Master Thesis

The Role of Social Media Sites in the Egyptian Uprising of 2011

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to understand what role did social media sites play in the Egyptian Uprising of 2011. The importance of these social networking sites was highlighted to an extent by the mainstream media last year, hence; the study is carried out based on two sub research themes: understanding the role of social media as depicted by the Egyptian activists and studying the role of social media sites as represented by CNN and Al-Jazeera news websites. For this aim, both qualitative and quantitative research methodology was utilized in the study. The qualitative research data consisted of ten in-depth interviews with Egyptian activists who were actively participating in the Uprising of last year. The quantitative research data was gathered with the aid of content analysis of 100 news articles, from the respective news websites. The results of the in-depth interviews revealed that social media sites played a pivotal role to the protest movement in terms of interactivity and organization by the activists. Interview respondents felt that social media sites provided them with transparency that was essential to the Uprising, considering that the national media in Egypt is under strict government control and it is potentially harmful for people to voice their negative opinion about the government. The interviews also revealed that motivation was not primarily facilitated by social media sites and Egyptian interviewees felt that the role of social media sites in their Uprising has been exaggerated by western mainstream media. They do not agree with a label to their Uprising, such as a 'Facebook Revolution.' Content analysis of news articles demonstrated that CNN news website gave more importance to the role of social media in Egyptian Uprising especially to Facebook. The articles in CNN highlighted the role of social media in a positive tone. Al-Jazeera's articles revealed a more neutral tone when talking about social media sites, when they did mention the importance of the sites it was mostly the blogs by Egyptian activists. The author recommends further study into how the rising popularity of social media tools will further affect political activism. To what extent the political parties and decision makers should not under estimate the power of social media. It is further recommended to study the reason for mainstream news media's interest in promoting social media sites to its audience.

Key words: Egyptian Uprising, political activism, social media, Facebook, CNN, Al-Jazeera.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The conscious development of social networking sites has been a topic of debate for many people around the globe. The development of social networking sites has seen a boom in the past few years due to the digital revolution that has occurred during the 21st century. The digital revolution has been complex and exciting as it led to changes in the technological market which then leads to changes in the user's behavior.

The shift of balance of power that the digital revolution provided, also changes the way the audience consumes media. Today the most fascinating development that digital revolution supports is the emergence of large social networking sites which are becoming international media corporations not restricted by borders, nationality or culture. Examples of such social networks are Facebook, Twitter and YouTube to name a few.

The foremost advantage of these social media sites is the interactive nature they provide to the users. It provides a whole new possibility of direct interpersonal communication amongst people from around the world. User's behavior is changing from being a passive mass audience to interactive individuals. According to a report by Nissen (2006), "What is currently happening all around us in connection with the digitization of the electronic media and the emergence of a new media market may well lead to cultural and political changes as profound as those which followed Gutenberg's revolutionary discovery of the printing press five hundred years ago" (p: 16)

In the report he further states that the vast majority of content providers, broadcasters, those in the transmission industry and so forth are at present deeply involved in the preparation of and planning for new digital services that will lead to radical changes throughout the whole value chain. Controllers, authorities, politicians, governments and parliaments are undergoing preparation for this change. (Nissen, 2006: 17)

The aim of this thesis is to understand this exact political change that was witnessed last year in Egypt. The researcher is interested to look at the role of social media sites in the protest

movement. The link to the previous paragraphs is the idea that 'social media' was seen to be one of the main facilitators of the Egyptian Uprising of 2011.

This can be verified by the fact that Egyptian Uprising of 2011 has been called several names, but the one that resonate with the researcher the most is the name: Facebook Revolution. The indication of this can be seen if one is to type the word Facebook Revolution in Google search, and see that there are 594, 000, 000 results for this title (and rising). This title applies to the Middle East, particularly to Egyptian and Tunisian Uprisings of last year.

On Facebook, more than 85,000 people have pledged to attend a nationwide antigovernment protest that was planned for January 25, 2011 in Egypt. This movement was planned almost entirely online as stated in an article from Time's magazine, and according to the article, "If even half that many people show up, it will be a historic day for Egyptian political activism under the Mubarak regime. The "Revolution Day" Facebook page presents a list of demands for Mubarak's nearly 30-year-old administration, ranging from raising the minimum wage to limiting presidential terms."
(http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2044142,00.html)

The article from the Guardian newspaper further sheds light on the Facebook Revolution. It states that the net and social networking have become mainstream, even in societies that seem relatively underdeveloped social networking is gaining prominence. The article further states that, "Nearly a third of the world now has an internet connection. Facebook is the third biggest "country" on Earth, in terms of population, and if things keep going as they are, it will soon have more users than India has people." (http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2011/jan/23/social-networking-rules-ok)

The following statement by Wael Ghonim, an Egyptian marketing manager for Google and an active protestor during the Egyptian demonstrations, was telecasted on western mainstream media channels repeatedly for days last February:

"I want to meet Mark Zuckerberg one day and thank him [...] I'm talking on behalf of Egypt. [...] This revolution started online. This revolution started on Facebook. This revolution started [...] in June 2010 when hundreds of thousands of Egyptians started collaborating content. We would post a video on Facebook that would be shared by

60,000 people on their walls within a few hours. I've always said that if you want to liberate a society just give them the Internet. [...]

The researcher wants to understand the real impact of social media sites on the Egyptian Uprising. Is it justified to call this Uprising a 'Facebook Revolution'? What do the Egyptian people have to say about this title for their political revolt? The interest is to look into the role of social media sites in the Uprising and to see whether the virtual reality of social networks can be held responsible as a base for political activism in Egypt.

In order to explore this phenomenon and to be able to answer the research question, investigation is planned to focus on two factors: the first being the transmitter and second the actor. In this case the transmitter is the two English news websites Al- Jazeera and CNN International. The actors are the people who were active in the protests in Egypt last year, the bloggers/activists and citizen journalists. The reason for focusing on these two factors is to conduct a research on multiple spheres. The transmitters which are the main stream media will provide the researcher with an insight into how they perceived the role of social media sites in the Uprising. The sub question: "What was the impact of social media sites during the Egyptian Uprising according to the CNN International and Al-Jazeera English websites?" hence aims to provide with an insight into the views of these two news channels. The justification of looking at these two news channels lie in the fact that they are viewed as the traditional media which act as a 'watchdog' or a gate keeper for its audience: bringing news from around the world and informing people but at the same time trying to present events in the most unbiased manner possible. Hence, if social media played an important role in the Uprising, these two news channels would have affirmed that. Another reason for selecting these two news channels is that both the channels have wide audience viewership.

According to Sherman (2012) CNN relies on "the story" to drive its audiences, rather than opinions or personalities. It's a strategy that works well when news breaks: CNN's 25- to 54-year-old prime-time audience topped Fox's and MSNBC's when music stars Whitney Houston and Michael Jackson unexpectedly died and when Osama bin Laden was tracked down." The statement provides a support in seeing that CNN International is considered to be at the forefront of media journalism in providing with the latest news.

Al Jazeera which is a Qatar based news organization, has earned a reputation over a period of just a few years. It was launched in 1996 in Doha, Qatar. Initially launched as an Arabic news and current affairs satellite TV channel, Al Jazeera has since expanded into a network with several outlets and broadcasts in many languages. The station gained worldwide attention following the September 11, 2001 attacks, when it was the only channel to cover the war in Afghanistan live from its office there.

The researcher feels that selection of these two news websites will provide the research on Egyptian Uprising with dynamism and an insightful look into how this political event was reported. The combination of two research questions mentioned earlier will provide an answer to the main research question.

Research Question: What was the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising of 2011?

Sub Question 1: What was the impact of social media sites during the Egyptian Uprising according to CNN International and Al-Jazeera English websites?

Sub Question 2: What role did social media sites play in the Egyptian Uprising according to the Egyptian activists, bloggers and citizen journalists?

In order to provide the research with further comparability a third news website will be looked upon, France 24. The reason for selecting the French news website is to provide the research with multiple spheres of comparison to see how the Egyptian Uprising was reported. The articles will be selected from the French news website and studied in depth, although the number of news articles selected for the French news website will be less than that for CNN and Al-Jazeera as the primary focus of the research is on the latter two news websites.

The following few pages provide a summary of the Egyptian Uprising of 2011. After a thorough study, the research article by Baymeh (2011) was selected by the researcher as most relevant and precise. Who were the actors of this Uprising? What were the characteristics of this movement and what factors were important in triggering it are some of the questions that will be answered below.

1.1 The Egyptian Uprising of 2011

The official date for the start of the Egyptian Revolution was January 25, the defining event occurred on January 28, when all the communication technologies including internet and phones were barred. Egypt as a country was known for its authoritarian government with Hosni Mubarak as the President for the past 30 years. On January 28 the protestors burned down most of the police headquarters. Ministries and government offices had been closed down. People had taken over the streets of Cairo. According to Bamyeh (2011) "The Revolution in Egypt will be the formative event in the lives of the millions of youth who spearheaded it in Egypt, and perhaps also the many more millions of youth who followed it throughout the Arab world."

An article by Saba (2011) further states that the reverberations of this historic turn of events were being felt all over the region as Algerians and Yemenis took to the streets chanting the same slogan that originated from Egypt: "The People Want the Regime to Fall!"

Although the youth were the driving force in the beginning of the Uprising the movement quickly became national as people from all age groups, social classes, men and women, Muslims and Christians, urban and peasants- all sectors of society joined hands in bringing down the regime. (Bamyeh,2011). In order to understand how this Uprising operated during the main two weeks of the events certain features have been identified, which according to the researcher summarize the complexity of the Uprising.

The features as identified by Bamyeh (2011) in his article are the following: Marginality, spontaneity, civic character in contrast to state's barbarism, priority given to political demands and autocratic deafness. The following part of the paper will look upon these features individually to see how they affected the Uprising.

▪ Marginality

As the word denotes the revolution began at the margins, while the media was focused on Tahrir Square in central Cairo, large demonstrations were breaking out in 12 of Egypt's provinces. In fact most intense moment in the earliest days of the revolution were occurring in marginal sites like Suez. Another factor of marginality was seen when the events in Tunisia started from the marginal areas and traveled to the capital. From Tunisia it traveled to Egypt. Although no doubt the political situation in both countries is different as far as economic

indicators and degree of liberalization is concerned what is worth noting is how the youth of Egypt were influenced by the Tunisian example. According to interviews that Bamyeh mentions in his article, the youth activists of Egypt were feeling proud of accomplishing the end of the regime faster than Tunisians where it took them a month to accomplish. He further states that, "The collective perception that a revolution was happening at the margins, where it was least expected gave everyone the confidence necessary to realize that it could happen everywhere.

- Spontaneity

The character of this revolution was spontaneous, without any permanent organization. There was no recognized leadership from the start till the end and people were responding to situations as they unfolded. Such organizational needs as: how to communicate, what to do the next day, how to help and evacuate the injured, how to counter the 'baltaggiya' (police) assaults etc occurred in the field directly with people making decisions right at the spot. People did not feel the need to appoint one man to talk for them rather a common statement was that "the people" decide.

Another important factor in regard to spontaneity is that it is hard to predict or control the events and spontaneity gave the whole Uprising a strong level of dynamism. People were determined to bring down Mubarak's regime. According to Hossam Hamalway (2011) "It appeared that spontaneity played a therapeutic and not simply organizational or ideological role. More than one participant mentioned that revolution was a psychologically liberating one."

Spontaneity was also responsible for changing the demands as the protest movement evolved. It started as a demand for basic reforms on January 25th, and moved to a demand of changing the regime completely within three days. It then moved to a demand for Mubarak to step down immediately which further led to a demand for him to be put on trial.

Baymeh (2011) states that, if one has to look back to the events on January 25th, it is seen that people were not in fact demanding Mubarak to step down but rather condemning the possible candidacy of his son and protesting against Mubarak running for candidacy again. But by January 28th, immediate removal of Mubarak from office became the concrete demand. The character of the revolution in regard to slogans was also affected by spontaneity.

- Civic Ethics

Civic ethics were strongly visible amongst Egyptian people during the days of protests. It was worth mentioning that religious opposition has always been strong in Egypt but during the protests days it was seen that religious parties like Muslim Brotherhood joined in the protests and could not direct the protestors. It was seen that civic ethics stood out pushing aside all other religious and political factors (Baymeh 2011)

The people were clear and united in their demands. It was primarily political demands which aimed at getting rid of a corrupt leader. It was seen that economic and social demands were not given so much priority as people were focused on getting rid of the corruption. According to Hossam Hamalawy (2010) "There is something in the air in Egypt. It could be Mubarak's Autumn of Fury, as I and increasingly many people around me sense. Not a day passes without reading or hearing about a strike. No one knows when the explosion is going to happen, but it seems everyone I meet or bump into today feel it's inevitable."

- Autocratic Deafness

One of the most important features as seen in the Egyptian Uprising that was a key contributing factor was autocratic deafness. The term used by Bamyeh as explained by him means, "The ill-preparedness of ruling elite to hear the early reverberations as anything but undifferentiated public noise that could be easily ignored by the usual means." This means that the ruling elite did not expect that people will go through with the protests till the end, till their demands are met. For decades the ruling party had been using a one-way communication with the public allowing no feedback from the people. (Bamyeh 2011)

He further talks about how this phenomenon of ruling structures was visible in the slow and uncertain manner of government's response. On January 28th, when protests in Egypt were at their peak and many world leaders were expressing concern, the Egyptian government remained silent, until Mubarak spoke at midnight. "Mubarak was saying the exact opposite of what people had been expecting him to say. His statements resulted in more protests. His speech on the 1st of February was further received by many protestors as the height of arrogance." Bamyeh (2011)

Mubarak managed to further outrage the people on February 10ᵗʰ, when rather than resigning he delegated his powers to the vice president. That action resulted in massive crowds gathering around the presidential palace on February 11ᵗʰ.

Autocratic deafness was a major factor in escalating the revolution. Mubarak's ancient regime had not anticipated that the people of Egypt had become the enemies of the government.

1.2 Justification and Relevance of the Thesis

In order to justify the necessity and relevance of this research project, it might be said that the protest movements today are utilizing new media technology like never before. The most important aspect of this lies in the fact that the youth, the critical minded democracy prone citizens are rising up against old regimes which are more prominent in the Arab world. The events of last year which presented us with Libyan, Tunisian, and Egyptian Uprisings just show the currency of this research project. These movements were closely mentioned with new media's role in intensifying the change. These are the times where social media and new media technology are given a lot of credit and hyped as promoting political change in stagnant regions. These events raise an important question of how political activism is changing and in what manner does social media tools assist this evolvement. The next chapters will provide with in depth study of the actual role of social media sites during the Egyptian Uprising of last year.

The theoretical framework chapter will look upon case studies like the Zapatista Movement, Battle of Seattle, and protests in Philippines and Moldova which were also mentioned in significance to the role of new media on social movements by previous study. The aim of this study is to add to the similar academic field but also to make sure that the assumption of social media's revolutionary impact is well understood and thoroughly criticized.

The following pages provide a detailed exploration of the main research question: *What was the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising of 2011?*

This thesis is divided into the two sub questions which should be seen as complementary to one another, the combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis will provide the answer to the main question.

The reader will be exposed to the Egyptian people's voices through the interviews with participants of the Uprising of 2011. Their views, opinions and narratives of their experience of last year and their utilization of social media tools will provide this research with reliable and credible information.

In chapter 2, the reader will be informed about the theoretical line of argumentation by scholars who have previously studied the concepts of social media and evolving protest movements. Their work builds the theoretical foundation of this Master Thesis. Chapter 3 provides the methodological framework of this research, the details of the method that will generate the required results will be discussed and a step-by-step procedure of the analysis will be discussed. Chapter 4 and 5 are devoted to the results of the expert interviews and the analysis of news articles from CNN and Al Jazeera websites. Chapter 6 will be a discussion of the coding and analysis of the results and it will be seen in light of the theoretical claims from the previous studies. Finally, chapter 7 provides the conclusion of this research. The exploration of the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising via interviews and analyzing the data from last year's news articles makes this research highly up to date and dynamic.

The purpose of this research is understanding what exactly was the role of social media and is it justified to make it so significant that a country's political uprising is actually named by a social networking site's name. It seems relevant to see how important has social media been made by the two chosen mainstream media websites and how important do the Egyptians feel social media was in helping them topple their government.

1.3 Hypotheses

I. Egyptian Uprising was labeled to be a "Facebook Revolution". Upon conducting the study, the researcher hopes to be able to understand the actual role of social media sites in the Uprising of 2011.

II. The role of social media sites in the Uprising has been over-rated. There are other important factors that need to be considered and understood in order to comprehend the Egyptian Uprising of 2011.

The hypotheses mentioned above will keep the researcher on track throughout the project and will eventually be either justified or negated at the end of this research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter is focused primarily on providing a theoretical and conceptual framework for the research case, role of social media in the Egyptian uprising 2011.

The theoretical line of reasoning will develop starting from the general definition and explanation of key concepts on political activism and social media. The reason for including the political activism is that it will lay a framework to understanding the events that occurred in Egypt. As social media is a relatively new phenomenon and as it is an Internet manifestation, the researcher will look into how has Internet evolved over the years to provide people with a platform for expressing themselves? Related to the main research is the concept of understanding citizen journalists and their role in political activism because the Uprising was seen to be highly influenced by the citizens. Hence, the specific key concepts of citizen journalism and civic engagement will be discussed. Other concepts that are important to mention in the literature review are the key concepts of social media, mobilization, participation and organization as these factors contribute to understanding the events of the Uprising.

The principal focus of this paper is to examine how social media has affected political activism in today's time? To what extent people use these social media tools, and in what ways social media has played a role in contributing to events such as mass protests and revolutions. How has social media affected the method in which people protest? How it has affected the key elements of political activism that were mentioned earlier such as mobilization, participation and organization. Another important aspect that the researcher will look into is: how social media is effective if compared with traditional media. Do traditional media highlight the importance of social media which in turn leads to the rising popularity of social media for activism and protests? These terms will be looked upon in light of the current literature available on this topic. In order to build on the theoretical framework of this research some aspects of sociological and philosophical approaches in regard to social media will be mentioned.

2.1 Definition of the term Social Media

The article by Mayfield (2008) defines social media as a group of new online media which have most or all of the following characteristics:

I. Participation: Social media promotes contribution and feedback from users who are interested in participating; therefore it blurs the line between media and the audience.

II. Openness: Social media is accessible to people, it does not have any sort of barriers that prohibit access to users

III. Conversation: Two-way communication is what makes social media stand out from the traditional media

IV. Community: Social media provides people with a platform to share common interests which promote sense of community amongst the users

V. Connectedness: Links to various sites, people, networks etc promote social media's ability to connect it's users to various areas of interest.

As Mayfield (2008) further states that although technology is evolving at a fast pace, at the moment there are six basic forms of social media: Social networks (Facebook, MySpace, Bebo…), Blogs, Wikis (Wikipedia, Wikihow…), Podcasts, Forums, Content Communities (Youtube, Flickr…) and Micro-blogging (Twitter).

Social media is considerably a recent manifestation which has seen such a rising popularity since the last decade. The power of social media lies in the speed at which it brings information, ideas, debate, political and social discourse, builds relations among people etc. According to Mayfield, the reason as to why social media is spreading so rapidly is because social media is actually just about human being, it lets people be themselves-only more so. Mayfield (2008: 7)

This phenomenon can be explained by understanding that social media lets people create their own content in the form of videos, words, images, audio etc. As the prices of technology such as computers have lowered and the speed of the internet has increased, people are able to create their own content such as a live blog website within minutes. Another important factor that is important in social media's popularity is ease of distribution of the created content. In the case of blogs and podcasts the technology called RSS (Really Simple Syndication) lets people subscribe to a blog or a website without having to go to the website itself. The content basically comes to you. The most obvious importance of RSS is that it promotes social media to create or become part of the communities. Mayfield (2008)

2.2 Concept of Citizen Journalism Online

According to Goode (2009) the term citizen journalism refers to a range of web based practice whereby 'ordinary' users engage in journalistic practices. The process of citizen journalism includes activities such

as current- affairs based blogging, posting commentary on current events, sharing photos and videos. Goode (2009) relates the citizen journalism to the use of the Internet stating that social news becomes part of the term citizen journalism. He elaborates on that by stating that social news websites "allow users to submit, rate, recommend, and comment on news articles." (Goode 2007: 1287) In contrast to some scholars such as Kaufhold who feel that content published by citizen journalists is 'amateur' Kaufhold (2010), Goode considers that citizen journalism is not so different from journalism. He further states that citizens participate in the news process without always acting as content creators. Rather citizen journalists are mostly involved with activities such as "re-posting, linking, tagging, rating and commenting upon news produced by professional journalists." These activities online by ordinary people demonstrate the interactive nature of the internet.

2.3 An Interactive form of Communication

The concept of Interactivity is explained by O'Reilly (2005) where he talks about how Web 2.0 offers possibilities and opportunities to creation of content by the users. The web 2.0 is explained by OECD (2007): Internet represents an interactive platform because Internet users can participate actively in expressing themselves, sharing and communicating with others via blogs, forums and chat rooms. In this viewpoint OECD (2007, p.4) defines User Created Content (UCC) as follows, "content made publicly available through the Internet; […] which results from a certain amount of creative effort, and […] which is created outside of professional routines and practices." With this definition in mind, becoming a citizen journalist is possible for any internet user who has the possibility to establish a dialogue between him and the others; they can react to content, share material and comment on videos and pictures OECD (2007).

According to Ward (2008), websites can be seen as "an online structure as a way of communicating a particular stance on citizenship" (43) Further looking into the matter, Garrett's article presents the discussion of how new ICT's facilitate community creation. According to him online community members state that their experience with these groups online, reinstate already existing social networks, while at the same time allowing them to connect with those who hold different views. He further looks into how new ICT's afford a variety to capabilities that can be used to augment a person's ability to integrate and retain new political information, thereby facilitating increased participation. The ease of accessibility to the information further leads to information absorption. Garrett (2007:206)

Hence, the internet with its user generated content provides citizens with a platform to participate in the content creation in a rather transparent manner, as Goode (2009) points out that "through active engagement: blogging, reposting, commenting, rating, tagging etc (1293) the potential for democracy arises as there is a flow of "conversation"- citizens share their opinion, discuss their views on political and

social issues, argue and deliberate with each other in this environment. The creation of such an environment can be further understood in light of the Habermasian public sphere as explained by Jurgen Habermas (1989).

2.4 Citizen Journalism in the Habermasian Public Sphere

Just like Goode (2009) and Garret (2007), Kenix (2008) also feels that the Internet has the potential to "allow for horizontal and vertical flows of communication, physical connectivity, interactivity and ease of use which enhances the creation of a public sphere."

The internet's power lies in the ability to provide with a sovereign field of communication in which citizens can independently participate in debate away from the controlling influence of state, large media corporations and structures of social inequality that imposes on their daily lives. Chadwick (2009)

Also deliberating on the same attribute of the Internet, Kenix (2008) adds that "with no central control point and the ability for users to produce, receive, and distribute information with government officials almost instantaneously, citizens could now utilize the internet to better participate in the democratic process". So the internet emerges as the medium of communication which is providing multiple platforms for public debate which is fairly impulsive, flexible and most importantly self-governed. In Habermasian interpretation as cited by Chadwick (2009: 89), this enables the public to emerge as a public force.

2.5 Power of Witnessing- Element of Citizen Journalism

The internet has provided the public with an environment to share user generated content. One such content is video. According to Thorson et al (2010), the use of video enables the public to witness events and to inform others about the current situation. The authors (2010) explain that the use of video can be particularly interesting for the following reasons: "widely available, easy-to-use video capturing and editing technologies along with video sharing websites such as YouTube have made the creation and dissemination of all sorts of homegrown videos – from the simple to the elaborate – feasible for just about anyone with access to a computer and the Internet" (p. 325).

YouTube technology allows for rather unhindered contact compared with the mainstream mass media (with the omission of those not capable to afford Internet access or the technologies required to create content). In contrast to radio and print, McHale (2004) argues, 'when people watch videos, viewers feel as if they are witnesses, rather than just consumers of someone else's account' (p. 156)

Witnessing videos then serve the purpose of turning viewers into witnesses, thereby morally absorbing them in what is seen.

Mobile phones featuring video cameras and other small, portable video capturing devices have brought tactics of witnessing to the mainstream, and the Internet provides new opportunities for distributing these videos (Gregory et al. 2005).

Furthermore, among the different uses of videos by internet users, Thorson et al (2010) points out that the witnessing type of video enables citizens to reveal what is going wrong when an event occurs in order to condemn injustice, which is remarkable for explaining the notion of citizen journalism. Indeed, "These videos serve as a form of witnessing that groups can use to build community among like-minded others, reveal suffering to those geographically distant and, in some instances, serve as legal evidence of human rights abuses" (Gregory, 2006, as cited by Thorson et al, 2010). Interestingly, Bennett, (2003) points out that "the Internet is changing the way in which news are made". According to the author (2003), people can now publish news that media did not tell or they can work with mainstream media by giving journalists story ideas and highlighting what they feel is of relevant importance.

In the light of the definition of citizen journalism, it is seen that the interactivity on the Internet enables citizens to share and/or create content. Keeping this in mind, Goode (2009) mentions about citizen journalism the following: "the relationship between citizen journalism and social news can help to illuminate the potential implications that social news holds for democracy and the public sphere"(Goode, 2009: 1288)

2.6 Citizen Participation in Political Discourse Online

In the last few years the Internet has shown its effects on the political spectrum in almost all liberal, democratic and even authoritarian political systems. According to Chadwick (2009) by the early 2000s, most of the groups within the U.S had established online presence and were using email, websites, bulletin boards and instant messaging to organize existing supporters, fund raisers and to reach out to the public. (Chadwick 2009:118)

He furthers deliberates on role of the internet in politics by stating that the Internet amplifies, accelerates and in some manner transforms communication within a group's internal organization. It affects the relationship between groups and movements and their principal targets: government, citizens and mainstream media. (Chadwick 2009:118) Following Chadwick's reason of thought, Bimber (2003) mentions how Internet has resulted in development in organizational change and external mobilization. In his article Bimber provides examples of a few U.S based organizations that are changing their internal

organization and building new networks with a focus on citizen support. For some groups this has resulted in cost reduction and increase in operational flexibility. But at the same time, Internet has a downside as mentioned by Bimber (2003). According to him one such significant downside comes in the form of 'cheap talk'. (Bimber 2003: 107 as cited in Chadwick 2009) In other words because of the ease of accessibility online to express oneself, the value of opinion reduces, hence making it easier for policy makers to ignore the internet communication. What is interesting about this phenomenon is that some authoritarian states, underestimate the potential of the 'cheap talk' from citizen's perspective. According to Bimber, Internet and politics have contradictions that need to be understood to be able to utilize Internet's capacity to see how traditional groups organize and mobilize their support amongst citizens. This is further mentioned by Chadwick, citizens increasingly appear to be voicing their concerns in more granular ways- on particular issue at particularly significant times. Chadwick (2009:122)

Internet has further affected the way in which traditional interest groups deal with politics. Hybrid types of political organizations have spawned. One such organization is a U.S based website called MoveOn. It was founded by Joan Blades and Wes Boyd in 1998. According to Wolf (2004) "Move On" has become one of the most admired activist groups in America. The website supports democratic political candidates through million dollars of advertising and door to door campaigning. The supporters reach out to one another vie email, local events, through participation in telephone and web surveys and by involving in debates and discussions online. The activism that was started through this website is based on the assumption that by capturing, highlighting and intensifying collective opinion, the nature of politics can be changed (Wolf 2004). In conclusion to this Chadwick (2009) states that it is difficult to ignore MoveOn movement as it is genuinely novel form of hybrid political organization.

2.7 Activism and Transnational E-Mobilization

The meaning of Activism as stated in the Oxford dictionary is:

"The policy or action of using vigorous campaigning to bring about political and social change"

According to Hodgson (2007) activism can be seen as everyday action by individuals who cultivate new social networks or power dynamics. Activism then becomes a precursor to political action. A pro-Palestinian activist in Israel, Hedva Isacher elaborates that the major task of an activist is "documentation for assessment purpose." In other words, an activist's role lies in the power to express, criticize, shape, affect and connect by capturing the data via writing, recording, sketching, photographing and filming a protest.

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In recent years, the number and scope of political campaign that involved a transnational movement has increased. (Tarrow, 1998:176-95)

Various scholars have mixed opinion regarding the qualitative difference that Internet facilitates in such movements. But most scholars now have come to term with the fact that Internet is undoubtedly an important feature of contemporary social movement strategies. This view is supported by Chadwick as he states, "the amount of transnational co operation and co ordination that occurs now is much higher than in the pre internet era." Chadwick (2009:124)

One major factor for such an occurrence is the process of globalization. Supporting on this theory, Chadwick further states that globalization has opened up new spaces for nongovernmental actors to press for change in an increasingly fluid environment. In this context collaboration among networks of groups to simultaneously mobilize and focus their efforts on different levels of politics is ceaselessly shifting from national to transnational. (Chadwick 2009:124) One such example of a transnational movement that changed the online political scenario is the Zapatista Movement.

