being doctors and nurses on the ground, managed to document, in lists that were published afterwards, the names of all those who were injured or killed during the protests. Right now, we are still going through the experience and are very much a part of the action, not mere spectators, so we cannot totally say now if that has changed anything for women. However, it is now more accepted, relatively speaking, by society that there are female activists who are as involved in fighting for the cause as there are men. Before the revolution, women who used to join protests were seen by the majority as dangerous

anomalies or women whose modesty should be questioned” (Marxist Student, 2015, March 9)

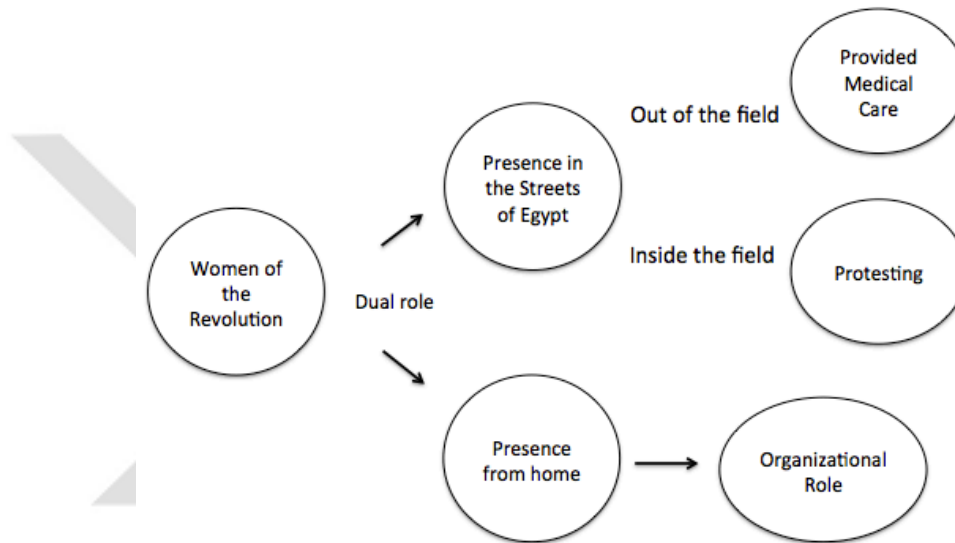


Figure 1.13 Discourse of “Sara Nagaty” about the revolution. Adapted from (Wodak, 2001.p, 81)

The content of her discourse is about her description of the dual role of women in the protests during the revolution in 2011 in Egypt.

In her discourse the strategy of perspectivation is detailed. Discursive strategy of perspectivation can be illustrated in the whole text because she is expressing her point of view of the dual role that women had. Specially, when she expresses that in her opinion, women during the revolution had an important role as never before in the history of Egyptian activism. The message is clear, women that

could not go to the streets found that they could be part of the revolution and becoming an activism in their own way, as she expressed for those who could not have a presence in the streets, they helped from home. Further, not all women who were an activist were protesting because some of them were helping those who were injured (see figure 1.13).

In contrast to all those women who became an activist during the protests, there were other certain of women that regardless of her desire to get engaged in the activism they could not become an activist. In an interview made by Abdel-Fadil (2014) to a women activist, *Amina*, exposed in the article “*Sowing the Seeds of The Message: Islamist Women Activists Before, during, and After the Egyptian Revolution*” she expressed that: “I did not go to Tahrir the first days. You know, the family was a bit anxious [for me] - a little too much, and I was stuck in the house, so I did not go”.

According to the above interview explained us how the negative emotions can restrict a desired action to be realized. Despite the fact that she wanted to go out to the Tahrir Square during the Revolution and be an activist, she couldn't due to the negative emotions that abstained her to do so. The same situation happened to the case of an activist exposed by Abeer, an activist from the revolution, in the same article:

“I replied to a counseling question from a girl, who did not go to Tahrir at all. She has no brothers who can take her and bring her back, and her family was worried about her. She felt shameful for not going to the demonstrations. So, I answered her saying 'no of course not, no, you did something good, you honored your mother and father who were anxious on your behalf, and they need you, they needed you for instance to go get medicine for them, or to see you in front of them in one piece. So, this is not something bad.' In this phase, we do not have to think: I went or I did not go (...) what we need, is to try and build our country. (...) What we need now is to think of which ideas we want to use to change our country. Not to go around saying: 'I'm no good, I did not participate.' (...) It's not useful at all. I hope that the message reached her, that she does not beat herself up about something that was not in her hands”. (Abdel-Fadil, 2014).

