

Of Martyrs and Men: A Comparative Psychosocial Analysis of the  
Murders of George Floyd and Khaled Said as Turning Points for  
Widespread Social Movements

By: Cameron Cassar

Under the supervision of Dr. Marc Gopin

GRADUATE THESIS

Submitted to George Mason University and the University of Malta as part of the Joint  
Masters Degree Program 2021-2022



L-Università  
ta' Malta

## **University of Malta Library – Electronic Thesis & Dissertations (ETD) Repository**

The copyright of this thesis/dissertation belongs to the author. The author's rights in respect of this work are as defined by the Copyright Act (Chapter 415) of the Laws of Malta or as modified by any successive legislation.

Users may access this full-text thesis/dissertation and can make use of the information contained in accordance with the Copyright Act provided that the author must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the prior permission of the copyright holder.

## **ABSTRACT**

The 2011 Egyptian Revolution and the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests were two recent watershed moments of the power of social movements. Both movements were born out of acts of state sanctioned violence with the deaths and subsequent martyrdom of Khaled Said in Egypt and George Floyd in the US. These deaths arguably served as the turning points for mass mobilization within their respective contexts due to the trauma which had been afflicted upon these populations over the years. This paper will examine the similarities and differences between these two movements, examine the role of trauma in fueling these movements and examine whether the deaths of these two men were indeed the turning points for mass mobilization in these movements. By analyzing and comparing these two cases which had not previously been linked together, the goal of this research is to inform the analysis of future social movements, potentially predict their outbreak and contribute to the field of conflict analysis and resolution

**Key words:** social movements, martyrdom, Egyptians, African Americans, trauma, USA, democracy, authoritarianism police, power, Black Lives Matter, mobilization, protests, racism

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

-	<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
-	<b>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>10</b>
-	<b>CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>26</b>
-	<b>CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>39</b>
-	<b>CHAPTER 5: SOMETHING IN THE AIR: EXAMINING THE CONTEXT, SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES.....</b>	<b>43</b>
-	<b>CHAPTER 6: EXPLORING THE PSYCHOSOCIAL REALM.....</b>	<b>69</b>
-	<b>CHAPTER 7: BRIEF EXAMINATION OF THE AFTERMATHS OF THESE MOVEMENTS.....</b>	<b>91</b>
-	<b>CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>102</b>
-	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>106</b>

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout the duration of this course, I had been challenged in ways that I did not think possible. Moving to a different country for 9 months, still in the midst of a pandemic and having to get adjusted to being away from loved ones while participating in intensive coursework while also trying to make new friends was a challenge. However, I feel so much more capable of doing anything that I put my mind to in this world because I was able to make it through the challenge of a lifetime. This course was an absolute pleasure and I cannot recommend this program enough.

For that I would first like to thank my classmates: Brandon, Stephanie, Carlos, Ambre, Joseph, Alex, MG, Grant, Janine, Carol, Jane, Claire, and Sarah. We are all forever tied together because of this experience of a lifetime and I can't imagine having done it with a better group of people. The conversations and experiences we had are forever etched in my memory. We came as strangers and left as a family. You all are forever a part of my story and I am indebted to you all.

I would next like to thank the entire CSPCR staff at the University of Malta, especially Dr. Grech for setting up such a great program and organizing opportunities of a lifetime for us while we were in Malta. And of course, Zuzana, who was the engine that kept everything going for us during the program.

I would also like to thank the Carter School for collaborating on such a great program with the University of Malta and bringing professors from Arlington, Virginia all the way to the island of Malta to teach us. A special thanks to Dr. Gopin who helped guide me on this academic endeavor.

Of course, I would like to thank my family, friends, and loved ones for their unwavering support on this journey. From the late-night venting sessions to the financial support, it would not have been possible without them.

I would also like to thank my team over at the Mary Hoch Foundation who allowed me to continue working and supporting the team even while abroad

Last but not least, I would just like to acknowledge the beautiful island of Malta for helping me to learn more about my family history (shoutout the Cassar surname) and just for helping me to learn more about myself in such a historic and beautiful place. I cannot sing the praises of this island enough, I will for sure be back.

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

<b>US BLM Demonstrations.....</b>	<b>Page 58</b>
<b>International Rates of Incarceration (per 100,000).....</b>	<b>Page 84</b>
<b>Racial Breakdown of Likelihood of Incarceration.....</b>	<b>Page 85</b>
<b>National Mood of Egyptians in Aftermath.....</b>	<b>Page 94</b>

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**BLM-** Black Lives Matter

**US-** United States

**MENA-** Middle East and North Africa

**BBC-** British Broadcasting Corporation

**NPR-** National Public Radio

**PRC-** Pew Research Center

**ACLED-** Armed Conflict Location and Event Data

**GDP-**Gross Domestic Product

**CTS-** Continuous Traumatic Stress

**LGBTQ-** Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer

## **DEDICATION**

Lastly, this paper is dedicated to all who have suffered and lost their lives at the hands of state sanctioned violence, authoritarian leaders and white supremacists. We will continue fighting for justice for you to where that will not be a reality, one step at a time. Your pain and suffering will not be in vain. This dissertation is for you.



## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

Social movements have been an integral part of human history when it comes to creating change within a society. Humanity would not be where we are as a society if it weren't for the endless number of social movements that have occurred throughout our history. Social movements allow for regular citizens to display that they are the ones that contain the true power within a society, not the ruling class or the institutions which uphold the illusion of power. These movements typically display their power through a strength in numbers approach that usually includes some form of mass demonstration or protest. They are defined as "an organized effort by a large number of people to bring about or impede social, political, economic, or cultural change. They often work outside the system by engaging in various kinds of protest, including demonstrations, picket lines, sit-ins, and sometimes outright violence." (University of Minnesota 2016) Social movements also typically stem from the involved groups reaching some form of a "revolutionary threshold". The revolutionary threshold refers to "the level of mass mobilization at which people will overcome their inhibitions and enter the streets to call for change." (Kuran 1997) This paper will focus on how the deaths and subsequent martyrdom of Khaled Said in Egypt and George Floyd in the US, two men in two different countries and contexts may have made their compatriots reach their revolutionary threshold as well as paved the way for nationwide social movements to occur.

The timing of the outbreak of a social movement is also of utmost importance. The timing must be "ripe" for the movement to yield the desired results within a society. If a movement is led too early or too late, it may not lead to the substantial changes that social movements typically call for and may usually involve some sort of punitive response from the institutions for which the people are fighting. This paper will also lay out how the timing of these movements gave them more prominence than if they were to have happened at another time in their respective contexts.

However, the most crucial factor of social movements is the why factor. What must happen for people to rise up and mobilize against institutions? Oftentimes, these movements are born out of hardship or tragedy. The deaths of Khaled Said and George Floyd were examples of tragedies creating movements. The goal of this research is to explore the social and psychological dynamics and context of these two countries at the time to determine what the main causes of mobilization against institutions were. There are two main research questions of this thesis, which are: 1) Were the deaths of George Floyd and Khaled Said major turning points for mass political mobilization within the Black Lives Matter Movement (BLM) and the Egyptian Revolution? 2) If so, what are the major psychosocial factors contributing to these two turning points and what does this suggest about the comparison of these two movements?

The deaths of Khaled Said and George Floyd and their subsequent martyrdom happened in vastly different parts of the world with Floyd's death happening in Minneapolis, Minnesota and Said's death happening in Alexandria, Egypt. There are a number of similarities and distinct differences that exist between these two deaths that are rarely discussed.

This thesis will examine said similarities and differences as well as why and how the deaths of these two men were able to galvanize their countries to the point that so many people went to demonstrate on the streets in the name of social transformation. It will also provide new knowledge to the field by looking at two recent watershed moments of conflict outbreaks, widespread mass mobilization and social movements within a democratic and authoritarian context and compare their psychosocial origin, their organization methods and their aftermath. This comparison will be explored through the theoretical lens of relative deprivation, trauma, and power dynamics within both contexts.

## **1.2 Background on Egypt and Khaled Said**

The Arab Spring was a unique time period within the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region in terms of shaping the trajectory of the region in the current day. The Arab Spring, of course refers to the wave of nonviolent anti-government protests in 2010 and 2011 that were led by the citizens in the region which aimed to topple the autocratic regimes that had repressed the citizens for over 30 years and usher in a new era of democracy in the region. (Idris 2016) The first official revolution that was a part of the Arab Spring was the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia which successfully removed their dictator Ben Ali from power.(Damani 2020) Another one of the MENA countries which participated in the Arab Spring was of course Egypt who led the Egyptian Revolution in 2011. After seeing the success of the Jasmine Revolution, it gave many Egyptians hope and revolutionary fervor engulfed Egypt and helped light the fire for the Egyptian Revolution of 2011. The revolution brought together Egyptians from all levels of society in the country who all wanted the same thing: the fall of the Mubarak regime that had ruled the country with an iron fist for over 40 years and the ushering in of a genuine democracy in the country. (Worth, 2016, p.9) While there were Egyptians from all levels of society taking part in the protest, a significant percentage of the protesters were “regular Egyptians who were bravely taking part in anti-government protests for the first time.” (Hussein 2021)

Although the Egyptian Revolution was deeply inspired by the actions of the Tunisian people, the death of Khaled Said in June 2010 had been planting the revolutionary seeds for the people of Egypt even before the death of Mohammed Bouazizi, whose death is looked at as the start of the Arab Spring and subsequent Jasmine Revolution. (Meky 2014) Khaled Said is the 28-year-old man in Egypt who was brutally beaten and subsequently killed in a cyber cafe by two police officers who accused him of having incriminating evidence against Egyptian police forces (Meky 2014) Initially the police claimed that Khaled died from suffocation after reportedly trying to swallow a bag of drugs. (BBC 2014) Shortly after this

false declaration by the police was released, the images of his bloody and mutilated face were leaked to the public and this proved the fabrication of their story. The pictures eventually went viral and this led to the formation of the ‘We are Khaled Said’ Facebook page and Said became a martyr for the Egyptian people in their fight against the regime. (National Public Radio, 2012) The Facebook page eventually started off as calls for accountability against the officers which were involved in the killing of Khaled Said but in the ensuing months, the page gained a larger following and eventually morphed into a platform and catalyst which sparked the revolution by urging their followers to go protest in the name of justice on January 25th, the official start of the revolution. (Alaimo 2015) His death resonated with many Egyptians due to its brutal nature and the fact that it had come at the hands of the police. Police brutality has been a regular occurrence for many citizens of Egypt. (Worth, 2016, p.10) Egypt had already been dealing with a lot of turmoil in the country due to the various political, social, and economic issues occurring in the country at the time. After word got around of Said’s death, it gave the people of Egypt a cause to rally around because “it exerted an irresistible attraction, drawing the attention of anyone who had viscerally felt the injustice and stifling pressures of Mubarak’s Egypt.” (Worth, 2016, p.10) Thus leading to him being propped up as a symbol and martyr for the people of Egypt. Due to this, the Egyptian Revolution was able to garner widespread support around the country and was mainly led by young Egyptians who did not want to continue living their life under Mubarak. But they were also joined by other demographics and generations in the country who had dealt with authoritarianism in their own experiences.

As mentioned before, Khaled Said played a significant role in Egypt and their revolution but when people think of the Arab Spring as a whole, the first event which comes to mind is typically Mohammed Bouazizi’s self-immolation in Tunisia which is looked at as the flashpoint of the movement. Mohammed Bouazizi was a 26-year-old fruit vendor

working to make a living for himself and his family in Tunisia who had been frequently harassed by Tunisian government officials. On December 17, 2010, Bouazizi was harassed again and had his inventory taken away from him again and in an effort to protect his product, he was then subsequently slapped by a woman who was a government official. (Damani 2020) After this humiliating interaction, Bouazizi went to the nearby government office to request his goods back, but they refused to meet with him and in response to this he took matters into his own hands and lit himself on fire in the middle of the public square. (Damani 2020) This defiant act paved the way for the mass protests and demonstrations which engulfed the country in this time period that became known as the aforementioned Jasmine Revolution in the country. The Jasmine Revolution would subsequently pave the way for the ousting of longtime dictator Zine Abidine Ben Ali and the hope that there would be an installation of a democratic system within the country. (Damani 2020) A number of Tunisian neighbors within the Arab region such as Libya, Syria, Yemen and the focus of this paper, Egypt were inspired by Tunisia's revolution to lead similar revolutions within their countries. The countries all had the same goal of removing their oppressive and longtime dictators from power and bringing the power back to the people of the nation instead of in the hands of one man and their regime. (Gerges 2014) Thus even though Mohammed Bouazizi's death is looked at as the defining act which started the Arab Spring as a whole, the death of Khaled Said had already been planting the revolutionary seeds in Egypt, Bouazizi's death and the Jasmine Revolution just provided more fuel to the fire. For this reason, Said's death seems to be one of the main contributing factors that served as the impetus for the 2011 Egyptian Revolution

### **1.3 Background on George Floyd and the US**

Now let us turn to the American case study. The Black Lives Matter Movement has been one of the most notable yet polarizing movements of the 2010s. The movement began as

the social media hashtag #BlackLivesMatter after the death of unarmed 17-year-old Trayvon Martin in Florida and subsequent acquittal of his murderer George Zimmerman and the movement has only grown over the years with the continuous killings of unarmed black people. (Howard University School of Law, 2022) The death of Michael Brown in 2014 in Ferguson, Missouri brought the movement to the American forefront before the death of Floyd. (Cross et al 2022,314) What originally started off as just a hashtag, then evolved into a rallying cry for black people nationwide when there are killings of unarmed black people has now turned into a full blown movement and organization with the mission to “eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes” according to the official BLM website. (Black Lives Matter, 2020)

In the case of George Floyd’s death, the Black Lives Matter movement was seen in its full force. Many people remember their initial emotions and reactions their first time seeing the video of George Floyd being killed by former Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin back on May 25, 2020. George Floyd was accused of paying for cigarettes with a counterfeit \$20 bill by a store employee at a local Minneapolis store and the employee subsequently called the police. Shortly after, four officers arrived at the scene: Derek Chauvin, Thomas Lane, Alexander J. Kueng, and Tou Thao and about 17 minutes after their arrival, George Floyd was dead at the hands of Derek Chauvin. Chauvin held his knee on George Floyd’s neck for exactly 8 minutes and 46 seconds.(Hill et al 2020) He held it there even as Floyd called for his mother and even after Floyd was showing no signs of life, Chauvin still held his knee there. (Hill et al 2020) The blatant disregard for George Floyd’s life by not only Chauvin but also the other three officers involved who just sat and did nothing to stop Chauvin was a perfect encapsulation of how many black people feel disregarded by the police and why movements like Black Lives Matter has emerged because in the eyes of many police and white people, black lives are disposable and do not truly matter.