2.8 The Zapatista Movement and the Smart Mobs

Manuel Castells, defines the Zapatista movement as the, "first informational guerrilla movement." (Castells 2004:82)

The principal source for the movement/campaign was the land. The movement started in 1994 by three thousand indigenous Indian peasants from Chiapas, Mexico attracted global attention when the sub-commander of the movement created online presence that was quickly noticed by the major news media. The information about the Zapatista's cause was flooding the network of websites, email and discussion boards. Hundreds of journalists showed up the area within days reporting about the movement of the peasants against inequality and poverty. The movement was highly influential because campaigners in developed and developing countries realized the potential of campaigning online.

According to Chadwick (2009) the Zapatista uprising demonstrated perfectly how the nature of political action in Internet mediated transnational environment is changing. The Zapatistas were unable to gain access to the political elite and mainstream media in the country and abroad, so they used the Internet to disseminate information about their cause. The activists of the movement were able to construct an elaborate, decentralized but influential global network of supporters many of whom were mobilized to engage in acts of electronic and direct civil disobedience movements. (Chadwick 2009:126)

The mention of the Zapatista Movement seems relevant to the researcher as the later discussion on the Egyptian uprising in the next chapter, will demonstrate the similarity in both the political movements.

Hence, the Zapatista uprising led to other movements to adapt on their strategies. In June 1999, hundreds of thousands of protestors came together in Carnival against Capitalism. The protestors were getting together in major cities of the world. One example of this gathering is the WTO in Seattle where the activists were largely coordinating via cell phones, emails, bulletins and chat rooms. As Chadwick looks in to the matter of the WTO protests, he states that, "In Seattle, a group called the Direct Action Network established an ad hoc communication network comprising phones, laptops, wireless computers. They used mobile devices to feed live video and Internet as well as warnings about the movement of police through the city. (Rheingold, 2002:161 as cited by Chadwick, 2009)

Another example of a movement that widely used the mobile phones technology was the People Power II protests in the Philippines during 2001. According to Cabras (2002) the most prevalent form of communication was text messaging. During the People Power II uprising less than 1 percent of the population had internet access at home, but around 13 percent had a cell phone connection. The reason for that is that cell phones could be bought at low cost and maintenance by prepaid cards is cheaper than buying a laptop, getting an internet connection etc. Text messages co ordination was highly popular during the protest and mobile communication became a symbolic representation due to the inability to overcome the country's deteriorating infrastructure. (Rafael 2003)

This kind of movement is known as Smart Mob. Today the mobile use of the Internet has become much more social form of technology. Scott (2000) used the phrase, "organizational spontaneity" to highlight this mix of co-ordination and decentralization. Elaborating on the term "organized spontaneity" Chadwick said that these movements, are often temporary forms of organization, usually leaderless and they possess the spontaneity and physical presence of a crowd while displaying the collective intelligence of a united purpose group. (Chadwick 2009: 128)

2.9 Blogging

Content creation in the form of blogs has seen a massive rise in the past few years. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the various software technologies have increased the user generated content creation primarily because it has become simple for users to upload their material. Chadwick (2009) in support of this statement has mentioned how blogging software has changed the landscape of the Internet because it provides ordinary users with a personal publishing platform. This creates a virtual community of opinion

based debates and dialogues. It is important to mention that there are millions of blogs that are not politically active, and are completely devoid of political content.

However, there are many blogs that are becoming increasingly collaborative, run by professional journalists and amateurs who create a political discourse online by talking about daily news events and highlighting perspectives which are sometimes not highlighted by the mainstream media. As mentioned in the chapter by Chadwick, apart from commenting on recent election campaigns and news production, bloggers today have started to influence in the more transnational environment.

Such an example is an Iraqi blogger, Salam Pax. In 2003 during the initial phases of the Iraq war, Pax, risked his life to produce daily reports on his blog *Dear_Raed*. The news of Pax's blogging spread around the Internet, but its pressure on insight of the events in Iraq particularly increased when stories from Pax's blog began to be run in the U.K's *Guardian* newspaper (Pax 2003, 2004) According to Chadwick, "Although blogging has been appropriated by the mainstream politicians as a way of fund-raising, there are visible signs that it will also become an established means of Internet-mediated mobilization. (Chadwick 2009:129)

2.10 Hacking

Another form of e-mobilization can be defined as a direct action that exploits the technical properties of the Internet to achieve a set of political goals that is hacking. Politically motivated 'hacktivism' as mentioned by Chadwick (2009) draws upon the resources of the hacker community and the hacker culture. In the past hackers have always been seen as the mischief trouble creators who are trying to bring down the computer system, but it is important to understand that hacking has often been combined with broader social and political goals. As Chadwick mentions, 'hackers operate against the authority figures, closed centralized system of control and against those who attempt to restrict access to information through intellectual property law. Hacker culture has always been portrayed to be individualistic, although when it comes to politically motivated hacking, group collaboration is often the norm. (Chadwick 2009: 131)

In the past hackers have collaborated to make useful contributions to the development of various technologies, not least of which is the Internet itself (Nissembaum 2004: 211). Hence, it is given that hackers sometimes emerge as political participants. The most known example of hacktivism came in the form of the online action in support of the Zapatista movement that was discussed earlier. The hacker's movement was known as the Electronic Disturbance Theatre (EDT). During the mid to late 1990's EDT were responsible for politically motivated hacks against the Frankfurt stock exchange, the U.S Pentagon and Federal Commission, and the website of Mexico's president Zedillo. EDT labeled its action as

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"electronic civil disobedience" a term which rightly summarized such protests when it involves crippling web servers and breaking into high security data base. Chadwick (2009)

2.11 Evaluating the Impact of the Internet on Civic Engagement and Movement Politics

The examples provided above demonstrate how the group and movement politics occurs in the Internet era. The aspect that still needs to be looked into in order to provide the definitive conclusion to the effect of the Internet to politics is to see what difference the Internet makes to political mobilization.

According to some scholars like Mario Diani, Internet makes little difference. He argues stating that the Internet reinforces pre existing organization structures. In this viewpoint he states, "Sustained collective action is unlikely to originate from purely virtual ties." (Diani, 200: 394) Building up on this argument, Chadwick (2009) states that even in the transnational environment, computer-mediated communication is most often liable to widen the capacity of existing networks rather than create completely new ones.

Another aspect to consider when evaluating the impact of the internet on political front is to understand that the Internet can provide with rapid mobilization, it is important to see to whom the mobilization benefits the most. As Chadwick mentions, in authoritarian states the free flow of information can support democratic opposition with attacks on the regime, but it is just as possible that those regimes will use technical means such as gate keeping, site blocking and filtering the content or in extreme situations restricting access to telecommunications by blocking cyber cafes etc. Chadwick (2003)

Since the advent of internet, several scholars have come to a conclusion that by increasing the amount of political information that is available online does not necessarily contribute to higher levels of civic engagement. Chadwick (2003: 25). One research done in the 1990's demonstrates how political information that is available online is consumed by people who are already interested in politics (Hill and Hughes, 1998; Davis, 1999). Although debatable it could be stated that political loyalty plays an important role. Supported by the mentioned research it is seen that if a person has been voting for a particular party most of his life it is unlikely for him to change his loyalties based on what he finds online.

With the ease of setting up one's own website, there are millions to choose from today but setting up of a new website does not guarantee that the public will come to it; the question remains how to attract the public to the website in order to generate some civic engagement.

As mentioned earlier, movement politics and evolving protest tactics display a few shared characteristics that draw from, at least in part, from their dependence on loosely coupled networks of

individuals and groups, which are made more possible by new ICTs (Asub-questionuilla & Ronfeldt 2001). Protesters can mobilize rapidly and can engage in mob -like challenges, taking synchronized action on several fronts, and in multiple ways. These qualities were visible during the Seattle WTO protests in 1999 (Smith 2000)

Building on the argument, Asub-questionuilla further suggests that because networks don't have a centralized leadership structure and clear lines of authority, they have real difficulty reaching compromise and setting goals. They can't think strategically; they are constantly subjected to conflict and error. It is difficult to make a choice about tactics or strategy or direction when everyone has an equal say (Asub-questionuilla 2001).

An example of such a case is presented by Gladwell where he talks about The Palestine Liberation Organization which originated as a network and later ran into trouble as it grew. One reason for this trouble was "Structural features typical of networks—the absence of central authority, the unchecked autonomy of rival groups, and the inability to arbitrate quarrels through formal mechanisms—made the PLO excessively vulnerable to outside manipulation and internal strife." (Gladwell 2010:4)

Another organization which unlike PLO was highly successful in the 1970's was called the Red Brigades, an Italian terrorist group. One study that was done on this organization found that 78% of recruits had at least one good friend in the organization. The same was seen for the men who joined the Mujahideen in Afghanistan. Gladwell (2010)

These examples demonstrate that political activism is highly based on personal ties amongst people. The more friends one has joining a cause, the higher the probability of a person joining it as well. The activism that is associated with social media is built around weak ties. Gladwell (2010) Although the levels and intensity of protest has diminished, what is important to note is that in the long term the "sedimentary traces" of these high-profile events have lasted. These loose but integrated infrastructures of communication on the Internet persist over time. This is sometimes called the "Zapatista effect" as identified by Cleaver (1998)

Another factor worth mentioning is that Internet provides people with collective deliberation, this increases trust as it appears to be "open". In most of the examples of "organized spontaneity" leaders are difficult to identify. What is visible is in Chadwick (2009) terms a "distributed trust"- people feel that if

many ordinary people like themselves are deliberating on one issue that is more trust worthy and encourages them to participate and link to one another.

2.12 Comparing new social media to traditional media

Recent protest movements that have been active online have gained a wide spread recognition due to the fact that mainstream or traditional media pick up the stories online and disseminate them to the wider audience. It was seen by the previously provided examples of such movements as the Zapatista movement, that the traditional media can provide protestors with successful campaign if it picks up a story. This notion is supported by Chadwick (2003)

2.13 Collective Action

One of the major skepticism regarding the computer-mediated communication is that it lacks the depth of face to face interaction. Some scholars state that online social networks do not clearly express the complexity of ideas and that they feel online activism is not influential enough for action to take place. Such scholars also state that the social networks tend to make people isolated and conflicted. (Kraut et al., 1998)

On further research it is seen that over time the scholars have been voicing a somewhat different opinion as the technology is constantly evolving and today the speculation regarding the social networks has a positive side to it due to the fact that the medium itself is changing. The advancement of more interactive applications which include social media sites have resulted in scholars deliberating on more positive consequences on online activism. Supporting on this statement, Postmes (2002:294) states the following:

> Social behavior does not just stem from the immediate proximity of other individuals: we internalize many aspects of our social world and incorporate these into the social identities that we may take on even when we are isolated from others…individual's behavior and cognitions can be highly social despite the fact that they are isolated from the direct influence of others in their group.

According to Chadwick (2003) the two factors that contribute to online collective cohesion are: the anonymity factor, people feel less accountable when they can express their views as anonymous individual. They face less fear of getting punished for voicing their opinion. Second factor is the "absence of physical markers in the online world reduces the likelihood of splits and factions developing within a group." (Chadwick 2003: 139)

The statement by Chadwick brings back the discussion of strong and weak ties. It has been stated by number of scholars that sharing of information among people that have never met face to face generates the creation of flexible organization which is especially useful in internet enabled mobilization. As such organization is leaderless, people form 'latent ties' which results in collective action. In order to understand why people join in collective action such as riots, protest and strikes that were started online, the threshold theory which was proposed by Granovetter in 1978, gives an explanation. This theory states that, "In conditions of uncertainty and danger, an individual's propensity to join in, is based on her assessment of the risks of doing so." (1978: 1422 as cited in Chadwick, 2003) It means that people feel safety in numbers. In this regard, Internet provides people with an efficient method to inform others that someone is engaging in action, hence, making them feel safer because they see the collectivity. (Rheingold, 2002: 176) As it was seen in the case of the cell phone use in Philippine's protests, this can lead to acceleration in mobilization. Talking on the dynamics of group mobilization, Lupia & Sin (2003) explain that Internet and related technologies reduce the cost of communication and also because online communication makes non-participants much easier to spot the Internet reduces the free-rider effects. (2003:141)

One final aspect of collective action is its high-risk nature, although the Internet highly reduces the risks as seen in the case of hacktivism. But those people, who do risk their lives and safety for a political cause, are often members of close-knit personal networks, based on trust. (Chadwick 2003). As mentioned in the previous topics in the literature review this case was seen in the PLO movement and Afghan mujahideens. On this Diani (2000) states that computer mediated communication is relatively low risk and therefore it is a blunt instrument for developing trust amongst strangers. (2003: 397). He further states that online collective identity may be easier to forge for those who have a common goal and interest but still this relationship cannot be compared with intense relationships between people in a terrorist group for example. And although terrorist groups are a type of movement that appear to be making use of the Internet for their internal communications, it is arguably less likely that high risk group action will be initiated solely by Internet communication. (Diani, 2000: 397 as cited in Chadwick 2003)

2.14 Internet and Politics in Egypt

The study carried out by Kandari and Hasanen (2011) reports the responses of 242 university students to a questionnaire that explores the influence of the length of time a person spends on the Internet, their reason for using the Internet and how it affects their political engagement and knowledge in Egypt. The data was collected before the political unrest took place, although the discussion presented relates to the political unrest in Egypt. According to Kandari (2011) "A number of scholars have anticipated that the Internet and

satellite television will influence the traditions and religious beliefs of the region, allow people to disclose information their authorities try to hide, and provide conduits for Arabs to express their views."

The study also looks at the situation in Egypt in general which provides background information that serves as a factual base to comprehend the results of the study and also provides the current research with a historical background of the political situation in Egypt.

According to Kandari (2011), the politics in Egypt have influenced the rest of the Arab region, because of its involvement in peace agreements in the Middle East. Egypt is the most populous Arab state and it has had a semi military regime since the early 1950's. Before the Uprising of 2011 the Egyptian political system was a mix of parliamentary and presidential systems. President Hosni Mubarak appointed the Prime Minister from the ruling party.

The authorities allowed the formation of political parties but with many constraints and under strict secret service surveillance (Franklin, 2008). The Law of the State of Emergency allowed the authorities to detain people without charge or trial at any time. This law was in effect since 1981.

The article by Kandari (2011) reveals some important facts about Egypt:

The CIA Factbook (2009) reported that about 24% of the 82 million Egyptians have access to the Internet. Egypt has the largest number of blogs that engage in politics. According to the State Department's Human Rights Report (2008), there are about 160,000 Internet bloggers. They use pictorial badges to show support for political movements, certain issues and other advocacy purposes. Bloggers of the secular reformist movement have been more critical of the rule of Hosni Mubarak and questioned whether his sons should succeed him. They also support democracy, freedom of expression, human rights and Western values (Etling et al., 2009). In 2008, the authorities arrested more than 100 bloggers for about 15 days because they called for strikes and street protests. The State Department's Human Rights Report (2008) indicates that the authorities prevented two university students from having housing and voting privileges in the students' union election on account of their blogging activities. The Amnesty International Report (2008) revealed that the authorities sentenced a blogger to 4 years in prison for expressing his views. The charges included ''spreading information disruptive of public order and damaging to the country's reputation'', ''incitement to hate Islam'' and ''defaming the President''.

The study employs the gratification perspective as a framework for analysis. This technique suggests that people through their section and rejection of specific media, mitigate the influence of the media (Rubin, 2000 as cited by Kandari, 2011).

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In Arab states, the credibility of the media is questioned because the local government media does not provide the people with sufficient information. Due to the emergency law in Egypt, the government regulates the state television. The Internet on the other hand is hard to censor hence it allows Arabs to discuss issues and to think for themselves rather than letting authorities do it for them (Kandari 2011).

The article further demonstrates how the Internet provides Arabs with autonomy and individualism. On this topic Bakkar (2008) argues that, ''The Internet virtual society is more qualified to lead the change because the Arab world is collectivist, while virtual identities are more individualized. Increasing the value of the individual should push concepts of human rights and democracy'' (p. 11).

However, some researchers find that the positive political influence of the Internet is minimal and dependent on particular sets of conditions (Kenski and Stroud, 2006). That is further demonstrated in the article where it says that many Arabs might not express their true opinions in online discussions, even if they log in anonymously, thinking that the authorities may trace them using specific software or information supplied by Internet service providers. Many Arab bloggers use third person formulations and say that ''others think'' or ''others believe'' instead of ''I think'' or ''I believe'' (Monteiro, 2008). On this point Bakkar (2008) suggests that Arab expatriates who live abroad are more likely to talk about their concerns and criticize Arab political conditions on the Internet.

Coming back to the research done by Kandari (2011), the selection of 242 Egyptian university students was justified by stating that these were the people who were actively protesting against the regime last year. To further state this opinion it was said in the article, "Commenting on the role of the Internet during the revolution in Egypt, the BBC stated that this is the beginning of a new generation with a ''vast number of the population being under the age of 30 who are technologically savvy and able to coordinate their protests'' (Prettyman, 2011 a cited in Kandari 2011: 4)

The results of the research showed that the more individuals felt themselves to be politically effective the less likely was their use of self expression. The opposite was also seen; the more the individuals feel that they do not make a difference in politics the more likely they are to use the Internet to express themselves. The results further suggested that those Egyptians who use Facebook, Twitter and blog applications and use the Internet to gather information are more likely to engage in politics (Kandari 2011:7)

According to the article the results support the conclusion of Nisbet and Scheufele (2004) and Wang (2007) who argued that the impact of the Internet is conditional on how people use it. The study by Kandari (2011) supports this notion as according to the results of the research it is seen that those who

used the Internet to gather information or use Facebook, Twitter and blogs are more likely to engage in politics. The article provides with two possible reasons for such a phenomenon. Either the Internet influences people to become more engaged in politics or it allows those who engaged in politics to engage more.

Kandari (2011) suggests that these findings are related to the Egyptian Uprising as the results indicate that blogs, Twitter and Facebook are strong predictors of political engagement.

This result corresponds with discussions on the initial causes of the Egyptian revolution, which indicated the essential role the social media played during the January 25th 2011 revolution. Young activists turned to Facebook, Twitter, blogs, and YouTube to voice their demands, exchange news, share thoughts and opinions, send updates and news about the uprising, and document incidents as they occurred (Poster, 2011). The event that escalated the revolution started when some individuals created a Facebook page called ''we are all Khalid Said'' in response to the case of Khalid Said, who police officers tortured to death. The page turned into the light of the revolution when its members called for a peaceful demonstration that was attended by thousands (Gvosdev, 2011).

In his discussion Kandari (2011) mentions the opinion of Harb (2011) who argues that the main roots of the Arab unrest had been the chronic problems such as poverty and dictatorship whereas social media helped the masses to know about the demonstrations and to disseminate revolutionary news and updates about the action and agenda (Kandari 2011: 8). This further escalated the Revolution as bloggers infused hope of a better future if Mubarak stepped down and that resulted in solidarity in times of oppression and humiliation. On this Hunter (2011) states that, "Social media alone did not facilitate the Arab Revolution, but was a successful catalyst when combined with myriad methods of digital and traditional media." According to both Hunter and Kandari (2011) well known traditional media used social media as important news source for the coverage of videos, opinions and news that activists posted during the Uprising.

Although, in the beginning only young people viewed blogging materials, as they represented the main segment of Internet users, more people from different backgrounds joined the revolutions later on when Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, Al-Hurra, and Arabic BBC screened emotional videos that had been uploaded onto the Internet after they had been shot by protestors on cell phones.

2.15 Summary

In order not to repeat the material that has been discussed in the literature review, the researcher just wants to provide a short summary of the covered material. The main concept that can be drawn from the literature review is that scholars have a mixed opinion regarding the qualitative differences that new ICT's facilitate in the protest movements. Most of the scholars do agree that transnational co operation and co-ordination increases, as the online environment provides the public with a fluid environment to discuss, deliberate and comprehend the collective perception.

But there is also a contrasting opinion voiced by the scholars which states that increasing the amount of political information online does not necessarily contribute to higher levels of civic engagement.

The concepts of organized spontaneity, distributed trust and collective action provide an important insight into how the new ICT's can help in protest movements today. Although on the other hand, there is a great skepticism from scholars regarding the computer mediated communication. Some concepts such as weak ties, lack of clarity and isolation are seen as weaknesses of this new technology and its role in protest movement.

The purpose of the literature review was to provide with a theoretical framework laid by other scholars trying to understand the same concept of the role of new ICT's. The examples of previous protest movements which utilized the ICT's provide a similarity of concept to the Egyptian Uprising and help to see whether these movements carry the same characteristics. It was to provide with an understanding of the role and the functioning of new ICT's and see whether these concepts are applicable to the Egyptian Uprising of 2011.

Seeing the dilemma of mixed views of scholars regarding the new ICT's and their role in protest movements, the researcher hopes to step a little closer to understanding this phenomenon with her own research. Thus by conducting a critical discourse analysis of the articles in selected news websites and interviewing people involved in the Uprising and directly involved with utilizing the new ICT's (social media sites), the researcher hopes to provide with a better understanding of the role of social media in the Egyptian Uprising of 2011.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This research project is focused on contemplating the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising. The Master thesis seeks to explore two core topics. The role of social media in the Uprising as seen by

Egyptian people involved in the movement and the role of social media as depicted by Al- Jazeera and CNN news websites. To be able to deconstruct the Uprising and understand the role of social media sites in it, the researcher feels the need to use collected data of theoretical and empirical nature.

The background of Egyptian Uprising, its factors and characteristics, people involved in protests and documents regarding the movement, delivers the main data sources. The goal is to get the insight into the complexity of its nature and to understand to what extent social media tools can be held responsible for an event of such a scale.

The focus of the research is to understand the role of social media in Egyptian Uprising, to achieve this thesis is divided into two segments. Role of the social media as depicted by two English news websites CNN and Al-Jazeera, and role of social media as depicted by people who were involved in the protest movement such as activists, bloggers and journalists.

To analyze how important social media sites were according to CNN and Al-Jazeera, thematic nature of analysis will be done. Direct textual data will be collected from the two news website's articles.

The reason for doing that is to understand what the two news websites have to say about the role of social media in the Uprising. Chapter 5 will therefore provide a more detailed description as to the

nature of thematic analyses. Chapter 5 will further deal with a second level of qualitative analysis. The in-depth semi structured interviews with activists, bloggers and journalists. The reason for choosing these people in particular was due to the nature of the research. The exploratory nature of the thesis requires the researcher to contact people who were actively participating in the Uprising and who were most actively utilizing the social media tools. Based on the gathered material in the literature review, the researcher has a reason to believe that activists, bloggers and journalists have utilized the social media tools during the Uprising for various purposes and they were actively participating in the Uprising. It seemed fairly reasonable to try and contact the people who were personally involved in the Uprising and were active in writing/blogging about it online.

All the interviews will be recorded and interpreted by the researcher. The semi structured interviews will deal with three main topics, which according to the researcher will provide with in-depth understanding of the Uprising and will help in answering the research question. The three main topics are: the socio-political factors of the Egyptian Uprising, the role of social media as seen by the interview participants and what these participants have to say about the depiction of Egyptian Uprising and role of social media tools by the mainstream media (CNN and Al-Jazeera).

Hence having gathered data on three thematic levels this research will help in understanding the Uprising in depth and it will shed light on the role that social media played in the events.

3.2 Methodology

An analytical approach known as Triangulation, integrates multiple sources to improve understanding of the complexity of the Egyptian Uprising.

According to O' Donoghue and Punch (2003), "Triangulation is a method of cross checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data." The process of triangulation will require the researcher to collect data on multiple data sets and then compare the results to one another to find similarities or differences which would validate the research.

The justification of using this method in the current research lies in the fact that the topic under exploration is wide and is on multiple levels dissimilar. Due to the vastness of the topic, and the fact that the research question wants to explore two sub topics, there is no single data source available to answer all the sub topics. Although the sub topics are related to one another and together will depict the understanding of the phenomenon under investigation, the method of triangulation will enhance the ability to answer the research question on the bases of synthesis and integration of the collected data.

The specific type of triangulation that seems most applicable in this research is the methodological triangulation (Denzin, 2006). "Methodological triangulation involves using more than one method to gather data, such as interviews, observation, questionnaire and documents." The purpose of using this method is to overcome the weakness and bias that may arise from single method. Hence the qualitative and the quantitative data analysis will provide with systematic understanding of the case under investigation.

3.3 Case Rationale

The first and foremost reason for selecting the Egyptian Uprising as a topic for Master Thesis was personal interest. It is important to mention that the researcher's perception on this topic was quite different at the beginning of the research and after in depth studying of the topic the perception has been changed. It is due to the fact that as a consumer of mainstream media the researcher saw the Egyptian Uprising as it was televised last year and believed that social media was responsible for making this Uprising happen. As the researcher stated in the introduction of the thesis the statement by Wael Ghonim resonated the most as it was repeatedly telecasted on mainstream media. The question that kept coming back was, how can a movement of such a scale be initiated and carried out by social media tools, can it be called a Facebook Revolution?

The decision to focus on this single case and not on Tunisia or Libya although the Uprisings there were happening almost during the same time period was a personal choice. The researcher found Egypt to be fascinating case as she felt that economy in Egypt was doing well due to tourism and Suez Canal. So the whole Uprising seemed very spontaneous and hard to grasp. It was at a later stage of the research that the researcher came across all the economic and social problems that people in Egypt faced. It was surprising to have known so little about Egyptian situation and assume that the Uprising was spontaneous. Writing this thesis so far has already been a discovery of many factors that the researcher had not even considered before in regard to the political, social and economical situation of Egypt.

The interest in the two sub topics: first being the role of social media as depicted by people of Egypt and second being the role of social media as depicted by CNN and Al-Jazeera lies in the fact that the researcher perceives mainstream media as a watch dog for the people. Studying media has given a realization that there is a great control and manipulation over what people need to see and what is being shown to them. Hence the willingness to talk first hand to activists from Egypt who were utilizing the social media tools during the Uprising seem as a most credible and valid option to comprehend the importance of these social media tools in political activism in Egypt. The interview results will be

combined with the quantitative analysis of the news articles to see what importance did the news channels (CNN and Al-Jazeera) give to social media tools. The comparison between the opinions of the Egyptian people with the opinion represented by these two news websites will provide the research with a comparative analysis.

3.4 Limitations of the Research

The first limitation that the researcher faced was the fact that she does not speak Arabic. This was important in the beginning to gain access to Egyptian blogs and news articles to research as much as possible about the situation there and what Egyptians have to say about it. There was plenty of material regarding the Uprising in English but few that came directly from the Egyptians.

As the Egyptian Uprising was seen as a new manifestation there were plenty of new articles coming out by various scholars on almost weekly basis. This was a limitation to an extent, because too much information required continuous re assessment of her research. She had to update it often, change the direction of the focus.

What is interesting to mention is that some of these articles were written by renowned scholars from universities such as Harvard and Yale but the content of those articles seemed farfetched when talking about role of social media. On a number of occasions the researcher felt that there lacked a depth to their research. There were several articles which talked about the role of Facebook and Twitter during the Uprising. These articles presented endless amount of charts and graphs calculating the amount of "Tweets" that came each day during the Uprising, discussing how many people "liked" a page on Facebook that was related to Egyptian Uprising etc. But somehow these articles lacked the information she needed. The theoretical framework therefore, was built on understanding the role of new media in previous protest movements. Hence, the theories in chapter 2 look upon the scholars who studied social media and new media as an entity separate from social movements.

For the researcher it was important to find as much material as possible that was coming from the Egyptians themselves, knowing Arabic would have been as asset. The researcher had to spend more time looking for bloggers and journalists that could speak English and had academic research, blogs and articles in English except for Arabic.

Second limitation was the idea of investigating a social movement. As it is an ongoing process and is still going on, most of the people that she wanted to interview were busy and unavailable. The

Presidential elections in Egypt were nearing and activists were busy working for various Presidential candidates. A few of the interview actors are still working in the Presidential elections.

Thirdly in order to achieve an academic investigation into the role of social media and to answer hypothesis 1, the researcher felt that studying the qualitative data in itself will not be enough to understand the role of social media as depicted by the news channels. She thinks that the role of social media was seen to be important because it was made to be important by the mainstream media. The researcher also mentioned this before that watching the coverage of the Uprising and seeing how social media was stressed by these news media channels made her feel that it was highly significant in the Egyptian crisis. This conviction that social media was imperative to the Uprising in itself was the biggest limitation because for the longest time the researcher was working with a pre conceived notion and only a few weeks ago things started making sense and she started making important realizations.