Then, why the activist did not go to Tahrir Square? Did she really want to go to that appointment of women's activism in the main Egyptian public square?

The activist was, strongly motivated and rational judiciously, decided to take party that afternoon. She wanted to participate in this emerging part of the political history of her country, and she would. However, she was enclosed between two strong predicaments: motivation rational of imitation from the majority and respect for the law and the legally established institutions. Fear of her own family, even, she was very

concerned about her possible assistance to the political act spread by different cyber means. The alleged act-commitment subsidiary that she made to her sick parents to not assist; the deceptive duty to acquire and administer their drugs on time; and the warning that her parents told her about the danger that meaning to be involved and to participate in the revolt, they became for her a kind of dominant negative motivation in the determination not to go. In the face of the induced fear of being loyal to her traditions and the familiar and social norms of honor and obey her parents she abstain to be an activist. The dread of disobedience to her parents and respect and support to family values and standards, deprived her supposedly to be embarrassed and hurt in the act of participation in this collective satisfaction experienced by the rioters that led to the political downfall of Hosni Mubarak, president of Egypt.

The same case happened to Abeer, *“I was trying to write as many articles as I could and publish them on our website, after the Internet came back. But in the beginning, I was in a phase of massive confusion because I was thankfully [ironic laughter] stuck inside our house, I was not allowed to leave [for demonstrations] I mean, from my father especially, he was calling home everyday to make sure that I was at home. (...) So, I respected his wishes. I did not want (...) I was not against it, I felt, I have to respect the family's fear for me”*(Abdel-Fadil, 2014). Even though she became an activist by the only fact that she was protesting to her posted writings in the website, she could not be present as an activist in the Tahrir Square because she respected an

order that her father imposed on her that later on created on her a negative emotions that prohibited her to go to the main square.

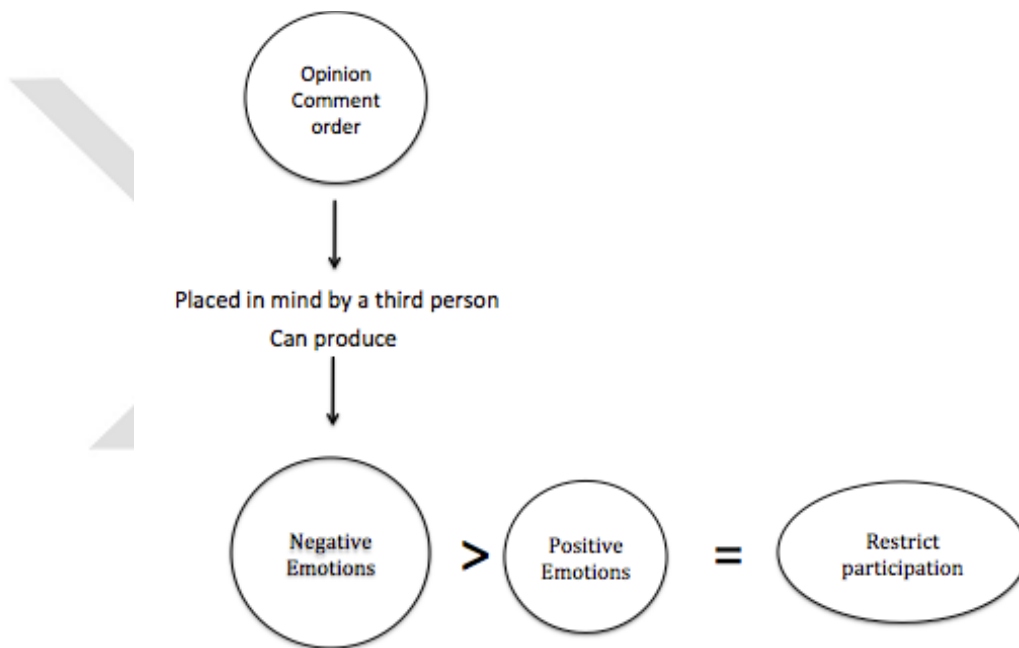


Figure 1.14 diagram of Negative and positive emotions based on Elster's theory (2007).