Floyd's death came at a time when tensions were already at an all-time high due to the COVID-19 pandemic being in its early stages and many black people were reaching their breaking point with ongoing racial and structural violence and years of police brutality. His death paved the way for largest protests and demonstrations ever seen in the country with there being protests in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. (Putnam, Chenoweth, Pressman 2020) Floyd's death had happened a few months into 2020 and while his death was the most prominent case of an unarmed black person being killed at the hands of a racist due to the video evidence, it was tragically not the first high profile death of an unarmed black person in 2020. One of these deaths which fueled the outrage of George Floyd's death was the death of 25-year-old Ahmaud Arbery in Brunswick, GA in late February 2020. Ahmaud Arbery was going for an afternoon jog around the town of Brunswick when he was approached by three men: Travis McMichael, Greg McMichael and William Bryan who accused him of being a suspect in a string of break ins and subsequently attempted to conduct a citizen's arrest on him. (BBC 2021) As they attempted to arrest him, he tried to resist and was fatally shot twice in the chest with a shotgun. (BBC 2021) The men initially tried to claim self-defense but soon after, video evidence emerged of the incident which and refuted this statement incriminated the three men involved. After this evidence emerged there were nationwide calls to charge the men with hate crimes for their role in Arbery's death. Another prominent case which happened in 2020 right before the outbreak of the pandemic was the death of unarmed black woman Breonna Taylor on March 13, 2020. Taylor was killed when some officers in Louisville, Kentucky conducted a no-knock warrant at the house where her and her boyfriend were staying. No knock warrants allow for law enforcement to conduct a warrant at a premises without announcing themselves. (Cornell Law School 2021) A gunfight broke out when Taylor's boyfriend shot at the police believing that it was a robbery taking place and Taylor was subsequently shot eight times after being caught in the crossfire. (Bates

2022) Outrage broke out following Taylor's death and there were calls for the officers involved to face charges and for there to be an end to no-knock warrants to prevent tragic situations like Taylor's death from happening in the future.

The avoidable and unnecessary nature of Arbery and Taylor's death combined with the brutal and viral nature of Floyd's death against the backdrop of the pandemic shined an even brighter light on how black bodies are devalued and dehumanized within the American justice system and American society in general. While Floyd's death was the proverbial "straw that broke the camel's back" that led to the 2020 Black Lives Matter nationwide protests, one cannot mention the protests and demonstrations without mentioning the deaths of Ahmaud Arbery and Breonna Taylor as well. Their deaths have just as much significance to the widespread mobilization that engulfed the entire country and brought together people of all different races, orientations and backgrounds together during the summer of 2020, although Floyd's remains the main rallying call and most infamous to this day.

#### **1.4 Introduction to Case Selection and Thesis Layout**

The reason these two cases were chosen was because both cases involved involuntary martyrdom of Said and Floyd at the hands of the state and involved a traumatized group of people that were fed up with governments that allowed for inequality and oppression to define their experience in the society. This thesis plans to explore whether these two cases were the actual inflection points that led to mass mobilization in their contexts and if so, examine how and why they had so much resonance within their respective contexts. This exploratory research will be presented by laying out the background of these two cases which includes the contexts in which they existed, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 1. The literature review in Chapter 2 will examine past literature on the topics which includes exploring the social and economic contexts, police relations, martyrs and martyrdom, the perceived breakdown of the social contract and authoritarian bargain, the role of social



media, trauma and the aftermath of both cases. The research will also be examined through the theoretical frameworks of relative deprivation, trauma, social network theory, and power dynamics within both contexts in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will lay out the methodology of the research and will include: research questions, objectives, and challenges/limitations. Chapter 5 will examine the main similarities and differences between the two cases. Chapter 6 will do a deeper dive into the psychosocial aspect of the cases, specifically the role of trauma while Chapter 7 will briefly examine the aftermaths of these two cases. Lastly, Chapter 8 will: 1) Lay out the findings of the research 2) address the research questions, and 3) provide recommendations to inform the field in regards to conflict analysis of social movements, their origins, and their outcomes.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

This section of the paper will explore some of the main literature surrounding the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 and the Black Lives Matter Movement of 2020 and how the deaths of Khaled Said and George Floyd may have potentially acted as turning points for mass mobilization and social movements within their countries of origin, explore why the citizens of these two countries were already beginning to reach a breaking point with the state and the institutions which upheld their power and lastly bridge the gaps between the two cases by examining the political, social and psychological contexts and dynamics that were integral to their causations.

The review of the existing literature suggests that there is a lot of literature on each of the two case studies exclusively. Through examination of the literature, we also see that there are many similarities that do exist between the cases such as psychological and social factors but also some distinct differences. However, while there is literature that explores similar concepts and some overarching themes regarding the movements at large, there is no literature which explicitly explores the similarities and differences between the deaths of these two men and how they impacted their respective movements. The goal of this literature review and thesis is to fill in the literature gaps regarding the linkages between the two cases and analyze the exact common factors between the two and also how they differ in their certain aspects and use these findings to provide a well-informed answer to my various research questions. This thesis will provide new knowledge to the field by looking at two recent watershed moments of widespread mass mobilization and social movements within a democratic and authoritarian context and compare their psychosocial origin, their organization methods and their aftermath.

## 2.1 Defining Martyr and Martyrdom

In looking at these two cases, some people may label Khaled Said and George Floyd as martyrs while others believe that they do not fit the criteria. When asked whether she believes Khaled is a martyr or not, his sister Zahra Said stated that, “Yes, people recognize him as a martyr but officially he is not.” (Meky 2014) When discussing George Floyd, Jones asserts that Floyd is a martyr. He states, “But George Floyd is a martyr, and rightly so. His murder and others like it are an urgent call for police reform.” (Jones 2021) However, on the other hand, you had others who believe labeling his death as martyrdom is misinformed. Danielle asserts “Framing his death as some sort of noble sacrifice that will magically lead to changes in how police treat civilians downplays what actually happened, George Floyd was murdered.” (Danielle 2021)

There is often much scholarly debate centered around what constitutes a martyr and depending on what school of thought that you come from, the definition will differ. However, because of the different schools of thought regarding martyrs and martyrdom, there is not really a widely accepted universal definition for the term because each one tries to vouch for their definition to fit their needs or agenda. This thesis will be using DeSousey’s definition of a martyr which is “a symbol available to reputational entrepreneurs in varied and often contested contexts. As such, they operate in spaces of social change and upheaval, typically situated at historical action points. Their stories are marked by personal agency, violence to the body and institutional execution.” Going off this definition you can get a good sense of just how powerful martyrs can be because of the place that they have in history as well as how their stories influence the course of history in their respective context. DeSousey further elaborates on their significance especially when the martyr is used as a symbol against the institution. She states that, “pain and death at the hands of an institutional opposition makes

the violence associated with the martyr's death and subsequent reputation act as a tool of authenticity for reputational agents and audiences" (Desousey et al, 2008) This definition signifies that the violation of bodily rights by an oppositional institution is often used as means by institutions or other social change agents to motivate people to rally around this martyr's death. This idea of martyrdom is also echoed by Paul Middleton, who asserts that "martyrdom is a type of narrative that describes death that reinforces a group's (whether religious, political or national) view of the world. (Middleton, 2006, p.13) Middleton further expands upon this notion by stating that "martyrdom is created when a narrative about a death is told in a particular way. The central character is not the most important element in the creation of martyrdom; it is the narrator" (Middleton, 2011, p. 30)

Many of the scholarly debates surrounding martyrdom center around whether martyrs are strictly religious or if the term can be used in secular contexts. As mentioned earlier, depending on who you ask the definition may be different. The Roman Catholic Church defines martyrdom as "bearing witness unto death" and defines martyrs as someone who "bears witness to the truth of the faith and of Christian doctrine" (Catechism of the Catholic Church #2473) However, if you ask Muslims, their definition of martyrdom or *shahada* stems from their concepts of holy struggle or *jihad* and submission to Allah or *tawhid* and this means being prepared to die in the course of this submission. (Ezzati 1986)

As you can see, there are many ways to define martyrs and martyrdom, but this paper will use the broader definition of understanding martyrs and martyrdom as a symbol and a narrative against an oppressive institution that can provide hope for said oppressed group.

## **2.2 Police Relations in Egypt and the US**

To get a true gauge of the impetus behind both social movements, one must understand the role of the police in both contexts, because it is central to the deaths of the two men. Both social movements collectively mobilized around a need to make changes within

the government. Within Egypt, the goal was to reform the country within a larger context starting with the government. However, in reforming the government the hope was that the police would also be reformed because they were notorious for committing violence against citizens. Ordinary citizens encounters with police could take place anywhere and often these encounters involved violence and humiliation. (Ismail, 2012, p.437) In looking at the police brutality case of Khaled Said, Ismail (2012) opined that the incident was “emblematic of a mode of operation on the part of police that threatened the integrity of life for everyday citizens.” She further discussed how this case just further fueled anti-government and anti-police sentiments as well as how the mobilization was an expression of opposition against the “police as an institution of everyday government, which operated throughout the social body and infiltrated the nooks and crannies of society.” (Ismail, 2012, p.436) Going further into the anti-police sentiments which fueled the revolution, the Egyptian Revolution officially started on January 25th, 2011, in Tahrir Square. This date was chosen strategically because this was National Police Day in Egypt and by having the protests be on this day, “it sent a message to police authorities that their practices were unacceptable.” (Abdelmottlep 2015) While they were met with force by the Egyptian police, it only fueled their demonstrations and gave the revolution more legitimacy, which they used to eventually topple the regime.

When discussing the relationship between police and African Americans in the US, it will be demonstrated that the relationship is very contentious and goes back all the way to the slave trade. (Matthias Boon 2018) This history has evolved into the modern-day relationship which is still contentious due to the continuous killings of unarmed Black people, but it has roots in the criminal justice system as well, which will be discussed later. A few statistics from a 2019 Pew Research Center (PRC) study will paint a picture of feelings towards policing held by African Americans. 84% of black adults have said that in dealing with police, they believe they are treated unfairly by the police, compared to whites, 44% of black

people have said they've been unfairly stopped by the police because of their race and Black Americans are far less likely to give police officers high marks for doing their job well, this was 33% of black people compared to 75% of white people. (Pew Research Center 2020)

Some more alarming statistics which paint the picture of the reasoning behind the contentious relationship are that African Americans are 14% of the population but are nearly a third of the incarcerated population in the US. (BBC 2021) However, there is a huge divide between groups in the US on their views related to police. White people typically take the side of the police in these incidents while Black people take the side of the victim. Black people also believe that bad policing is a symptom of a larger issue on behalf of the government.

Natapoff asserts that, "That entire bundle of official practices is a central part of how we govern, and in particular, how we have historically governed Black people and other people of color, and economically and socially disadvantaged populations." (Walsh 2021) This view was the view shared by many who participated in the 2020 protests after Floyd's killing. They believed there needed to be a complete overhaul of the system and with changing these systems, we can change policing for all Americans but specifically African Americans who are more likely to be affected by policing and the criminal justice system. This view is not only shared by African Americans though, but a large percentage of the population does also need to be some type of reform made to the policing system to lessen the likelihood of deadly encounters occurring. (Associated Press 2015) This explains why there were so many other groups which came together to protest in support of Black Lives Matter in 2020.

At the root of both movements, the literature shows that there was a hope that policing in their respective contexts could be changed for the better and that encounters with police would be less likely to turn deadly. However, they also showed there is a long way to go. Both movements also believed that policing was a symptom of bad governance that oppressed all citizens and specifically African American citizens in the US.

### **2.3 The Social and Economic Context in Egypt and the US**

The first step in understanding the links between these two cases one must understand the social and economic context of each of the cases. At the time of the Egyptian Revolution in 2011, Egypt was in a good place economically based on GDP but there was a huge divide between the rich and the poor and the unemployment rate was nearly at 10% and the unemployed mainly consisted of young Egyptians who were qualified to enter the job market but there was nothing for them that met their qualifications. (Bakr, 2012) According to Rezk, this huge divide between the rich and the poor was highlighted by the rampant poverty that had become a staple of the country under the Mubarak regime but especially in the three years prior to the onset of the 2011 revolution. (Rezk, 2016) In fact at the time of the revolution, 1 in 5 Egyptians lived below the poverty line and the GDP was only \$6,200 in US dollars. (Macey and Ayres 2011) Rezk implied that much of this poverty in the nation stemmed from the period between 2005 and 2008 within Egypt where the country experienced a decline in poverty due to a rapid increase in economic growth. Rezk also implied that this period of rapid economic growth was also characterized by high inflation, and this had a damaging effect on the lower-class people within Egypt. So, while there was an overall decrease in poverty during this period, there was an increase in extreme poverty due to the rising inflation. Rezk defined extreme poverty as the inability to meet basic food needs. (Rezk, 2016) So when there was a sudden economic slowdown shortly after this period of economic growth, it had a devastating effect on the country and left much of the population vulnerable because of the now high inflation and this further exacerbated the divide between the rich and the poor. This economic recession, which included a lack of job creation, continued for the next three years and the combination of all these factors provided an economic basis for the people of Egypt to revolt against the Mubarak regime. (Bakr 2012)

While the people of Egypt had many reasons to mobilize which were based on economics, economics was only one part of the mobilizing equation. You cannot mention the revolution without mentioning the high number of political and social factors which contributed to the protests and demonstrations. The 30-year rule of Hosni Mubarak had been characterized by countless human rights abuses, oppression of the Egyptian people, media censorship, and unfair elections. (Bakr, 2012) Police brutality, specifically against activists and regular citizens, was also a major cause for concern and mobilization in Egypt. (Abdou, Zazzou 2013) On the topic of police brutality Ismail asserted that the police apparatus in Egypt is inherently intrusive and is representative of a semi military body and their overt use of violence only provided evidence that police brutality was a real issue in the country. (Ismail 2012,436). According to Abdou and Zazzou (2013), all of these factors: the corruption and deteriorating socioeconomic conditions, the cruelty of police and its troubling presence, and the high prices of basic goods and services also led to a loss of confidence. The aforementioned murder of Khaled Said combined with the aforementioned factors and hope that arose from seeing the Jasmine Revolution be successful played a significant role in getting the people of Egypt to mobilize against the regime.

In the US, the demonstrations which emerged after the death of George Floyd had been years in the making. Mass demonstrations in the US had occurred surrounding police killings against unarmed black men in the past but the virality of the George Floyd video awakened something within all of America not just Black America. This combined with the fact that the killings of Ahmaud Arbery and Breonna Taylor had just occurred a few months before and COVID-19 had been disproportionately affecting African Americans as well due to structural issues (Reyes 2020), you can see why the protests were a part of something larger than just George Floyd's death. These killings have a traumatic impact on black people due to the historical trauma of racism and discrimination in the country. (Eichstadt, Sherman,



Giorgi, Guntuku, 2021) This trauma has become a part of the Black American identity and can vicariously traumatize others (Bor, Ventakaramani, Williams, Tsai 2018) These traumas are not only embedded within the identity of Black America but also the culture itself.