3.5 The Data Collection of the Interviews

Qualitative data can provide a research with a chronological flow, make a connection with events and show how one event led to which consequence and how it explains these consequences. But then one must not forget that a good qualitative data is more likely to lead to new findings and integration. The process of qualitative data can help the researcher to generate or revise the conceptual framework (Mathew & Huberman, 2008)

Semi structure interviews were scheduled for explorative study of the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising. As Blee and Taylor state that, "semi structured interviews provide greater breadth and depth of information, the opportunity to discover the respondent's experience and interpretation of reality, and access to people's ideas, thoughts and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher. (Blee and Taylor, 2002; 93)

Semi structured interviews are based on a loose structure, making them appropriate for explorative research as the data can be generated on multiple data set. Within semi structured interviews, […] the information is also seen in the forms of themes and categories of analysis that are generated from responses of diverse movement participants" (94).

The interviews were formulated with the help of an interview guide which was prepared by the researcher beforehand. This guide served as a pre interview briefing for the interview actors, it informed them about the topics that will be discussed and the confidentiality of the interview. (Appendix A)

An interview guide further provided the researcher with a direction for the interview. The basis of the interview was the theoretical concepts that were understood before preparing the interview guide. So the semi structured interview provided with questions which were in context to theoretical claims. On this matter Marshall and Rossmann state the following, "the researcher explores few general topics to help uncover the participants views but otherwise respects the ways the participants frames and structures the responses" (Marshall & Rossmann, 2010; 144)

Guided by the research question the selection of the interview participants focused on Egyptian activists, bloggers and citizen journalists. The researcher approached people who were working in the mentioned field. The aim was to obtain diversity amongst the interviewees so for the researcher the current location of the interviewee was not significant, but their presence or active participation during Egyptian Uprising of last year was essential. However, as the search for interview actors went on, it evolved into snow ball effect as she asked activists to spread the request and provide with more contacts.

It is important to mention that in this case the researcher looked at the Egyptians who were most study- relevant sources: the activists of the Uprising. But in order to avoid the danger of sampling too narrow, she felt it important to talk to people at the peripheries as well. This sense came to her later as she went on with the research and felt that talking to people who are residing outside of Egypt now will give a more comparative and contrasting information. This was due to the fact that she wanted to avoid biasness from the Egyptians who could be over powered by the sense of nationalism and pride over their last year's achievements. Hence talking to someone Egyptian but who was outside of Egypt during those days but was still using social media tools actively could give the research a more dynamic view. This sense came to her in the process of interviews as Kvale (1988) says "The semi structured interviews sometimes result in much interpretation occurring along the way." This worked out really well because she learned a few important discoveries.

Finally, after much networking, waiting, scheduling and rescheduling due to their busy routine, the method succeeded and a mixture of face to face, Skype and e- mail interviews could be conducted. The number of interviews conducted was ten. The number ten was seen to be in accordance to the qualitative research method. The interviews were analyzed constantly and the data provided with themes and categories which were under scrutiny from the researcher over a period of time. This process can be called 'constant comparison analysis' (Marshall and Rossmann, 2010; 220), constantly comparing the data by the researcher gains additional findings and it only comes to an end if the researcher notices that the same patterns have started occurring in the results and not much more can be found through additional data collection. This can be termed as theoretical saturation. "We used to speak of theoretical saturation as

meaning the sense that any additional data collection will only result in more of the same findings."
(Marshall & Rossmann, 2010; 220)

In the case of this research, it can be said that the point of saturation of the qualitative data was achieved after having collected and analyzed a number of ten interviews. The face to face and Skype interviews were recorded. Afterwards the researcher herself transcribed them. The interviews that were gathered in the form of an email were treated as transcripts. The interviews guide, the transcripts and all the relevant data can be found in the Appendix A- K.

On the following page a list of all ten interviewees, including their profession, is added. Before each interview the participants were assured to be treated anonymous (see Interview Guide: Appendix A). That is why their real names have been changed into their initials. The gender of the interviewee, the medium with which the data were captured (e-mail, Skype or face-to-face), the interview duration and the date of every interview are listed below.

Table 1: Ten Expert - Interviewees

Interview actor's Initials	Date	Gender	Medium	Duration	Profession
KH	08.05.2012	M	Face-to-face	45: 05 Min	University Student
MS	10.05.2012	F	E-mail	-	Campaign co-coordinator for El Baradei, Presidential Elections
LA	12.05.2012	F	Skype video	37:55 Min	NGO-Egyptian Directors and Governance

					Association
MA	12.05.2012	M	Skype video	35.00 Min	University Law Student
AR	18.05.2012	M	Skype video	41: 09 Min	University Student+ social activist+ NGO worker
YJ	21.05.2012	F	E-mail	-	Currently: Full-time International Law Masters Student. Previously: Project Manager at the NGO Alliance for Arab Women
ST	23.05.2012	F	E-mail	-	University Student
MM	18.05.2012	M	Skype video	44: 35 Min	Strategy developer for Cairo Oil and Gas Company+ Activist
AS	14.05.2012	M	E-mail	-	Blogger, co-founder of Taleeda org.

| WM | 22.05.2012 | M | E-mail | - | Journalist+ Teacher |

4. QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

This chapter is devoted to textual analysis of the 100 news articles selected from CNN and Al-Jazeera news websites. A Step-by-step procedure from Frey, Botan & Kreps (2000) was selected as it seems most relevant to the research for conducting the analysis of the selected news articles. Provided below is the step by step method that was followed throughout the quantitative analysis. It serves as a guideline for the researcher while conducting the analysis.

1ˢᵗ Step: Selecting text

- Representing sufficient size (Kaid & Wadsworth 1989, as cited by Frey, Botan & Kreps, 2000)

- Sample selected from the start of the Protests in Egypt in **January 2011 till January 2012.** Detailed news articles were used, not the opinion or editorials.

- Number of news item: **100 articles**

2ⁿᵈ Step: Determining unit of Analysis

Types of units (Frey, Botan & Kreps 2000)

- Physical units (number of words, date of publication)

- Referential units (words related to social media in Egypt's Uprising)

- Propositional units (words describing the Headlines of the articles)

Measurement Levels:

Nominal, ordinal and interval

3ʳᵈ Step: Developing Content Categories

Designing the codebook according to the key-concepts of the literature review

- Bennett, (2003) points out that "the Internet is changing the way in which news are made". According to the author (2003), people can now publish news that media did not tell or they can work with mainstream media by giving journalists story ideas and highlighting what they feel is of relevant importance.

- "The amount of transnational co operation and co ordination that occurs now is much higher than in the pre internet era." Chadwick (2009:124)

- Morozov states that, "It would be very misleading to suggest that all connections forged by these activists are virtual. Revolution is much more about building human connections." (2011: 21)

Looking at these three prominent statements, CNN and Al-Jazeera news articles will be studied in order to comprehend as to what these two news websites have to say in regard to the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising of 2011.

In order to answer the **Sub Question: 1** the comparison between two English news websites has been selected. These two websites widely covered the Egyptian Uprising. The purpose of selection is to see whether social media was given any importance by these two media. If the significance provided by these two websites is noted then there are further steps to understand in which context was this social media mentioned, frequency of mentioning, timeline during which the social media was highlighted etc. All these factors will contribute to the ability to answer the sub question.

To observe the mentioned factors a codebook was designed.

Samples: 100 articles will be used in total.

Selection: 50 articles from CNN and 50 articles from Al-Jazeera websites respectively.

Duration: The articles selected are from January 2011 till January 2012. This period of one year seems relevant because this was the time period when a lot of material on the mentioned websites was published regarding the Uprising in Egypt.

Sampling: There is no particular sequence of selection. The samples were randomly picked, following the random sampling method. But the selection was done to include every month over the one year period.

The classification of the headlines was done based on:

Political: if the Egyptian army, police or government of Egypt or any other government was mentioned

Social: if social media sites, activists, bloggers, human related issues, were mentioned

Socio-political: if both the above were included in a headline

4.1 Classification of Attributes

The collected articles where read, the tone of the articles was scanned by analyzing and dividing into positive, neutral and negative based on;

Positive: If social media sites played a role in the Uprising and it is clearly mentioned that it helped in organizing protest, informing people, or if it is stated that social media sites gave Egyptian people voice etc.

Neutral: That would be if social media was mentioned in the article but no elaboration followed as to whether it played an important role. For example, a statement such as this one would be put into neutral category: "Activists set their camp in Tahrir Square, staying there all night long. One of them wrote on his twitter account saying that they will not move till Mubarak steps down....."

Negative: Social media was mentioned in the text but a further statement by a contributor of the article demonstrates that it did not play an important role. For example this phrase from the source will represent a negative tone towards social media during the Uprising. An activist said "America did not teach us how to use Facebook" (this example is also mentioned in the discussion part with the relevant source)

V. ***The code book:***

- News article N°

- Date of publication

- Number of words.

--> Focus on how much media in question i.e. CNN and Al-Jazeera feels social media have been influential in the Egyptian crisis (that could be units of analysis) by counting how many words related to social media are written in a news item. Each article will be thoroughly read and the word "social media sites" will be highlighted and then counted.

--> Looking at the positive/negative and neutral words qualifying the use of social media, to see if CNN and Al Jazeera are mostly positive, neutral or negative.

This equals 3 questions. But it will be presented in one table format, with each column demonstrating whether the article has positive, neutral or negative words regarding the social media.

➔ The coder is looking at the positive expressions qualifying use of social media during the revolution.

- Neutral words

- Negative words.

Direction of the article:

Headlines of each news article will be studied to see whether the website in question has a particular leaning in their reports. In order to keep it simple and precise the division is based on three factors:

The headline of the articles will be looked upon and divided into 3 categories:

- Political

- Social

- Socio-Political

Sources cited.

The coder has to determine if the sources tend to mention the social media in a positive light or negative or whether they are neutral or they don't mention social media at all.

What are the articles aimed to?

Mentioning social media in positive light= 1

Mentioning social media in negative light= 2

Mentioning but staying neutral=3

Egyptian Uprising portrayal in the CNN and Al-Jazeera

The coder has to determine how protests in Egypt were portrayed in the articles by the content of the headlines only. By looking at the headlines the three different categories are established.

Whether the Egypt crisis are seen as

  I.   Political

  II.   Social

  III.   Socio-Political

The coder feels that this will show the priority of coverage of the respective websites. This will also demonstrate if there is some connection between a type of news and the social media being mentioned. For example: if the news is social oriented, sites like Twitter and Facebook will be mentioned more often or not.

Date of publication/ Transmission: It refers to the date of publishing/ broadcasting the article/newscast.

If there is no mention of social media in an article that means there is no prominence of it for that article. If the number of such articles is more, that will exhibit the general trend of that particular website.

Noticing the date of the article will provide a guideline to observe when was the importance to social media given, if it was. This could be seen as a connection to the days of the protests themselves or during the elections etc.

The assumption by the coder which is supported by the material in the literature review is that social media is given more importance when people are active in voicing their opinion. In Egypt's case the days during protests in Tahrir Square the use of social media is assumed to have been more than after the protests were coming to an end. If that is the case then the websites used in the research (CNN and Al-Jazeera) may have followed the same pattern and talked about social media more during the days of the active protesting that is in the early months of 2011. This pattern will be observed by looking at the dates of the articles and linking their content to the date of publication keeping in mind the active protest days during the Uprising.

The CNN website is **coded** as: 1

The Al-Jazeera website is **coded** as: 2

The Tables for CNN are numbered as 1:1 and so on.

The Tables for Al-Jazeera are numbered as 2:1 and so on.

All the Tables can be found in the Appendix L to S

5. QUALITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION

5. 1 Introduction
This research project aims to interpret and explore the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising according to the bloggers, activists and journalists who were active during the protest

days. In order to understand the concept the researcher feels the need to look at how these people utilized the social media tools. This chapter represents the analysis of a number of expert interviews with the actors of the Egyptian Uprising.

In the following sub chapters the researcher will present the data gathered through the transcription of ten interviews. The rich amount of empirical data from the field presented the researcher with various possibilities for coding the data into a number of themes. These themes together constitute the data required to answer research question 2.

Sub Question 2: What role did social media sites play in the Egyptian Uprising according to the Egyptian activists, bloggers and citizen journalists?

The exploration of how social media sites were utilized by the interviewee actors during the Uprising provides the researcher with many aspects that should not be seen as exclusive but on the contrary they are all connected to the same concept of understanding the role of social media sites during the Egyptian Uprising.

The Table below aims at providing the researcher with a brief summary of *how* did the Interviewees use social media tools and *why* did they use them during the Uprising. This in researcher's opinion constitutes an important value to understanding the role of social media. The Table assisted in coding and analyzing the main categories that researcher picked through thematic analysis of the interview data. The role of social media sites is hence divided into five main categories: Interactivity, Organization, Transparency, Motivation and Awareness. These themes were formulated by the researcher while carrying out inductive coding by directly examining the interviews data.

	Interactivity	**Organization**	**Transparency**	**Motivation**	**Awareness**
Interviewees					
1 KH	Sharing points of view, tactics for protests	Making a group online, fixing meeting points	Expressing views online was safer	*	Sharing protest images, videos, information
2 MS	Security could not control	Making an event for people to see	More trustworthy than national T.V.	"Khalid Said" page moved people to action	*
3 AS	Donation of supplies online, volunteers to help, outside of country advice	*	It broke the ice. People who I met later in Tahrir I already knew them	People around the world fighting with us in spirit, brother in arms	To report on violence, brutality. Told about people who died for us, provided aggravated content
4 LA	Discussing rigged elections online	#Come to Tahrir Tweets	National media not transparent	Khalid Said page, you feel you are not alone	*
5 MA	Upper middle class got to know there will	*	*	*	*

	be a Revolution soon				
6 AR	Encourage people to get involved, political discussion	Forming groups online, petition for change, builds connection	Power of the image- you can't show a phone call but a video can generate response	*	Reporting what you see, put personal opinions, reflections
7 YJ	It is cheap, it can reach many people. Also to encourage them, informed upper middle class	Discussing and co-ordinating action, mobilizing people	More trustworthy than T.V	Helped in motivating upper middle class to join	Sharing of images+videos
8 WM	Generated online political conversation	To spread message around, organize rallies	Broke the barriers of fear	*	*
9 ST	People at home learned of what was happening in Tahrir Square	*	*	*	Sharing of Information and videos
10 MM	Fast paced, communication united people all over Egypt	Propagated growth and momentum	Egyptians could criticize the govt. without fear	*	Gives direction, idea about what is news worthy

*= not discussed by the Interviewee

5.2 Interactivity

As the researcher picked out five categories that hopefully will contribute to understanding the role of social media in the Uprising, the detailed look into each and every category will provide with more depth of the interviewee's opinions. The relationship between the actors and the manner, in which social media sites influenced their techniques of *interaction* with one another during the Uprising and some time before the protests started, will provide with understanding the role of social media sites in the interactivity aspect.

Looking at the Table above and analyzing the interview data shows that the interactive aspect of social media sites received a potential positive feedback. All the interviewees have regarded the social media sites with providing a platform for interacting with other activists during the Uprising. It is safe to say that all the interviewees mention the potential of social media sites to enhance/accelerate *interaction*. KH, for instance talks about how the social media sites provided Egyptians with a platform to share opinions something that they could not do before openly. On the same note WM states that social media sites let the Egyptian people have political conversation online. Thus, an important initial observation is that social media sites provided Egyptians with space to *interact* with one another about the situation in their country. This ability to interact with others over the sites is seen in the following statement by LA:

> Through social media and internet there is an interaction, an open communication and you find out that you are not alone. Not the only one thinking this way and there are a lot of people supporting you. It showed that they made it a matter of time because the problem is that I am a generation which only saw oppression and I am 23. I would go online, and communicate online and with travelling, with meeting people and everything you see that other countries they have democracy, every four years they have a new President (interview with LA; 12.05.2012)

However, the social media sites providing people with space to converse online about politics does not necessarily explain the role of this tool in the Uprising. So further research into the content of the interviews provided with more information regarding what social media tools the actors used and how did it actually enhance the interaction aspect between the activists during the Uprising days.

Ten out of eight people that were interviewed personally used social media tools during the Uprising days. The social media tools that were mentioned include: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Tumblr, Flickr and blogs.

Out of these tools the ones that were mentioned in terms of *interaction* include Facebook, Twitter and blogs. These three social media tools were considered to be the "stars" of the Uprising as MS mentioned in her interview. According to her, the reason for that is the fact that the security forces could not control these sites. The internet that was operating these sites was too large for the security forces to control. The aspect of not being able to control these sites can be demonstrated in the fact that the Egyptian forces cut down the Internet connection in the country on the 28th of January. People were left without Internet access. According to MM, "the service providers were state owned; you couldn't find any private service provider. So the government controlled the media. That's why as soon as the government saw the power of the Internet it tried to shut it down" (interview with MM; 18.05.2012).

The notion that social media sites provided the Egyptians with a direct means of communicating during the days of protest is supported by all the interviewees. The sites like Twitter and Facebook were used to reach out to other people, to encourage more Egyptians to join in and to co ordinate the activities in the city. According to AS, "I used social media tools to *communicate* to people to donate supplies and then *co ordinate* with volunteers to bring them to Tahrir Square."

But another interesting characteristic of *interaction* via social media sites is how the actors stressed more, on the importance of *interacting* online before the days of protests. This development is supported by the interview with LA where she talks about how the elections in Egypt months before the Uprising. According to her the elections were rigged, the NDP party was not supposed to win; Egyptians felt anger and frustration with the government. This

generated in political discourse online, where people talked about the rigged elections without fear of getting punished by the government for their views.

The value of social media sites as far as promoting *interaction* is concerned lies in the fact that these sites can provide with feedback. Instead of a one-sided communication, social media sites provided Egyptians with a dialogue. This notion is supported in the interview with MM, "In Google for instance you have to type in what you are looking for as it's a search engine, but with Facebook there is the newsfeed, this is being updated all the time and one keeps getting information that one can process quickly and give feedback" (interview with MM; 18.05.2012.).

Another aspect of interaction via social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter which the actors were enthusiastically agreeing with is the speed of information transfer. Activists could keep each other informed about what was going on in different parts of the city of Cairo before the television channels could generate the news. The speed of coordination and communication was highly influential in the protests. Here the phenomenon of flash mobs and other spontaneous movements that were discussed in Chapter 2 show the similarity of utilizing the social media tools like Twitter and Facebook to spread the word. "Twitter used multiple hash tags to keep people informed about where to go and what places to avoid during the protest. One tweet that kept repeating was come to Tahrir street, come to Tahrir street" (interview with LA; 12.05.2012)

It can be seen that the actors of Egyptian Uprising, widely accept the potential of social media sites to accelerate the interaction amongst people during the protests. It is also seen that the actors agree on the fact that social media sites provided Egyptians with space to have political conversations online, which generated offline participation during the Uprising. Social media sites delivered Egyptians with updates on what was going on during the Uprising and it also delivered news to everyone else who was watching the events in Egypt unfold. This is supported by the interview with AS where he states that Egyptians were receiving advice from abroad as to what to do and how to act next. LA who herself was out of Egypt during those days of the Uprising and was residing in France, repeatedly states in her interview that she used Twitter and Facebook to interact with her family and friends back in Egypt. In regard to that she says the following:

Because they blocked us on the internet so we could copy paste stuff on Facebook so others could have access, some people in Egypt still had access to twitter via their mobile phones. So that was the thing after they shut the internet it was pretty scary. It happened on the night of 27th I remember Facebook stopped all communication, like all of my friends are from Egypt and there was no news feed from them. All the people who were online you couldn't see them and it was pretty scary. I was thinking what would happen to them, what if they get shot" (interview with LA; 12.05.2012).

5.3 Organization

This sub chapter aims to analyze the strategic use of social media sites in terms of organizing protests. How the protests in Egypt were organized by the actors and also how the interviewed actors perceive the role of social media in the concept of organization during the Uprising. The researcher also wants to determine which social media tools were seen as most effective in promoting this organization.

Making a group online was the most stated sentence when asked the actors about their organizing techniques via social media. The online groups were seen to build connections with other Egyptians that generated the mass protests. Arranging meeting points, coordinating timings, announcing change of location or safer routes etc all came under the category of organizing via social media tools. According to YJ, social media sites helped in discussing and coordinating action and mobilizing people.

Interestingly this phenomenon can be described as the decentralized movement. The movements that are organized by people and do not follow one or two leaders usually tend to use the Internet as a tool for coordinating and organizing. This statement is supported by the interview with AS:

The Egyptian revolution was a Facebook event known to everyone 2 weeks before it took place! Social media played a supporting role, people were sharing statuses, pictures of brutality –see attached- and it just felt that everyone was a brother in arms (interview with AS; 14.05.2012)

The statement 'brother in arms' show that there was no one person that the Egyptians were looking up to, and this fact has been supported by the theoretical research on the topic

mentioned earlier in the paper. Hence the organization of the whole event was mainly done on sites like Facebook and the coordination was achieved through Twitter. It is of course important to note that most of the interview actors stated a number of times that the events of January 25th go back a long way before the event was created on Facebook.

One observation that is visible so far is that the social media sites that were seen to be useful in promoting *interaction* were also most often mentioned in helping with *organization*. It is possible that social media sites have a connection to serve as an *interactive* as well as an *organization* tool. This connection will be looked in more detail in the next chapter.

Another aspect that the researcher noticed as she conducted thematic analysis was the characteristic of *mobilization*. This is closely linked to organization, hence will be discussed in the same sub chapter. The process of mobilization can be described as a desire to reach out and convince as many people as possible to come together for a particular cause. In this case, *mobilization* would be related to how social media sites promoted the protest and whether it was helpful in making Egyptians join the protest movement actively.

An interesting finding of the research is that people were mobilized to stand up for their rights before the actual protests began. AS mentions this in his interview where he says:

> Social media provided a steady stream of aggravating content, which was the stepping-stone for an uprising. I believe the uprising was protected by new technology; we had people around the world pressing for our rights, fighting with us in spirit and providing advice (interview with AS; 14.05.2012)

This concept of social media with providing 'aggravating content' was also mentioned in the interview with LA and MS, they say that the Facebook page called "We are all Khalid Said" generated a lot of angry response from Egyptians and made them want to do something about this brutality months before the Uprising began. Further evidence of that is of course if one is to join the mentioned page for himself and see that there are 128, 000 people who have 'Liked' the page and the constant flow of comments on the page demonstrate the frustration and anger of the Egyptian people.

Another interview demonstrated the opinion of one activist which negates the fact that social media was responsible for mobilizing people to action during this Uprising. According to AR:

> This was going to be so much similar to what happened in Cairo in 1977 if there were no social media tools. It was the time of Anwar Saddat my dad was participating in this protest and he was telling me it was as big as this protest and the streets were used in the similar way but they couldn't communicate the same image that we had at this time. Like in 1977 there was tear gas, large number of people, same circumstances and same causes, but they could not transmit the picture efficiently. They did not have the privilege of telling people the truth how did the other people in their homes were knowing about the protest was from the national T.V and national media. But national media was not telling the truth and the same thing happened on the 25th of January but the difference was there was this virtual world that they could not erase" (interview with AR; 18.05.2012).

Although according to AR the social media sites were responsible for exposing the real picture of the protest, the fact that he states that the same kind of protests happened in 1977 (when there were no social media sites) with the same large number of demonstrators and similar nature of protest, articulates that social media sites were not responsible for mobilizing people to action then and now.

This preliminary deduction is further supported by interview with ST. When asked what she thought of the importance of social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube in creating awareness regarding the Uprising to the people of Egypt, she replied saying:

> The 1952 coup d'état happened without technology. The Orabi-led revolution happened without technology. Among others of course, but I can't recall. Egyptians overthrew a government TWICE! They can do anything they set their minds to (interview with ST; 23.05.2012)

Due to the skeptic view of the mobilization aspect of social media sites during the Egyptian Uprising, further discussion of the concept will be provided in chapter 6 where the

literature review and the quantitative analysis combined might be able to answer this dilemma more clearly.

5.4 Transparency

The sub chapter of transparency is of importance to answering the research question as this term has been mentioned in a potential positive light in respect to social media and Egyptian Uprising by eight out of ten interview actors. The term transparency in this particular context mainly refers to visibility.

In the interview, KH he states the following:

> Facebook gave transparency to the Egyptian people that they never had before. In that way I mean before the only way people could see stuff was on the T.V and the T.V was owned by the government. So if some things happened and were never known about, but though Facebook the eye witness or people who made a video or took a picture whatever, it gives people more transparency they know what is going on beyond what the government wants them to know (interview with KH; 08.05.2012).

The issue of government controlling the media channels in Egypt was brought by the interview actors on a number of occasions. The regulation of the state television meant that people in Egypt did not trust the media and what their journalists reported.

According to MA, "even after the revolution, the media and the army are the strongest assets that the regime has."

Hence, the term transparency applied to the ability of Egyptians to see beyond what was shown by the state television via the social media sites.

The concept of transparency is interesting to the research as the fact remains that the Internet reaches out to a limited number of people in Egypt. This fact has been mentioned in the previous chapters in the research. The majority of the population still received their information and news via traditional media.

Hence, it is safe to assume that the people who used social media sites such as blogs, Twitter and Facebook where the ones who were receiving more transparent news. This seems relevant to the researcher in terms of understanding the role of the youth in the Uprising. It seems that the reason for such active youth participation in the protest movement was due to the fact that they were more aware of the situation in Egypt as they were the ones who were more active online. In support of this statement, interview with KH demonstrates this pre notion:

In Egypt, around 45% of the population lives below the poverty line so most of the people who were educated, such as college going students, also doctors and engineers they were discussing these issues of poverty online and these people were the ones who went down on the 25 because they were always connected online because the poor people of course were not using these tools but were suffering due to the situation. So, these people met each other and went down and then things started escalating more and more and people got involved because of the police brutality people got hurt and that made more people come and get involved (interview with KH 08.05.2012).

This statement by KH, shows that the social media sites provided the younger generation with a platform to conduct political conversations and it provided them with space which was not controlled by the Egyptian government. According to AR, "Egyptians could criticize the government without fear."

Another aspect of *transparency* provided by social media sites can be seen in terms of what AS called, "ice breaker". The term was mentioned by him when he stated that the Egyptian people and fellow activists that he met in Tahrir Square he already knew them because he had interacted with them online before actually meeting in person. This phenomenon was vital in the Uprising because according to him it provided with a feeling of 'brother in arms' and unity.

In relation to the concept of *transparency* provided by social media sites the perception of the interview actors is similar. The ability to communicate without fearing the government's repercussions, the feeling of sharing the same ideology and seeing more openly that there are other people like you who share the same opinions about the government and the value of being able to express opinions online and generate response seems to have played an important role in the days of the Egyptian Uprising.

MS claims that the social media is much more spontaneous and honest in a way that videos shared on the internet by people would not be seen on television channels which only showed what would be an advantage to them or their ideology nothing else. This further highlights the *transparency* aspect of social media sites.

According to AR being able to see how many people were participating in the protests increased participation. Social media sites hence further provided with *transparency* in a way that people could see the number of other activists and that increased solidarity. Elaborating on his idea he states the following:

> How many people were going to see a telephone call or... you know like... I am speaking to you for example on the phone and you are on this side of the city and I am on the other side but only you can see my phone call. But online with one message you can show it to thousands of people at once (interview with 18.05.2012).

5.5 Motivation

The concept of motivation was analyzed by the researcher with special caution, as it was seen that the answers ranged from positive to negative. The foremost aspect of motivation via social media sites is the fact that it can reach a number of people. In the case of Egyptian Uprising one interesting point was mentioned by YJ in her interview, where she states that the social media sites motivated the upper middle class to join in the Uprising. This seems relevant to understanding the economical and political situation in the country.

The concept of motivation was mentioned by a number of interviewees in light of the importance of experiencing the Uprising firsthand rather than getting motivated to take part in it online. This in simpler terms means that people were motivated in a way that they were getting information regarding what was going on but the reason why they went down was not because of being motivated online but rather facing/seeing the economical and political crisis in the country.

On this matter interview with KH further demonstrates this perception:

> To be honest the biggest motivation was the things that were happening on the streets and the pictures that people saw on T.V on Al-Jazeera and other news channels. This was shown as people were so frustrated and seeing them was motivation. However,

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organizing of the people, the co ordination, the meeting points all these things were done through Facebook and Twitter because all these had the same context (interview with KH; 08.05.2012)

On further analysis of the interviews the researcher came across another deliberation, when the Internet was shut down in Egypt people already knew what was going on before hand as the Internet was shut down on the 28th January, but the protests had already started around the 25th January. It is worth mentioning that after the internet was shut down more people went out on the streets to see what was going on. In a way, the fact that the Internet got banned back fired against the government as people were receiving no information and were motivated to actually go physically to see what was going on. This could be seen as an important development later in the next chapter when this deliberation will be accessed with the theories that were discussed in chapter 2 regarding the motivation during protests.

This notion is supported by a number of interviews, one with RA summarizes it the best, he says:

On the 28th of January, they stopped all the communication on the internet and mobile phone because this was the real enemy that is why they were losing but we already knew everything and when they turned the internet off this worked against them because people felt that internet was telling them the truth so they had to blog so they felt that if they had no internet they had no phone, no ways of communication so instead of staying in the house they will go to Tahrir and join the protest (interview with RA 18.05.2012).