In summary, both for Amina and the activist, mentioned by Abeer, the negative emotions restrict them to be part of the revolution by going to protest in the Tahrir Square. Thus, their desired actions of activism couldn't take place because they were replaced or displaced for actions that were placed into their minds for a third person such as their relatives with their comments, orders, and opinions regarding to the contra of being an activist in the Tahrir Square (see figure 1.14).

In brief, regarding to all the mentioned before in all the ten discourses there is a pattern of six factors that protrudes from the analyses of the discourses. In first place we can find that the main reason for the activist was the fact that they wanted *the overthrown of Mubarak*. That involves all those factors related to its regimen. Second, we find that the revolution created was a *peaceful revolution*. For those involved in the revolution was clear that they could not act violently against those who were against their revolution in the Tahrir. They needed to transmit a peaceful message that was going to indicate that they change could be achieve towards good actions. Third, the revolution was a turning point to believe that all of them were equal and all of them just one nation which means that all of them were *Egyptians*. There was no a differentiation between sex, range wealth or level of education. Fourth, *the Internet* was an important means that facilitated the spread of the revolution and also facilitated that more people felt related with the revolution itself. Fifth, as another main causes of becoming an activist we find the advocacy of *Human Rights*. Egyptians were demanding their Human Rights; they were demanding for liberty of expression or equality for all, just for mention those ones. And finally, we highlight that *the role of the women of the revolution* varied in many forms. From reporting thought-out their phones, till shouting in the Tahrir square, women adapted themselves in a role that were related to their wishes.

CONCLUSION

As the history has remarked during centuries, women always has been a motive for inferiority to men and to the society of each civilization or country. In Islam, the history has been different due to the rights and benefits that the God of Islam has given to them. However, the man, blinded by their culture and traditions, have changed the status that was given to women; a status that by conviction have affect women's emotions and actions in their familiar nucleus and society. In a universal society where the prevailing system of government is based on the ideology that conceives this society, men and women develop all their usual duties of citizens within the framework of social and legal norms, without being subject to different principles to that inspire and compel the legal precepts. However, and always in a fair line of rational thought, when these assumptions are built, without universal and equal participatory consensus of all partners; under this same pattern of equitable representation they can be misguided beyond rationally conceivable cause of human dignity. In this case the first ones to be called to make the complaints are those who are affected. In the case of this research: the female gender that look for Equal commitment.

It is precisely this approach, in the case of Egyptian society, where the system of patriarchal and prevailing religious government, granted political, social, religious,

economic and legal primacies against the women's rights as a normal condition for every human being.

In charge of itself and/ or through the intervention of third parties (men and women with more liberal critical thinking) in the MENA region or outside it; in that frame of geopolitical relations mandatory for Arab, women and men have exercised the role of activist through help of information and technologies. Thus, social networks, the use of information technology and telecommunications, which, although limited or massively permitted use, for better or worse, have played a decisive role in emancipating women to follow their own interests. Not only in Egypt or in the MENA region, but also in the rest of the world. The criterion of universal village of McLuhan (1997) is not a myth. Being contacted with a woman contacted in the farthest corner of the earth, it ceased to be impossible. The world today is contacted without barriers. Nowadays, Governments impose limitations cybernetic in order to hide their inner reality or avoid being seen from the outside. But the cracks and loopholes that build motivation and the rationality of human beings break all barriers.

Hence, according to the development and objective result of this work, the problem of denial or restriction of the rights of women is not only confined to Arab women. Clearly, Arab women have excelled individually in the different worlds of knowledge and the exercise of functions of man in Arab lands, or in Western Society.