Volkan discussed how acts such as these can be a part of cultural trauma and “the shared experience of cultural trauma, targeting a cultural, racial, or ethnic group becomes a part of the story that the group tells about the world, about itself and about its survival. (Volkan 2000) As mentioned before, not only had these deaths at the hands of police officers and white supremacists been an issue,

Not only have there been social issues which have plagued black populations throughout their history, there have also been countless economic hurdles which the group has had to endure even after they were given full rights after the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. Although much progress has been made since 1964, there are still a lot of underlying issues at play, which also likely had an impact on the 2020 protests. A 2020 study from the US Joint Economic Committee, laid out some of these underlying issues and data that the community deals with. (I will mainly focus on the data centered around poverty in the black community.) Some of the stats the study laid out included: 1) The typical Black households earns a fraction of White households—just 59 cents for every dollar. The gap between Black and White annual household incomes is about \$29,000 per year. 2) Persistent segregation leads to large disparities in the quality of secondary education, leading to worse economic outcomes. 3) The incarceration rate for Black Americans is falling but is still six times the rate for White Americans. 4) Institutional practices like redlining, the undervaluation of homes in majority-Black neighborhoods and predatory lending continue to exacerbate racial wealth disparities and the failure to fully address these inequities further sustains the wealth gap from generation to generation. (US Joint Economic Committee 2020) When one sees these stats from a year as recent as 2020, one can understand why a lot of the

African American community felt compelled to call for changes to the systems that have upheld their strife for generations.

## **2.4 Breakdown of the Social Contract and the Authoritarian Bargain**

Another theme which both cases shared was breakdown of the social contract in the US and in the case of Egypt, the breakdown of the authoritarian bargain. Societies have unwritten rules which both citizens and the states uphold their end of the bargain but when one side, usually the state, does not adhere to this unwritten contract, dissent is highly likely to occur, which we saw in both cases.

In the US, the social contract has been the backbone of the country's social fabric and political system since its inception. There are multiple iterations of the social contract which come from Rousseau, Hobbes, and Locke. All men have different interpretations but the common thread amongst the three of them is that "Individuals start with certain rights in a state of nature, and it is in their shared interest to cede voluntarily the same number of rights to an authority to protect individuals from each other." (Silverman, 2016) However, the iteration that is most applicable to the US is Locke's take on the social contract. Locke asserts that "government exists only by the consent of the people in order to protect basic rights and promote the common good of society." (Locke 1689) Locke further expanded on this point by arguing "that if a government no longer protects each individual's right, then revolution is not just a right but an obligation." (Locke 1689) This is exactly what we saw in 2020 with the outbreak of the Black Lives Matter protests.

There was also an awakening which occurred which showed that the American social contract was built on white supremacy and the killing of George Floyd by Derek Chauvin was the epitome of this notion and this was a huge mobilizing factor. (Porter 2020)

Americans need to recognize how deeply racism has scarred their country's social contract. Racial hostility is directly tied to the American social contract. (Porter 2020)

Locke's notion of the social contract is not confined to any type of government system, as mentioned before he believes that as long as the people within the society agree with the type of government then the social contract is intact. Throughout the history of the Arab world, there has been a social contract within the region as well. However, the Arab social contract is more widely referred to as the authoritarian bargain. Arab rulers have remained in power by giving citizens a generous set of social benefits and in return, the public accepted severe restrictions on political life as a part of the authoritarian bargain, Egypt was no different. However, the breakdown of this authoritarian bargain paves the way for revolutions to occur, which was exactly what we saw in all of the countries which led protests during the Arab Spring.

In looking at the Arab Spring as a whole, Winckler stated that, "The breakdown of the 'authoritarian bargain' or exclusionary social contract, whereby the state provided services, employment and food-energy subsidies in return for political support (or compliance), was the overarching reason for loss of legitimacy by Arab regimes and popular anger against them (Winckler, 2013;)" Worth echoed this sentiment as well. He stated that, "Strongmen who had spent decades mastering the arts of divide and rule of "balancing" local conflicts against each other, found themselves unable to cope with deepening economic crises, unemployment, rising food and commodity prices, the effects of drought, and corruption had grown beyond their control." (Worth, 2016, p.10)

In Egypt it was extremely evident. One aspect which catalyzed the breakdown of the authoritarian bargain in Egypt was the rapid and large-scale entrance of youth into the work force. In the past, the youth would have been given places in universities, government jobs,

and a generous set of benefits but the new generation received none of that, and as a result, their frustrations with the system continued to grow. (Desai 2011) To further explore this issue of youth discontent with the Arab nations and their governments, Worth stated that by 2010, the majority of the populations in the MENA region were under thirty but most of them felt as though they had slim chances of getting a decent job despite the fact they were more educated and more literate than their parents. Worth further explained that this led to an increase in expectations by the youth, but they saw no rewards for their initiative and felt humiliation everywhere. (Worth, 2016, p.9) Combine this with the fact that they were being brutalized at the hands of a regime that could not even provide them with adequate jobs or a stable economy. Achy asserted that this was the start of the breakdown of the authoritarian bargain and made the government lose legitimacy. (Achy 2012) This loss of legitimacy facilitated the breakdown of the authoritarian bargain and subsequently facilitated the outbreak of the revolution. (Achy 2012)

## **2.5 The Role of Social Media**

The role of social media was integral to both movements and in this day and age, social media usage is inherent to every social movement. On social movements and media, Hill stated that, “ Large social movements have always been at the mercy of the technology of their times and the structure, method, language and goals of those movements were determined in part by the nature of that technology but today's media is infinitely more pliable... people can be mobilized within minutes and directed in real time from their phones with more people connected than any other time in human history thanks to social media. (Hill, 2022, p.5)

In the Arab Spring as a whole, it is well documented that social media was a key tool for organizing and spreading the word of the revolution in many of the countries that led

demonstrations during that time period, Egypt was no exception..., social media outlets such as Facebook and Twitter were used to organize the protests. These were used for three purposes (1) protester recruitment, (2) protest planning and coordination, and (3) live updating about protest logistics. (Clarke, Kocak 2018) The 2011 Egyptian Revolution was a powerful example of just how important and crucial social media can be in fostering large-scale change within a nation, especially in a country that had been as oppressive as Egypt. The creation of the ‘We are all Khaled Said’ Facebook page by Wael Ghonim will be looked at as one of the most important weapons of the Egyptian people in their fight to topple the Mubarak regime. The Facebook page was originally intended to shine a light on the death of Khaled Said, hold the officers accountable and end corruption in the government. In creating the Facebook page and producing the name, Ghonim stated that, "Looking at Khaled's photo after his death, basically, I just felt that we are all Khaled Said. That was a feeling ... It was not just a brand name. It was a feeling. We were all of these young Egyptians who could die, and no one [would be] held accountable." (NPR 2012) The page soon evolved into the main tool of organization and social change agent for the people of Egypt to communicate and mobilize regarding their initial January 25th protest in Tahrir Square.

Not only did social media help propel the revolution within the country, but social media also helped get their message out to the world and helped the movement achieve a ‘critical mass’ according to a 2012 study conducted by Choudhary, Hendrix, Lee and Palsetia. Their study analyzed over 800,000 tweets and saw that in the time period leading up to Mubarak’s resignation, tweets related to Egypt and their revolution continuously trended both inside of Egypt and outside of Egypt during those days and weeks (Choudhary, Hendrix, Lee, Palsetia 2012) A lot of the most popular tweets came from people with high levels of influence or connections to large news organizations such as Al Jazeera, CNN and Reuters and this helped propel the message about the revolution forward and broadcast it to a global

audience. (Choudhary, Hendrix, Lee, Palsetia 2012) Social media had a huge role in helping the people of Egypt organize their revolution against the regime but also played a huge role in amplifying their message and getting it out to the masses and many believe that this played a major role in the success of their revolution.

Social media has also been a crucial tool for the Black Lives Matter movement since its inception. It has been used to raise awareness about cases of police brutality such as George Floyd's, organize demonstrations and share important info surrounding the various incidents and responses to these incidents. It was also used for building connections, mobilizing participants and tangible resources, coalition building, and amplifying alternative narratives (Mundt, Ross, Burnett 2018) Social media was also used to share the video of George Floyd's death on all platforms and it became prominent on all news media outlets and video sharing sites such as YouTube when it comes to sharing images and knowledge about victims of police brutality. When discussing victims of police brutality in recent years, Hill asserts that all of their deaths have one thing in common: Modern media tools such as social media and cell phone videos provide the ability to keep their stories of injustice alive. (Hill, 2022, p.12)

Like the Egyptian Revolution, all social media platforms were used to help organize and amplify the messages of the protests during the summer of 2020. According to a Pew Research Center study, "Black social media users have been particularly likely to say that these sites are personally important to them for getting involved with issues they care about or finding like-minded people. They are also likely to express positive views about the impact of these platforms for holding powerful people accountable for their actions and giving a voice to underrepresented groups." (Auxier 2020) Auxier also asserted that 48% black social media users are more likely to use these platforms to engage in actual social activism which

includes resharing, reposting and sending out information regarding these causes, issues, and demonstrations. To further show the role that social media plays in helping to create social change, Perrin stated that 23% of social media users changed their views on a certain topic and many of them mentioned that Black Lives Matter and police brutality were some of the main topics that people cited. (Perrin, 2020)

## **2.6 Trauma and its Relationship to the Movements**

Trauma played a critical role in mobilizing those involved in both cases. In Egypt, their trauma had been inflicted upon them by not only the Mubarak regime but also throughout the history of the country. Egypt was not always known for being a police state, but once former president Gamal Abdel Nasser came into power this all changed, according to Ezzat (2012) Egypt's establishment as a police state during Nasser's rule from the 1950s-1960s paved the way for the generations long buildup of trauma which fueled the Egyptian revolution. Ismail declared that Egyptians were always at the mercy of the police force because they could encounter them anywhere in the country including outdoor markets, alleyways, public transport, cafes, anywhere you could think of. (Ismail, 2012,436) She expanded upon this by declaring that "the police undermined particular social norms of interaction and by doing so transformed everyday civilities. Police used forms of address considered demeaning and belittling when stopping citizens, in particular those from popular quarters and socially disadvantaged backgrounds. (Ismail, 2012, 443) They also did not hesitate to use force against the citizens in the name of "discipline" and made it a point to humiliate some subjects, especially the young men of the country. (Ismail, 2012,442) Expanding upon this, Matthias-Boon and Head (2018) stated that this use of force was instrumental because it was a way of preserving political power for the state. (Matthias-Boon, Head, 2018,259) Furthermore on this use of force, they also stated that "They sought to break

Egypt's divergent forms of social and political activism by continuously exerting violent exclusionary measures on the public realm through physical violence, dehumanization, polarization, repressive laws and other measures.” (Matthias-Boon, Head, 2018,259) Aside from the violent forms of trauma, the people of Egypt also endured social trauma at the hands of the state according to Sztompka (2004). Sztompka stated that social trauma occurs when “deep social change paralyzes the potential for collective agency, mobilization and processes of social becoming. It is expressed through a sense of cultural disorientation and a deep paralyzing distrust towards other people and institutions.” (Sztompka, 2004,165) Furthermore, in repressive authoritarian societies such as Egypt and other MENA countries, social trauma is a product of the restriction of communicative spaces and the strategic destruction of spaces for collective flourishing usually at the hands of these authoritarian structures and institutions. (Matthias-Boon, Head, 2018,262) Lastly, all of this buildup of trauma coalesces to form Continuous Traumatic Stress (CTS) which is the ongoing structural and political betrayal by these political institutions. (Matthias-Boon, Head, 2018, 263) The authors suggested that CTS was one of the main factors which paved the way for the revolution to occur in Egypt in 2011.

In the US, it is a similar story, the trauma that African Americans had endured throughout their history in the US was integral to the onset of the movement. The group has been the victim of America's “original sin” of slavery and was subjected to dehumanizing treatment under these conditions. According to Hinton and Cook (2021) there was a relationship between slavery and its enforcement to modern day law enforcement. (Hinton and Cook ,2021,165) They state this relationship has contributed to the overcriminalization of black communities, which has in turn acted as a form of trauma for these black communities because of these policing tactics which have made black people the main subjects of the criminal justice system. (Hinton and Cook, 2021,162) This was expanded upon in Ava



Duvernay's groundbreaking documentary *13th* (2016) which broke down how the 13th Amendment was passed to free African Americans from the bondage of slavery but subsequently allowed them to continue to live under slave like conditions if they were found guilty of a crime, which modern policing tactics have made it easier for them to be found guilty of a crime. (Duvernay, 2016) The Sentencing Project also released statistics which further broke down the statistics that showed how the US prison system incarcerates the most people in the world and furthermore is filled up with people of black and brown descent. (Sentencing Project 2021) The literature also discussed how these tactics have directly traumatized the African American community and have formed their perception of their place in US society and the police as well as how these traumas have been passed down from generation to generation vicariously through various means. (Pryce et al 2021)

## **2.7 The Aftermath of The Movements**

The last chapter of the thesis will briefly discuss the aftermath of these movements. In Egypt, Springborg (2021) described how the Egyptian Revolution was successful in toppling the Mubarak regime and establishing a democracy. However, the months and years after the revolution were not very successful in Egypt and subsequently led to a reversion of old habits of governance and shortly led to the installation of yet another dictatorship. (Cook 2018)

In the US, their protests did lead to guilty charges being brought against the officers involved in the killing of George Floyd. (Somvichian-Clausen 2020) However, it did not lead to the widespread national police reform that many were hoping for when the protests originally began. But it did lead to an awakening for many Americans who became much more aware of the strife that African Americans have faced in the country and continue to face to this day. (Gottbrath 2020)

## **CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter will discuss the various conflict and social theories which are intrinsic to the two cases which will be examined within this thesis. These theories all come from different schools of thought and will provide a unique lens to analyze these conflicts through. By utilizing theories from these different schools of thought, this will help develop a narrower and more comprehensive framework regarding the two cases. The theories which will be used to analyze the two cases will be: Gurr's theory of Relative Deprivation, Volkan's theories of chosen trauma and unresolved mourning, and Foucault's theories of power as well as theories of subjectivation. The hope in using these theories is that they will help provide a well-informed answer to the research questions through a multi-pronged analysis. By choosing these theories for analysis, it will help provide insight into what factors facilitate the outbreak of social movements as well as how to see the signs of a social movement brewing.