The perception of motivation via social media sites is also important when looking at the days that led to the Uprising. It is important to understand that Egyptian people were already engaging in political conversation online months before the Uprising. According to two of the Interviewees: MS and LA they feel that Egyptians were motivated after they saw the Facebook page called, "We are all Khalid Said" the brutality with which the young business man was killed by the police for expressing his views against the regime, moved the people in Egypt to rise up against the government.

In regard to the mentioned site, other interviewees also stated that blogs by activists and other pages on Facebook such as Imad-el-kabir moved people to action.

On the other hand the concept of motivation via social media sites did receive a neutral reaction also, where the interview actors talked about the history of Egypt mentioning that deteriorating economical, social and political situation in the country was the biggest motivation for the people to rise up against the government. Regarding this idea, MM claims that the younger generation the newly graduates were also suffering as there we no jobs for them in the Egyptian market, hence the economy was affecting their life also and not just the under privileged ones. But these young people could discuss these issues amongst themselves online. This could be seen as an extension of the notion mentioned by YJ where she claims that social media sites motivated the upper middle class of the Egyptian population.

5.6 Awareness

The process of creating awareness via social media sites before and during the Uprising days received positive feedback from most of the interview actors. Here, the researcher wants to clarify that the concept of *interactivity* mentioned earlier relates to the communication and co ordination of Egyptians during the protest days, where as the concept of *awareness* relates to a broader perspective of knowledge of the people regarding the political situation that preceded the Uprising and how did social media affect the concept of awareness amongst Egyptians.

Social media sites provided Egyptians with content of material that aggravated their emotions towards their government. The claims that sharing images of police brutality, of violence against civilians frustrated Egyptians and made them demand a change.

The fact that the television was state owned and most of the people were kept in the dark about what was going on in the country, social media worked as an outlet for all the frustration that Egyptians felt. One interesting thought mentioned by MM is that people outside of Egypt see the country as having a stable economy, the country is considered to be a tourist destination and people by large did not know how bad the economical and social situation in Egypt was. The awareness regarding the country's situation was limited due to the fact that government controlled the media.

AS claims that social media raised awareness of major issues long before the revolution:

> I mean if it weren't for social media we wouldn't have heard about people like Khalid Said, Imad el Kabir and others who were killed or raped by the regime. So I believe that

social media provided a steady stream of aggravating content, which was the stepping-stone for an uprising. I believe the uprising was protected by new technology; we had people around the world pressing for our rights, fighting with us in spirit and providing advice (interview with AS; 14.05.2012).

The importance of social media to Egyptian Uprising was also seen in light to how it connected people from abroad to Egypt. As AS mentioned the point of letting people around the world know about what was going on and making them fight for their rights, this feeling of standing united across borders was also seen by other interview actors like LA, who claimed that she was copy/pasting content of Egyptian protests on different social media sites to raise awareness amongst people in and out of Egypt.

RA mentions that social media sites are now considered to be a source of news in Egypt. According to him people in Egypt now consider Facebook and Twitter as a new source of information just the same like radio, television and newspapers. This demonstrates that Egyptians have turned to social media sites as their new source of information.

Another important aspect of awareness through social media was seen when talking about Tunisian Revolution and how it affected Egyptians. KH claimed that people in Egypt were very upset with the government and the tension was building up but when the Tunisian Revolution happened, then the Egyptians felt a strong push to stand up against their government also. The awareness of the Tunisian situation affected the people in Egypt and that also resulted in the mobilization for the Uprising.

On the awareness online, YJ mentions social media websites were also a great tool to check state-owned media; She gives an example, of how the Prime Minister then would be on TV saying the police is not beating protestors, then one could find videos on YouTube and Facebook going viral showing police brutality and unjustified violence against protestors. She claims that, "People started to believe bloggers more than TV anchors."

ST also showed similar views when she states that her news source is Twitter because the information there as she says is, "flat-out-direct and it is available to see 0 seconds after it has been posted" (interview with ST; 23.05.2012).

Social media is seen to have been affective in raising awareness amongst Egyptians within their country and raising awareness for them across the borders. It is highly probable that the reason for such dependency on social media sites for information has been due to the fact that the Egyptian media have been in control of the content and distorted the real image of things. It is important to mention that the issues of credibility, trustworthiness and possibility of danger in regard to awareness and social media sites were discussed by many of the interview actors. Those limitations of social media sites will be discussed in chapter 7.

5.7 Summary

The sub chapters revealed some interesting findings and to avoid repetition the researcher wants to highlight only a few main findings. The role of social media during the Uprising can be understood if the researchers could first comprehend the reason for popularity of social media, and according to the interviews the main two reasons were the fact that traditional media in Egypt are highly controlled by the government officials and fabricated biased information is provided to the audience by news channels in Egypt. The second finding in regard to the reason for popularity of social media is the fear of police brutality and the emergency law which prohibits people from openly talking against the government. Hence, these sites as they could not be controlled by the government provided people with safe haven to discuss the state corruption.

Another important observation was that the movement was greatly influenced by the youth of Egypt. Interview actors who themselves were mostly activists, talked about role of the youth in the Uprising and it was clear that they were affected by political affairs in Egypt. Most of the interview participants were young activists and they discussed major political aspects in first person, which demonstrated their direct involvement in the events of the Uprising.

More important observation is that the majority of the population who has no access to the Internet in Egypt was already highly motivated to rise up against the government without social media sites. The assistance of social media sites lies in the fact that it provided the upper middle class with awareness of what was going on in their country. This was a milestone in uniting people of different social classes in Egypt.

The analysis of the themes demonstrated that the interview actors see the social media sites as important tools in providing various techniques to the civilians to interact and co ordinate

with one another during the Uprising days. As far as role of social media in mobilization and motivation is concerned activists were less positive in their opinions.

This thematic analysis of the interviews brings the researcher closer to comprehending the role of social media sites as seen by the interview actors who were part of the Uprising in Egypt.

6. QUANTITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION

The presentation of the quantitative data analysis provides understanding of SUB-QUESTION 1:

Sub Question 1: What was the impact of social media sites during the Egyptian Uprising according to the CNN and Al-Jazeera English websites?

6.1 Data for CNN Articles

Table 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 demonstrate the results for the articles that were selected from the CNN website. From table 1.1 it is seen that from the 50 articles that were selected in 39 of them the word social media has been mentioned. Upon counting the number of times the social media sites was mentioned in those articles it was seen that the total number of times =

3+17+7+2+9+4+14+9+10+2+6+7+18+4+17+2+4+2+8+7+1+2+6+3+10+7+4+6+8+4+6+3+7+4+5+10+2+2+1 = 243

In the **39** out of **50** articles on the CNN website the word social media has been mentioned **243** times.

Table 1.2 showed the data collected for observing the context in which social media was mentioned. In total there were:

Positive	Neutral	Negative
140	90	13

To analyze the focus of the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising the 50 headlines were observed and divided into three categories.

Political	Social	Socio-Political
15	26	9

The results for the CNN articles show that the coverage of the Uprising over a period of one year was dominated by the social aspect of it. The mentioning of the word social media in the headlines was clearly visible in the analyzed articles. It is worth mentioning that in some articles just by looking at the headline the researcher could get an idea of the importance given to social media sites.

Some of the prominent examples of headings were social media was mentioned are:

i.   Wael Ghonim's Revolution: No leaders, just tweeters

ii.   Starting a Revolution with technology

iii. Online activism fuels Egypt Protests

iv.   How the web fed our "dignity revolution"

v.   Parents name child after Facebook 'Like' button

vi.   Arab media revolution spreading change

The *words* worth mentioning that were seen in the CNN article headlines are:

Revolution, online activism, crackdown, targeted, demonstrations, diplomacy, enrages, protesters, angry crowds, attacks, civil unrest and revolt.

6.2 Data for Al-Jazeera Articles

The data for Al-Jazeera shows that from Table 2.1 there were **27** articles in which social media were mentioned.

From Table 2.2 it can be observed that in these **27** articles the word social media was mentioned:

3+3+5+3+4+1+1+1+3+2+9+2+2+6+10+3+3+4+2+2+4+1+2+1+3+10+2 = 92

In **27** out of **50** analyzed articles the word social media has been mentioned **92** times

According to the Table 2.3 the word social media was mentioned in three different categories:

Positive   Neutral   Negative

30   51   11

The Table 2.4 demonstrates that headlines from 50 articles of Al-Jazeera have the following pattern:

Political   Social   Socio-Political

22   14   14

 Some of the prominent examples of headlines where social media was mentioned in Al Jazeera are:

  i.   Then Revolution was not televised

  ii.   Blogging on the Nile

  iii. Egyptian army takes to Facebook

  iv.   Making sense of Twitter censorship

  v.   Bloggers say Arab Spring has gone global

  vi.   Anonymous and Arab Uprising

The *words* worth mentioning in the headlines of Al-Jazeera articles are:

Minds, open, burning, breathless, rally, demands, revolution and bloggers

6.3 Analysis of Results for CNN and Aljazeera

The presentation of the results show that both CNN and Al Jazeera have mentioned the terms associated with social media sites on a number of occasions in a considerable amount of news

articles. The pattern depicts the fact that the role of social media cannot be ruled out as both the media channels highlight the impact of these sites.

On analyzing the pattern it was clear that CNN in its news articles mentions social media sites more often than Al-Jazeera. The frequency of mentioning the term is 243 times for CNN articles and 92 times for Al Jazeera articles. This finding already demonstrates that social media was given more coverage/importance by the CNN website.

Both the news websites mention social media sites in positive, neutral or negative tone. Negative tone was more visible in Al-Jazeera based on the frequency of mentioning social media in a context making it seem less prominent to the Uprising. An example of such a statement can be seen as one activist in Al-Jazeera's article says:

> We did not need America to teach us how to use Facebook, they are not responsible for
> the revolution. It is too big of a deal to be owned by anyone especially the outside
> world.   The ordinary people are the heroes of this Revolution."

Similar statements were seen in Al Jazeera news articles not once.

CNN articles also demonstrated some negative tone attached to the role of social media, but in comparison to the positive tone the negative tone is quite less. CNN articles mention social media in a more positive tone, out of 243 times that social media was mentioned 140 times it was seen to be mentioned in a positive tone.

In the case of Al Jazeera social media was mentioned 30 times in a positive tone out of 90 times that social media was mentioned. The most prominent tone that Al- Jazeera used in regard to role of social media was neutral. Neutral tone was used 51 times out of 90.

An observation was made in regard to the frequency of the word social media used during the early months of the unrest. In the table 1:2, the months of January and February saw the rise in the protests across Egypt and with that the frequency of the word mentioned also peaked. Clearly the importance given to social media was heightened during the main days of the Uprising.

It is also worth mentioning that the articles on CNN during the early days of the Uprising mentioned the journalists contributing to news articles for CNN as "tweeting". The word "tweeting" has been mentioned in the selected news articles on the CNN website. It was seen that journalists were actively using their Twitter accounts to correspond with the world and report back to CNN headquarters. Al-Jazeera in their articles did not use the word "tweeted". There was no mention of journalists 'tweeting' from the venue in Tahrir Square in the articles that were studied. Instead the words such as "reported back" "told" or "spoke to Al-Jazeera" were used.

The analysis was also looking at the 'context of the coverage'. In the case of CNN, the social aspect was seen to be most highlighted as the headlines for 26 articles were seen as "social", the highest from the category. This means that the focus of the article was on discussing how Egyptians used the social media sites, in what way did the online activism contribute to offline participation, how activists in Egypt found their voice, etc. These articles were stressing the role of social media sites in the Uprising.

The articles of Al-Jazeera were seen to be most focused on the political aspect. The headlines for 22 articles were seen as "political" the highest from the category. These articles looked at the Egyptian political scenario with less focus on social media sites and more stressed on the political aspect of the Uprising.

6.4 Summary

To sum up the empirical findings of the content analysis, the CNN website mentions social media sites more time than the articles of Al-Jazeera do. Although both the news websites do highlight the role of social media in their coverage, with Al-Jazeera using a more neutral tone while mentioning the social media sites where as CNN used a much more positive tone while highlighting the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising. When context of coverage was looked at, only the headlines were considered and based on the headlines of the articles it can be said that CNN had a more social context where as Al-Jazeera had more political context of covering the Egyptian Uprising.

7. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

The previous chapters provided the research with empirical data which was analyzed to provide coherent results for answering the research question. This chapter will aim to determine the findings and relate them to theoretical claims that were made in chapter 2. Connecting these findings with the theoretical data might finally be interpreted in light of the main research questions:

What was the role of social media sites during the Egyptian Uprising of 2011?

Keeping in mind the fact that the main research question will be answered by combining the two sub questions, this chapter will look at the two sub questions as separate sub chapters. A final sub chapter will discuss the link between the two sub questions and how they complement each other in context of this broad research.

7.1 What do the Egyptian bloggers/activists and citizen journalists say?

The presentation of the empirical data in chapter 5 has shown that the interview actors: Egyptian bloggers, activists and citizen journalists utilized the social media sites during the Egyptian Uprising of 2011. The strategy of usage was mainly seen to promote the aspect of *interactivity,*

co-ordination, transparency, motivation and awareness amongst the activists during the protest days.

These characteristics of social media sites could be assigned to the statement by Chadwick in which he states that the internet's power lies in the ability to provide with a sovereign field of communication, "Citizens can independently participate in debate, away from the controlling influence of state, large media corporations and structures of social inequality that imposes on their daily lives (Chadwick, 2009). This ability of social media to promote a sovereign independent platform seemed influential in Egypt.

The respondents of the research who used the social media sites in Egypt mention a very important reason for the popularity of these sites in their country. The emergency law in Egypt which was in effect for the last 30 years prohibited the people to voice their opinions freely. The mainstream Egyptian media is state-owned, which meant that the media was controlled by the government. There was a lack of sovereign field of communication for Egyptians. Several interview actors reported on cases where this dilemma was brought up.

> Facebook gave transparency to the Egyptian people that they never had before. In that way, I mean before, the only way people could see news was on the T.V and the T.V was owned by the government. So if some issues happened, people were given distorted image and never knew the truth, but through Facebook the eye witness or a person who made a video or took a picture, it gives people more transparency they know what is going on beyond what the government wants them to know (interview with KH 08.05.2012).

Social media played an important role in providing Egyptians with a platform to discuss political situation, it provided them with a more transparent content of their country's social, economic and political situation.

It seems relevant to mention that some of the interview actors were blogging for justice, human rights and political fairness for years. It can be seen that the utilization of social media sites such as blogs is not necessarily a recent manifestation.

I have been blogging since December 2009, on all sorts of things. Politics, business, new trends and concepts etc. I have never been politically active before. Didn't feel that we could make a difference at all (interview with AS; 14.05.2012).

There were several interview actors who supported this notion of using social media sites, especially blogs for providing people with aggravating content over a period of several years before the Uprising of 2011 took place. The culture of Egyptian bloggers can be explained in light of Chadwick's statement, "Although blogging has been appropriated by the mainstream politicians as a way of fund-raising, there are visible signs that it will also become an established means of Internet-mediated mobilization" (Chadwick 2009:129)

The CIA Factbook (2009) reported that about 24% of the 82 million Egyptians have access to the Internet. Egypt has the largest number of blogs that engage in politics. According to the State Department's Human Rights Report (2008), there are about 160,000 Internet bloggers. They use graphic emblems to demonstrate support for political movements, social injustice and other advocacy purposes. According to the research by Kandari (2011) mentioned in chapter 2 these bloggers also support democracy, freedom of expression, human rights and Western values (Etling et al., 2009 as cited by Kandari 2011).

Kandari (2011) further elaborates, "In 2008, the authorities arrested more than 100 bloggers for about 15 days because they called for strikes and street protests. The State Department's Human Rights Report (2008) indicates that the authorities prevented two university students from having housing and voting privileges in the students' union election on account of their blogging activities."

The Amnesty International Report (2008) revealed that the authorities sentenced a blogger to 4 years in prison for expressing his views. The charges included "spreading information disruptive of public order and damaging to the country's reputation", "incitement to hate Islam" and "defaming the President" (Kandari, 2011).

The role of social media in creating awareness of the political and social injustice in Egypt was discussed by all interview actors. The power of the visual was one thing that was mentioned on a number of occasions. The reports of police brutality and the videos of people being attacked by the police generated a lot of anger amongst Egyptians towards the government.

Such videos were uploaded on personal blogs, Facebook pages and on YouTube by Egyptian activists. Several interview actors stated that Facebook page such as "We are all Khalid Said" moved people to stand up against the government. This demonstrates that the Egyptians felt the need to make use of the social media sites to amplify the awareness regarding the injustice that was happening in their country for years. The statement by one interviewee demonstrates the motivation behind blogging:

> My motivation to blog was just to vent. You see injustice happening everyday and you just want to scream out loud to the world. You want to see if it is just you who gets aggravated by what's happening or not (interview with AS; 14.05.2012).

The important finding of how Egyptians used social media sites for blogging, can be interpreted in light of theoretical claim made in chapter 2, stating that social media can be seen as an alternative communication sphere (Kevada, 2010) This can be applicable to Egypt as the mainstream media in the country is under censorship from the government, the Egyptian activists used social media sites as alternative, de-centralized information channels to 'vent' their frustration with the government.

Following the nature of this Uprising it can be said that the movement was seen to be spontaneous, de-centralized, and leaderless. The data collected via past research and qualitative analysis supports these characteristics of the Uprising. As mentioned in chapter 2 by Asub-questionuilla and Ronfeldt (2001) evolving protest tactics display a few shared characteristics that draw from, at least in part, from their dependence on loosely coupled networks of individuals and groups, which are made more possible by new ICTs. Protesters can mobilize rapidly and can engage in mob-like challenges, taking synchronized action on several fronts, and in multiple ways. This statement is important to the research due to the fact that the characteristic of mobilization was seen important by the interview actors on a number of occasions. In regard to *mobilization* and *co- ordination* the social media tool, Twitter was seen to be highly influential by the Egyptian activists.

> I was basically tweeting throughout the protest. You know what is happening and you are reporting what you are seeing...you are reporting to inform others (interview with AR, 18.05.2012).

The statements by other interview actors also mention the social site Twitter to enhance communication, co-ordination and mobilization during the protest. Most of the respondents used the word 'reporting when talking about their utilization of Twitter. This perception is interesting to note as it will be mentioned later as well when discussing the role of social media as seen by CNN and Al-Jazeera. For now, it is vital to see that Twitter was considered to be an important social media tool primarily due to the speed of broadcasting the messages. One of the respondent said that Twitter shows the message by 0 seconds from when it is uploaded. This speed with which protestors can report on their own actions and give first hand information on what is going on gives the impression that they are directly in the middle of all the action.

This phenomenon was seen in chapter 2 where Scott (2000) used the phrase, 'organizational spontaneity' to highlight this mix of co-ordination and decentralization. Elaborating on the term 'organized spontaneity' Chadwick further states that these movements are often temporary forms of organization, usually leaderless and they possess the spontaneity and physical presence of a crowd while displaying the collective intelligence of a united purpose group. (Chadwick 2009: 128)

The characteristically similar to 'organized spontaneity' sounds the name Facebook Revolution. This brings the researcher to the first hypothesis made in the beginning of the thesis.

Hypothesis 1: Egyptian Uprising was 'labeled' to be a Facebook Revolution. Upon conducting the research, the researcher hopes to be able to understand the actual role of social media sites in the Uprising of 2011.

It is visible that the role of social media in the Uprising was far from minor. The interview actors mention the social media sites in regard to providing them with required 'tools' to stand against the government, but the purpose of this research is to confirm or negate the hypothesis which was made. Upon conducting the qualitative research it was seen that seven out of ten Egyptian interview actors do not agree with the name Facebook Revolution.

Some of the statements that the respondents gave to this label was that Facebook is a tool and a movement cannot be called by the name of a tool. Others clearly stated that the name is out right degrading for the Egyptians who died and sacrificed their lives for their country. According to one interview respondent:

Revolution is a very big thing. You cannot just put a name on a factor such as Facebook and forget that so many people were sacrificed and so many people died. It is not fair to say that Facebook made this Revolution. It was made by those who faced so many problems, died and lost things. It is not going to be a fair to call it a Facebook Revolution (interview with KH; 08.05.2012).

On the same note another interviewee said:

I do not think it should be called as Facebook revolution because like Facebook started it as an event but the growing sensation that the Egyptian population would not take it anymore was obvious. It just co-incised with the Facebook event we created and most of the people that went to the 25th of the January they were simple people, they were not the people that stayed on facebook. People like us who were scared to go down were on Facebook, we were scared of the police and everything. Facebook made the middle class aware that there will be a Revolution soon (interview with MA; 12.05.2012).

These statements that come directly from the Egyptian activists who were physically present in Egypt during the Uprising highlight one important finding which is supported by the research of Granovetter. He states that in order to understand why people join in collective action such as riots, protest and strikes that were started online, "In conditions of uncertainty and danger, an individual's propensity to join in, is based on her assessment of the risks of doing so." (1978: 1422 as cited in Chadwick, 2003) It means that people feel safety in numbers. In this manner, Internet provides people with an efficient method to inform others that someone is engaging in action, hence, making them feel safer because they see the collectivity. (Rheingold, 2002: 176) The relevance of this is seen in the Egyptian Uprising when the respondents mention the fact that social media sites provided them with 'visual' that motivated them to participate. Also a very important finding is that social media sites informed the upper middle class about the fact that Egyptians will protest. This was mentioned by a number of respondents. Three of the respondents said that social media sites informed people about what was going on in Tahrir.

The power of the visual can be further explained in light of what McHale says in chapter 2. "YouTube technology allows for rather unhindered contact compared with the mainstream mass media. In contrast to radio and print, McHale (2004) argues, 'when people watch videos,

viewers feel as if they are witnesses, rather than just consumers of someone else's account' (p. 156) Witnessing videos then serve the purpose of turning viewers into witnesses, thereby morally absorbing them in what is seen."

This 'morally absorbing' phenomenon could be the reason why the upper middle class of Egyptians was pushed to join in the protest. Most of the interview respondents saw themselves as activists and kept stating their role in using social media tools to inform others about what was going on in Tahrir Square to increase the number of protestors.

As mentioned in chapter 2, pro-Palestinian activist in Israel Hedva Isacher elaborates that the major task of an activist is "documentation for assessment purpose." In other words, an activist's role lies in the power to express, criticize, shape, affect and connect by capturing the data via writing, recording, sketching, photographing and filming a protest. These Egyptian activists used social media tools to resonate with larger global network of people. But none of them want to take the credit for the Uprising in Egypt. Most of them do not agree to the name 'Facebook Revolution.'

According to the data generated from the qualitative research it is seen that social media sites such as blogs, Twitter and YouTube were equally important in carrying out the five main themes of role of social media in the Egyptian Uprising.

This point is crucial to the research because this development leads to the second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: The role of social media sites in the Uprising has been over-rated by the mainstream media. There are other important factors that need to be considered and understood in order to comprehend the Egyptian Uprising of 2011.

Deliberating on another significant finding of the qualitative research is that Egyptians consider social media sites as the new source of information. It was seen that almost all the respondents said that they get their news from sites like Twitter, Facebook and the blogs they follow. The explanation to that was give by one respondent; he said that social media sites are promoting two way communications. There is a continuous flow of information when one is

online. This is supported by Mayfield (2008) where he in chapter 2 states that, "Two-way communication is what makes social media stand out from the traditional media."

The issue of *credibility* is still highly prominent though. Most of the respondents said that when they see a newsfeed regarding some issue they do not straight forwardly believe it but carry out a research first. This research would include cross checking online or turning on the television to see what was going on. In regard to television, most popular channels are Al Jazeera, OnTV and BBC Arabic.

A further central result in regard to Egyptian media is that print media is losing its importance. On this thought one interview respondent said, "I do not look at print media because it is always biased" (interview with ST; 23.05.2012).

In regard to reliability of social media, several respondents said that it is 'dangerous' to trust everything one reads on social media sites. According to one interviewee:

> The reliability on the news from people on twitter can be really harmful because there are some people who you do not know and may set a trap for you to go to a certain place and then you would get caught or anything would happen to you due to thugs hired by the MOI (ministry of interior) and SCAF (interview with MS; 10.05.2012).

Hence it is seen that the respondents have a divided opinion regarding social media sites as far as *credibility* and *reliability* is concerned. In chapter 2, similar impasse was seen when Bimber mentioned a downside of the Internet mediated communication. According to him one such significant downside comes in the form of 'cheap talk'. (Bimber 2003: 107 as cited in Chadwick 2009) In other words because of the ease of accessibility online to express oneself, the value of opinion reduces, hence making it easier for policy makers to ignore the internet communication. What is interesting about this phenomenon is that some authoritarian states, underestimate the potential of the 'cheap talk' from citizen's perspective."

While conducting the research on Egypt, this statement became decidedly pertinent to what was seen during the Uprising. The fact that the government was not expecting the activists to have such an immense influence was mentioned in the articles discussed in the introduction

and supported by the interview respondents. This could be seen in light of the observable fact where social media is gaining strength as a new source of information for the people.

But the hypothesis question still remains whether the role of social media in Egyptian Uprising was over rated by the mainstream media?

7.2 What do they say about CNN and Al-Jazeera?

The aspect that has not been looked upon till now is what the interview actors have to say about the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising by the mainstream media.

The analysis of the interviews showed that the participants of the Uprising did not trust their national media at all. The respondents did mention the fact that the majority of the Egyptians who have no Internet access were consuming national television as their primary source of news. But all of the interview actors expressed their distrust towards their national media. Regarding the personal news source of the interview actors, most of them mentioned using social media sites as one source of news and the other source of news were channels such as BBC Arabia, Al Jazeera, ONTV and Al Misr.

Looking at the pattern of combining traditional media with social media sites as news source for Egyptians, it can be seen that recent protest movements that have been active online have gained a wide spread recognition due to the fact that mainstream or traditional media pick up the stories online and distribute them to a wider audience. This was also mentioned in chapter 2 when talking about the Zapatista movement, where the traditional media can provide protestors with successful campaign if it picks up a story. This notion is further supported by Chadwick (2003)

This notion was supported by a number of respondents who said that after Al Jazeera picked up the protest and people saw what was going on in Tunisia and then in Egypt, it created the desired effect.

Although the mainstream media serves as a watch dog for the public and provides unbiased information, it is seen that even with large corporations like CNN and Al Jazeera that is not the case. According to one interview actor, Al Jazeera was seen to be pro revolution and it was visible in their coverage. Regarding the coverage of the protests by CNN several interview actors had a negative tone. According to one respondent:

> I think the western media is not showing that the Uprising was an Uprising of people with no political ideology who only know that Mubarak's regime (not only Mubarak) has really raped this country. They only stress on the news of the Islamists due to their Islamo phobia and I would have liked them to show what really happens with normal people rather than giving all the light to the Islamists (interview with MS; 10.05.2012).

An interesting insight regarding the CNN's news coverage was provided by an activist who said:

> The tear gas and ammunition that the army was getting at that time and using on its people was from the United States. And ironically, at the same time they were firing at us, Obama was making a speech about how great we were and that the revolution should be studied later on in classrooms. (interview with ST; 23.05.2012).

This statement about the ammunition that was being used had the United States logo, was mentioned by another activist also, where he said:

> I remember there was this image of the guy and he was holding a shell, a shell from those guns and he picked up the shell from the road and everyone was running around to duck and hide from the attacks, and he just standing there with the shell and the shell's label said made in the U.S.A. So you see, you wouldn't find such and image on CNN but Al-Jazeera was showing it (interview with MM; 18.05.2012).

On the matter of 'reliability' towards the western mainstream media one respondent elaborated stating that the national Egyptian media always criticized the CNN and made people feel that CNN should not be trusted as they voice American views only (interview with AR). On the same note KH in his interview stated that the western media did not give proper coverage to the Uprising:

They gave an idea of the Uprising and they forgot to give people updates. It started in the beginning of last year in January, February, March and April. So they sort of stopped afterwards. The people only got the impression of what happened and because I moved to Holland after that, when I talked to someone here their perception of Egypt and issues they still think it is under revolution but it's not the same. Media has not told everything. Now they don't know what is happening over there (interview with KH; 08.05.2012).

These statements by the interview actors demonstrate a certain negative tone which is associated with distrust towards the western media such as CNN. On the other hand Al Jazeera has been mentioned in a more positive tone and for several respondents it even serves as primary news source. The foremost reason for that could be the language. Al Jazeera Arabic is likely to be more popular with the Egyptians. Another factor could be the effect of proximity. The Al Jazeera news channel is based in Qatar which is close to Egypt and it is also an Arab state which could be a reason for the cultural similarity and solidarity.

7.3 What do CNN and Al Jazeera say?

In order not to repeat the mentioned data of chapter 6 the researcher will just focus on the main findings of the quantitative data analysis.