The freedom to do and achieve a “goal”, has generally been possible to them under very particular circumstances, perhaps exceptional, but not extended to the rest of the female universe. This freedom has been possible thanks to the protection of media provided by agents and conditions beyond government boundaries and Arab borders. However, the limitation of various orders prevailing in Egyptian Society. This constitutes obstacles to their free personal development, which is an undeserved damage also after long stages of subjugation, subjection, humiliation and indignity unceremoniously. The fact that Egyptian women were risen and participated alongside the man in the uprisings in Tahrir Square it has served as a motor and discovery of a force, a social power previously invisible, materialized in their voice, in his physical presence on the street or not carrying a banner; in the same attitude of defense themselves and others, before unnoticed, or partial and fearfully warned. Today, fear of the impossible, and daring, is smaller.

In summary, the qualitative research work, divided into three chapters allowed us to establish that the critical spirit that surrounds its essential speech, it is no other than the one already exposed along itself.

This is the reason why and according to the work we have illustrate that:

1. Women in some Middle Eastern countries -during the last twenty years have emerged to break their silence; to fight for the construction of a society where they could act and be politically active, in order to achieve, conquer, and obtain the opportunities that until today they have not had; or they have not been fully guaranteed or enjoyed within the network of countries in the region of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).

2. The feminism in Egypt has existed since almost more than 100 years. However, the revolution made an impact in the development of feminism and hence activism itself. Women felt more attracted by the idea of activism than before due to that all of them wanted the overthrow of Mubarak. And factor of “change” was the main motivational aspect that reunited a grand vast of women in the activism during the revolution.

3. More particularly, this research effort focusing on the case of Egypt and the fact that Egyptian woman does not act alone or in isolation in this activism. Due to there is behind her a reason to be politically active. On the contrary, it maintains an epistolary or direct, close and continuous, with feminist movements and organizations inside and outside the MENA region. That is, it is motivated and rationally connected with the independent women's activism globally.

4. Unless feminist religious groups, which for obvious reasons have been professing- in the general context, these movements, beyond the name or designation that identifies them, they do not keep a posture or attaching any ideological-political character partisan character which was different from the long repressed desire to conquer legitimate liberties against existing institutions in each country. This is, compared to similar rights assigned and recognized in the constitution and regulations, which enjoys today and enjoy the male gender. That is, against, political, and economic, legal, social welfare of each Arab country.

5. Women who were into activism before the revolution were causing shame for the society and especially for their family. Even though the fact that women were related to the patriarchal society in which they were living, they did not have precaution about what if the society were going to questioning about their modesty as “woman Muslim”. However after the revolution, this questioning were less due to the fact that everyone was in the street no matter the differences of sex, social class, and education, wealthy and so on.

6. Women who were not able to have a role in the Tahrir Square as an activists find a way to become one by helping activists to cure their injures or by using internet and hence social medias as a tool for spreading information regarding to the revolution.

7. The NGOs not persuaded women to become an activist but they had an empowered and supportive role. These roles were not only during the revolution, but also after the revolution due to the women found afterwards several motives to protest.

8. The three main tendencies, regarding to the analysis of CDA was the desire of change the regime and Mubarak, the forged identity as all Egyptians and the significance of women's role in the protests, the use of the Internet as a means of the revolution and the advocacy of human rights.

9. According to Elster, what motivates a woman to become an active is based on social norms, the positive emotions, the strength of motivation and the desires that cause beliefs. Likewise the negative emotions act in the mind of a future activist as a factor of restraining that banned her to protests in the streets as an activist.

10. The social media and the Internet was a tool to express and provide information about what was happening in the Tahrir square and in the revolution itself. It was a tool that was used to motivate to women and men to join the journey of activism. However, no all people used those tool. So this, just was for those who had an access to it.

11. After the revolution, issues as gender equality, social equality, ideological pluralism, social and economic justice without distinctions of gender, equality participation in state affairs, in short, a sea of normal aspirations were the mains goals that women in Egypt started to advocate for.

Finally, as it has been, we can only paraphrase Marx and noted that the history of society until today, has been a tragicomedy for women; a whole constant struggle between man and woman so that in the near and short of human time, finally, the societies around the world recognize the right of women to all moral freedoms that the corporate environment itself and laws built with the participation and consensus of representative and participatory female community established as the culmination of its principles and determining values .

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CV

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