### **3.1 The Role of Relative Deprivation**

When it comes to the onset of mass demonstrations, social movements and revolutions, there are a number of phenomena that influence these acts, but Ted Gurr's theory of relative deprivation almost always plays a significant role. According to Gurr, when we are exposed to noxious stimuli which we cannot avoid or overcome, we have an innate disposition to strike out at the sources. (Gurr, 1971, 22) This provides a basis for why people engage in collective violence. Gurr posits that the potential for collective violence depends on the intensity and scope of a perceived relative deprivation by individuals and groups and he defines relative deprivation as "the perceived discrepancy between men's value expectations and their value capabilities. "(Gurr,1971 24) When individuals perceive that they are relatively deprived, it increases the frustration/deprivation that they feel within their society and increases the likelihood for collective violence (aggression) to occur. (Gurr, 1971,30)

This is what was seen in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution and the Black Lives Matter Movement of 2020, albeit it was collective action, not collective violence because both movements were nonviolent. Gurr also implies that a causal link exists between collective violence and relative deprivation on a psychological level. (Gurr,1971,31) The exploration of this causal link on a psychological level will be a main focus of this paper to determine whether the deaths of these two men and subsequent responses were the product of a cognitive vulnerability that stemmed from feelings of relative deprivation and trauma in both contexts.

It must be noted that relative deprivation is strictly subjective and is purely based on perception, which means that even if the people's perception is not the reality of the situation, they will still mobilize behind this perception. Much of this perception comes from how the people view the values within their society and how their perception shapes up with the value capabilities and value expectations. Gurr defines values as "the desired events, objects, and conditions for which men strive," he defines value expectations as "the goods and conditions of life which people believe that they are rightfully entitled to" and value capabilities as "the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping." (Gurr, 1971, 24) Based on these value expectations and capabilities, the goal of those who engage in collective violence is to increase the "value position" which is the amount or level of a value that has actually been attained. (Gurr, 1971, 27) He further breaks these down into three distinct categories of values: welfare values, power values and interpersonal values. Welfare values are the values that contribute directly to physical wellbeing and self-realization, this includes things such as food, shelter, safety and healthcare. Power values are the values that determine the extent to which men can influence the actions of others and avoid unwanted interference by others in their own actions, this includes things such as the right to vote, political pluralism, freedom from oppression and other privileges like self-determination and security.

In most revolutionary and social movements, power and welfare values are typically at the heart of these conflicts due to the contentious relationship with the state, who controls the power and welfare within the society, more so than interpersonal values.

When talking about Relative Deprivation one must note that there are different forms of relative deprivation and at the heart of most revolutionary and social movements lies two forms of this relative deprivation: decremental and aspirational deprivation. Gurr implies that in instances of decremental deprivation, “men are angered by the loss of what they once had or what they once thought they could have. They experience relative deprivation by reference to their own past conditions. He further argues that

“The value position of an entire society may fall because of declining production of material goods, declining capacities of the political elite to provide order or resolve crises, imposition of foreign rule, or loss of faith in the society’s integrating structure of beliefs and attendant norms of action” (Gurr, 1971, 46)

This argument is important to note in regards to the two cases which will be discussed due to the value positions of those involved within the contexts. Aspirational deprivation is another form of relative deprivation which Gurr states “is characterized by an increase in men’s value positions without a concomitant change in value position or potential. He further states those who experience these phenomena “do not anticipate or experience significant loss of what they have; they are angered because they feel they have no means of attaining new or intensified expectations.” As with decremental deprivation, aspirational deprivation and its relationship to both cases will be explored throughout the thesis.

### **3.2 Theoretical Connection to the Case Studies**

With the cases that will be examined in this thesis, the concept of relative deprivation is integral to gaining a better understanding of why the groups of people involved had reached their breaking point. Years of collective oppression and trauma took its toll on the population. They felt frustrated and relatively deprived by the institutions that were supposed to protect and serve them and collective action seemed to be the only way to change their value position according to Gurr's theory. This was a staple of the Arab world during the Arab Spring and had been used in the BLM protests in the US before as well.

### **3.3 The Role of Chosen Trauma**

While Relative Deprivation plays a significant role in many social movements, the role of trauma often goes hand in hand in creating feelings of relative deprivation in a population. The most widespread literature on trauma and its role in conflict comes from author and psychoanalyst Vamik Volkan. The crux of Volkan's argument is that in many cases of mobilization, the mobilization is born out of a collective trauma that a group has endured, typically at the hands of another group. One of Volkan's main arguments is that "when a group is in continuing conflict with another group, members become acutely aware of their large group identity to the point where it may far outweigh any concerns for individual needs, even survival." (Volkan, 1997, 25) Expanding upon this notion, Volkan asserts that large groups also have the capacity to mourn over a collective loss or trauma and a lot of these groups deal with unresolved mourning, which is a perpetual state of mourning. (Volkan, 1997, 38) This unresolved mourning typically stems from feelings of loss of dignity, humiliation, and anxiety. Due to these feelings remaining unresolved, they pave the way for the adoption of a *chosen trauma*.

*Chosen trauma* refers to the collective memory of a tragedy that a group has endured.

(Volkan, 1997,46) This chosen trauma influences and shapes the identity of the group and

this is usually passed down to future generations through transgenerational transmission. Volkan defines transgenerational transmission as, “when an older person unconsciously externalizes his traumatized self onto a developing child’s personality. A child then becomes a reservoir for the unwanted, troublesome parts of an older generation. Because the elders have influence on a child, the child absorbs their wishes and expectations and is driven to act on them,” (Volkan, 1997,43) Transgenerational transmission of trauma is more than just the passing down of stories and memories, it is deeper than that according to Volkan. Volkan argues that “the transmissions of traumatized self-images occur almost as if psychological DNA were planted in the personality of the younger generation through its relationships with the previous one. The transmitted psychological DNA affects both individual identity and later adult behavior.” (Volkan,1997,44) This “psychological DNA” which Volkan describes has a noticeable impact on the later generations and can influence their actions or behaviors through something known as epigenetics. (Jawaid 2017) Epigenetics refers to the study of how your behaviors and environments can modify your gene expression and genetic code without altering your DNA sequence. (Jawaid, Mansuy,2021) Epigenetics and its relationship to trauma will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

Volkan further elaborates on this transgenerational transmission of trauma and how it impacts a large group.

“The influence of a severe and humiliating calamity that directly affects all or most of the large group forges a link between the psychology of the individual and that of the group. In the wake of such an event, a mental representation of it, common to all members, begins to take shape. This mental representation is the consolidated collection of the shared feelings, perceptions, fantasies, and interpretations of the event...their traumatized self-images are

passed down to later generations in the hope that others may be able to mourn and resolve what the prior generation could not.” (Volkan, 1997, 45)

Volkan’s arguments provide a basis for why even years after a traumatic event has affected a large group of people, the trauma still serves as fuel for the younger generation to “take revenge for the wrongs inflicted on their ancestors or others belonging to their bloodline.” (Volkan,1997,p.46) This trauma becomes intrinsic to the group’s identity as well as their place within the society.

### **3.4 Theoretical Connection to Case Studies**

Volkan’s theory of chosen trauma is applicable to the thesis topic because in both cases, the mobilized groups had dealt with multiple traumatic events and oppression for multiple generations on behalf of the governments and their forces. African Americans had dealt with cultural and historical trauma for multiple generations due to the legacy of slavery, segregation and police brutality. The Egyptians had dealt with colonial rule throughout their history and even in the post-colonial era they had dealt with authoritarian leaders such as Gamal Abdel Nasser and Hosni Mubarak who repressed much of the population and violated their human rights. These state inflicted traumas became a part of the story that these groups tell. By understanding this history, you can understand why both groups had reached a boiling point after the deaths of the two men and much of this is due to the fact that they had dealt with the trauma of oppression for multiple generations which is the crux of Volkan’s argument.

### **3.5 Theories of Power**

When discussing social movements, typically ones that are born out of oppression, one must take note of the role that power dynamics play in oppression and violation of human

rights. Power dynamics also play a critical role in the history of racism and discrimination throughout the history of the world. The leading scholar and intellectual on power and its dynamics was the French philosopher, Michel Foucault. This paper will mainly be drawing upon theories of power from his books, *The Subject and Power* and *Discipline and Punish* but it will also be pulling from theories of subjectivation as well. In these books he discussed how power, particularly state power, has evolved and taken on different forms throughout history, how it has shifted from visible forms of power to more insidious and invisible forms of power, and how struggles emerge to change power relations.

In *The Subject and Power*, Foucault discussed how power is not just a relationship between individuals, partners or the majority. He states that power is a way in which certain actions modify others and that power only exists when it is put into action by some sort of authority. He goes further into this by stating, “what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future. (Foucault, 1982, p.789) Although Foucault was critical of power relations in a society and the role that they play in perpetuating harm and oppression, he believed that they were intrinsic to the social fabric and that “a society without power relations is an abstraction.” (Foucault, 1982, 780) However, on the other hand he discussed why acts of resistance typically emerge out of these power relations in an effort to change them in favor of the oppressed. Foucault believed that at any moment the relationship of power may become a confrontation between two adversaries. (Foucault, 1982 ,p.794) Expanding on this topic, he also stressed that there are three different types of struggles against power: either against forms of domination (ethnic, social, and religious) against forms of exploitation or against forms of subjection and submission) (Foucault, 1982, p.782) In looking at both cases, one can see how the groups involved were involved in these struggles,



particularly against domination and submission, since both cases involved groups that had been oppressed by an overbearing state power and wanted to mobilize against said powers.

Another book by Foucault which discussed power was *Discipline and Punishment*, this is where he discussed how power evolves and shifts over time, particularly state power. Foucault discussed the idea of the *Panopticon*, which in this work represents a prison building placed at the center of the prison that the inmates see at all times. (Foucault, 1975, 199) They do not see the guards that monitor them, but this allows the guards to monitor inmates at all times. This makes the prisoners feel as though they are in a constant state of surveillance and allows them to be controlled because of this fear that they are always being watched. This is the major effect of said Panopticon according to Foucault, “to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power.” (Foucault, 1975, p. 201) Foucault elaborated further on the idea of the *Panopticon*, he states that it functions as a “laboratory of power. Thanks to its mechanisms of observation, it gains in efficiency and in the ability to penetrate men’s behavior; knowledge follows the advances of power, discovering new objects of knowledge over all the surfaces in which power is exercised.” (Foucault, 1975, p.204) Foucault discusses how the Panopticon is the perfect exercise of power in all of its applications... it can be integrated into any function (education, healthcare, production, punishment). It can increase the effect of this function by being linked closely to it, it is a way of making power relations function within a function and making a function function through these power relations. (Foucault, 1975, p.206) By understanding power through Foucault’s interpretation, one can see how he believed that power and power relations become embedded within all aspects of a society. This then affects everyday life because people believe that they are at the mercy of an authority figure or institution that they cannot get away from because it holds all the power in the society.

The Foucauldian lens of power and in particular state power and state rationality were discussed in Denise Arterberry's book, *The Disciplinary Arm of the State: Foucault on Police Overreach, Militarization, and Mass Surveillance*. However, she pulls a lot from Foucault's lecture on *Security, Territory and Population*, more specifically the chapter on *Governmentality*. She discusses Foucault's idea of the "art of government." Foucault states this idea is "absolutely specific: it consists in governing, and its model is found neither in God nor in nature...the emergence of the specificity of the level and form of government is expressed by the new problematization of what was called the *res publica*, the public domain or state. (Arterberry 2021, p.21, Foucault 1978) Arterberry also describes Foucault's basis for state rationality or as he describes it *raison d'état*, which is defined as "the knowledge of the appropriate means for founding, preserving, and expanding a domination over peoples." (Arterberry 2021, p.21) Foucault also discussed how the state must find ways to strengthen itself and this typically manifests itself through a state expanding its influence and amassing power as a defense mechanism when potentially coming into conflict with other states. Going further into the dissection of this notion Arterberry claims that, "The art of government is that it necessitates the creation of artificial concepts and guidelines in order to function efficiently; it is no coincidence that theory of economics, police, and property law become of such great import at the same time that the state's methods and focus are shifting and expanding according to this new rationality." (Arterberry 2021,p.22) This emphasis on the extension of state power arose because of a need for new institutions and forms of governance to emerge because of the onset of the modern state which paved the way for our modern understanding of police,

"sometimes this form of power was exerted by state apparatus or, in any case, by a public institution such as the police...each different apparatus of state power had specific spheres of

influence assigned as their domain in accordance with their size and intended function, every one of these apparatuses were formed or drawn in to serve the state” (Arterberry, 2021, p.23)

To encapsulate all of these sentiments of the role of the police and their overreach within the state and government, Arterberry states that, “The police have been entrusted with enforcing discipline within society as a whole rather than being gifted some subtle set of tools with which to condition some sect of the populace; their methods of enforcing discipline, however, make them better described as a security force.” (Arterberry 2021, p.28) This statement accurately captures the idea of what the “police” are actually used for, they are not meant to maintain peace and keep public order, they are, in many jurisdictions, meant to maintain security by any means necessary, and their means are typically reactive in nature. They are described as reactive because,

“The actions they take upon the intended targets, the acted upon, are not deliberated upon beforehand in terms of reinforcing values, but of responding to what is in reality...The police’s function as security is for the state, not for the acted upon, and, accordingly, it is not always pleasant—seemingly rarely the case, in fact—for those acted upon.” (Arterberry, 2021, p. 29)

By looking at power in the view of state power, one can see how policing has a direct correlation to maintaining state power. Using the Foucauldian lens, you can see how this form of power ties directly to Foucault’s aforementioned literature on power. Understanding what the actual function of the police is, a means of security for the state, will help inform the answer to the research questions. This fits within the theoretical framework of the paper and in particular how the paper attempts to draw comparisons between the state, power, and security.

The last integral portion of understanding both the 2011 Egyptian Revolution and the 2020 Black Lives Matter movement, one must look at theories of subjectivation.

Subjectivation is the process in which a “subject becomes capable of assuming the role of a social actor within social movements or outside them. (Touraine, Wieviorka and Dubet 1984)

Those who want to become involved in social movements, view themselves as a subject at the hands of the state. This theory of subjectivation typically consists of their emotions, their strategic calculations, their mood and their cultural features that they feel at the hands of subjugation and factors into how these “subjects” transform their passive moods regarding their subjugation and turn that into active emotions that promote actions such as social protest. (Khosrokhavar, 2018, p.160) However, there are even more layers to this idea of subjectivation such as where it originates and the role that it plays in mobilizing social actors in a given context. Many theorize that a large part of subjectivation stems from indignation and that it provides a sense of empowerment for said social actors because they fully recognize themselves as individuals who are worthy of being recognized as a proper citizen within a society that attempts to hinder citizens through indignation and repression.

(Khosrokhavar, 2018, p. 161) This typically paves the way for the social actors to form a shared bond with the others who have felt the effects of subjectivation and this leads to mass demonstrations because these social actors want to be a part of the movement towards a collective destiny. In both movements, a case can be made that the social actors involved within the cases felt the effects of subjectivation and this influenced their willingness to engage in demonstrations and mass acts of protests. The role of subjectivation will be explored later within the thesis to determine just how prevalent subjectivation was to the onset of these two social movements.