The central finding was the fact that CNN mentioned the role of social media in Egyptian Uprising more times than Al Jazeera did. The frequency is higher for CNN than Al Jazeera when talking about social media in positive light in concerned. Al Jazeera was seen to keep a more neutral tone towards the role of social media during the Uprising.

On mentioning the social media sites Al Jazeera highlighted the role of the Egyptian bloggers. Numerous articles presented interviews with Egyptian bloggers, highlighted the role of blogging during the Uprising and before. Some of the headlines taken from Al Jazeera website also showed the word "Blog" to be the most mentioned social media tool. It is important to point out that the search Facebook Revolution did not generate many feedbacks when typed in on the

Al Jazeera website. The researcher had to try other combination of terms such as "Egyptian Uprising", "Arab Spring" to generate the response for the required articles.

The case with CNN was opposite. As soon as the word Facebook Revolution was typed in the CNN search bar, more than 450 articles came through. The results were clearly associated with the Egyptian Uprising. This fact alone demonstrated that the 'label' Facebook Revolution was more favored by the western main stream media. Upon conducting the analysis the impression was further supported by the fact that social media sites on CNN articles were seen to be highlighted in exceedingly positive tone. The tone of the articles show that the website feels that it is significant to draw attention to the fact that Facebook was liable for these organized, social and internet co ordinate movements.

Al Jazeera has been more neutral of the role of social media sites. Some of the articles in Al Jazeera mentioned some activists who never used social media tools but were important to the movement. One such example of the article from Al Jazeera had the following opening sentence:

But the most inspiring revolutionary I met in Cairo is not young, nor is she on twitter; her face is unlikely to adorn the cover of Time magazine. She's a trailblazing figure who has dedicated her life to the struggle for freedom and social justice in Egypt. Her tools are not smart phones or new media, but sheer willpower, fearless tenacity and an unshakable faith in her cause. Her name is Dr. Laila Soueif. (Al Jazeera article# 20)

An additional key aspect that was seen while conducting the quantitative analysis was the term 'tweeting' which was used to replace the word 'reporting' in CNN articles. The researcher found this detail fascinating as this was especially visible in the articles that were published during the days of the protest movement in Egypt. The term was used on a number of occasions when elaborating on the events that were taking place in Tahrir Square and other parts of Egypt.

The same cannot be said for Al Jazeera as the researcher did not find the term "tweeted" being used by the reporters. They used words such as "talked to", "reported" etc to exhibit the process of communication amongst journalists.

One observation that applied to both the websites under investigation is that the option for leaving comments via Facebook or Twitter is highlighted. This can be looked upon as a will

to generate feedback faster. It illustrates that the social media and traditional media are being connected now. The media channels seem keen on promoting user generated content or at least in part to collaborate to create content.

This is supported by the statement Bennett, (2003) made in chapter 2. He points out that "the Internet is changing the way in which news are made". According to the author (2003), people can now publish news that media did not tell or they can work with mainstream media by giving journalists story ideas and highlighting what they feel is of relevant importance. In support of this it can be said that the mainstream media is in favor of promoting citizen journalism. In the light of the definition of citizen journalism, it is seen that the interactivity on the Internet enables citizens to share and/or create content. Keeping this in mind, Goode (2009) mentions about citizen journalism the following: "the relationship between citizen journalism and social news can help to illuminate the potential implications that social news holds for democracy and the public sphere"(Goode, 2009: 1288)

In light of this perception of social media and traditional media working together during the days of Egyptian Uprising, one interview actor said:

They were combined and none was dominant. They offered different views and targeted different people. Both were essential I guess (interview with YJ; 21.05.2012).

7.4 What does France 24 say?

In order to conduct the research keeping in mind the method of triangulation, a third news media was selected to give an over view of another perspective. The French news website France 24 was selected in order to provide with an insight into how the French news media perceived the Facebook Revolution. The purpose of this selection is to provide a third perspective of the coverage of the Uprising and to see whether there is a similarity or difference in the coverage, in light with the other two news websites studied previously.

Hence, seven news articles were read in depth. The primary observation that was made when researching the content for the Facebook Revolution as mentioned by France 24 was the fact that the French news website focused more on Tunisian Uprising of the last year. That could be due to the political importance that Tunisia has for France as it was a former French colony.

Some reports affirmed that, in Tunisia, social networking sites have been crucial to coordinating the demonstrations across multiple cities and in keeping up the momentum. The news articles also suggested that when the Internet was banned in Tunisia and Egypt the momentum of protests was affected. But in the days prior to the protests, messages about the anti-government activities in Egypt were posted at a frenzied pace on both Twitter and Facebook.

The news articles further elaborate on how these sites assisted with a platform for expressing anxiety, caution and skepticism about the protests, and about a possible crackdown by Egyptian authorities.

One article from France 24 stated the following, "Activists in Egypt have used the Web as a rallying point for Tuesday's demonstrations, which were timed to coincide with Police Day, a national holiday commemorating the massacre of Egyptian police officers by British forces in 1952. An Egyptian Facebook group called "January 25: the revolution of liberty" has close to 400,000 fans and displays the message: "Dear people of Tunisia, the sun of the revolution will not disappear!" Another group called "Day of Revolution" says it attracted more than 80,000 Egyptian Web users to the protests." (Retrieved from: http://www.france24.com/en/20110125-tunisia-facebook-twitter-coordinate-protests-egypt-mubarak-resign-cairo)

Another noticeable remark is that the French news articles highlighted the importance of Twitter more than Facebook. In a number of articles studied, the usage of Twitter during the protests days has been mentioned more frequently than other social media sites. Although it was also said that it has been difficult to follow protest-related Twitter activity due to a veritable flood of messages on the micro-blogging network. One article stated the following, "Some Twitter users adorned their accounts with icons featuring the date of January 25, and ["#Jan25"](#) has been the key word or "hashtag" most frequently used by Egyptians exchanging information on the anti-government demonstrations."

One more interesting fact about news reports by France 24 is that the news website provided with an insight of anti-revolution opinion. It can be said that reports of skepticism towards the movement have been pointed out. One article went on to mention a message on a Facebook group in which an Egyptian had said, "I'm a young Egyptian woman and I don't understand what you want with this revolution, who will benefit?" this message according to France 24 was posted on the Facebook page of a group called *"Révolution égyptienne blanche"* or "Egyptian White Revolution". The group has expressed concern that the protests are being manipulated by opposition parties trying to score political points against Mubarak.

(http://www.france24.com/en/20110125-tunisia-facebook-twitter-coordinate-protests-egypt-mubarak-resign-cairo)

The same article also stated that, "Unlike in Tunisia, Egyptian religious figures seem to be actively involved in the anti-government movement. The Facebook page of a group called "No More Silence after this Day" features several quotes from the Koran, as well as a link to a statement from a conservative Islamic organization called the Salafist Movement for Reform, which has pledged support for the street protests and called on its members to participate."

Interestingly, the French news website also mentions a possible downside of Twitter messages. One article stated that, "It is very important to note that although Twitter is flowing with seemingly constant updates on events in Egypt and elsewhere, the quality of that information can vary widely. Since much of the content posted on Twitter is not vetted, rumors and innuendo are quite common." (http://www.france24.com/en/20110128-egypt-twitter-facebook-cairo-internet-censorship)

The statement above points out that France 24 has highlighted both the characteristic of the term 'social media'. In almost all the articles, that were studied, the positive and negative side to the role of social media sites in Egyptian Uprising was discussed. The coverage of the Egyptian Uprising itself was done in an unbiased neutral tone. It is relevant to mention that the tone of the French news website towards the Uprising itself has been somewhat critical, this is interesting to see as the tone in Al-Jazeera has been relatively positive, it can be suggested that Al-Jazeera has been pro revolution in Egypt, where as France 24 seems to have been more skeptical. The role of social media has been mentioned on the French news website on a number of occasions, Twitter has been mentioned more often than other social media such as Facebook, Youtube or blogs. This further supports the conclusion that the role of Facebook in particular, has been favored mostly by the CNN website.

8. CONCLUSION

The Master Thesis provided an insight into the Egyptian Uprising through the eyes of the Egyptian people. It further looked into the coverage of this Uprising by two well known news websites, CNN and Al-Jazeera. The aim of the thesis was to primarily understand the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising. The previous chapter hence, highlights some very significant findings in regard to the role of social media in the Uprising.

The foremost fact that was seen upon completing the thesis is that the role of social media sites was pivotal to the movement. The major evidence to that is the pace at which the Uprising occurred. Within days the Egyptians toppled over the government that was in power for 30 years. It was supported by the interview actors that the intensity of the movement was affected by the social media tools. Although it is essential to understand that the Uprising occurred due to the economic, social and political injustice that people were facing for years, role of social media sites cannot be ruled out. The user created generated content which was uploaded on Blogs, YouTube and social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter spawned a lot of angry responses from the Egyptians that pushed them to rise against the system.

Although the nature of the Uprising itself was spontaneous in terms of how people were organizing the protests, co-coordinating with one another etc, it is vital to understand that the motivation for mobilization was going on for years. The April 6 Youth Movement, the Mahalla factory protest in 2008, riots against police brutality, injustice towards bloggers who were jailed for years just for expressing their views online are some of the examples of what was going on in Egypt over a period of the last decade. In order to comprehend the events of the Egyptian Uprising the researcher had to study the historical aspect of Egyptian social, economic and political condition.

Coming back to the role of social media sites during the Uprising, it is worth mentioning that new media technology is changing the manner of how politics is done. This change was seen last year in Egypt and Tunisia and according to some scholar's predictions, it will be seen in other countries where the political situation is stagnant and people are unhappy with their

governments. The politicians and policy makers should not underestimate the power of social media tools.

Two central characteristics that make social media different from traditional media are the transparency and interactivity they provide. The events of last year in Egypt confirm the significance of social media sites to create awareness amongst people who have access to such sites.

The power of the visual cannot be stressed enough. As discussed in light of the research that was mentioned in chapter 2, the power of the visual lies in the fact that people feel morally obligated when they see disturbing image of injustice or brutality. One finding that the researcher felt when conducting the interviews was the way Egyptian interview actors talked about the death of a man named Khalid Said. Brutally tortured and killed by the police in broad daylight, his image was all over the Internet last year with people showing solidarity by 'Liking' his page on Facebook. But what people mostly do not realize is that the image which moved them to action was not Khalid Said's bruised distorted facial features, it was the image next to it (his passport picture) where he was seen as an innocent looking smiling young man. He could have been any guy in Egypt; he could have been their relative or a friend. The realization that no one was safe from such brutality in Egypt is what moved people to revolt against the government. The image went viral over the social media sites with thousands of people talking about it inside and outside of Egypt.

In regard to the situation in Egypt where people had no sense of security it is safe to say that social media sites provided them with anonymity. They could 'vent' their frustration without having to face direct repercussion from the government. The anonymity factor made people feel less accountable when they expressed their views as an anonymous individual. They face less fear of getting punished for voicing their opinion.

According to the interview results and the research conducted, it was seen that blogs had a primary role in creating awareness in Egypt, especially amongst the younger generation. The youth of Egypt was expressing their voice online regarding the economical injustice for years. The situation was getting worse and this economic disparity was a great factor in triggering the Uprising.

According to the findings of the ASDA'A Burson-Marsteller Arab Youth Survey 2012:

I.   The rising cost of living is the greatest concern among Middle East youth; 63% of Arab youth now say that they are "very concerned" about the cost of living, up from 57% last year, when this was also their greatest concern.

II.   Today, reading or writing blogs is the top online activity among young people in the region, with 61% saying they engage with blogs, up from only 29% in 2011.

The results of this survey are quite essential to include in this research as it confirms the reason as to why the Egyptian youth was so active in the protest movement and it shows that the youth is an essential consumer of social media sites, using these sites to engage in political discourse. According to the research by Kandari, "Arab regimes need to introduce political change that takes into account the aspirations of young Arabs, as this will make a transformation of Arab political realities more peaceful and smoother." (2011:9)

Moving on to the second feature of the thesis is to look at how the traditional media highlighted the role of social media in the Egyptian Uprising. The results confirmed that the CNN news website promoted the role of social media in the Uprising much more than the Al-Jazeera did. This difference is significant because the reach of these channels is enormous so the ideology they promote is reaching the people and influencing their mentality, thought process regarding an issue or a story.

Although the aim of this thesis was not to comprehend why CNN gave so much importance to Facebook whereas Al Jazeera did not, the researcher wants to try and present on her findings, as upon conducting the research relevant information was found which could serve as a later research area.

The Master Thesis shows that the role of social media was significant to the Uprising; it is safe to say that the media conglomerates such as CNN and Al Jazeera do understand that also. The digitalization and technological innovation affects the mainstream media the most. One can argue that television offers a more engaging experience to the individuals and for years to come television may remain the primary source of information and entertainment for people. But the rising power of social media sites results in people spending more time online.

One of the most essential elements that affect the media business is advertisements. The commercial segment – ads on television channels generates a lot of income for the channel. What is happening now is that social networking websites are gaining momentum in target specific advertisements.

According to Trefis report (2011) "Social networking is a powerful tool– it creates real business opportunities for large corporations and advertisers alike. Can media companies better collaborate with social networking sites to ride this momentum?" This idea is further discussed in the report deliberating on a situation where a media company collaborates with Facebook to combine a user's character profile with his/her location, and cumulates this data across users to identify which areas may be suited for particular types of advertisement. Media companies can then direct relevant ads to these geographical areas (with cooperation of cable service providers) (Trefis, 2011).

This personal data is valuable to advertisers. Television is still deficient in this potential and generic advertisements are thrown at all kind of viewers, which means that a major fraction of these ads are irrelevant to individual viewers. As stated in Trefis (2011) "There is an incentive for advertisers to increasingly shift their marketing spend to social networking websites, which could hamper ad pricing for media companies. It is possible that media companies may collaborate with social networking sites as it will generate income for both the parties."

The report provides an example of Facebook stating that the profile that users create for themselves, the information exchange, the pages they view, the comments they make, the groups they join, the videos they watch and the links they access all generate tons of data that can be analyzed to create a detailed individual character profile. This data is valuable for advertisers who can better target individuals and improve sales.

The researcher would suggest this direction for future research. How the mainstream media can collaborate with social media to improve their advertising frontiers? Is it possible that some mainstream Media Corporation/channels are already heading in that direction by promoting social media sites in their coverage of political events?

In the final paragraphs of this thesis project, the researcher wants to revise the main research question: What was the role of social media sites in the Egyptian Uprising of 2011?

The role of social media sites was pivotal to the Uprising. It was a very significant tool to the Egyptians. But it is also vital to note that the adverse situation in Egypt was accumulating for years before the Uprising took place, it cannot be completely seen as a spontaneous Uprising that relied on technology. Most of the interview actors talk about the events they saw on the streets of Egypt as the driving motivational force. It was the personal interaction with other Egyptians in Tahrir Square that fueled this protest movement and catalyzed it till Mubarak stepped down. Most of the respondents do not agree with the name Facebook Revolution that was given to their Uprising. The results of data analysis show that CNN was positively voicing their optimism about the role of social media sites in Egypt and other Middle East countries, but it is too early to say whether social media tools can affect the other regions with the same results. One limitation is seeing the events in Tunisia and Libya and realizing that although social media tools were highlighted there too, the results of the protests were not similar to Egypt. It is integral to understand a region, its geo-political relevance, the political, economical and social factors that trigger political unrest before labeling a movement.

It can be said that the coverage of the Uprising by Al Jazeera seemed more neutral and unbiased and this finding was clearly important as the news channel has been receiving a lot of attention lately. This conclusion is supported by the statement that came from Salon website. It was noted by Salon.com in 2011 that Al Jazeera's coverage of the 2011 Egyptian protests was superior to that of the American news media, while U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton also voiced her opinion stating that the Al Jazeera's news coverage was more informative, and less opinion-driven than American journalism. (Salon, 2011)

The biggest limitation of highlighting the role of social media sites as a new weapon of revolution is the fact that the situation in Egypt at present: one year down the lane, is not exactly revolutionary. The protests are still going on, and the old regime is still in power. The toppling of Hosni Mubarak was a great step forward but it is an unfinished revolution and Egyptians themselves feel that the Uprising is incomplete and their demands have not been met. There is still a long way to go before they achieve their goals: bread, freedom and social justice.

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9. APPENDIX

Appendix A: Interview Guide – Semi-structured Interviews, May 2011

Structure: The interview guide contains the following elements:

Every bold question serves as the primary question within the topic. The interview is divided into three main topics:

1. Socio-political state/condition/history of Mubarak era Egypt

2. Factors that triggered the Egyptian Uprising

3. Role of social media in the uprising

Indented questions are secondary follow-up questions within the same topic. These questions will help to guide the conversation according to the topic but are not vital to address as other more related questions could arise in the process of the interview.

The interviews will take place over Skype/telephone or via Email and would last for approximately thirty minutes. They will be digitally recorder. The interviewer (me) might also take brief notes while carrying out the interview for later reference etc.

Data interview/respondent: Please fill this in

This data provided before the start of the interview:

Name Interviewee:

Function interviewee:

Date and time of the interview:

General Information

Purpose of the Interview: My name is Aneela Rashid and I am a Master student at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. The purpose of my research is to understand the situation in Egypt before the Uprising of 2011. What were the factors that triggered the Uprising, what conditions were Egyptians facing that led to this revolution to occur? Following up on that I want to explore the role of the media in uprooting/bringing to light the demands of people in Egypt, focusing on the social media sites and how bloggers, activists and journalists like you, used the social media tools before/during the Uprising in Egypt to highlight the issues, to mobilize people and to create awareness. I also want to know what in your opinion main important factors that triggered this Uprising were.

Later in the interview I will explain more about what social media tools I want to learn about. The interest in the subject is to understand what really happened. What factors were important in the events before the Uprising took place? The interest in the subject is based on my perception that an event like the Egyptian Uprising should not be limited to the time frame of the protests which lasted 21 days, but rather to understand the events that occurred before these days as there should be the explanation of what triggered the Uprising.

Design and Structure of the Interview:

The interview consists of questions such as:

(1) What were the important factors that let this Revolution to take place? What is the right term to describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

(2) What was the motivational force driving the people,

(3) About your role as a blogger/activist/journalist in the Uprising, your opinion about how much social media affected protests in Egypt

As mentioned before, the Interview will be of minimum thirty minutes, maximum an hour depending on the interviewee's interest in the subject and amount of information that he/she will be willing to share.

Agreements:

If you agree the interview will be digitally recorded so that I can make sure to be as accurate as possible in interpreting your response. Do you agree?

If you prefer, I can send the transcript of the interview. You are free to make corrections or to add information to this transcript.

I also require your permission to quote you from this transcript of the interview. If you permit me to use your name I will do so. But if you prefer to remain anonymous then I will NOT use your name. However, I will like to refer to your blog/organization that you represent/work. Basically, I would like to identify your occupation but not you as an interviewee. Of course the reason for that is to make my interview with you authentic and to show that you were relevant to my research due to your occupation. Is that OK with you? (If not, may I quote you but keep both your identity and the identity of your occupation as anonymous?)

Do you have any Questions?

We may now start the interview.

PART I

Background Information of the interviewee (app 5 minutes)

1. Since when have you been an activist/blogger/journalist?

2. What is your motivation for blogging/engaging in political discourse online?

3. Do you belong to any NGO (non-government organization) in Egypt? If yes, can you please provide me with a brief description of the NGO and what is the role of this NGO in Egypt?

Now I would like to talk about the role of social media in the Uprising.

4. How did you use social media tools such as Twitter, Facebook and (or) YouTube during the Uprising last year?

5. Could you please start by giving me some background information of how you got involved with the Uprising?

- When did the events that led up to the Uprising begin?

- What were you expecting to achieve in the beginning of the Uprising?

- Have your expectation been met?

6. How important were social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube in creating awareness regarding the Uprising to the people of Egypt?

- How important was it in creating participation?

-How important was it in promoting motivation amongst people?

- Do you personally feel that this Uprising relied heavily on new media technology?

[   ]

7. What is your opinion about this statement: "Social media sites provided Egyptians with space to have political conversations online, which generated offline participation during the Uprising."

[   ]

8. One important characteristic of this Uprising was, "Spontaneity". Do you agree?

- If yes, in what way do you think social media sites affected this characteristic?

[   ]

9. How different do you perceive things could have been if protestors in Egypt had no access to social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube?

- Would the Uprising still have taken place?

-Would the intensity of the Uprising be different?

- Would everything have happened just as it did?

PART II

Now I would like to ask you questions regarding the Egyptian Uprising and the factors that affected this movement.

1. How could you describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

2. Western media has given the Uprising several names in the past one year, what do you feel about the name, "Facebook Revolution?"

3. What is your news source? Where do you prefer to get your news from?

- *Which print media?*

- *Which television channel*

- *Which online source?*

4. Now I would like you to tell me what in your opinion were important factors that triggered the Uprising in Egypt?

- Role of Washington, DC

- Role of the Egyptian Army

- Role of the Labor in Egypt (Mahalla Factory protests)

- Role of the general public

- Role of the Elite

- Any other Factors

5. How would you describe the relationship between new media (social sites) and traditional media in the Egyptian Uprising? Do you for instance feel that they were combined or one dominated over the other?

6. What was the role of the United States in Egyptian Uprising, in your opinion?

7. Do you feel that western mainstream media has highlighted other factors mentioned in Q: 4 to the public? Do you feel that people know the real picture of the Egyptian Uprising of 2011?

We may now conclude our interview. I would like to mention that if you have any suggestions, questions and remarks regarding the interview you may state it here:

Thank you so much for your co-operation and your time.

Appendix B: Interview with KH:

Aneela: When did you become an activist in the Egyptian Uprising?

Karim: It started in 2011, it was the 24th of January I was Alexandria in Egypt. I remember by friend from Cairo told me that tomorrow which is the 25th lots of people are going down to protest against the oppression of the government and against the brutality of the police and the unjustified things that are happening in the country, especially the Tunisian Revolution was before us so it was sort of a motive for us to also….So as I said I went down to Cairo the next day. I got there late but we stayed there till 2.00 a.m. and then the police started throwing tear gas and with water, then we left and events kept getting more dramatic.

Aneela: Ahan..Okay..could you please tell me how did you use social media tools such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube during these days of protests?

Karim: Well what happened is that before the Revolution people used to express their feelings and emotions online due to the fact that they can't say these things in the street because the security was so strict. But we thought we could escape it on Facebook since there is less control and so lets say all big problems that happened in Egypt the people who were affected by these problems they make a group then they try to present their idea and say this is wrong and so on and so forth. You get my idea? Like…

Aneela: You mean they discuss the problems online?

Karim: Yes make a group online and share pictures and proof points, things like that. So all these groups which were a lot decided on the same day that we were going to go down and say against the government that this cannot happen. It started online though.

Aneela: Ahan..Could you now please provide me with a little background information regarding the situation in Egypt before the Uprising?

Karim: Well it all began with the problem of poverty. In Egypt around 45% of the population lives below the poverty line so most of the people who were educated, such as college going teenagers , also doctors and engineers they were discussing these issues of poverty online and these people were the ones who went down on the 25 because they were always connected online because the poor people of course were not using these tools but were suffering due to the situation. So umm..these people met each other and went down and then things started escalating more and more and people got involved because of the police brutality people got hurt and that made more people come so yeah this was the fact.

Aneela: As you mention the economic situation in Egypt, in your opinion the social media tools were important in creating awareness regarding these issues in Egypt?

Karim: Well it was important in creating awareness but it is also deceiving sometimes. You feel like that could also be used to manipulate a country or a thought or manipulating to vote for a person. If you know what I mean. But of course it has advantages like connecting people to each other and yeah it has a lot of advantages but I feel that it really can manipulate if it is in the hands of the wrong people. They try to deceive others and that makes problems in a country.

Aneela: Ahan, and what is your opinion about motivation. Do you think these sites were motivating people to go to Tahrir Square and protest?

Karim: Ummm..well actually to be honest the biggest motivation was the things that were happening on the streets and the pictures that people saw on T.V and on Al-Jazeera and other news channels. This was shown as people were so frustrated and seeing them was motivation. However, organizing of the people, the co ordination, the meeting points all these things were done through Facebook and Twitter because all these had the same context if you know what I mean. It was good in that sense.

Aneela: And do you believe that this Uprising heavily relied on technology?

Karim: Can you repeat that?

Aneela: Yes, umm..I am saying in your opinion if there was no Facebook, Twitter do you think events could have occurred as they did, what could have been different?

Karim: Umm..No definitely not the same definitely because Facebook gave little bit of Transparency to the Egyptian people that they never had before. In that way I mean before the only way people could see stuff was on the T.V and the T.V was owned by the government. So if some things happened and were never known about but though Facebook the eye witness or people who made a video or took a picture whatever, it gives people more transparency they know what is going on beyond what the government wants them to know. So yeah it really was umm without it, it wound not have been the same.

Aneela: Okay and what do you feel about this statement, "Social media sites provided Egyptians with space to have political conversation online which resulted in offline participation."

Karim: I strongly agree with this. Yeah do you want me to elaborate or give a short answer?

Aneela: Yes, yes please you can elaborate of course.

Karim: Okay, umm the thing is that sharing of many views lets say I have a point of view and another person has a point of view and then when you put this in a political context and when its done in front of everyone it is sort of the best mechanism to make a revolution in my view. That you have all the parties in front of each other and they say something and you say something and you try to proof a point or whatever this is the best situation you could have in a revolution. It helps you to be connected to each other on so many ways.

Aneela: Ahan…okay and do you feel that this was a spontaneous Uprising?

Karim: Well to get that far, it was a surprise. Everyone in the country for the past one year before the Revolution was really hitting the point that they were very very disappointed, very very upset with the situation in the country. It was really building up and then when the Tunisian Revolution came it sort of gave people a hope and a motive that they could change something since they were already for 30 years treated so bad in so many ways. And actually like the old regime sort of made them divided in a way that in Egypt there are sort of rich people and poor people, so the system basically destroyed the middle class. You are either rich or your poor, the middle class is not there. So a lot of people were affected by that poverty so they wanted to change it. So no, I could see it coming, everyone saw it coming…

Aneela: Even before the Tunisian Revolution?

Karim: Before the Tunisian Revolution No, but umm after that it was seen to come. It was sort of a national believe in us.

Aneela: How could you call the events in one word?

Karim: Historical. Because it was one of the best changes. It is sort of an inside thing that not many people know of but before the Revolution the people, the younger generation like people of my age, they were looked down upon by the Egyptians. Like the older generation would under estimate us in many ways and positions. They would say that you are too young and pampered and spoiled you wont do anything right for this country and they would say that back in the days it was better and you always saw that in their eyes. However, since the Revolution and we were the first people who went down to Tahrir Square and we were beaten up by the police and shot at and we got tear gas and all that stuff and then they started looking at us in a respectful way. And then that further escalated the Revolution when youth and the older Egyptians joined hands.

Aneela: And you say that it was started by the youth in Tahrir Sqaure?

Karim: yeah it was started by us. it was started by the youth and hence that's why its historical because it was started by youth for the first time and it will stay for long and the story will pass on from generation to generation and generation…

Aneela: Alright..my next question to you is that you may have heard the western media give this Uprising many different names. One was "Facebook Revolution". Have you heard this name?

Karim: Yes I have heard this name

Aneela: How do you feel about this name?

Karim: I definitely do not agree with this name.

Aneela: Could you elaborate as to why not?

Karim: Because a Revolution is a very big thing. You cannot just put a name on a factor such as Facebook and forget that so many people were sacrificed and so many people died. It is not fair to say that Facebook made this Revolution. It was made by those who faced so many problems, died and lost things. Its not going to be a fair cal to call it a Facebook Revolution.

Aneela: Do you feel that western mainstream media has given a proper account of events and highlighted other important factors that triggered the Revolution?

Karim: No, not really. Not the whole thing. They gave an idea of the Uprising and they forgot to give people updates. It started in the beginning and like last year in February , March, April and January I mean. So they sort of stopped afterwards. The people got the impression and because I moved to Holland after that when I talk to someone here their perception of Egypt and issues they still think its under Revolution and its not the same. So no media has not told everything. Now they don't know whats happening over there.

Aneela: Could you tell me what is your news source? Where do you get your news from?

Karim: Actually now its 70% Facebook and about 30% on Google.

Aneela: And what about television channels?

Karim: Al-Jazeera.

Aneela: Al-Jazeera?

Karim: Yeah Al-Jazeera would be my first and then BBC Arabia.

Aneela: Ahan, okay I would like to know your opinion about role of the NGO's in the Uprising. Some articles that I have read have said things like Egyptian Uprising was relying on NGO's and western NGO's served as a backbone to this Uprising…

Karim: Served as what??

Aneela: backbone of the Uprising..