### **3.6 Theoretical Connections to Case Studies**

In both cases which will be examined in the thesis, power as well as subjectivation are at the core of them because both movements aimed at reforming the policing aspect of the state. In both cases, one can see how the police overstepped their boundaries and were notorious for being judge, jury and executioner and citizens were subjected to this treatment on behalf of the state. In Egypt, the police were far more overreaching than in the US due to the directives of the authoritarian regime. But while the Egyptian police forces were more overreaching, the US policing system is still notorious for impacting all aspects of the society as well. This is because they are tasked with protecting and serving civilians no matter the sector but throughout their history one can see that this notion of protect and serve has typically come at the expense of already marginalized groups, which will be discussed throughout the paper.

## **CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY**

In this thesis, I will be conducting a comparative psychosocial study on the death of Khaled Said in Egypt and George Floyd in the US and examine whether these two cases acted as the turning points for the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 and the Black Lives Matter Movement of 2020. These two specific cases were selected because of the similarities that the deaths of both of these men have. They both came at the hands of the police, they both happened at a turbulent time within their country's history and they both were aimed at widespread social reform particularly against the state and their use of force. This chapter will describe the methodology of the research, the research questions, objectives and challenges of conducting this research.

Within my data analysis process, I will utilize multiple qualitative methods to answer my various research questions. Qualitative methods will work better for the research I'm conducting because it is of an exploratory nature as opposed to a confirmatory nature. Quantitative methods such as statistics charts, graphs, and surveys may be used scarcely throughout the thesis, but these will typically just be to support any arguments and will be pulled from other literature, not from the researcher. These qualitative methods will include case studies, document-based research and analysis of primary and secondary sources. These primary sources will consist of sources such as firsthand testimonials and anecdotes from those involved in the two contexts which will be pulled from locations such as books, social media posts, and interviews from places such as YouTube, I will not be conducting my own interviews. The secondary sources which will be used in this research will help further support the arguments which will be made and will consist of scholarly articles regarding these two events, news articles from various news outlets which covered these events as well as more social media analysis from those who were not directly involved within these cases.

As mentioned earlier in the methodology, the majority of the research will utilize qualitative methods. The main two qualitative methods that will be employed will be case studies and historical process tracing. Due to the comparative nature of the research, utilizing case studies and focusing on these two cases specifically, which happened ten years apart, on completely opposite sides of the world and in completely different government systems will allow the further examination of the similarities and differences between the onsets of the social movements involved in the two cases and help me craft the answer to my research question(s). Historical process tracing will be used because it will allow the mapping out of the process of how these two specific movements were able to form. This will be done by examining the social and psychological contexts of each country at the beginning of their movements as well as look at how the deaths of Khaled Said and George Floyd affected the trajectory of the both the country and the social movements that were brewing within them and subsequently acted as tipping points for the movements to have the impact on their countries that they were able to have.

The aim of the data that will be collected and analyzed is to craft an answer to the questions which will be explored in the research. The data will be synthesized by exploring the differences and similarities between the murders of the two men, the social and psychological contexts within both cases, the social movements themselves and their aftermaths. The hope is that the research will provide a whole new insight into the relationship between these two social movements which are rarely seen as related and shine a light on just how similar they are in their origins.

#### **4.1 Research Objectives**

There are multiple goals in conducting this research; to explore what are the main factors that contribute to the onset of social movements especially within different contexts;

to explore the linkages between the deaths/martyrdom of George Floyd, which served as a rallying cry for the Black Lives Matter Movement in the US and the death of Khaled Said which served as the rallying cry of the Egyptian Revolution in 2011 and explore whether these events were the actual turning points in their respective movements; to explore the psychosocial factors, the especially collective and historical trauma that made these deaths resonate so deeply with the masses that they mobilized around them

#### **4.2 Research Challenges and Limitations**

Although there are gaps in the research surrounding this topic that this paper hopes to fill, there will be some limitations and challenges that I will face in conducting my research, which will be discussed below.

Due to the different time periods and contexts which my two cases evolved in, there is not much literature which discusses the comparability and linkages between the two cases. While I see many of the similarities between the two cases and there are a lot of similarities between the two, there is not much of anything to go on in terms of existing literature, leaving me to develop a novel conceptual framework for the comparison between the two. Furthermore, there is not much literature which explores the relationship between the two cases in general but with the psychosocial aspect which I am specifically exploring within my research, there is even less literature to go on in terms of the psychosocial factors involved in the two cases, both exacerbating the need for me to develop this novel framework as well as the difficulty in conducting this research.

Another challenge that has existed in conducting this research has been the time frame in which we were given to conduct our research. Due to the condensed amount of time we were given to strictly focus on our research after finishing our coursework at the beginning of June, we did not have time to organize my own interviews with first hand sources due to the



quick turnaround time so much of my research comes from primary sources that are available on the internet or secondary sources and archival data. However, while it would have been nice to conduct my own interviews with people, I feel confident that the sources I have gathered will more than make up for the lack of interviews and I do not feel as though it will have a significant impact on the data.

Another challenge I will face is the fact that in conducting some research on Khaled Said and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, there were various Egyptian and MENA sources that I missed out on the use of some of these sources. Factoring in the aforementioned timeframe which we had; it would have been a challenge to get everything accurately translated in time to conduct the comparison so because of this all of my sources are only in English. While I don't believe this will have huge significance on the outcome of the research, this is definitely a limitation and may have caused me to miss out on some potentially useful Arabic sources for my research regarding the Egyptian revolution.

The last challenge which I face is the fact that as a Black American male who has been affected by the criminal justice system in personal relationships and is now conducting research on Black Lives Matter and police brutality, there are a lot of cases which I will read about that will have somewhat of a triggering effect on me. Cases like George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, Michael Brown and most notably Trayvon Martin have shaped my understanding of my place in American society particularly when it comes to relations with the police and the justice system. Reading and hearing about these cases still impacts me sometimes so dealing with this as a focus of my research is somewhat of a challenge due to the memories and experiences associated with these cases but it also has its benefits because of my personal experience and connections to these cases and subjects.

However, while I did just outline the challenges and limitations which I will encounter in conducting the research, I am confident that I will be able to develop a

comprehensive conclusion regarding my research question(s). All of the aforementioned issues will not derail the outcome of my research and everything which is discussed in the paper will have been thoroughly researched and analyzed to come to said conclusion.

### **4.3 Research Question(s)**

This section will lay out what the main research questions of this thesis as well as the sub-questions that will also be answered throughout the thesis.

1. Were the murders of Khaled Said and George Floyd at the hands of the police, the turning points for mass mobilization in regards to the 2011 Egyptian Revolution and the 2020 Black Lives Matter Movement?
2. If so, what were the major psychosocial factors that contributed to these two turning points and were they shaped by a cognitive vulnerability in the populations?
3. How did protesters believe that the social contract was broken within the US and how was the authoritarian bargain broken in Egypt?
4. Was there a difference between how BLM formed within a democratic context as opposed to how the Egyptian Revolution formed within an authoritarian context?
5. What was the aftermath of these social movements, and did they lead to the substantive change that the movements were aiming for?

The first two questions will be the main questions which I hope to answer throughout the entirety of this paper. The other questions are the sub questions which have emerged throughout the duration of my research and in answering these sub questions, they will help inform the answer to my main research questions.

## **CHAPTER 5: SOMETHING IN THE AIR**

This chapter will lay the groundwork for the analysis of these two conflicts and begin a deeper exploration of the similarities and differences between the two cases and their formations to establish the clear connections between these two cases. The first part of this chapter will explore what factored into the formations of these two social movements and how the circumstances at the time of each man's death and subsequent social movement were exacerbated by the external circumstances which had a hold on their country/region. The second part of this chapter will examine some of the similarities between these two cases and the third part of this chapter will examine the differences between these two cases. By fleshing out the context and circumstances of each movement, it will support the claims that will be made throughout the rest of the paper.

### **5.1 Examining the Context**

Both cases and movements being examined have a lot of context surrounding them which impacted their origin and outcome, which will be discussed here.

When examining the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, you cannot tell the story of their revolution without mentioning the fact that it came against the backdrop of the Arab Spring. As mentioned earlier, the Arab Spring signified that change was coming due to the deterioration of social phenomena in the region such as the authoritarian bargain. Worth described this time period as, “not so much a beginning as an end. It was the final disintegration of something that had been rotting for decades: the Arab republican states which collapsed of their own weight.” (Worth, 9,2016) Egypt was experiencing this same feeling during this time and the Arab Spring further exacerbated the feelings that the people of Egypt had been feeling in the aftermath of Khaled Said's death. The Arab Spring gave the

people of Egypt hope that change was actually on the horizon and that they could rid themselves of the scourge of Hosni Mubarak's legacy and regime.

The Mubarak regime had been characterized by oppression, repression, human rights violations and just overall anomie for the people of Egypt who felt like there was no way for change to come with Mubarak in power. However, even before the Arab Spring officially started, there were signs that the people of Egypt were beginning to lose their patience with the legacy of dictators in their country that stretched all the way back to the 1950s. This legacy began with the leader Gamal Abdel Nasser, who was loved by many in Egypt for his charisma and willingness to stand up against the West during the Suez Crisis of 1956 but who also served as the blueprint or "standard bearer" for the modern Arab strongman leader. Worth described the legacy of Nasser as toxic due to his role in establishing Egypt as a brutal police state (Worth,2016, p.7). This brutal police state had been terrorizing and repressing the people of Egypt since Nasser's time as leader in the late 1950s and early 1960s and in 2010 this was still a harsh reality for Egyptians who were a generation removed from Nasser's time. This same police state, which Nasser established during his rule, was responsible for Khaled Said's death and gave the people of Egypt something to rally around once the Arab Spring officially broke out with the death of Mohammed Bouazizi in Tunisia. Said's death could be looked at as somewhat of a full circle moment for the people of Egypt because it brought together the older generation who had been repressed at the hands of the police during Nasser's time with those who had been repressed during the early days of Mubarak's reign and the younger generation who had only experienced Mubarak's reign throughout their lifetime. All of these groups had been traumatized by Egyptian leadership at some point in their lifetime due to the violence that was committed against them at the hands of the state. It is also likely that there was also some element of Volkan's notion of transgenerational transmission which occurred between these different demographics, which will be further

explored in Chapter 6. With the Arab Spring going on in these early stages and giving Arabs all over the region hope that change was coming you can see why the people of Egypt felt compelled to take to the streets to protest in hopes of a reformed and more just government. This coupled with the fact that many Egyptians had dealt with oppression and an overbearing police state throughout their lifetime, you can begin to understand why the death of Khaled Said would be the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back for them and their generation.

In examining the Black Lives Matter protests which broke out after the death of George Floyd in May 2020, it must be discussed that Floyd's death came at a time when the entire world was very much still in the early stages of dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic. As we all experienced during the two years that the pandemic was at its peak, the pandemic completely altered everyone's livelihood and way of life and forced people to adapt to a new normal in all aspects of our social lives. However, while the pandemic affected everyone in different ways, there was one thing that did not really change during this time in our lives: the police killing unarmed black people. As mentioned earlier in the thesis, the death of Breonna Taylor at the hands of the Louisville police department happened in March 2020 and although her death happened on March 13th, the day that has typically been associated with the "start" of the pandemic, the aftereffects of her death mainly manifested themselves during the early stages of the pandemic. The combination of the trauma that arose from the aforementioned deaths of Breonna Taylor and Ahmaud Arbery in 2020 combined with the frustration from being locked down during the pandemic and the strong feelings which emerged from watching George Floyd's death at the hands of Derek Chauvin paved the way for the large scale protests to occur in the name of police reform and social justice.

The relationship between black people and the police over the years has been tumultuous to say the least. To fully encapsulate just how contentious the relationship between the two groups, one must go all the way back to the days of slavery and the days of

the slave patrol, which influenced modern day policing. (Hinton and Cook 2021) This history will be explored further in Chapter 6. However, while this history is important to note in understanding how deeply entrenched racism is within the police system, we have more recent examples to go off which also help capture the full image of the contentiousness between the two groups, most notably the modern US criminal justice system. The criminal justice system in the US is now well known for its exploitative criminal justice system that has been disproportionately targeting and affecting people of color and their families for decades. This targeting is so disproportionate that in fact the US is home to 25% of the world's prison population despite the US only making up 4% of the world's population. (Duvernay 2016) When you begin to dive deeper into these numbers you will see that around 40% of the people in prison are Black, despite black people only making up less than 15% of the US population. (Sentencing Project 2021) You will also see that black men are six times more likely to be incarcerated than white men and about 1 out of 12 black men are in prison or jail on any given day. (The Sentencing Project, 2022) A lot of these incarcerations stem from policies such as the War on Drugs and mandatory minimums which were disproportionately aimed at putting people of color and specifically black people in prison, the impact of these arrests will be discussed in a later chapter. (Duvernay 2016) However, despite all of these statistics, the basis of these statistics stems from the fact that relations between African Americans and the police continue to be contentious because of the system that criminalizes being black and allows officers to escape accountability for the violence that they inflict on everyday citizens but specifically minorities. These statistics and the contentious history of the relations between the police and the African American population was already well known. However, once combined with the deaths of Ahmaud Arbery and Breonna Taylor combined with the viscerality of the video of George Floyd's death placed against the backdrop of a once in a lifetime pandemic one can see why a lot of the African

American population felt compelled to mobilize against the institutions that perpetuate their harm. Many felt as though their mobilization was warranted and were hopeful that change would come as evidenced by the quote, “The BLM/COVID-19 matrix has made for a once-in-a-generation moment that can lead to social change on a scale of the New Deal or GI Bill.” (Cross et al, 2022,322)

## 5.2 Examining the Similarities

In laying out the context of the two cases, one can paint a picture of how there are striking similarities between the two cases, which will be discussed below. By discussing the similarities of these two cases, one can understand why these two cases were selected for comparison.

**The first similarity** is that you can see that in both cases, there were external factors as well as once in a lifetime events going on within Egypt and the US, respectively, that made the deaths of these two men have a strong mobilizing effect on the population and motivated them to take to the streets in protest against the governments and institutions that perpetuate wrongdoing in their contexts.

In Egypt, the Arab Spring was going on, which as mentioned earlier, was a once in a lifetime event within the Arab world and one that many residents of the region had never thought that they would live to see. People in Egypt had already been planning to mobilize behind Khaled Said’s death, thanks to social media outlets such as the aforementioned ‘We are Khaled Said’ Facebook page but this was mainly to shine a light on the Mubarak regime’s practices and to make sure that the officers who killed him were held accountable for their actions. However, after the Arab Spring officially started with the death of Mohammed Bouazizi and subsequent Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia began, it gained much more prominence and power. One can see how the ongoing Arab Spring in the MENA region has a direct correlation to Said’s death because it provided much more fuel for the citizens and

made him the martyr of their revolution. He should be recognized as the martyr of their revolution because in reference to DeSousey's definition of martyrdom, he was the Egyptian symbol of pain and death at the hands of an institutional opposition (Desousey et al, 2008)

In reference to George Floyd's death and the Black Lives Matter protests in the US, you can also see how the onset of the once in a lifetime COVID-19 pandemic had a strong effect on mobilizing people to take to the streets to protest police brutality and support police reform. When the entire world is experiencing lockdowns and restrictions, and there are less people outside than ever before, how is it that the police are still making headlines for their killing of yet another unarmed black person. According to an ACLU study, 'the police continued to fatally shoot people at the same rate during the first six months of 2020 as they did over the same period from 2015 to 2019.

**The second similarity** that you see between the two cases is the fact that the two cases involved traumatized populations. The trauma that these groups have endured throughout multiple generations on behalf of the state has affected their relationship with the state. Within these two cases you can see how at a certain point the state-inflicted trauma that had affected these groups eventually led to the deterioration of the relationship to the point of mass mobilization against the state.

In Egypt there were multiple generations that had been affected by an overreaching state apparatus for years.(Ismail 2012) A large amount of the population in Egypt had dealt with the impact of British colonial rule in the country for years and even those who did not live during that time, still likely felt the wounds of those days in their daily lives and upbringing. This new generation felt the effects of colonial rule likely through transgenerational transmission and they also felt the early impact of Nasser and his policies which repressed them and turned Egypt into a police state. This younger generation of Egyptians which included many millennials at the time of the 2011 revolution had also been



traumatized through their interactions with the Mubarak regime for their entire lifetime and they wanted to experience something new, that allowed them to have a say in how their government treated them as well as how it was ran. (Ismail 2012) This younger generation and their mobilization against the regime was born out of the trauma which they and their older family members had endured that had shaped the trajectory of their life.

In the US, much like Egyptians, many Black Americans in the country had been shaped by the legacy of state violence against them and their communities. This started from slavery that forcibly brought Africans over to work in the fields as slaves with no rights and the denying of their humanity. After the abolishment of slavery, this dehumanization then took on another form and evolved into segregation that treated African Americans as second-class citizens. This treatment included limits on rights such as voting, inadequate living and working conditions, a lack of social mobility and most notably violence which was either inflicted at the hands of the state or violence that was granted impunity by the state. Lastly, this segregation then evolved into an increase in rights for African Americans within the country but a much larger microscope on African Americans that just waits for them to make a mistake that will allow their rights to be taken away legally. This manifests itself as either unfair policing laws which specifically target African Americans or unjust incidents which lead to the deaths of African Americans at the hands of the state police forces. Again, similar to Egypt, the mobilization factors involved in 2020 had been generations in the making because of the trauma that had been inflicted upon these communities at the hands of the state.

Speaking of the state, **the third similarity** between the two cases is that both cases happened at the hands of the state police forces. The police officers involved in both cases often faced impunity for any violations they committed while being on the job. Over the years in Egypt, the Egyptian police force known as the Egyptian National Police (ENP)

“came to represent the most feared and despised apparatus of the government. The ENP was associated with routine violent practices against people being held in police stations which included torture and acts of sexual violence, the internment of political dissidents, surveillance against activists, election violence, rigging of elections and protection of ruling regime interests.” (Ismail, 2012, p.435) Their sole purpose was to act on behalf of the regime and that typically meant committing violence against anyone who could be deemed “an enemy of the state” to make sure that they stayed in conformity and because they had the backing of the government, they could go to whatever lengths they wanted to in order to keep the citizens in line. But as you can see, they had a wide description for what it meant to be an enemy of the state, which is why they were so feared and why Mubarak was able to stay in power for so long.

Khaled Said fit the description of someone who was labeled as an enemy of the state because he was accused of being in possession of an incriminating video that showed policemen sharing the loots of a drug bust (Meky 2014) With this accusation, they used that as a basis to harass him and subsequently kill him for this. However, although many Egyptians had been tortured and killed by the police in the past, Khaled was described as “not a typical victim, he lived on a nice middle-class street, not a slum or Islamist ghetto” (Worth, 2016. p.10) where many of the victims of ENP violence resided. As mentioned before, Egypt’s brutal police force stemmed from policies enacted by former leaders, and they were essentially terrorists to the Egyptian people. Many lived in constant fear that they would become the next victim of the ENP because their impact was felt in all aspects of the society, ranging from: transport, roads, food supply, taxation and maintenance of public order to name a few things and because of their reach, “it brought ordinary citizens face to face with the police on a daily basis.” (Ismail, 2012, p.436)

In the US, while the police were not as prevalent in everyday lives as the ENP, many in the US still believe that the police force is given too much power in their lives, specifically Black Americans feel this way about the police. As mentioned before, relations between the police forces in the US and the black population have been contentious throughout US history. However, in the death of George Floyd and other deaths of unarmed black people, one can see just how brutal the system can be to black Americans and how something as simple as a counterfeit \$20 bill can cost you your life if you are a black person in America, even if you are not posing an immediate threat to the officer.

In the exchange that led to Floyd's subsequent death, you hear him begging for his life, but the four officers involved in the exchange, did not care at all about his wellbeing. In fact, within the exchange, as Floyd is begging for his life telling Chauvin, "I can't breathe, officer. You're going to kill me" Chauvin's response to Floyd is, "Well stop talking, stop yelling. It takes a heck of a lot of oxygen to talk." (Hill, 2022, p.16) In just this small exchange, you can see that Chauvin had no interest in protecting Floyd's life which many believe is a police officer's job but delving deeper into Chauvin's history, you will see that he likely believed he would be able to get away with it as he had in the past. Over Chauvin's 19-year law enforcement career before his execution of George Floyd, he had received over 20 complaints and was on record for kneeling on people's necks or putting them in chokeholds about six times, at least four of the six times involving a person of color. (Ray 2021) When you see how the US has policed marginalized communities for multiple generations and see how Chauvin had been able to continue his job policing these marginalized communities despite the various complaints, you get the sense that he did not feel as though he would receive consequences for his actions. Chauvin's likely belief that he would not be punished by the police force for his actions has a direct correlation to Floyd's death and this shines a light on the deeper issue that exists with American policing: impunity for officers.

Going further into the discussion regarding the police in both systems, **the fourth similarity** between the two cases is that these movements were born out of acts of police brutality and in leading these movements, those who participated in the protests and demonstrations were met with more police brutality at the hands of the police forces who wanted to disrupt these demonstrations.

In the case of the Egyptian Revolution, it has been well documented the crimes and human rights violations that the Egyptian police and military committed against the citizens of the country, particularly in the well-known Tahrir Square, a location which was the literal heart of the revolution.. The Egyptian people chose to lead their revolution in Tahrir Square because, “Tahrir was a place where the drama could play out in public, where the consequences were understood by all.” (Worth, 2016, p.20). In fact, to take it even further the Egyptian people started their demonstrations in Tahrir Square on January 25th, 2011. This day was chosen strategically because it had been declared National Police Day by the Egyptian government because it was the day in which fifty Egyptian officers were killed at the hands of British forces during Egypt’s colonial era. (Worth, 2016, p,21) By choosing to have their revolution on this day it was a way to show the police forces that their practices over the years were unacceptable and by starting their protests on a day that was meant to commemorate the police, it showed the regime the extreme lengths that the people were willing to go in the name of change. On the other hand, this is also where the Egyptian forces showed the lengths that they were willing to go to keep Mubarak in power. During the revolution, there was a lot of violence that would be deemed excessive committed against the protesters in Tahrir Square on behalf of the Egyptian government and militias who were to prop up the regime. This excessive violence included: the use of tear gas, water cannons, batons, beatings, rubber bullets, torture and dogs as well as bribing homeless people and using regular Egyptian citizens against their compatriots. The ENP also used armored

vehicles to clear out the protests and took demonstration leaders into custody as well. (Abdelmottlep 2015) This took place on January 25th but over the next few days, the violence continued at the hands of the regime. One of the most infamous examples of how the Mubarak regime used violence against protesters was the “Battle of the Camel.” During this battle, the Mubarak regime recruited thousands of Mubarak supporters to attack protesters who were in the square and clear it out, many of these supporters were on horses and camels. During this battle, the Egyptian protesters defended themselves, mainly through using improvised means of protection such as newspapers, garbage can lids and kitchen bowls and were armed with only rocks. By the end of the day the protesters had stood their ground, but it had come at the cost of eleven lives and over six hundred injuries. (Worth, 2016, p.30)

The Mubarak regime had not only used violence against the protesters, but they also suspended the use of the internet, messaging apps and cell phone service in the country. (Abdelmottlep 2015) These acts were aimed at controlling the flow of information and communication out of the country and this would make it harder for the protesters to spread awareness about the violence that they were enduring. The young people of Egypt combatted this during the revolution by leveraging these forms of communication and using them as tools for progress to disperse their messages against the regime in innovative ways. On the other hand, the government used the state’s information and broadcast systems to spread propaganda that would affect the perception of the rebellions. (Sowers, Toensing 2012,53) The high usage of these mass communication tools is an important distinction to make when discussing the different eras involved within this context because other generations did not have the same access to these tools and it allowed the young people to serve as the main organizers of the revolution and broadcast their message. Despite all of this though, the violence committed against the Egyptian citizens in the early stages of the revolution did not

discourage the protesters. In fact, the violence only served to echo their anti-government sentiments and this caused protests to erupt outside of Cairo's Tahrir Square and demonstrations broke out in cities all over the country. (Abdelmottlep 2015) These demonstrations continued for 18 days until Mubarak stepped down on February 11, 2011. However, in those 18 days of protest, statistics show that 846 civilians were killed and more than 6400 were injured in these demonstrations, showing just how relentless the ENP and military was in their protection of the regime until the power of the people overwhelmed them. (BBC 2011)

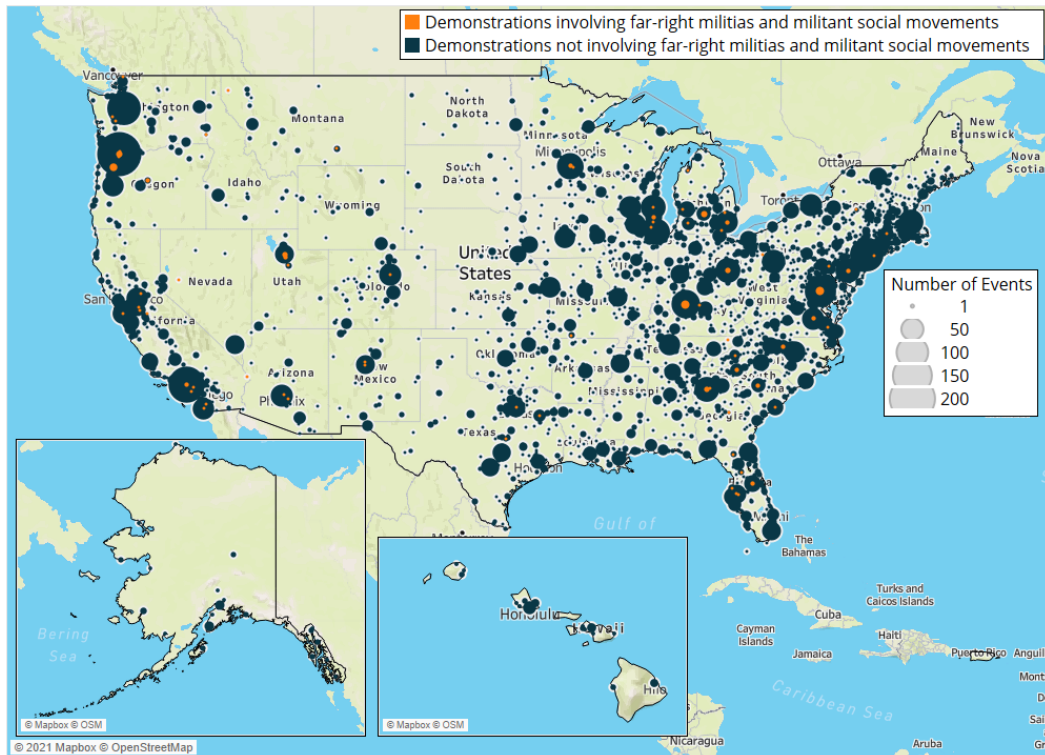
In the US, there was a similar response from the police in their response to the mass protests that engulfed the country in the aftermath of George Floyd's death. However, although there were definitely not the same amounts of casualties in the BLM protests compared to the Egyptian Revolution, there was still a significant amount of violence used by US police forces all over the country to quell the BLM protests. No matter where BLM protests were being held within the country, the police were quick to issue a response, usually a forceful one. According to ACLED (2022), the police used force 52% of the time against BLM demonstrators compared to just 26% of the time against other demonstrators. George Floyd died on May 25th, 2020, and protests broke out shortly after and in the week following his death from May 26th to June 5th, Amnesty International documented around 125 cases of police violence being used against the protesters in 40 states as well as the District of Columbia. In their analysis, they saw that this violence was coming from all branches of the state including National Guard, federal agencies as well as local and state police. Some of the abuse that they documented included "beatings, the misuse of tear gas and pepper spray, and the inappropriate and, at times, indiscriminate firing of less-lethal projectiles, such as sponge rounds and rubber bullets." (Amnesty International 2020) To go even deeper into the police response to the protests, it has also been documented that many of the police forces around

the country were not adequately trained to deal with mass demonstrations. A New York Times article stated that, “in city after city, the reports are a damning indictment of police forces that were poorly trained, heavily militarized and stunningly unprepared for the possibility that large numbers of people would surge into the streets.” (Barker, Baker, Watkins 2021) In reading some of the anecdotes from across the country it is highly documented that the police forces were only prepared to handle the protests in a punitive manner, not in a de-escalatory manner. While not all of the protests that we saw in the US would be considered “peaceful,” even the protests that were actually peaceful were still met with force at the hands of a militarized police force. Many believe that the reactive nature of the police response to the protests only made things worse and that they were the main driving force in escalating the civilian response due to their aggressive tactics. (Barker, Baker, Watkins 2021) Furthermore, state and local police forces were implementing curfews and other hindrances to the protests that made participants more likely to get arrested such as “kettling” which is “where protesters were surrounded and blocked by police forces from leaving, often until curfews took effect or arrests were made for obstructing a roadway.” (Sainato 2020) Because of this the police were given even more power to uphold these rules because they were coming at the behest of the state and were impacting the same people who were at the core of the protest: the black community. (Sainato 2020) These aggressive responses were also not condemned by President Donald Trump at the time, some could even interpret that he encouraged their actions due to some of the rhetoric he used when referring to the protests. On numerous occasions he referred to BLM as a “symbol of hate” (Liptak, Holmes 2020), he referred to protesters as “thugs” and said they were “dishonoring the memory of George Floyd.” (Colvin, Miller 2020), and he also used incendiary language when referring to the protesters such as “when the looting starts, the shooting starts” (Trump Twitter 2020)

There is still much controversy over exactly what happened during that time period in the US. There are conflicting reports over the deaths, injuries and arrests that were made during the time due to the sheer number of events going on at the time. There were the main protests that were breaking out all over the country. There were counter protests going on that were pro police and anti-BLM, over 750 to be exact. (ACLEDE 2022). While the BLM protests were consistently met with force, no force was used against these protesters and in fact law enforcement only intervened 2% of the time. (ACLEDE 2022) There was even evidence that Antifa was hijacking some of the BLM protests to push their own agenda. (Goff and McCarthy 2022) ACLEDE found that Antifa was present at 31 demonstrations nationwide. (ACLEDE 2022) “Antifa” stands for anti-fascism, and they are an ideological movement of loosely connected individuals and groups that oppose fascism and white supremacy. (Goff and McCarthy 2022) While they are on the left, they are much more radical in their actions than what the BLM movement was aiming for in their protests and will resort to violence at times to combat right wing extremism although there is not much evidence of them using violence in the BLM protests. (Goff and McCarthy 2022) Due to the perceived threat of potential violence on behalf of demonstrators, many arrests were made. In looking at the arrests, well over 10,000 people were arrested all over the country due to their participation in the protests. (Snow 2020) Their charges ranged from low level offenses such as curfew violations and failure to disperse all the way to more serious offenses such as looting and assault. (Snow 2020) Not only were protesters arrested but hundreds were injured due to the excessive force tactics used by the police and according to ACLEDE (2022) it is believed that 25 people died in connection to the protests. It is unclear how many were killed by the police in the US.