Karim: No, No, No..No..Look I tell you why I don't agree with this statement. When it came down to it maybe after the Arab Spring the NGO's were active because they are connected to each other just like the Islamic organizations are connected to each other. But these Islamic groups when they tried to control the people, people were aware of that and so they could be so active. Same was with NGOs there was nothing like they were controlling the revolution because in my eye, I don't know what really happened but in my opinion there was no single party controlling the revolution. We didn't know that the army was doing so much to capture them. After capturing these people..umm the NGO guys they were let go back to States, but they didn't stay in Egypt…so…no..

Aneela: Hmm okay and what would you say about Mubarak and his relations to the States? What was that like during and before the Uprising?

Karim: Hmm..well the guy…hmm how do I put it. Okay so the guy was in the military, he never had a bad history he just, what he did as a president is that he stayed for too long. In the first 10 years Egypt did good but for the past 20 years it came down, everything is going bad. So the problem is that Mubarak had good relations with the States, he did most of the things that they wanted. However, there is this something that Mubarak didn't do. Like if you know in Saudi Arabia there is an American base, in the Emirates there is an American base, in Kuwait there is an American base, in Egypt there is No American base. America wanted to put their base but Mubarak didn't let him do it. The States also have bases in Iraq and Qatar and a lot of other places but he said No. But yeah he was doing a lot of what they were saying but not to a very bad extent.

Aneela: But he was pretty much..

Karim: Yeah he was pretty much flexible in his decisions but not always.

Appendix C: Interview with MS

Part 1

1-I have been an activist since January 2011

2- My motivation for engaging in political discourse in general is to raise the awareness among people.

3- I am in the steering committee of Dr Mohamed ElBaradei's campaign in Alexandria and the coordinator of the campaign in Alexandria University. After Dr ElBaradei decided not to take part in the presidential elections the campaign has transformed into a political movement called "Haqena" (Our Right). The movement works mainly on supporting the rights of workers everywhere as well as supporting students in universities as well as Women's rights in addition to supporting all the strikes and protests. So you can say it is a social movement as much as it is a political movement which is not bias to an ideology in particular.

4- Social media was very helpful at times and really harmful at others. With the dishonesty of the tv channels each taking a particular side in accordance with its benefits specially the national TV, it was impossible to rely on them. And so, youtube videos for instance where much more authentic because they arrive quickly from the source. another thing is that there are some people whom people trust like activists and some politicians who transfer the news as they are and whom you can trust completely. This is when it comes to news and stuff like that. The main benefit of the social media is that it makes it easier to all the activists to prepare a stand or a protest through a facebook event which would be shared in few moments and everybody would know about it which was what happened on the 25th of January 2011. Now, when anything happens like a massacre, which due to the scaf has become very likely to happen any second, I would create a facebook event for a protest, say tomorrow afternoon, and invite all my friends and fellow activists and they would share it and next afternoon we would find thousands of people gathering in the place we decided. (if it's alexandria it would be hundreds because alex is smaller than cairo)

The reliability on the news from people on twitter can be really harmful because there are some people who you do not know and may set a trap for you to go to a certain place and then you would get caught or anything would happen to you due to thugs hired my the MOI (ministry of interior) and scaf.

5-

-the events that led to the uprising started 20 years ago with 40 % are people who live beneath poverty. Illiteracy in Egypt was estimated at more than 70%; in 1995, it was 48.6% (males, 36.4%; females, 61.2%) according to the national encyclopedia. Even those who are educated are not really educated as one should be this is due to the rotten educational system which needs to be re-established. Also, the unemployment reached 11.9 % according to CAPMAS (the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics) knowing that 28.9 per cent of the unemployed have a college education and 52.6 per cent some kind of technical or vocational qualification. Add to that the high prices which are in no way relevant to what people really earn. and surprisingly Egypt is really rich in its natural resources which were all raped by Mubarak's gang of capitalist beasts. also the emergency law which gave the security the right to arrest anybody under any circumstances and you could have easily found someone getting into your house inspecting and arresting any of your family members. the incident which really made people move was the Khaled Said who was arrested and tortured to death and I think you really read about him. For more info (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Death_of_Khaled_Mohamed_Saeed)

-at the beginning of the uprising, we were expecting that the overthrow of Mubarak's regime would end all the strife ad everything will be better but what happened was that only Mubarak left and was succeeded by 19 army officers who are close friends of Mubarak and who have managed to keep Mubarak's regime safe before and after the revolution. They promised that after 6 months, people would elect a president and everything would be fine and people thought that in those 6 months a new constitution would be set however what really happened was that 4 months later a referendum on 5 articles in the constitution occurred and 2 weeks later they declared an amendment on 63 articles rather than the 5 which people voted for. After almost 10 months there were parliamentary elections.. and until now the scaf is still ruling and there is not a month which passes without a new massacre and new martyrs. knowing that all the murderers and the causers of every massacre are out of jail and Mubarak was not judged yet. and so you can say, nothing really happened except that the islamists, the muslim brotherhood, has taken over the parliament and willing to take over everything else and their latest achievment was that they tried to circumcise the young girls in El Minia, thank God people stopped them. So you can say what is really happening is waaay beyond our expectations.

6- as I said before the social media is the real star of this revolution which the security forces cannot take hold of until now.

(the answer is pretty much like what i have said before)

7- the same aswer

8- Spontaneity... hmm I really think that an uprising with no leader has benefited us and saved us from establishing a new dictatorship also it made people start to learn democracy which they have long been deprived of.

9- if there was no social media the uprising would have happened but on different terms. This would have happened when a famine occurs or when a coup d'etat happens. so it was going to happen anyway.

All the questions in the middle I have pretty answered before.

Part II

4- the role of the labor in egypt

5- the social media is much more, spontaneous and honest in a way that videos shared on the internet people would not see on television channels which only show what would be an advantage to them or you can say those tv channels show the news according to their ideologies and what they really want to show, nothing else.

6- I would like to stress that Washington DC is trying to preserve only their existence and their benefits along with the Israeli benefits because it is well known that if Egypt really becomes a democratic country and if people would really gain their rights, it would be a counterfeit for america in the middle east which is not in its favor in anyway. and on the superficial level, the united states was trying its best to appear as the defender of people rights against Mubarak.

7- I think the western media is not showing that the uprising was an uprising of people with no political ideology who only know that Mubarak's regime (not only mubarak) has really raped this country. They only stress on the news of the islamists due to their islamophobia and I would have liked them to show what really happens with normal people rather than giving all the light to the islamists.

Death of Khaled Mohamed Saeed - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

en.wikipedia.org

Khaled Mohamed Saeed (Arabic: خالد محمد سعيد IPA: [ˈxæːled mæˈħæmmæd sæˈʕiːd]; January 27, 1982 – June 6, 2010) was a young Egyptian man who died under disputed circumstances in the Sidi Gaber area of Alexandria on June 6, 2010, after being arrested by Egyptian police. Photos of his disfigured corp…

Share

43 minutes - Monda Salem

My name is Monda Saad Abdel Meguid Salem. I am 20 years old and I'm a senior year student in the Faculty of Arts, English department, Literature section, Alexandria university.

if you need anything else feel free to tell me

mondasalem@hotmail.com

+201118173896

Appendix D & E: Interview with LA (black font) and MA (blue font)

okay it would be great if your could please introuduce yourself and give me a little idea of how you got involved with the uprising?

okay cooll aaa my name is lamah anas aaa um i am 23 years old umm....currently i work in a ngo its called !@#!@#$!@$!@$!@$! and the yeah its was a very personal ngo its not politcal i was was not i knew yahya from from isac this was three years and aaa. yeah

youv beeen to pakistan aswell ?

no i have no ive been to malaysia when we had the this aa intnational conference

aa okay mhmm but you live in cairo?

114

yes im currently in cairo

so you went to the...you were there at the uprising?

no...um okay i wasnt there i was actually in france to do my masters there ... i was i was was a long way trying to get to to to help in any means possible

yeah

okay how do i okay its started as the main thing that happened is that year before when aaa you know the the story of khalid saeed and so aslo its was that thing we had the then thee page yea of saeed and that like at this point there was lots of protest in many many places but they were all throughout like they were mostly 20 30 people at the same time and they get like...they they.. cant say more so wasnt as strong and aaaa. umm i guess the big thing was we had the the the !@#!@ elections in december aaa before jan and its was was just the the itwas just like obsurd and you could see that you are being tricked and they were like howd you call ..

yeah yeah were when you have hoax its wanst its wasnt

i understand what you mean yes....rigged election .....

yes yes its was obsurd its was a pont its was after like they couldent win all the seats and what was different in this election was that it wasnt possible for the organisers $^#$%#$ was a aa the most cropped in the national democtatic party

mhmm

aa a also he owns the biggest steel company in egypt so really find a merge between all the money and all the power same time

mhmm

and he was responsible for it and he was garunteed alot of aa alot of seats so it was really frustrating for the eqyptians its was like oh my god and then hmmm and then aaa and then we saw that aa what happened to the eqypt and was like what the hell to that eqypt

mhmm

i guess it was like started by advance the like facebook advance that was like we are all the people all on same page was yea

its was very powerful in egypt generating umm..bringing egyptians together...yea..for..

aa it definately triggered like a it was basically what you would do like you would invite all your friends like everybody everybody who gets all their friends

mhmm

and just like what the heck like...we didnt know what was happening to us .. we just had an event that grew bigger and bigger and bigger and bigger and on the 25th of jan i guess you read it somewhere but it was very aa...there was like protests everywhere and everything but the protestors didnt know really what to do

yeah

at at at one point aa it was very aa like you said it was very spontanious it was very like people with their with aa like atleast on what what reached for me what reached me on twitter is that we oh my god like people are tweeting like here its free come here or streets blocked dont go there that was it they were letting people towards the places where there were alot of cops and where there were not any and i remember there was a tweet tehreer street tehreer street come to tehreer street ....aaa ... yani.... before the before the revolution there was no protest but we never had actually protest in tehreer street thats why the govenrment and the cops didnt acutally think of it as a place of protest bucause there had never been protest at tehreer....maybe around tehreer but in the middle of tehreer square i didnt see any ..

yeah

so so after aaa so so

you really do think you do have aa you feel that basically it was also improtant to prove....promote motivation amongst egyptian people to actually go offline and go to tehreer square...do you think that is so?

yeah the thing is that how it started and then aaa...yea and then they blocked twitter ..twitter i guess

mhmm

and tha like i also used to copy paste and people there were still some people who could get through twitter through mobile phones cuz they blocked us on the internet so we could copy paste stuff on facebook so other could have access

yeah

so that was thing after that after they shut the internet it was pretty cool nothing happened and im not sure which im not sure if it was midnight 28th when they shut the internet and i remember facebook stops lilke all communication like all of my friends are from egypt most of my friends are from egypt. but no news feed all the people who were online you couldent see them and it was it was pretty scary was like oh my god what would happen to them they shot !@#!@#!@#!@!

were you also watching television? could you tell me which source which news source do you prefer?

i ... i use to watch bbc arabic

bbc arabic mhmm

there was couple of there was a tranj...al jazeera said that they were they were emphasizing on the revolution and they were really pro revolution and that the al arabia was against in a way you could feel it they were against revolution i i felt that the most unbiast was bbc arabic and i had to watch it..had to stream online

what about cnn or bbc ganerally do you think they did a good job in covering the events?

i didnt i dint like my source of a my source of information were aaa...were were were twitter basically and bbc arabic cuz it was in arabic so yeah

yeah

didnt go to cnn at cnn they i dont know why in bbc arabic they have coverage all the time over egypt other like bbc or cnn they have like they covered egypt but they it wasnt the main thing so i... yeah thats how i survived this experience

i would also want to know if you could tell me what do you think if there was no twitter of facebook you know if people did not have access to social media sites or youtube for that matter as weve heard alot of different vidoes that were posted on youtube which also generated alot of motivation for people to go actually and protest how do you think this movement would have been if there was not social media access and how many people do you feel actually used social media tools in egypt considering the internet penetration

okay ummm...so okay i just prefer i want to tell you that after the the internet shut down that was the main reason people were on the streets on 28th...%&%^&%$&%&%&$$....and how would it have been....its was.. a matter of time... aa without social media i will have happened but it would have happened much much more slower

much slower...

social media and internet there is a communication an open communication and you find out that you are not alone not the only one thinking this way and there are alot of people supporting you it showed that they made made it a matter of time because the problem is that aaa that i .... im a generation which only saw oppression. im 23 and I would go online and talk to others and like with communication and then with travelling with meeting with everything and you see that other countries are #@$#@$#@. they have democrasy every four years they have a new president moving on and all that ....aaa yea....aaa yeah... and i have my brother who was actually in cairo so he can join us.

yea that would be very nice yea...someone who was actually there... helloo...hi

hi

okay shes asking about the uprising

yea its actually for my masters thesis um yeah i have some questions

okay cool it would have happened much slower but it would have happened sooner or later in like a year or two..atleast a year if no communication but the thing is that communication helps alot. how many egyptians use internet...i think aa..very sma..like small percentage of the aa..a..egyptian popu..a ... population but the thing is that .. these are the ones like theres a small minority the active minorities who are pushing things forward and do you know and after that when things happened everybody joined..i think

how many persons

i dont know i dont know aa

yea well ...its okay with the statistics um my whole point was to understand if it was more like a snowball effect you know like a small group of..

it was definately a snowball effect definately snowball effect

and do you think all of the tunisian uprising also affected it?

yeah ufcourse it was like because tunisia is a small country

mhmm

and .. and their president stayed for less time then ours we were like what the ... you know like if if like if they can do it we can do it was basically people all sorts of people would say because of tunisia it should happen to egypt but ...it was really....matter of time really. without or with tunisian revolution after the parliamental elections the poor like really feel like its was really frustrating like just a joke a real joke so

mhmm

aa so people couldnt handle anymore the problem is .. was with the ancient regiem like it was undemocratic thats one thing also you didnt have any freedoms

mhmm

and aaaa it it was you had the the police that was so powerful to do anything and you know if it like lived like you were there but you were not sure that any type of police can come and take you for any reason there was like no no right ... no no productive freedoms ... and what else..

yeah...i also want to know if aaa...aa yea i also want to know what do you think of the name facebook revolution? western media has given it alot of different names and one of them is facebook revolution..do you agree with it?

mmmmm .... definately yea...definately helped alot helped alot with this...facebook and twitter actually

and twitter also..yea

can i ask something

can i also have an interview with you separately..hehehe...it will be two interviews in one night for me

yeah thats cool...no worries

yeah i dont think it should be called as facebook revolution because like facebook started it it was like an event um..but the growing sensation that the egyptian population was going to like getting to a certain extent and would not take it anymore so it co incided with the @#%@#%#@ we created an event on facebook... and most of the people that went to the 25th of the january rervolution...aa because they...they were like simple people they were not the people that stayed on facebook more the people were scared too aa.. pretest at first ...so..aa we were scared of the police and everything

mhmm

but but...there were alot of....it was very diverse back then so yea i think facebook just started to get like the...aa..people or middle class aware of the fact that people are like going to have a revolution soon

yea..but you dont think it should be called that

aaaa....mmm..nooo i dont think so because throughout the revolution alot of things happened because the revolution started on the 25th and still ongoing

and before that it was the muhalla..

the #@$#@$ @#$#@ yea could you please tell me if that was a very important factor during the uprising?

yea

..a it was i participated in it but i was one of the people .. i i .. wa ..i didnt go to muhalla the mahulla uprising but there was a protest going on in cairo and alot of people knew about it but i was still back in highschool then we wore black and we started walking up till there and were asked several times where we were going why were wearing black and these things..but aa...we couldnt reach there because were going full then something happened then we didint go but it made made the people that were in high school back then be aware of the fact that ...

how many years ago is this do you remember roughly

2008

6 of april....are u sure

yeah im sure

and it was the ...day day ...6th of april movement day the did a it was an event on facebook aswell?

no..no facebook wasnt that famous back then it was it was aaa..i dont know it was a strike

it was a strike

it was a strike

it was a little bit like a strike then....like a labour strike

it...aa.decided to me some kind of a protest some kind of a

i would really appreciate if you guys could tell me about other factors that you think that you know aa...trigered the revolution such as the role of the army or ... m... weve discussed the labour but like the elite and the army and ngos and a..do you think there were alot of western ngos in cairo in egypt that kind of promoted this uprising by you know educating people about it

mm

i guess i guess with the ngos helping it was very minimal but it definately could help the there were ngos that were that that are still advocating for human rights and this was the cause of that its very popular in egypt... you dont know you have actually rights ...there was @#$!@#!@ and other ngos that would do courses all the time human rights education volunteer courses and aa... one thing about...and its still a problem right now ...when i was in isac it was an ngo aswell...if you would have a conference or anything ... there was this ... this ..aa state security the...this like security entity which is an entity that you dont know about..there not police ...but they file of like everybody and they know whats gonna happen and if you are like work as an ngo like you keep updating them on what you do all the time and sometimes we have conferences one security or two security person would come and we would all surprised and we would shut down the conference or not and there was a state on uncertainty and unsecruity...in regards to state security..it was a very corrupt entity

once they were they ones putting people in jail and torturing them and like they they were ones that told the german guspacho....gustapo

yeah yeah yeah this was egyptian they were to police or the army

no no this one police

because most the people in police have kind of the same ranks as

im so sorry i cant understand what your saying your cutting out ....still cant hear you guys...can i call you back

before the ...before like couple of months before the egyptian revolution wikileaks..aa..they published peoples from the us embassy and they were like all sorts of things like all the ... the ..embasidor came to talk to the foriegn ministry in us they have a comment about the the army like it was in the cables the army was like general mubarak they wouldent wouldnt endourse him because he was not ...he w. he never went to Mubarak coming into his place they were indorcing him..the army ...like they didnt ...aa ..before the revolution there was notthing that would tell that they would aa.. they would just didnt like the fact that no one can...aa. can be president. but there..th...there wasnt any sort of ... aa..atleast from my point of view there wasnt any sort of revolution...anything happening i guess and after revolution anything happeing i guess some people say that they first they want to take the best president thats why they ... they ... they came and helped with the revolution..

the us you mean

yeah

i have read that they also have a big role to play because aa. aa egypt also gets alot of a.. a.. one billion dollars per year

yeah they have ... aa...we dont know the budget of the army...thats one problem ...the second problem is that they they take alot of aid and the last problem is that they have... like they have industry like they have commerce like they...they have everything....like...from hotels...aa...production...gas station... alot like....and and you dont know how much this is worth like they have lots of investments

and you dont know if its taxed or not and you dont know how these things run..

its a huge body that you you dont know anything about

yes...and what about the egyptian media your television and stuff...does it does it tell you guys whats going on you know any...

it doesent

it doesent

even after the revolution...its...its became like the media and the army are the strongest...aaa...like assets the...regime has you know

mhmm

so... the regime is not just husn mubarak..thats why..the revolution is still ongoing you have to....they want to do with us like the did with romania.. this is exactly how its happening now

i dont know what happened in romania

sorry sorry...what happened in romania that...aa.. someone from the regime like like they asked the president and then someone in the regime took presidency again and they started like...they told them dont worry dont worry we will fix everything and then they didnt and ..still in a....in a...in a...what is it called in a drictatorship up till now ... and they told me that they feel what we did but we proceeded and didnt do it aswell

but then do you guys feel that um it was too early to label it as revolution

yeah...no sorry

in egypt

it it was too late to celebrate...no too early to celebrate..soo

yeah because thats the thing because all the mainstream meida everyone just you know now if you watch i mean i dont see much of egypt and its still going on you know and i think its important to still highlight it maybe you know because still you know have you guys achieved what you guys were tying to achieve

like untill we have a.. a..constitution or president elected...democratically elected president....we still havent achieved the...the war .. the many wars of the revolution so we still have like we have the elections in a couple of weeks but still the elected president will come with no constitution so he doesent know his powers and no...aa..

there was there ther wouldent be a polti...aa .aa constitution dilema when the president takes position and they wont know if there gonna work with the same ..aa..same powers of the 71 constitution which is kind of weird....entering constitution that the military wrote has also alot of powers to the president so we dont know what would be the powers of the president when he comes so...

yea the other problem we have is that the documentable media all along the the the the the revolution and after the revolution the egyptians natinal revolution the media and television channels they are very biast to the regime regardless of the regime husne mubarak or the military

mhmm

so untill now you dont aa..like for example we had a debate international debate couple of days ago and at the...and it wasnt brought on national tv it was for private companies only ... you know

mhmm

that that thats the thing we have a ...we have a ministry of media

okay

and it isnt publically run its its run by the government and i think it unacceptable like like you know

it has to be independant

independant

it could be public but it has to independant from from...its a channel

its a company

bbc news

do you also think maybe..like..as you guys say that military controls alot of organisations do you also think they control the media to an extent

i...im not sure ....i i dont know exactly how much are the shares of each and every person of the regime in media... but it could have like a .. what is it called stocks...and aa

shares and stocks mhmm

im not sure its not very...umm umm

transparent

yeah.. do you guys think thats...aa..one reasone why..aa twitter and facebook were so popular in this movement

because because mmm the official newspaper and the official...news or official tv is extremely extremely biast to the regime during and untill the end of the 18 days...so ..soo its like first they denied it completely...aa..and said like there is no such thing and no such protest and they started gettin like worried worried worried and then the attacked it and then the accepted it like when when when the first issue after mubarak was ousted was in favour of the revolution

mmm

it was it was it was that

they changed their opinion

yeah they change their opinion in one night....they they...the headline was saying the people aaaa dismiss...overcome...overtake the regime...over threw....people overthrew the regime..

this is a is a very smart move

yea yea

because they gave us the illusion that a) your winning then the military cant say nothing

yea

yeah

so yeah

so according to you guys this was the peoples revolution yeah

people against the oppression

yeah it was it was

and role of social media again because i have to focus on it thats my research basically but um...would you .. how do you precieve .. ive asked you this before but i also want to know you brothers opinion as he was actually... you were there during the uprising

yes he was

ive asked lamah before...how did you use it during the uprising...social media..tools

social media..social media was very interesting during like...because i was at the social media..mainly facebook and twitter and aa..on the 25th day but i was not out but i knew people that were out and they sent me the.... aa...they shared the pictures and i shared aswell and like they shared pictures news...status....chanting in the square...aa...like alot of things ... alot of things were shared you know ... people dancing ... im talking about the whole 18 days im talking about all the whole...it was very interesting the use ... because it was the only source of media that you can trust because it comes from the people but at the same time you have to...aaa...be aware that there could be alot of rumore on the internet so...

yea because there are no gate keepers

yeah yeah thats a ... yeah

i remember before the ...the ... the internet was shut down it was very interesting they were lots of ...aa...parallel activism because they found like...we knew that the the the like the regime is still in office and can easily now how people are managing things....like i remember some people like alot of people share the google document with instruction with what to do on the 28th..

yeah

really

it was like dont share on faceboook only on google doc that share it with people..a with emails that you knwo

yeah yeah

so that was ...a ...a.. to make sure that the regime doesent even know whats happening

it was it was very well done extremely well done....the maps and the routes we were gonna take and what do you take with you like what kind of of ...

i can share it with you.. i still have it saved with me i can share

yeah yeah that would be great .. yea

its gonna be hilarious theres a picture of masks ... there was tear gas so we would tell you where what type of mask to wear .... like which products put when you have tear coming

yeah mhmm

so who was umm ... most of the people who were doing all of this were bloggers or activist yea or students .. who was actually doing this online?

it was it was usually like recent activists like or like all the recent activists joined together because at that time alot of upcoming activists like aa i dont kno i dont know alot of people got famous after the revolution

mhmm

they start activism on the internet revolution something like that so yea it was... it was very interesting you could see alot of ways in which aaa...the revolution was instructed or aa..portrayed by using drawing....or creativity

yea

it was it was for a good cause

yea yeah yea thats really nice i mean you guys gave me alot of useful information

you can still...my brother muhammad is still....he is still going to be in egypt and if you wanna call for another interview

yeah thankyou so much and your name is muhammad yeah

muhammad is in his second year in university and studying law in university in cairo university

Appendix F: Interview with AR (black font)

Aneela - First of all I would like to umm....i would like you to please introduce yourself and tell me a for how long have you been an activist and how did you get involved with the uprising?
Mohammad Raouf - Okay aa.   first thing umm im muhammad abdul from aaa... im a student and a german university in cairo

-mhmm..

-and um im studying biotechnology.

-okay

-and actually..I..I.. you cannot say that im aa... um... a political activist um mostly i was aaa..social activist...i was work...im working in different .... ngos... and aam you know...some aa like a..socially related issues and in our organisations and stuff but

-okay

-but in the revolution.... aaa...you know everyone who wasnt involved in in..e..e even if you are not involved in politics..

-yea

-aa you get involved with politics after this change and .. and during this change so...thats how it happened so..umm but you cannot say that i was political activist or even i am not ..like my activities now are not pure politics now im more now interested about healthcare about....interested about the use of biotechnology...things more...developmental issues not pure critic in +&%%^&\

-okay but umm aa... your egyptian...you were..you were born in a.. egypt?

-yea yea im egyptian..

-okay aa...i also want to know if you used any blogs or any social media networks..aa during the uprising days?

- yea sure i was using almost everything i can use...like i was using facebook...twitted...tumblr...luftspark.. like umm...every possible aaa..thing i can document or write..aa incourage people to participate or to..aa..get involved and to um..connect...and you know creating this aa revolution these protestants uprising i was using aa atleast facebook, twitter aa and tumblr as &^%$#

-okay and how did you use these online aa ..media outlets...what did you..did you upload statuses or how did you use it?

-aa i was basically aa like w when you are in the protest sometimes you..you are tweeting you know whats whats happening you know...reporting what you are seeing...you are reporting you know just to inform others..

-mhmm..

-aa but with time things .. aaaa...mm... like your job become covered by others like i become in a in a place that they can see that so many people are tweeting for so i dont feel the need to tweet the same thing they are tweeting..

-so i started to tweet some umm...peotic views of whats going on..aannd umm.. you know like...a.a im not that you know a usual media person who are like a persna..like if you do whats reporting what hes seeing or reporting for television news sometimes i put my opinions, myyy reflections, my personal feelings and so on... ummm this is this is kinda related about me and how i aa um.. i think trying...reporting things in a different way can add more to it..
-yea true.
-and yea
-okay yea and um in in your opinion..umm facebook twitter youtube were they important in reating awareness aa amongst people in egypt regarding aa what was going on at that time?
-yea definately difinately in egypt now aa people consider aa facebook and aa twitter as a new source of information just the same like radio and television and newspapers...aaa..social media now is getting to be another source of information like people now the streets...aa when someone give you an information based and considered facebook as a source of information or a source of of aa muse so...its its very common now that you are someone from where who will give you this information i will get it from facebook and its considered quite aaa...um trust worthy...its its not very trust worthy as much as the tv or...aa the radio or anything but its its getting more aa..credibility by time.
-ummhmm okay and aa what do you think of this statement aa when i say that social media provided egyptians with space to have political conversation online which generated offline participation during the uprising...do you agree with this statement?
-aaa yea but but could you repeat it again?
--aa yeah that social media it provided eqyptians with space to have politcal discussion online and that online discussion resulted in offline particiapation that the more people talked about it online more people went outactually on the streets
-yeah definately definately i am totally agreeing to this
-yes
-umm hmm
-yes
-okay and also please tell me if you think that this uprising was spontanious?
-ummm....its its...spontanious but its aaa the thing is on on what what happened that now in virtual world of of internet and and and aaaa and facebook and social media and so on
-yea
-people start grouping in a virtual virtual ways by ... we started to group aa group aa site in umm
-yes
and then about such causes you know this happened...like get like people were interested in this people were care so they just press a like and then they are gouped in one place. then and and this also worked #%$%@#$ was asking people to sign online
-ummhmm
-and that um um petition for change or what were doing that were signing a petiotion online but what happened that when 100000 people signed something on the internet the system think that

theres a connection even if its aaa with a very small effort and is now active ever but just now we know that the atleast 100000 people are agreeing on this and theres something connection them.this was continous

yea

- aaa what the the the next step was just okay in egypt we saw just what happened in tunisia so...

yea

this is time for us to do the same then its to the 25th of jan we are calling the people with think were we canot canot they cannot be interestted they cannot care aobut this they cannot do it

mmhmm

we have online so it happens so things move from this online gathering this virtual world

mhmm

to the real world and it was happening ummm in in

mhmmm

in this was surprising like no one was expecting even even me even anyone was interested in politics we know how much aaa umm with things like this happenenig before like you can see an event thats 5000 people are saying they can attend and you go to the protest and you find no one this happened

yea

alot of times you just find police men and suck

mhmm

this time they were like....i remember 24th of jan

mhmm

we were aa two thousan...two hundred fifity thousand people are in the protest

owww ....in tehreer square?

yea aa no ....its was in tehreer square it was from different places

ooo okay

and the teh tehreer square thing came very spontaniously

mhmm

that we get ...we found ourselves ..in numbers ...and we felt we were around downtown and around tehreer square from different places

yeah

and.. you know we said okay lets lets go to tehreer cuz you know tehreer is a in a the place we aaa. have have we control it we are its its in in in downtown its its in the center of city and if the protest reach tehreer its mean that the protestors are controlling ..aa..a large aa umm space or largeaaayeah like its a control central and aaa the city and this means alot

mhmmm

soooo it happened ...spontanioulsy its connection between people from different protests coming from everywhere in cairo to meet all of us in in tehreer square and and that was an an downtown and and we came i..i..i came i was speaking to the friends aaa group of people who entered tehreer this time and we saw the tear gas for the first time...for the first time i see tear gas and stuff

hmmm mhmmm

125

and and and we felt that the ... the own tehreer square and and controlling tehreer square is is getting to be the cause they are this thing is so much surrenders this thing so much means that gave me in a aa taking tehreer square is a victory

yea

or a sign of youth we did it you know with with with

ahaan

aaa cuz we were we this was the first time for us to .. in it succeeding and to see our you know our enemey this..aaa...this...victory is very defying.

yeah okay but aaa whe when you say that aa they were they were trying to stop you from protesting..who do you mean..who are you talking about?

aa can you repeat

yeah im sorry im saying if when you say that you guys were protesting and there were people who were tying to stop you aa who do you mean are you talking about the police or who are you talking about ... who was trying to stop you guys

yes its its the the state state police.. the state ..security yea on the greece umm...no

okay also i would like to know what do you think if there were no social media sites like facebook twitter if there was no accces to these sites aa how do you think the uprising could have been different?