**Demonstrations Associated with BLM in the United States  
(1 January 2020 - 30 April 2021)**



<https://acleddata.com/2021/05/25/a-year-of-racial-justice-protests-key-trends-in-demonstrations-supporting-the-blm-movement/>

While the state used force against the protesters in both Egypt and the US, it is clear that the ENP's response was much more deadly than the US response with Egyptians sustaining many more casualties and injuries. In the US there were more arrests, but this is likely just due to the large population difference between the two countries. However, both cases still exemplify an abuse of power on behalf of the state. This was extremely ironic because the origin of both cases have ties to police brutality and in response to their mass mobilization, the protesters were met with even more police brutality.

The last section just discussed how these two cases involved the use of state sanctioned violence against those who participated in these movements and demonstrations. However, **the fifth and final similarity** between these two movements was that despite this

use of force by the state, the protesters involved in both movements continued to advocate for the use of nonviolent methods in their demonstrations.

In Egypt, the people knew that they would be met with violence by the state and to combat this, they believed that utilizing nonviolent methods would be their best tool against the ENP and other forces. They knew that while they did not have the firepower of the ENP, they did have the numbers and that their strength would be in telling stories (Engler, Engler 2014) The Egyptians wanted to make a public spectacle of the abuse that they would endure. Staying committed to nonviolent tactics was instrumental in their campaign against the regime. By avoiding violence, it would avoid giving the government forces the excuse they were looking for to use violence on protesters and would also allow the government forces to be delegitimized publicly for their use of force. (Bakr 2012) Some of the young activists involved in the revolution learned from the teachings of the nonviolent theorist Gene Sharp. (Worth 2016) When asked about the Egyptians utilizing his tactics, Sharp agreed with their tactics, stating that, "It was wise. Nonviolence is a people power, a people mobilizing power and something that dictators are not equipped to deal with effectively. Violence on the other hand is a dictator's best weapon and something they are equipped to handle." (Memmott 2011) While nonviolent methods did not give them the military high ground, it did give them the moral high ground and it allowed them to have success in leading their revolution.

In the US during the BLM protests, the majority of protesters believed that nonviolent methods would be the most effective as well. In fact, ACLED did an examination of 7,750 demonstrations which took place in all 50 states and found that 93% of these demonstrations were peaceful. (Mansoor 2020) The ones that were deemed "violent" were not even violent in the typical sense. They used the term violence to refer to resisting arrest from police, vandalism, and property destruction, things of that nature. (Mansoor 2020) While some may deem this violent, these forms of "violence" were not meant to be injurious to the physical

wellbeing of others unlike the violence used against the demonstrators by the police. Nonviolence had been a staple of large-scale black movements, going back to the teachings of Dr. Martin Luther King. With African Americans being a minority of the country, leading an armed revolution would be a death wish and would take away any support which they had gained. So, by them maintaining nonviolent methods as their tactic, they would continue to have the public support they had gained and would also give them a moral high ground on the state which wanted to use violence to quell their protests.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

As one can see, there are a striking number of similarities between the two cases, and this provides a basis for the exploration of the comparative nature of this thesis. By laying out the similarities, one can begin to see how these two cases were born out of similar tragedies and causes. This paints a picture of the oppression of citizens at the behest of the state. Now that one has information regarding the similarities of the cases, one can determine how these impacted the trajectories and outcomes of these movements aimed at creating social change.

#### **5.5 Examining the Differences**

After examining the respective contexts and similarities of both cases in the previous sections, the paper will now examine the distinct differences which set these two cases apart.

The **first and most important difference** between these two cases is that while they both involved national movements to create social reform, both movements were aiming for starkly different outcomes. In Egypt, the citizens were not just engaged in a social change movement, they were engaged in a full-scale revolution aimed at toppling the Mubarak regime. Furthermore, they did not want to just topple the regime, they wanted to take it a step further and install a democracy within the country, something that the majority of Egyptians had never experienced in their lifetime. Egyptians likely believed that democracy was a way

for them to have a say in how their country is run and allow them to practice self-determination, something else that many of them had never experienced before. Self-determination has different interpretations but for the purpose of this paper, the definition that will be used will center around having control of the State people live in and determination of how one wishes to be governed. Also, it covers the right of equality and independence to exercise functions of a State without external influence. (Stephen 2013) Self-determination was a major driving force for the Egyptian citizens because being under the Mubarak regime, they had no control in the government and continuously dealt with inequality at the hands of said regime. By the Egyptian people aiming to establish democracy in their country they were inherently aiming to establish their own form of self-determination as well. Under international law, it is affirmed that, “Self-determination postulates the right of a people organized in an established territory to determine its collective political destiny in a democratic fashion and is therefore at the core of the democratic entitlement.” (Frank 1992, p.52) The people of Egypt had been denied this right for years because of the Mubarak regime and this has a direct correlation to their revolution. So, while they were fighting for social change and justice in their movement, the movement for much more than just social change. The goal of the movement was to create change in the whole government system and structure of the country and rid themselves of the legacy of the Mubarak regime and for them meant a full-scale revolution which would create a brighter future for Egyptians for generations to come. Alaa Aswany, a novelist in Egypt who was a part of the revolution captured the cause of the revolution beautifully when he stated that, “The revolution is a new birth, not just for Egypt but on an individual level...it’s like falling in love; you become a better person.” (Worth, 2016, p.26)

Similar to the Egyptian Revolution, the BLM Movement of 2020 was aimed at creating social change, but the goals of the movement differed from Egypt because BLM was

not meant to topple the entire government system of America. There were many different interpretations of what the goals of the movement were. There were many who would say that the protests were meant to protest against police brutality against black people, some would say they were meant to call for justice for the police officers who killed Floyd, some would say that they were meant to stoke divisions in the country and push a liberal agenda and some would say that they were meant to abolish the police but due to the decentralized nature of the BLM movement and organization, there was no officially set goal in leading the protests. However, despite the decentralized nature, founder of BLM Los Angeles Melina Abdullah captured the essence and goals of the movement in one quote. Abdullah declared that “We are about disrupting state-sanctioned violence against black people.” (Gottbrath 2020) This quote helps encapsulate why the movement brought together so many people of different races, sexual orientations, and backgrounds together during the summer of 2020. However, while this is the main goal of BLM, the movement is also intersectional in nature due to some of the founding members being members of the LBQT+ community and prides itself on being inclusive of those who are committed allies. (Cross et al 2022, 314) Some examples of the other goals of those who are committed to the BLM ideology include: a disdain for anything that is anti-Black, the dismantling of patriarchal practice, support for black women in any space, support of the transgender community, and the disruption of heteronormative thinking. (Cross et al 2022,314) This shows why so many people came together as allies of the movement, because they also support these goals. The movement prides itself on allyship and allyship was an essential part of the movement gaining such a large following. However, at the heart of all this allyship, the mission has always been to find a way to protect and support black people from violence, in all its forms, at the hands of the state and supporters of white supremacy and as long as one was committed to that sole goal, they are an ally of the movement.

The **second major difference** between the two movements were the government systems in which they formed.

As mentioned before, the Egyptian Revolution came to fruition within an authoritarian government system, and this had a significant impact on both the origin of the movement as well as its trajectory. Anti-government expression was not technically illegal in Egypt, it was tolerated, albeit in a limited capacity, but it was not something that was commonplace within Egyptian society. (Holmes 2011) However, on the other hand, political action while technically not illegal either, was rare in the country. In fact, it was actively discouraged, repressed and often met with violence. (Holmes 2011) This history of not only the Mubarak regime but previous regimes as well, discouraged many of the Egyptian citizens from engaging because they had experienced brutality firsthand at the hands of the security forces. Since they were attempting to change the authoritarian nature of the country there was initially much hesitancy to engage in their mass demonstrations and subsequent revolution. There was hesitancy even after the death of Khaled Said because as mentioned before, they knew that the ENP response would be swift and harsh as it had been throughout Mubarak's tenure. This was evidenced by firsthand accounts of people who were on the ground in Egypt such as Robert Worth who stated, "Most people doubted that Egypt would move. The country was weighed down by its size and ancient inertia and held in check by its sprawling "deep state" of plainclothes police officers and hired thugs."(Worth, 2016,20) Another man, a lawyer named Ziyad al Elaimy began preparing himself for prison the night before the protests because he expected the initial protests "to last about ten minutes before the police put a stop to it and threw him in jail." (Worth, 2016, 21) This quote exemplifies why so many Egyptians did not think that their demonstrations would end up leading to substantive change. It was because they had nothing to base it on. Their whole lives had been based around repression and oppression. Taking on a task of revolutionary proportion such as this

did not seem like it would be able to yield the results they were aiming for because it would be met with even more force and repression on behalf of the state. However, after seeing the success of the Tunisian Revolution, many had hope and they knew that leading a revolution in Egypt would be monumental. This was because “Egypt was the model. Tahrir was a place where the drama could play out in public, where the consequences were understood by all. Egypt mattered, because of its history and its sheer mass. 82 million people, a fifth of the entire Arab population.” (Worth 2016, 20)

Furthermore, for a lot of the country, especially the young men, after seeing Khaled’s mutilated face, they knew something had to be done and going off of Worth’s quote, they knew that if they could do something in Egypt it would send a message to all dictators in the region. This is because many of the young men saw themselves within Khaled Said. Khaled’s death was used as a “catalyst of indignation.” (Engler, Engler 2014) To further exacerbate the power of martyrdom, Worth stated that, “martyrs were being held up, dead or maimed, or humiliated men and women whose fates seemed to crystallize the indignity visited on an entire people.” (Worth 2016) Asmaa Mahfouz, one of the founders of the April 6 Movement, an activist group in Egypt reiterated this sentiment when she stated that they sought to demand human rights, not just political rights. (Holmes 2011) Leading the revolution in Egypt would make it so that future generations would not have to deal with authoritarianism for their entire life like many of them and the generations before them.

In the BLM protests, the context and government system are completely different from what was seen in Egypt because obviously, the US is a democracy. Freedom of assembly is a part of the First Amendment of the US constitution, and many Americans take pride in their right to protest and will not hesitate to use this right either. Because of this, the BLM protests were able to gain a large following almost immediately because the millions of Americans who participated knew they were exercising their rights. They did not have the

same fears that the Egyptians were having when it came to bring their revolution to fruition. Living in the US, people are able to vote for their own leaders, they do not have rigged or corrupt elections and do not deal with the level of systematic infringement upon their civil liberties that you would see in a country led by a dictator.

However, while freedom of speech and freedom of assembly are staples of the American experience, throughout the history of the country, movements that have advocated for the rights of Black Americans have typically been met with a forceful response from the state forces. The Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s is the most notable example of this forceful response. This time period will be discussed later in the paper. Fast forward to 2020 and the BLM protests and one can see how the response during the first US social movement for black rights in the 1960s set the stage for the 2020 response, albeit on a smaller and less deadly scale. Despite this violence though, the BLM protests were a representation of what makes America beautiful. People of all backgrounds make up the mosaic and/or “melting pot” of the US and this diversity was represented in full force during the 2020 protests. America was built on the backs of the people taking back their power through a strength in numbers approach. This was what brought the US to its definition and lived experience of democracy today and the BLM protests were a symbol of what is possible when one lives in a democracy.

The **third major difference** between the two cases which is based on the second difference is that there was precedent for large scale social movements in the US, there was no precedent for that within Egypt, at least not to the level of the 2011 revolution. Since 2004, Egypt had begun to see a revival in protests, demonstrations and activist groups that were led by citizens such as students, healthcare workers, artists, and teachers aimed at creating change. (Joya 2011) Some of these activist groups and movements included the April 6 Movement, Kefaya, the Egyptian Anti-Globalization Group and the Global Justice



Movement. (Abdelrahman 2011) However, these movements were never able to garner the full support of the country that the 2011 demonstrations were able to garner.

Throughout Egypt's history, many of the transitions of power have come through military action. This was typically done through warfare, a military coup or an assassination in the case of Anwar Sadat. In the latter years of British colonial rule, Egypt was ruled by both King Fuad and then his son King Farouk after he died. King Farouk was eventually removed from power due to his ties to the British and overall incompetence, especially in a time when Egyptian nationalism was on the rise. (Brittanica 2022) He was eventually removed from power by Mohammed Naguib, an Egyptian military officer who was removed just around a year later by his fellow military officer Gamal Abdel Nasser, in an infamous military coup in 1952. Nasser rode the wave of Egyptian and Arab nationalism into a long-term presidency and he was loved by many within the country due to his ideology and policies and his status as a "man of the people." (Arnold 2019) He understood Egypt was a leader within the region and he believed that it should be the center of the Arab world. (Wheelock 1960) After Nasser's death in 1970, Anwar Sadat came into power and he attempted to become more diplomatic in the region, even brokering the famous Camp David Accords with Israel. However, in 1981, he was eventually assassinated by Islamic extremists in the country who did not agree with his policies, particularly with Israel. (Riedel 2021) He was then replaced by his vice President Hosni Mubarak, which brings us to the 2011 revolution.

As was just laid out in the previous section, Egyptians had never had a say in the transition of power within their country. The transitions were always a product of internal and state-based decision making. This is why 2011 was so meaningful to them because they knew they would finally be able to decide the direction of their own government. Sherif Hetata, an eighty-eight-year-old man involved in the revolution asserted:

“This is something we’ve never lived before. I’ve seen Egyptian history since the time of King Farouk. I saw demonstrations in 1946, 1951, 1952, 1977, 1986 and now 2011. For a person like myself, who’s lived all these years, it’s a lesson. These are the forces that can build the country in the future, if they get the chance to do that.” (Worth, 2016, p.28)

Understanding this “lightning in a bottle” aspect of the Egyptian Revolution, one can see how the people of Egypt knew that the 2011 revolution was a once in a lifetime moment for them and they were determined to ensure that their country was built in their image, not in the image of one man, which for so long had been a defining factor of Egypt.