-aaa mm aa.... again please sorryy..i cannot hear your voice..

-oo okay aaa im saying if there no social media sites like facebook twitter youtube how different do you think the protest wpuld have happened in egypt

-aa without them?

-yes if there was no was no acces to these social media sites

- i think i think ithink it was going to be quite the aa its its a communication thing like..we were going communicate using mobile phones for example so someone in downtown someone from other place aa aa sitting.

mhmm

we were going to communicate that we go to tehreer

yeah

and the thing ishow many people who were gonna see this telephone call or... you know like... i am speak to you for example you are on this side of the city and i am on the other side ..the western or eastern side we were ... m...we we you have with you like a thousand people and another thousand people and we go should go to tehreer now.

yeah

so i would call you and call me aa and all the to have and efficient communicatipon about the plan that we can meet in tehreer

yea

you have to take everyone in the 1000 reserve and take everyone in the 1000 main this cannot be happened..

mhmm

aa aa only using the the ohone communication for example but what facebook and twitter and things aa aa it do to the other...i send a message now we are in this place we are this number people and we are people and we are hedding now to tehrrer so everyone in this house eveyone around the tehreer can see aaa this message it can see what the truth

but they said and then we can aaa aaa we can like join us

also whithout facbook without twitter you cannot aaa transmit aaa visual or aaa multimedia aa news like cannot post an image of whats happening...aaa ..aa ..in a video or anything and this turn to dicrease aa so much that first of aa the actually actually i think without facebook or twitter or a &^%%$$ it be in general

this was going to be so much similar to what happened in cairo in 1977

yeah this was the times anwar saddat my dad was participating in this

and... and ... and he was telling me it was aa .. as big

and the streets were used but they couldent communicate the same image aa we had at this at the time like there was tear gas there were there was this uprise there was this number there was these causes and these circumstance but they couldent transmit the people efficientlly. they didnt have the privilage of telling people the truth all were aaa..how did the other people in their homes were knowing about the protest was from the national tv and national media

and national media wasnt telling the truth

and the same thing happened in the 25th of jan but the difference is there was this was the virtual world that they couldent ... aa .aaaaaa..

they couldent change they couldent ...erase or they couldent read which was telling the truth..

about whats happen...so we had our this solution and we could work it as out weapon against national media to change this wrong...aa message they were transmitting to aa .. egyptian people

and and this work very fine and and this was let them to 28th of jan to aaa stop all the communication on the internet of mobile phone cuz this was the real enemy thats why they were loosing but aa... but we already in you know aaa before the 28th of jan..aa things were umm like as seperate

when they turn the internet this umm this even work against them cuz people are felt that internet was telling them the truth so they had to blog so the felt that if they had no internet they had no phone...no no ... ways of communication...so... while im staying in the house i will go to the join the protest you know soo...

aaa mm i think they did...but the didnt have aaa...like enough access to what to what the egyptian like the egyptian were not watching them this mu this much aaa and aaa and also the national media was aa like all the time criticising them so it was saying that cnn for example is

just saying what america wants to say and this mean that we shouldent trust them and so im im um

mhmmm but you dont agree with that? what does your?

do i what?

what is your opinion on this statement that dont trust the western media...you as an egyptian? do you feel like that or what is your news source?

umm my my own my own thing aobut the cnn and for example i say i found bbc was amazing bbc was mine mine bbc was transmittin a very mutual aaaa professional aa image about whats going on

mhmm

that cnn make a ahave some umm ...thing about you know how how emotional they get ..

mhmm

to be like they exajurate things in in some ways

mhmm

but still you cannot say they lost there professianality or anything

mhmm

and that will be for me the day aaa the things were happening in aa very aa professional way compaired to the national media or aaa ... or the other caa...media channels i think i think that umm that was certain ones were doing umm a good job but but maybe maybe aa we didnt watch them enough you know

yeah...yeah....aa have you heard of this name for uprising? umm...it has been labelled as facebook revolution.. do you agree with this statem....label?

aa facebook revolution ummm ....sigh...umm i think i agree about the youth of revolution not just facebook ...is a tool

mhmm

but its not ....it was one of the tools of...of the revolution but its not ...aa..you cannot label it with facebook.....its more labelled with the youth who... used things like facebook to make revolution its umm...

yeah

you know what i mean its its ... its not correct to say umm...that its for example the revolution of studentes...or revolution of aaa...mm....when we do a movement connecting it to a tool is not all correct discription connecting it to the to the ideas and the souls and the the people and the its its its i think its more convenient then a tool itself

but you have heard this label right? when you watched tv youv heard? umm you have heard journalists call the eqyptian uprising as a facebook revolution right?

yeah

mhmmm

i also would like to know...umm if ... aa wait a second yeah i would also like to know your opinion about other important factors that triggered this uprising..if you could go back a couple of years and think about the roll of the labour...or aa...the role of the elite or role of washington dc the ngos aa do you think all of those factors combined also had stong impact on what happened last year in egypt?

umm yeah but this wasnt umm any of this having any direct ... it was all aa.. in the accumulating by time and leading to this but we cannot connect a direct and cannot say this ngo was helping us doing this and then afterwards aa...this happened this way cuz of the what the ngo did..

mhmm

you cannot reconnect something to anything that happened it was just all ummm ...just creating a concious and creating the the you know the background everyone who participated aa for example ... you know learning about human rights and peacful demonstration and so on... this all was now relating the background of everyone who was involved the the place but its was in directly related it was just you know things that you know i can read in you life you get exposed to different cultire you get exposed to aa different concepts and .&$%&%^$%^.and then it appears at the right time.

mhmm

but you cannot connect this like so anything happen it dont see any organisational any umm..group of people they @#! in thats !@#!@#!@#!@....aaaaa.....do what happened in in this revolution

okay...yeah and in your opinion the relationship between new media and new social sites and the traditional egypt during this uprising do you think thats social media dominated over the traditional media like tv channels?

aa .. sorry say it again...

yes im saying in your opinion social media sites new media was dominating over the traditional media like television channels during the uprising were people using were they getting more affected by the social media sites or were they watching on television?

it depends on umm aa aa like who those people you are dealing wiht like some people who are more aaaa affected by the national and the traditional ways of media but the but the the the you were more affected by a the social media but the thing is whats happening and whats getting to .....be so clear so that the even in the .... normal national media way...aa ...traditional ways like can find in newspapers

mhmmm

people are putting tweets

yea

aa....aaaa...and on on tv problems they are using the that facebook opinions to create the content

mhmm

so its happening its the people you know are watching tv and they are not using the facebook and twitter but now the tv is telling them about twitter about whats happening in twitter like his is getting content with soo.... its ....umm its an $%#%# relationship ..but people are still twitted or facebook or sending message to people who are just watching tv and reading newspapers this happening when mediums are getting connected and this suck you know everything is fake so...

do you?

you cannot feel safe what came ....you find something that came on faceboook then it became a piece of news or in the newspapers so ... now everyone reads the eveyone is affected by it so they like to think that umm they interconnect then same thing you know when they producting in news papers and stop commenting in social media and this carries negative feedback on whats happening and so on so...its all an interconnect world now

yea.... yea......okay...umm i think i just have one more question for you and then well be done..

yea

just want know if you were ever part of any ngo in eqypt or ...aa ...if you are still part of any ngo and how how does umm specific target group like a perticular ngo had used social media networks to...aa .... inform people who do not have the internet access because egypt is a country with not that much internet access so how does how does a limited number of people having acces to the internet generate and pass on the message to the rest of the people in the country

umm the thing is ....aa .aa i told you the thing the worlds interconnected and and let let me tell you a story about something happened also the that the revolution on the 25th of jan i was working with an ngo called aa...eqyptian medical recess station and and aaa we were just doing aa umm project as somewhere in aa...in under privelaged place in cairo just ...a aa...place where poor people are there and stuff and the peoples comment about us when they see us like umm people more like people dressed more in casual wear and jeans and looking more you know

yeah

coming littlebit upperclass but i think you know having there like and tweeting about whats done or working ....they called us the 25th of jan ...aa ... youth

yeah

they they they had they show us at the labelled us like this this out label you are the 25ths of jan guys when trust you we cannot this big this was that just in in february or march just just after the revolution just after you know seeing the seeing these young people putting more work done

mhmm

at this at this time people were believing that the ... these youth people with this kind of middle class aa aaa aaaaa egyptians young egytians was meeting with more technology and stuff everyone even if the are .... aaa...kinda poor and stuff like this

mhmm

they were they were trusting us and and and you know looking ...aa...upto us we can help them we can offer them future can be change and they were listening to or they were like these are the revolution guys and these are the ones who now gonna change ...aaaa..how things are going

mhmmm

this typically by time but still aaa.....we are dealing...we are creating for example we are speaking to each other on facebook now we can tell...aa....people who are not having facebook but .....they shouldnt vote for the people running for the present who are working wiht mubarak cuz its in if if for example people on facebook and an and twitter have we know that we have the same kind of mentality that people in the street have all the arguments how can reply to these arguments and have techniques do you know what i mean

yes

like i can speak to a friend and tell him that people usually tell me this so how can i reply to them what do you think the best approach to each mark so ...facebook is not just to send messages to each other or to aa push each other...its also to develop our techniques and our ways of being with none facebook people or...a none internet access the more you deal with ...with people on facebook...and...and ...and twitter and discuss your ideas and theories and your ways of expression you get more careful of supressing your ideas nd point of views of people from different generations and less exposure things....umm its very commmon you go to people who do not have internet and show them video

yeah

its something that were doing everyday ... aa speak to my parents and and . i show them aaa....for example the videos on facebook and these can alter generations...

mhmm

i showed them ...i showed them things that make them content so its...i wish this answers your question.

yea ufcourse yeah it does it does ,,,,umm thankyou so much it has been very nice talking to you i got alot of interesting feedback from you and umm thankyou and the last thing muhammad could you please can you just write down exactly what your ummm age and ...aa where do you study what do you do just so that i can have this as aaa back aa you know your credentials cuz ill have to quote you on somehtings and then i will have your data just to know what ngo were you working for and just your name

okay i will write this now...

yeah just something you dont mind me putting on my paper bucause i have to ufcourse present the people i have interviewed during my research

okay

and also of course you were and activist right during the uprising right so i can call you an activist

aa yeah you can say im more of a social activist

social yeah

and think this is a better description

okay hehe

thank you so much

Appendix G: Interview with YG

Structure: The interview guide contains the following elements:

Every bold question serves as the primary question within the topic. The interview is divided into three main topics:

4. Socio-political state/condition/history of Mubarak era Egypt

5. Factors that triggered the Egyptian Uprising

6. Role of social media in the uprising

Indented questions are secondary follow-up questions within the same topic. These questions will help to guide the conversation according to the topic but are not vital to address as other more related questions could arise in the process of the interview.

The interviews will take place over Skype/telephone or via Email and would last for approximately thirty minutes. They will be digitally recorder. The interviewer (me) might also take brief notes while carrying out the interview for later reference etc.

Data interview/respondent: Please fill this in

This data provided before the start of the interview:

Name Interviewee:

Yasmin Galal

Function interviewee:

Currently: Full-time International Law Masters Student. Previously: Project Manager at the NGO Alliance for Arab Women

Date and time of the interview:

May 21, 3.00 pm

General Information

Purpose of the Interview: My name is Aneela Rashid and I am a Master student at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. The purpose of my research is to understand the situation in Egypt before the Uprising of 2011. What were the factors that triggered the Uprising, what conditions were Egyptians facing that led to this revolution to occur? Following up on that I want to explore the role of the media in uprooting/bringing to light the demands of people in Egypt, focusing on the social media sites and how bloggers, activists and journalists like you, used the social media tools before/during the Uprising in Egypt to highlight the issues, to mobilize people and to create awareness. I also want to know what in your opinion main important factors that triggered this Uprising were.

Later in the interview I will explain more about what social media tools I want to learn about. The interest in the subject is to understand what really happened. What factors were important in the events before the Uprising took place? The interest in the subject is based on my perception that an event like the Egyptian Uprising should not be limited to the time frame of the protests which lasted 21 days, but rather to understand the events that occurred before these days as there should be the explanation of what triggered the Uprising.

Design and Structure of the Interview:

The interview consists of questions such as:

(1) What were the important factors that let this Revolution to take place? What is the right term to describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

(2) What was the motivational force driving the people,

(3) About your role as a blogger/activist/journalist in the Uprising, your opinion about how much social media affected protests in Egypt

As mentioned before, the Interview will be of minimum thirty minutes, maximum an hour depending on the interviewee's interest in the subject and amount of information that he/she will be willing to share.

Agreements:

If you agree the interview will be digitally recorded so that I can make sure to be as accurate as possible in interpreting your response. Do you agree?

If you prefer, I can send the transcript of the interview. You are free to make corrections or to add information to this transcript.

I also require your permission to quote you from this transcript of the interview. If you permit me to use your name I will do so. But if you prefer to remain anonymous then I will NOT use your name. However, I will like to refer to your blog/organization that you represent/work. Basically, I would like to identify your occupation but not you as an interviewee. Of course the reason for that is to make my interview with you authentic and to show that you were relevant to my research due to your occupation. Is that OK with you? (If not, may I quote you but keep both your identity and the identity of your occupation as anonymous?)

You can use my name and my occupation as a "Project Manager at a Cairo-based Women's Rights NGO". But please do not name it, since all my opinions represent me and not my employer.

Do you have any Questions?

Nope

We may now start the interview.

PART I

Background Information of the interviewee (app 5 minutes)

1. Since when have you been an activist/blogger/journalist?

In 2009, after I graduated from University. Studying political science has opened my eyes to so many things, most importantly human rights. I had more political awareness as I worked in different NGOs after my graduation that deal with human rights especially young people and women.

2. What is your motivation for blogging/engaging in political discourse online?

It is a very effective tool to reach a big number of people without needing a lot of resources (money).

3. Do you belong to any NGO (non-government organization) in Egypt? If yes, can you please provide me with a brief description of the NGO and what is the role of this NGO in Egypt?

The Alliance for Arab Women is an NGO that works for women empowerment in Egypt through projects and advocacy campaigns. It also has a big network of partners in other Arab countries to coordinate their work together and share best case practices and know-how.

Now I would like to talk about the role of social media in the Uprising.

4. How did you use social media tools such as Twitter, Facebook and (or) YouTube during the Uprising last year?

I was mainly using facebook, by sharing pictures and videos from Tahrir Square, encouraging more people to join the protests. And at the times when I was not in Tahrir, I used to engage with people on discussions on facebook about the revolution, its aims and where it is headed.

5. Could you please start by giving me some background information of how you got involved with the Uprising?

- When did the events that led up to the Uprising begin?

- What were you expecting to achieve in the beginning of the Uprising?

- Have your expectation been met?

In 2010, a young man called Khaled Said was tortured to death by police officers in Alexandria. I joined massive protests against police brutality at that time. I do believe that the Jan 25 revolution had its momentum from the political/social/human rights awareness that was happening then. And then the Tunisian revolution happened and Egyptians were very inspired by it.
But to be honest, at the beginning, I did not know what to expect. We were calling on the streets for bread,

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freedom and social justice. But then the momentum started growing bigger and bigger and everyone was calling for the removal of the whole regime.
I think it would be too early to speak of met/unmet expectations. The revolution is not over yet.

6. How important were social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube in creating awareness regarding the Uprising to the people of Egypt?

- How important was it in creating participation?

-How important was it in promoting motivation amongst people?

- Do you personally feel that this Uprising relied heavily on new media technology?

Very very important especially when it comes to promoting motivation and engaging in discussion. Social media websites were also a great tool to falsify state-owned media; for example, the Prime Minister then would be on TV saying the Police is not beating protestors, then you find videos on youtube and facebook going viral showing police brutality and unjustified violence against protestors. People started to believe bloggers more than TV anchors.
I think yes new media technology was very helpful but only with the middle/high class (who obviously can afford to have computers, internet and know how to use them). As for the poorer classes who do not have access to internet, word of mouth and curiosity about what's happening was their motivation behind joining the protesters in Tahrir Square.

7. What is your opinion about this statement: "Social media sites provided Egyptians with space to have political conversations online, which generated offline participation during the Uprising."

Very true. At most instances it was a very healthy, free and uncensored discussion.
(However, later the military council currently ruling the country, has put some young bloggers in jail for criticizing SCAF – The Supreme Council of Armed Forces)

8. One important characteristic of this Uprising was, "Spontaneity". Do you agree?

- *If yes, in what way do you think social media sites affected this characteristic?*

At the beginning maybe, but later no, it was different and not spontaneous anymore. There was huge determination that we are not leaving the square until Mubarak steps down.

As for social media, it just encouraged people to join the protests for a variety of reasons, to protect family members, believing in the cause, curiosity, photography … etc

9. How different do you perceive things could have been if protestors in Egypt had no access to social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube?

- *Would the Uprising still have taken place?*

-*Would the intensity of the Uprising be different?*

- *Would everything have happened just as it did?*

Yes, the revolution would still take place but it might have been harder to mobilize the same number of people and it would be very very hard to get a right image of what was going on there. As I said earlier, state-owned media was spreading lies and people used their mobile cameras to spread a real live image of what was happening and upload it online. This was very important in the discourse of the revolution.

PART II

Now I would like to ask you questions regarding the Egyptian Uprising and the factors that affected this movement.

1. How could you describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

> REVOLUTION .. but one that is still incomplete, will take us years to achieve the aims of the revolution "bread, freedom and social justice"

2. Western media has given the Uprising several names in the past one year, what do you feel about the name, "Facebook Revolution?"

> **"Facebook Revolution" is a very misleading name. facebook and social media websites definitely helped a lot but it the revolution was way way more, it saddens me to be called that to be honest.**

3. What is your news source? Where do you prefer to get your news from?

- *Which print media?*

- *Which television channel*

- *Which online source?*

> - I don't read print media
> - I don't watch state-owned channels, I can watch some private channels like O-TV, ON-TV and Al Jazeera
> - All independent newspapers, Al-Shorouq, Al Masry Al Youm. As well as blogs and tweets of activists I trust and subscribe to

4. Now I would like you to tell me what in your opinion were important factors that triggered the Uprising in Egypt?

- Role of Washington, DC

- Role of the Egyptian Army

- Role of the Labor in Egypt (Mahalla Factory protests)

- Role of the general public

- Role of the Elite

- Any other Factors

- Washington did not do anything. They stayed there watching to see what's going to happen. If Mubarak stays, we support Mubarak. If the revolution wins we support the revolution. And honestly I am so glad they didn't interfere. It was our fight and we did it on our own.
- Egyptian Army played an important role at the beginning but now the SCAF ruling the country is no different than Mubarak, we need to get rid of them too to have a real free society that promotes human rights and social justice.
- *Mahalla Factory protests* of course played an important part, these protests + Kefaya Movement + 6th of April movement + the death of Khaled Said were all factors that helped build the momentum for the revolution.
- general public and the ones who fed the revolution with young people who fought for their rights, doctors to help the wounded in field hospitals as well as some people helping with food, medicine and covers. But also some people were not supportive of the revolution at all, thinking of only short-term gain (loss of stability, security … etc).
- The Elite cannot be generalized, some took part in the revolution because they believe in equality, justice and human rights while others did not participate at all. Others made sure they sell their stocks and leave the country.

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5. How would you describe the relationship between new media (social sites) and traditional media in the Egyptian Uprising? Do you for instance feel that they were combined or one dominated over the other?

They were not combined and none was dominant. They offered different views and targeted different people. Both were essential I guess.

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6. What was the role of the United States in Egyptian Uprising, in your opinion?

Explained above when you asked about Washington DC.

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7. Do you feel that western mainstream media has highlighted other factors mentioned in Q: 4 to the public? Do you feel that people know the real picture of the Egyptian Uprising of 2011?

Media can never be 100% objective. At the beginning they pictured the revolution as civic, inclusive … etc and now they are talking about fear from Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic currents and only focusing on that. What is currently happening in Egypt is way way bigger and more complex than that. I think mainstream media would only say the things that would sell.
but of course there are exceptions, like Naom Chomsky, Mona al Tahawi and others.

We may now conclude our interview. I would like to mention that if you have any suggestions, questions and remarks regarding the interview you may state it here:

No, thanks and best of luck

Appendix H: Interview with ST

Structure: The interview guide contains the following elements:

Every bold question serves as the primary question within the topic. The interview is divided into three main topics:

7. Socio-political state/condition/history of Mubarak era Egypt

8. Factors that triggered the Egyptian Uprising

9. Role of social media in the uprising

Indented questions are secondary follow-up questions within the same topic. These questions will help to guide the conversation according to the topic but are not vital to address as other more related questions could arise in the process of the interview.

The interviews will take place over Skype/telephone or via Email and would last for approximately thirty minutes. They will be digitally recorder. The interviewer (me) might also take brief notes while carrying out the interview for later reference etc.

Data interview/respondent: Please fill this in

This data provided before the start of the interview:

Name Interviewee:

Salma Talaat

Function interviewee:

Student

Date and time of the interview:

May 23, 2012

General Information

Purpose of the Interview: My name is Aneela Rashid and I am a Master student at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. The purpose of my research is to understand the situation in Egypt before the Uprising of 2011. What were the factors that triggered the Uprising, what conditions were Egyptians facing that led to this revolution to occur? Following up on that I want to explore the role of the media in uprooting/bringing to light the demands of people in Egypt, focusing on the social media sites and how bloggers, activists and journalists like you, used the social media tools before/during the Uprising in Egypt to highlight the issues, to mobilize people and to create awareness. I also want to know what in your opinion main important factors that triggered this Uprising were.

Later in the interview I will explain more about what social media tools I want to learn about. The interest in the subject is to understand what really happened. What factors were important in the events before the Uprising took place? The interest in the subject is based on my perception that an event like the Egyptian Uprising should not be limited to the time frame of the protests which lasted 21 days, but rather to understand the events that occurred before these days as there should be the explanation of what triggered the Uprising.

Design and Structure of the Interview:

The interview consists of questions such as:

 (1) What were the important factors that let this Revolution to take place? What is the right term to describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

(2) What was the motivational force driving the people,

(3) About your role as a blogger/activist/journalist in the Uprising, your opinion about how much social media affected protests in Egypt

As mentioned before, the Interview will be of minimum thirty minutes, maximum an hour depending on the interviewee's interest in the subject and amount of information that he/she will be willing to share.

Agreements:

If you agree the interview will be digitally recorded so that I can make sure to be as accurate as possible in interpreting your response. Do you agree?

If you prefer, I can send the transcript of the interview. You are free to make corrections or to add information to this transcript.

I also require your permission to quote you from this transcript of the interview. If you permit me to use your name I will do so. But if you prefer to remain anonymous then I will NOT use your name. However, I will like to refer to your blog/organization that you represent/work. Basically, I would like to identify your occupation but not you as an interviewee. Of course the reason for that is to make my interview with you authentic and to show that you were relevant to my research due to your occupation. Is that OK with you? (If not, may I quote you but keep both your identity and the identity of your occupation as anonymous?)

Yes

Do you have any Questions?

We may now start the interview.

PART I

Background Information of the interviewee (app 5 minutes)

1. Since when have you been an activist/blogger/journalist?

Since 2010

2. What is your motivation for blogging/engaging in political discourse online?

To help achieve social justice and show the truth to those who don't have access to information.

3. Do you belong to any NGO (non-government organization) in Egypt? If yes, can you please provide me with a brief description of the NGO and what is the role of this NGO in Egypt?

No, I prefer to stay independent

Now I would like to talk about the role of social media in the Uprising.

4. How did you use social media tools such as Twitter, Facebook and (or) YouTube during the Uprising last year?

I would tweet what I saw down in Tahrir square. I would share information on facebook that applied to the events and how I felt as an activist. I shared so many videos of the brutality of the police and the army.

5. Could you please start by giving me some background information of how you got involved with the Uprising?

- When did the events that led up to the Uprising begin?

- What were you expecting to achieve in the beginning of the Uprising?

- Have your expectation been met?

I wouldn't give an exact date because this injustice has been happening even before Mubarek. But it started from the year 2005, which was the year parliamentary elections took place and never has Egypt witnessed blunt forging like it has in 2005. Since then, so many other events occurred and one thing piled on to the other till the people had enough. And then came January 25, 2011 and they decided to take a firm stand.

I expected to have our voices heard for once, to see some social justice and also to see the barrier of fear be broken. The uprising got people who had been afraid to speak up, to demand their rights.

Sadly, my expectations have not been met.

6. How important were social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube in creating awareness regarding the Uprising to the people of Egypt?

- How important was it in creating participation?

-How important was it in promoting motivation amongst people?

- Do you personally feel that this Uprising relied heavily on new media technology?

People who were staying at home learned of what happened to the protesters via facebook and twitter. The brutalities that they saw and heard of made them go down to help their brothers and sisters.

The 1952 coup d'état happened without technology. The Orabi-led revolution happened without technology. Among others of course, but I cant recall. Egyptians overthrew a government TWICE! They can do anything they set their minds to.

7. What is your opinion about this statement: "Social media sites provided Egyptians with space to have political conversations online, which generated offline participation during the Uprising."

8. One important characteristic of this Uprising was, "Spontaneity". Do you agree?

- If yes, in what way do you think social media sites affected this characteristic?

I'm kind of in the middle between yes and no.

9. How different do you perceive things could have been if protestors in Egypt had no access to social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube?

- Would the Uprising still have taken place?

-Would the intensity of the Uprising be different?

- Would everything have happened just as it did?

Yes it would have.

No it wouldn't have been different. The fire inside of us wouldn't have been put out.

Maybe yes, maybe no.

PART II

Now I would like to ask you questions regarding the Egyptian Uprising and the factors that affected this movement.

1. How could you describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

It was an uprising, nothing more. I wouldn't call it a revolution, because the former regime still rules Egypt. I wish that the people who had taken to the streets yet again after learning of the Supreme Council of Armed Forces' intentions and actions had stayed there till the rest joined but they weren't even given the opportunity to do that because the Muslim Brotherhood hijacked the then ongoing-revolution.

2. Western media has given the Uprising several names in the past one year, what do you feel about the name, "Facebook Revolution?"

I would say that it is not fair to give it that name because half the protestors who risked their lives and died didn't go down to Tahrir because it was an "event" on facebook. I find it demeaning of our potential.

3. What is your news source? Where do you prefer to get your news from?

- *Which print media?*

- *Which television channel*

- *Which online source?*

I don't look at print media because they're always biased.

Sometimes I watch ONTV because it hosts revolutionaries and activists.

Twitter and Egypt Independent. The information on both sources is flat-out direct! And you get it from twitter after it had been posted by 0 seconds.

4. Now I would like you to tell me what in your opinion were important factors that triggered the Uprising in Egypt?

- Role of Washington, DC

- Role of the Egyptian Army

- Role of the Labor in Egypt (Mahalla Factory protests)

- Role of the general public

- Role of the Elite

- Any other Factors

Corruption.
Poverty.
No proper education system or healthcare system.
Mahalla Factory protests.

---

5. How would you describe the relationship between new media (social sites) and traditional media in the Egyptian Uprising? Do you for instance feel that they were combined or one dominated over the other?

National Television turned a lot of people against us and made us out to be traitors, spies and whatnot. And the sad part of this was that a lot of people fell for those false accusations! Even though twitter was where the activists sought their information, the simple people got their news from national television.

---

6. What was the role of the United States in Egyptian Uprising, in your opinion?

The tear gas and ammunition that the army was getting at that time and using on its people was from the United States. And ironically, at the same time they were firing at us, Obama was making a speech about how great we were and that the revolution should be studied later on in classrooms.
Two-faced!

7. Do you feel that western mainstream media has highlighted other factors mentioned in Q: 4 to the public? Do you feel that people know the real picture of the Egyptian Uprising of 2011?

Yes

We may now conclude our interview. I would like to mention that if you have any suggestions, questions and remarks regarding the interview you may state it here:

Thank you so much for your co-operation and your time.

Appendix J: Interview with AS

Structure: The interview guide contains the following elements:

Every bold question serves as the primary question within the topic. The interview is divided into three main topics:

10. Socio-political state/condition/history of Mubarak era Egypt

11. Factors that triggered the Egyptian Uprising

12. Role of social media in the uprising

Indented questions are secondary follow-up questions within the same topic. These questions will help to guide the conversation according to the topic but are not vital to address as other more related questions could arise in the process of the interview.

The interviews will take place over Skype/telephone or via Email and would last for approximately thirty minutes. They will be digitally recorder. The interviewer (me) might also take brief notes while carrying out the interview for later reference etc.

Data interview/respondent: Please fill this in

This data provided before the start of the interview:

Name Interviewee:

Amr El Salanekly

Function interviewee:

Non profit sector

Date and time of the interview:

Monday, May 14, 2012 6:38 pm

General Information

Purpose of the Interview: My name is Aneela Rashid and I am a Master student at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. The purpose of my research is to understand the situation in Egypt before the Uprising of 2011. What were the factors that triggered the Uprising, what conditions were Egyptians facing that led to this revolution to occur? Following up on that I want to explore the role of the media in uprooting/bringing to light the demands of people in Egypt, focusing on the social media sites and how bloggers, activists and journalists like you, used the social media tools before/during the Uprising in Egypt to highlight the issues, to mobilize people and to create awareness. I also want to know what in your opinion main important factors that triggered this Uprising were.

Later in the interview I will explain more about what social media tools I want to learn about. The interest in the subject is to understand what really happened. What factors were important in the events before the Uprising took place? The interest in the subject is based on my perception that an event like the Egyptian Uprising should not be limited to the time frame of the protests which lasted 21 days, but rather to understand the events that occurred before these days as there should be the explanation of what triggered the Uprising.

Design and Structure of the Interview:

The interview consists of questions such as:

(1) What were the important factors that let this Revolution to take place? What is the right term to describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

(2) What was the motivational force driving the people,

(3) About your role as a blogger/activist/journalist in the Uprising, your opinion about how much social media affected protests in Egypt

As mentioned before, the Interview will be of minimum thirty minutes, maximum an hour depending on the interviewee's interest in the subject and amount of information that he/she will be willing to share.

Agreements:

If you agree the interview will be digitally recorded so that I can make sure to be as accurate as possible in interpreting your response. Do you agree?

If you prefer, I can send the transcript of the interview. You are free to make corrections or to add information to this transcript.

I also require your permission to quote you from this transcript of the interview. If you permit me to use your name I will do so. But if you prefer to remain anonymous then I will NOT use your name. However, I will like to refer to your blog/organization that you represent/work. Basically, I would like to identify your occupation but not you as an interviewee. Of course the reason for that is to make my interview with you authentic and to show that you were relevant to my research due to your occupation. Is that OK with you? (If not, may I quote you but keep both your identity and the identity of your occupation as anonymous?)

Agreed

Do you have any Questions?

We may now start the interview.

PART I

Background Information of the interviewee (app 5 minutes)

1. Since when have you been an activist/blogger/journalist?

I have been blogging since December 2009, on all sorts of things. Politics, business, new trends and concepts etc. I have never been politically active before. Didn't feel that we could make a difference at all.

2. What is your motivation for blogging/engaging in political discourse online?

Just to vent. You see stuff happening everyday and you just want to scream out loud to the world. You want to see if its just you who gets aggravated by whats happening or not !

3. Do you belong to any NGO (non-government organization) in Egypt? If yes, can you please provide me with a brief description of the NGO and what is the role of this NGO in Egypt?

Yes, I co-founded Taleeda foundation. A social venture incubator that assists non profits in scaling up.

Now I would like to talk about the role of social media in the Uprising.

4. How did you use social media tools such as Twitter, Facebook and (or) YouTube during the Uprising last year?

I used facebook and twitter to report incidents of violence, kidnap and to share the locations of the wounded with people who could provide help. We also had an assistance group on facebook where people could donate supplies and other people would volunteer to get them to Tahrir.

5. Could you please start by giving me some background information of how you got involved with the Uprising?

- When did the events that led up to the Uprising begin?

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- What were you expecting to achieve in the beginning of the Uprising?

- Have your expectation been met?

I was on business outside of Cairo when the uprising began. I took the first train back to Cairo to see what was going on, that was Tuesday the 25th of Jan. I went to Tahrir, and I got beat up brutally by the police. That's when it turned personal. I mean I come from a family if means, and no one could've ever laid a hand on me, and here I was beat up and humiliated. I felt how its like to be on the other side for once. At first, I expected that the police will manage to wrap things up. But on the 28th when I went down again and saw the crowds, their diversity and size I knew this was the end of the regime and that it was just a matter of time.

6. How important were social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube in creating awareness regarding the Uprising to the people of Egypt?

- How important was it in creating participation?

-How important was it in promoting motivation amongst people?

- Do you personally feel that this Uprising relied heavily on new media technology?

Social media raised awareness of major issues long before the revolution. I mean if it weren't for social media we wouldn't have heard about people like khaled saeed, imad el kabir and others who were killed or raped by the regime. So I believe that social media provided a steady stream of aggravating content, which was the stepping-stone for an uprising. I believe the uprising was protected by new technology; we had people around the world pressing for our rights, fighting with us in spirit and providing advice.

7. What is your opinion about this statement: "Social media sites provided Egyptians with space to have political conversations online, which generated offline participation during the Uprising."

I agree, I knew people from twitter and facebook before meeting them in person. It broke the ice.

8. One important characteristic of this Uprising was, "Spontaneity". Do you agree?

- If yes, in what way do you think social media sites affected this characteristic?

How many revolutions were started on facebook? The Egyptian revolution was a facebook event known to everyone 2 weeks before it took place! Social media played a supporting role, people were sharing statuses pics of brutality –see attached- and it just felt that everyone was a brother in arms.

9. How different do you perceive things could have been if protestors in Egypt had no access to social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube?

- *Would the Uprising still have taken place?*

-Would the intensity of the Uprising be different?

- Would everything have happened just as it did?

> **Yes it would have taken place, however not with the same intensity. People kept going down because they knew that people were falling down in real time. They've seen pics, they've heard songs and chants, and they were constantly being updated with insider news. If the government had managed to cut the internet as it did with the phone lines, the revolution would've been buried alive.**

PART II

Now I would like to ask you questions regarding the Egyptian Uprising and the factors that affected this movement.

1. How could you describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

> I can't! There are no words to describe it. This was a movement against tyranny and injustice, a movement towards compassion, an uprising against everything we ever hated. It was the young replacing the old, the free replacing the enslaved. In a sense you can call it social Darwinism.

2. Western media has given the Uprising several names in the past one year, what do you feel about the name, "Facebook Revolution?"

> **Funky, but there's more to it than just pure funk ﻙ**

3. What is your news source? Where do you prefer to get your news from?

- *Which print media?*
- *Which television channel*
- *Which online source?*

> Al Masry Al Youm, Al Jazeera and Twitter

4. Now I would like you to tell me what in your opinion were important factors that triggered the Uprising in Egypt?

- *Role of Washington, DC*

- *Role of the Egyptian Army*

- *Role of the Labor in Egypt (Mahalla Factory protests)*

- *Role of the general public*

- *Role of the Elite*

- *Any other Factors*

DC as always played its aces right, at first they were supporting their man Mubarak, then as the tables started turning they got back to "democracy" and the "will of the peoples"
The Egyptian army started off with a patriotic stance then shamelessly went to the other side.
Mahalla and all of the other things were just marginal events that lead to more anger and contempt but delivered nothing solid on its own.
The general public was and is indifferent, for them all is good If they're filling their bellies.
The Elite actually played a significant role, they stepped down for once and lingered with the commoners and that gave support to the ideology of the revolution as a whole.

5. How would you describe the relationship between new media (social sites) and traditional media in the Egyptian Uprising? Do you for instance feel that they were combined or one dominated over the other?

Social media dominated.

6. What was the role of the United States in Egyptian Uprising, in your opinion?

No idea since most of it was probably under the table.

7. Do you feel that western mainstream media has highlighted other factors mentioned in Q: 4 to the public? Do you feel that people know the real picture of the Egyptian Uprising of 2011?

No, because there were so many events/battles/celebrations taking place simultaneously. It was so hard for people to be aware of everything.

We may now conclude our interview. I would like to mention that if you have any suggestions, questions and remarks regarding the interview you may state it here:

Thank you so much for your co-operation and your time.

Appendix K: Interview with WM

Structure: The interview guide contains the following elements:

Every bold question serves as the primary question within the topic. The interview is divided into three main topics:

13. Socio-political state/condition/history of Mubarak era Egypt

14. Factors that triggered the Egyptian Uprising

15. Role of social media in the uprising

Indented questions are secondary follow-up questions within the same topic. These questions will help to guide the conversation according to the topic but are not vital to address as other more related questions could arise in the process of the interview.

The interviews will take place over Skype/telephone or via Email and would last for approximately thirty minutes. They will be digitally recorder. The interviewer (me) might also take brief notes while carrying out the interview for later reference etc.

Data interview/respondent: Please fill this in

This data provided before the start of the interview:

Name Interviewee:

Wajahat Masood

Function interviewee:

Journalist /Teacher

Date and time of the interview:

May 22, 2012

General Information

Purpose of the Interview: My name is Aneela Rashid and I am a Master student at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. The purpose of my research is to understand the situation in Egypt before the Uprising of 2011. What were the factors that triggered the Uprising, what conditions were Egyptians facing that led to this revolution to occur? Following up on that I want to explore the role of the media in uprooting/bringing to light the demands of people in Egypt, focusing on the social media sites and how bloggers, activists and journalists like you, used the social media tools before/during the Uprising in

Egypt to highlight the issues, to mobilize people and to create awareness. I also want to know what in your opinion main important factors that triggered this Uprising were.

Later in the interview I will explain more about what social media tools I want to learn about. The interest in the subject is to understand what really happened. What factors were important in the events before the Uprising took place? The interest in the subject is based on my perception that an event like the Egyptian Uprising should not be limited to the time frame of the protests which lasted 21 days, but rather to understand the events that occurred before these days as there should be the explanation of what triggered the Uprising.

Design and Structure of the Interview:

The interview consists of questions such as:

(1) What were the important factors that let this Revolution to take place? What is the right term to describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

(2) What was the motivational force driving the people,

(3) About your role as a blogger/activist/journalist in the Uprising, your opinion about how much social media affected protests in Egypt

As mentioned before, the Interview will be of minimum thirty minutes, maximum an hour depending on the interviewee's interest in the subject and amount of information that he/she will be willing to share.

Agreements:

If you agree the interview will be digitally recorded so that I can make sure to be as accurate as possible in interpreting your response. Do you agree?

If you prefer, I can send the transcript of the interview. You are free to make corrections or to add information to this transcript.

I also require your permission to quote you from this transcript of the interview. If you permit me to use your name I will do so. But if you prefer to remain anonymous then I will NOT use your name. However, I will like to refer to your blog/organization that you represent/work. Basically, I would like to identify your occupation but not you as an interviewee. Of course the reason for that is to make my interview with you authentic and to show that you were relevant to my research due to your occupation. Is that OK with you? (If not, may I quote you but keep both your identity and the identity of your occupation as anonymous?)

Ok

Do you have any Questions?

None

We may now start the interview.

PART I

Background Information of the interviewee (app 5 minutes)

1. Since when have you been an activist/blogger/journalist?

Activist 1983

Journalist 1987

2. What is your motivation for blogging/engaging in political discourse online?

I want to strengthen democracy, respect of human rights and human development in my country.

3. Do you belong to any NGO (non-government organization) in Egypt? If yes, can you please provide me with a brief description of the NGO and what is the role of this NGO in Egypt?

I am not affiliated with any NGO (non-government organization) in Egypt?

Now I would like to talk about the role of social media in the Uprising.

4. How did you use social media tools such as Twitter, Facebook and (or) YouTube during the Uprising last year?

> **I was part of solidarity campaign on different website, blogs in Pakistan**

5. Could you please start by giving me some background information of how you got involved with the Uprising?

- When did the events that led up to the Uprising begin?

- What were you expecting to achieve in the beginning of the Uprising?

- Have your expectation been met?

> For me, it was January 2011. I was expecting the toppling of the government but a lot chaos afterwards because there were no organized political parties in Egypt.
>
> I feel better about the current situation in Egypt though not very happy.

6. How important were social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube in creating awareness regarding the Uprising to the people of Egypt?

- How important was it in creating participation?

-How important was it in promoting motivation amongst people?

- Do you personally feel that this Uprising relied heavily on new media technology?

> *In fact, Egyptian agitation revolved around social media.*
>
> *It was very important.*
>
> *Yes*

7. What is your opinion about this statement: "Social media sites provided Egyptians with space to have political conversations online, which generated offline participation during the Uprising."

I agree with this statement.

8. One important characteristic of this Uprising was, "Spontaneity". Do you agree?

- If yes, in what way do you think social media sites affected this characteristic?

Yes. It helped spread the message around. It helped people in organizing rallies.

9. How different do you perceive things could have been if protestors in Egypt had no access to social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube?

- *Would the Uprising still have taken place?*

-Would the intensity of the Uprising be different?

- Would everything have happened just as it did?

Yes, the *Uprising still would have taken place but the intensity of the Uprising was bound to be effected.*

It is difficult to surmise with hindsight. Because, once everything was in the future

PART II

Now I would like to ask you questions regarding the Egyptian Uprising and the factors that affected this movement.

1. How could you describe the events that occurred in Egypt?

Once the Egyptian army decided to stay aloof, the regime was doomed.

2. Western media has given the Uprising several names in the past one year, what do you feel about the name, "Facebook Revolution?"

> **By and large, this title sounds correct.**

3. What is your news source? Where do you prefer to get your news from?

- *Which print media?*

- *Which television channel*

- *Which online source?*

> International and national newspapers.
>
> BBC & CNN
>
> Google news

4. Now I would like you to tell me what in your opinion were important factors that triggered the Uprising in Egypt?

- Role of Washington, DC

- Role of the Egyptian Army

- Role of the Labor in Egypt (Mahalla Factory protests)

- Role of the general public

- Role of the Elite

- Any other Factors

> **All of these and cyber friendly youth.**

5. How would you describe the relationship between new media (social sites) and traditional media in the Egyptian Uprising? Do you for instance feel that they were combined or one dominated over the other?

> Traditional media was under a lot of government pressure. So new media broke the barriers of fear.

6. What was the role of the United States in Egyptian Uprising, in your opinion?

United States has been the main support for the Egyptian regime through the decades. Once The US government appeared to withdraw her support, the regime came down crashing.

7. Do you feel that western mainstream media has highlighted other factors mentioned in Q: 4 to the public? Do you feel that people know the real picture of the Egyptian Uprising of 2011?

I believe western mainstream media played a very beneficial role.

We may now conclude our interview. I would like to mention that if you have any suggestions, questions and remarks regarding the interview you may state it here:

None except that one hopes the return of full democracy in Egypt.

Thank you so much for your co-operation and your time.

Appendix L: Table 1

Website	Date	Headline
1	January 27, 2011	Egyptian Police Crackdown on second day of Protest
1	January 31, 2011	Making sense of the Internet and Egypt
1	January 31, 2011	Arab media revolution spreading change
1	February 10, 2011	Ghonim electrified Egypt's Revolution
1	February 11, 2011	Did Facebook bring down Mubarak?
1	February 11, 2011	Mubarak's refusal to step down enrages protesters
1	February 11, 2011	Egyptian President steps down amidst ground breaking digital revolution
1	February 11, 2011	Egypt is free after Mubarak quits
1	February 12, 2011	Internet wasn't real hero of Egypt
1	February 14, 2011	Egypt's tumult day by day
1	February 14, 2011	News coverage is curbed as journalists are targeted in Cairo
1	February 17, 2011	Facebook Revolution- bad for business?
1	February 21, 2011	The faces of Egypt's Revolution 2.0
1	February 21, 2011	Report: Egyptian dad names child "Facebook"
1	February 24, 2011	Why not call it a Facebook Revolution?
1	April 9, 2011	Egyptians in Tahrir angered by military crackdown
1	May 15, 2011	State TV: 2 dead and 60 injured

		in clashes involving Coptic in Cairo
1	May 16, 2011	Parents name child after Facebook 'Like' button
1	May 20, 2011	Obama to push Arab economic development speech
1	June 16, 2011	iRevolution: Online warriors of the Arab Spring
1	June 17, 2011	Starting a Revolution with technology
1	June 29, 2011	Egypt deploys army as protest rage in Tahrir Square
1	June 30, 2011	Rights group: 870 hurt in 2 days of protest in Egypt
1	July 7, 2011	Egypt's media tests new found freedom
1	July 9, 2011	Egyptian Prime Minister fires officers accused of killing protesters.
1	July 12, 2011	Egypt's Prime Minister announces cabinet re shuffle
1	July 24, 2011	Protesters residents clash in Cairo
1	August 24, 2011	How Arab youth found their voice
1	August 25, 2011	'Arab Spring' becoming the Arab year?
1	August 31, 2011	When social media 'hinders' revolution
1	September 6, 2011	Wael Ghonim' Revolution: No leaders just Tweeters
1	September 5, 2011	Don't disrespect a war hero, say pro Mubarak supporters
1	September 11, 2011	Angry crowds turn on journalists reporting embassy attacks in

		Egypt
1	September 17, 2011	Wall Street Protesters inspired by Arab Spring Movement
1	October 6, 2011	Egyptian blogger, imprisoned and hungry, is steadfast in his protest of regime
1	October 6, 2011	Google bus aims to support tech in Egypt
1	November 20, 2011	Egyptian blogger Aliaa Elmahdy: Why I posed naked.
1	November 23, 2011	Analysts: Egyptian civil unrest to escalate despite military's effort
1	November 28, 2011	Egyptian head to the polls for first vote since historic revolt
1	December 1, 2011	Egypt postpones election results
1	December 20, 2011	Social Networking booming in Egypt, Russia, survey finds
1	December 21, 2011	Women march in Cairo to protest violence; military promises to listen
1	December 22, 2011	"Blue Bra Girl' rallies Egypt's women vs. oppression
1	January 23, 2012	How the web fed our 'dignity revolution'
1	January 23, 2012	The force behind a 'bad year for bad guys'
1	January 25, 2012	Seeds for year old Egyptian revolution sown long ago
1	January 25, 2012	Time for Egyptian Revolution Part II
1	January 25, 2012	5 voices on Egypt's unfinished revolution
1	January 26, 2012	Egyptians pack Tahrir Square for revelry, protests a year after historic revolt

| 1 | | January 31, 2012 | | Pro-Mubarak newspapers campaigns for dictator's release |

Appendix M: Table 1.1

Website	Article Number	Number of times Social Media was mentioned
1	1	3
1	2	17
1	3	7
1	4	2
1	5	9
1	6	4
1	7	14
1	8	9
1	9	10
1	10	2
1	11	6
1	12	7
1	13	18
1	14	4
1	15	17
1	16	2
1	17	0
1	18	4
1	19	2
1	20	8

1	21	7
1	22	1
1	23	0
1	24	2
1	25	0
1	26	0
1	27	0
1	28	6
1	29	3
1	30	10
1	31	7
1	32	4
1	33	0
1	34	6
1	35	8
1	36	4
1	37	6
1	38	0
1	39	0
1	40	1
1	41	7
1	42	4
1	43	5
1	44	10
1	45	2
1	46	0
1	47	2
1	48	0

1		49	0
1		50	1

Appendix N: Table 1.2

Article Number	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	2	1	
2	10	5	2
3	5	2	
4		2	
5	7	2	
6	1	3	
7	11	3	
8	5	3	1
9	2	8	
10		2	
11	4	2	
12		3	4
13	12	6	
14	3	1	
15	12	3	2
16		2	
18	4		
19		2	
20	5	3	
21	7		
22		1	

	Political	Social	Socio-Political
24		2	
28	5	1	
29	1	2	
30	6		4
31	7		
32	1	3	
34	4	2	
35	5	3	
36	4		
37	2	5	
40		1	
41	5	2	
42	1	3	
43		5	
44	7	3	
45		2	
47	2		
50		1	

Appendix O: Table 1.3

Article Headlines	Political	Social	Socio-Political
Egyptian Police Crackdown on second day of Protest			*

Making sense of the Internet and Egypt		*	
Arab media revolution spreading change		*	
Ghonim electrified Egypt's Revolution		*	
Did Facebook bring down Mubarak?		*	
Mubarak's refusal to step down enrages protesters			*
Egyptian President steps down amidst ground breaking digital revolution			*
Egypt is free after Mubarak quits			*
Internet wasn't real hero of Egypt		*	
Egypt's tumult day by day		*	
News coverage is curbed as journalists are targeted in Cairo			*
Facebook Revolution- bad for business?		*	
The faces of Egypt's Revolution 2.0		*	
Report: Egyptian dad names child "Facebook"		*	
Why not call it a Facebook Revolution?		*	
Egyptians in Tahrir angered by military crackdown	*		

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State TV: 2 dead and 60 injured in clashes involving Coptic in Cairo	*		
Parents name child after Facebook 'Like' button		*	
Obama to push Arab economic development speech	*		
iRevolution: Online warriors of the Arab Spring		*	
Starting a Revolution with technology		*	
Egypt deploys army as protest rage in Tahrir Square	*		
Rights group: 870 hurt in 2 days of protest in Egypt	*		
Egypt's media tests new found freedom		*	
Egyptian Prime Minister fires officers accused of killing protesters.	*		
Egypt's Prime Minister announces cabinet re shuffle	*		
Protesters residents clash in Cairo			*
How Arab youth found their voice		*	
'Arab Spring' becoming the Arab year?		*	
When social media 'hinders' revolution		*	

Wael Ghonim' Revolution: No leaders just Tweeters		*	
Don't disrespect a war hero, say pro Mubarak supporters	*		
Angry crowds turn on journalists reporting embassy attacks in Egypt	*		
Angry crowds turn on journalists reporting embassy attacks in Egypt	*		
Wall Street Protesters inspired by Arab Spring Movement			*
Egyptian blogger, imprisoned and hungry, is steadfast in his protest of regime			*
Google bus aims to support tech in Egypt		*	
Egyptian blogger Aliaa Elmahdy: Why I posed naked.		*	
Analysts: Egyptian civil unrest to escalate despite military's effort	*		
Egyptian head to the polls for first vote since historic revolt			*
Egypt postpones election results	*		
Social Networking booming in Egypt, Russia, survey finds		*	

Headline			
Women march in Cairo to protest violence; military promises to listen			*
Blue Bra Girl' rallies Egypt's women vs. oppression		*	
How the web fed our 'dignity revolution'		*	
The force behind a 'bad year for bad guys'			*
Seeds for year old Egyptian revolution sown long ago			*
Time for Egyptian Revolution Part II			*
5 voices on Egypt's unfinished revolution		*	
Pro-Mubarak newspapers campaigns for dictator's release	*		

Appendix P: Table 2

Website	Date	Headline
2	January 22, 2011	The Revolution was not televised
2	January 26, 2011	Can Egyptians Revolt?
2	January 28, 2011	Online activism fuels Egypt's Protests
2	February 1, 2011	Blogging on the Nile
2	February 2, 2011	Uprising in Egypt
2	February 2, 2011	Defiant Mubarak vows to finish

		term
2	February 6, 2011	Who holds power in Egypt?
2	February 11, 2011	The re-surrection of Pan Arabism
2	February 13, 2011	Egyptian Minds are open
2	February 20, 2011	Egyptian army takes to Facebook
2	February 24, 2011	Egypt burning
2	February 26, 2011	A Revolution far from over
2	March 8, 2011	The new Egypt: leaving women behind
2	March 16, 2011	An Egyptian Revolutionary
2	March 18, 2011	Deep division over Egypt's referendum
2	April 8, 2011	The news from Gaza street, Cairo
2	May 10, 2011	Breathless in Egypt
2	May 10, 2011	In Arabic, the same demands
2	May 11, 2011	Claiming undue credit
2	May 19, 2011	Anonymous and the Arab Uprising
2	May 23, 2011	Egyptian bloggers rally against military
2	June 8, 2011	Palestinian activism energized by Arab Spring
2	June 30, 2011	Court delays Egypt's brutality case verdict
2	July 5, 2011	Egypt court acquits three Mubarak ministers
2	July 7, 2011	Whose country is it anyway?
2	September 30, 2011	Egyptians rally to "Reclaim Revolution"
2	October 4, 2011	Bloggers say Arab Spring has gone global
2	October 6, 2011	Ritual in the Revolution?

2	October 13, 2011	The economies of the Arab Spring
2	October 27, 2011	Arab Spring activists win human rights award
2	October 29, 2011	The financial cost of the Arab Spring
2	November 16, 2011	Explainer: Political personalities in Egypt
2	November 17, 2011	Egypt's crowded political arena
2	November 18, 2011	Tens of thousands protest in Egypt
2	November 25, 2011	Survey shows declining trust in Egyptian Army
2	November 27, 2011	Egypt's Copts view elections with concern
2	December 5, 2011	Arab Spring: An opportunity for Israel?
2	December 7, 2011	Rights group condemns US arms sales to Egypt
2	December 30, 2011	U.S: Egypt agrees to halt rights group raids
2	January 17, 2012	Suez: Cradle of Revolt
2	January 17, 2012	Tahrir Diaries
2	January 23, 2012	Was the Egyptian Uprising a success?
2	January 25, 2012	Egyptian mass in Tahrir to honor the Uprising
2	January 25, 2012	Score card: Egypt since Revolution
2	January 25, 2012	Did Egypt's protestors die in vain?
2	January 27, 2012	Voices from Tahrir Square
2	January 28, 2012	Making sense of Twitter

	censorship
2	January 29, 2012	NGO 'crisis' distracts from Egypt polls
2	January 26, 2012	Egypt: A year on and still unresolved?
2	January 31, 2012	Egypt Islamists stop protest against military

Appendix Q: Table 2.1

Website	Article Number	Number of times Social Media was mentioned
2	1	3
2	2	3
2	3	5
2	4	3
2	5	0
2	6	0
2	7	0
2	8	0
2	9	0
2	10	4
2	11	1
2	12	1
2	13	1
2	14	3
2	15	2
2	16	9
2	17	2

2	18	2
2	19	0
2	20	6
2	21	10
2	22	3
2	23	3
2	24	0
2	25	0
2	26	0
2	27	4
2	28	2
2	29	2
2	30	4
2	31	0
2	32	0
2	33	0
2	34	0
2	35	0
2	36	0
2	37	0
2	38	0
2	39	0
2	40	0
2	41	0
2	42	0
2	43	1
2	44	2
2	45	1
2	46	3

2	47	10+
2	48	0
2	49	2
2	50	0

Appendix R: Table 2.2

Article Number	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	1	2	
2		3	
3	4	1	
4		3	
10		2	2
11		1	
12		1	
13		1	
14			3
15		2	
16	7	2	
17		1	1
18		2	
20	3	3	
21	6	4	
22			3

	Political	Social	Socio-Political
23		3	
27	2	2	
28			2
29	2		
30		4	
43		1	
44		2	
45		1	
46	1	2	
47	4	6	
49		2	

Appendix S: Table 2.3

Article Headlines	Political	Social	Socio-Political
The Revolution was not televised			*
Can Egyptians revolt?		*	
Online Activism fuels Egypt's protests		*	
Blogging on the Nile		*	
Uprising in Egypt			*
Defiant Mubarak vows to finish term	*		
Who holds power in Egypt?	*		

Egyptians rally to reclaim revolution			*
Bloggers say Arab Spring has gone global		*	
Ritual in the Revolution		*	
The economies of the Arab Spring			*
Arab spring activists win human rights award		*	
The financial cost of the Arab Spring	*		
Explainer: Political personalities in Egypt			*
Egypt's crowded political arena	*		
Tens of thousands protest in Egypt		*	
Survey shows declining trust in Egyptian Army			*
Egypt's Copts view elections with concern	*		
Arab Spring: An opportunity for Israel?	*		
Rights group condemns US arms sales to Egypt	*		
U.S: Egypt agrees to halt rights group raids	*		
Suez: Cradle of revolt?	*		
Tahrir Diaries		*	
Was the Egyptian Uprising a success?	*		
Egyptian mass in Tahrir to honor the Uprising			*
Score card: Egypt since	*		

Revolution

Did Egypt's protestors
die in vain?   *

Voices from Tahrir   *
Square

Making sense of Twitter   *
censorship

NGO 'crisis' distracts   *
from Egypt polls

Egypt: A year on and   *
still unresolved?

Egypt Islamists stop   *
protest against military

Survey shows declining   *
trust in Egyptian Army