Contrary to the Egyptian Revolution, America had precedence for social movements, due to First Amendment rights which were discussed in the previous section. Throughout the history of the US, social movements have been led for almost every major social issue, whether that be: women’s rights, LGBTQ rights, gun control, and “rigged elections” However, when it comes to major movements advocating for expanded rights for black people, the only other major movement was the American Civil Rights movement which was led during the late 1950s and all the way through the 1960s. However, although the Civil Rights era helped shape black rights in America, it was a long road to get to that point. US history shows that movements led by black people for black people were not often give the same grace that other social movements were given despite freedom of speech and assembly being a core tenet of American democracy. This will be discussed in depth in the next chapter of this paper.

Reviewing this history, one can see how the BLM movement had precedent to engage in social movements, but they also had the precedent that their movements were always more likely to be targeted and subjected to a harsher response than other movements which were not black-centered.

The **fourth and final difference** between these two movements are why the movements were being demonized or viewed as a threat by those in power.

In Egypt, the protests were demonized by the state because they represented a disruption to the status quo and the maintenance of state power. The Egyptian government was fighting to maintain power and they maintained power through making the Egyptians fear them. They instilled this fear in the Egyptians by being involved in every facet of Egyptian society and making Egyptians feel as though an encounter with the police was inevitable. The goal of the Egyptian police, especially in the leadup and during the outbreak revolution, was to turn “rebellious subjects into docile ones.” (Ismail, 2012,442) This quote conveys an important message regarding the revolution and the treatment by the police. These individuals who were participating in the protests were not “citizens” in the eyes of the Egyptian police. They were viewed as “subjects” who had stepped out of line in attempting to overthrow the regime. This ties into the feelings of subjectivation which was seen in Chapter 3. This is evidenced by their initial response which was based on domination and maintenance of power relations. Expanding upon this notion, we also saw how the expectations of the demonstrators were crushed by counter-revolutionary actors (the state) who were pursuing their own economic and political interests due to grave physical violence, or the imminent threat of it. (Matthias-Boon, Head, 2018, 259) At every instant in the revolution, the protesters were reminded of their subjectivation and how they did not have power within their own country.

In the US, BLM was demonized because the majority of protesters were black. As just described in the previous section, black people have been historically demonized and criminalized throughout the country’s history. This will be explored and elaborated on further in the next chapter. The movement was also about identity and specifically race in nature. Black movements had been historically demonized and even some of the language which was

used to describe the protests such as “riot” and “thugs” are typical tactics used by those who want to maintain white supremacy and discredit black movements. A 2021 study by Peay and Camarillo revealed that

“Despite exposure to information assuring subjects that a protest was peaceful, evaluations of Black protesters draw on many of the unfortunate tropes often associated with congregating Black folks, causing some (whites) to assign a greater potential for violence to protests where those involved are predominately Black. The perceived threat that some hold of minorities—and specifically Black people—often clouds their ability to rationalize their attitudes with facts when presented with them in black and white. (Peay & Camarillo, 2021, 204) This conflict revealed that while freedom of assembly and power of the people is a part of American society, when the demonstrators are minorities advocating their rights, they are inherently viewed as a threat to the state because of the racial hierarchy which is a part of American society.

In examining these two differences, we have to take note of the role that race played in these conflicts, particularly in the case of BLM because in Egypt race and ethnicity were not intrinsic to their conflict as opposed to how it was in the US.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

The distinct differences between the two movements had a significant impact on how their movements would be led, how the response from the state would be as well as what the outcome of them would be. These differences help tell the story of why those involved decided to participate in the movements and more importantly what the possibilities and limitations of the movements would be. By laying out the similarities and differences of both cases, one can begin to understand the rationale behind choosing these two movements as the subject of this paper and have this comparative analysis inform the answer to the research question

## **CHAPTER 6: THE PSYCHOSOCIAL REALM**

### **6.1 Introducing the Psychosocial Aspect of these Movements**

“There’s a moment where you have to choose to stand up or be silent.” said Malala Yousafzai, the Pakistani female education activist. This quote captures what many of the protesters in the movements were going through when they made the initial decision to take part in the mass mobilization engulfing their respective contexts. After conducting an examination of these two conflicts, in regards to their linkages, another aspect which is critical to the analysis of these acts of martyrdom and subsequent movements: the psychosocial elements of these conflicts, in particular the traumatic elements. Psychosocial for the context of this paper will refer to the examination of social processes through a psychological understanding. (Stansfeld & Rasul, 2007) The examination of the psychosocial elements of these conflicts are critical for two reasons: 1) because it will examine the social and collective well-being of the groups and how this factored into their mobilization and 2) because some of the main questions in conducting this research revolve around the why factor involved in these two questions, which would need a psychological understanding in order to answer these questions. Why did such a sizable percentage of the population take part in these protests in these cases? If so, what psychosocial factors informed their decision to take part in said demonstrations? Trauma for the context of this paper will refer to “sense of loss due to the inability to process emotions stemming from a traumatic event, leading to feelings of helplessness.” (Kahane-Nissenbaum 2011) Exploring the psychosocial aspect of this paper will help serve the analysis of these acts of martyrdom as “turning points” for their respective movements. Exploring the traumatic aspects of these cases will further inform the research questions because trauma played a pivotal role in making the cases of martyrdom reach their “turning point.” This chapter will analyze the psychosocial aspects surrounding

the origins of these two cases through the lens of trauma to inform the answers to the research question.

## **6.2 The Traumatic Aspects of the Onset of the Egyptian Revolution**

In the theoretical framework section of this paper, the paper discussed the role of trauma in relations to these conflicts. The people of Egypt had experienced their fair share of trauma in their lifetime, many would consider them to be a traumatized population. One must look at what traumas had been inflicted upon them that contributed to them reaching the aforementioned “revolutionary threshold” which emboldened them to take the initiative to protest in the streets. For the Egyptian people to revolt against the same regime and institutions that have been the cause of their intergenerational traumatization, a collective switch had to be flipped within the psyche of the Egyptian population that told them to rise up against the Mubarak regime? What exactly was the main cause of this switch? What was the role of trauma and other psychosocial factors in flipping this switch? Understanding the role of trauma in regards to the Egyptian Revolution is necessary when analyzing this conflict. Many of the traumas of the Egyptians stem from abuse of power at the hands of the state which will be discussed in this section.

The abuse of power at the hands of the state had a significant impact on the Egyptians decision to take part in the protests because of its traumatic impact on both their physical and mental wellbeing. This perpetuation of trauma was used as a motivating factor for the Egyptian demonstrators and on the other side, the Egyptian government forces, it was used as a weapon. For the revolutionary activists, their trauma was born out of collective experiences based around political and social betrayal. (Matthies Boon 2018,260 With political trauma, defined as “the violent betrayal of a collective (revolutionary) striving for an inclusive public sphere” being the most applicable form to the protesters in the Egyptian Revolution. (Matthies Boon, Head, 2018,) Trauma was also used as a weapon by the Egyptian forces

because they used violent methods to quell the dissent of the protesters and these elevated levels of violence became a part of the society and engendered both individual and collective forms of trauma. (Matthies Boon 2018,261)

Trauma has a way of changing an individual's thought processes but it can also affect a collective's thought processes as we see here with Egypt. This trauma not only affects thought processes but also "ruptures the continuity between past, present and future. It disrupts the contiguity between the social stock of knowledge and one's own experiences, breaking the interpretative horizon within which meaning is made and results in feelings of depression, anxiety, rage and terror." (Bracken 2002,1) Amongst many Egyptians, political trauma was common, and the government forces played a critical role in creating these feelings. As mentioned earlier in the paper, Egyptians had never had a say within their country's government, it was always left to the hands of the state to determine how power would be distributed. Over time, the continuous act of being excluded from political processes and subjected to physical violence can cause *continuous traumatic stress* (CTS), with the ongoing structural and traumatic betrayal by political actors and institutions being one of these main stressors. (Eagle and Kaminer 2013,26) In looking at political trauma through this lens one can see that the trauma in Egypt did not just stem from one act, but over time, mainly through a system of continuous abuse and violence. (Eagle and Kaminer 2013,27) Furthermore, it is not just the system committing these acts that create trouble but the fact that the system does not hold the perpetrators accountable as well. In reference to the relationship between CTS and the impunity in these systems, Eagle and Kaminer asserted this:

'Systems designed to create a sense of accountability and to minimize harm to citizens are ineffectual or overstretched, at best, or corrupt or collusive with informal systems of power at worst.' In these contexts, it is not only direct physical violence by an aggressor

that is traumatic but also the fact that such violations are accompanied by ‘resignation, collusion, non-retribution and license for further violation at a systemic level.’ In such (authoritarian) contexts, there is no respite from the continuous threat of violence, and the culture of fear and suspicion atomizes people, while the main perpetrators remain immune from public accountability due to a closed or severely restricted public sphere. (Eagle and Kaminer, 2013, p.9 & 10)

In the context of Egypt, one can see how the above quote on CTS can be applied to their case study. This CTS can also be interpreted as an iteration of Volkan’s chosen trauma due to its effect on the feelings of Egyptians and gave them something to rally around which was exacerbated by Said’s death. As discussed earlier, the state system in Egypt participated in these acts in various capacities and these all had trauma-inducing potential on the population.

Going further into the discussion regarding trauma in the Egyptian revolution, one must also look at how these acts of trauma- induction pave the way for the emergence of other feelings within the Egyptian people, all which have mobilizing potential. This section of the paper will explore how these acts of trauma facilitate feelings of social exclusion and indignation in the population.

Chapter 2 discussed some of the main social factors which were at fault during the onset of this conflict such as: rapid population growth, high literacy and education rate, a high unemployment rate, and a large youth population, the group that felt the brunt of these issues. (Bakr 2012) This coupled with other economic factors such as poverty and unequal income distribution contributed to their discontent as well. (Akcesme 2014) This combination of factors plus an oppressive violent government can pave the way for feelings of social exclusion, an issue which can be traced to some of the feelings that were harbored during the onset of the revolution. Social exclusion is defined as,



“a state in which individuals are unable to participate fully in economic, social, political and cultural life, as well as the process leading to and sustaining such a state. Participation may be hindered when people lack access to material resources, including income, employment, land and housing, or to such services as education and health care — essential foundations of well-being that are captured in Agenda 2030. Yet participation is also limited when people cannot exercise their voice or interact with each other, and when their rights and dignity are not accorded equal respect and protection. Thus, social exclusion entails not only material deprivation but also lack of agency or control over important decisions as well as feelings of alienation and inferiority.” (United Nations 2016)

In defining social exclusion, one can then begin to see how this relates to the Egyptian revolution and the feelings of the population, in particular the younger generation. Social exclusion serves as an important motivating factor for mobilization because they can be born out of a number of different factors. In the context of Egypt, one could argue that their main feelings of social exclusion stemmed from economic and political based grievances. In addition to these economic and political grievances, the population had access to more knowledge, information, technology and modes of connection than any other generation within Egypt’s history but were still unable to find jobs because of the rampant corruption, and weak institutions that were intrinsic to the country’s social identity in recent years.

These feelings of social exclusion also have a direct correlation to social trauma which is the other side of political trauma.

“Social trauma occurs when deep social change paralyzes the potential for collective agency, mobilization and processes of social becoming. It is expressed through a sense of cultural disorientation and a deep paralyzing distrust towards other people and institutions. Creates a sense of social and disorientation and anomie. (Sztompka 2004, p. 165) Such paralysis occurs due to the destruction of ‘the socially shared pool of ready-made templates

for symbolizing, interpreting, framing and narrating the ongoing social praxis', and leads to social isolation and exclusion and the dehumanization of others." (Sztompka 2000, p.45)

The citizens were victims of multiple forms of trauma mostly at the hands of the Egyptian government. This trauma mainly consisted of political and social trauma, two forms which are directly connected to each other and have mobilizing potential for the collective. In Egypt, social trauma was rampant throughout the country because many of the citizens had been affected by the generational trauma put on them by the government's repressive and oppressive tactics. These tactics can pave the way for feelings of massive discontent amongst the citizens that many used as their impetus for engaging in the revolution. These feelings align with Ted Gurr's theory of relative deprivation which was discussed in chapter 3 of the paper and in particular his frustration-aggression hypothesis. The frustration-aggression hypothesis is inherently psychological in nature and many revolutions or acts of civil strife are born out of some type of frustration, according to Gurr who asserts, "Psychological theories about the origins of human aggression provide an explicit motivational explanation for the proposed causal link between relative deprivation and collective violence. "(Gurr, 1970, p.30) Expanding further on the psychological nature of revolutions, Gurr lays out the three psychological assumptions about the sources of human aggression: 1) that aggression is solely instinctive, 2) aggression is solely learned, 3) aggression is an innate response activated by frustration. This paper will explore the third assumption and its connection to the Egyptian context. In looking at this third assumption, Gurr states that,

"Frustration is an interference with goal directed behavior, aggression is a behavior designed to injure, physically or otherwise, those toward whom it is directed. The disposition to respond aggressively when frustrated is a part of man's biological makeup, there is a biologically inherent tendency to attack the frustrating agent and this aggression is of an instrumental nature." (Gurr, 1970, p.33)

In the case of Egypt, the citizens had many reasons to be frustrated with the government and it is mainly because of the aforementioned aspects of social and political trauma. These were just portions of their mobilizing reasons but the abuse of power by the Mubarak forces and the lack of political opportunities were some of the defining causes of their strife. Many stated that their social traumatization came due to the destruction of social relations and the closing off of the political space through demonization at the hands of the regime. (Matthies-Boon, Head 2018,260) The abuse of power which they endured at the hands of the regime was discussed in much more detail. Young Egyptians were asked to discuss their firsthand experiences with the regime in Matthies Boon and Head's article (2018) and many had some harrowing stories to tell. Many of the Egyptians relayed messages that involved how the security apparatus would physically break citizens bodies through torture, imprisonment and sexual assault and face no consequences for their actions. They also discussed the randomness with which ordinary citizens, including children, would be detained and how the police forces selectively chose to abuse citizens in the lower classes who lived in lower income neighborhoods and did not have political connections. (Matthias Boon, Head 2018, 265) As discussed earlier in the paper, the income disparity between the rich and the poor was large in Egypt and since there were a lot of low-income people in the country with no political connections, we can see how this affected the majority of the Egyptian population. There was always an overwhelming fear that they would have to face the regime that engulfed Egyptian life, because they were a part of all aspects of the society. This ties into the Foucauldian lens of state power which discusses the overarching reach of the state in maintaining power within the society typically through the police. This also represents how power can "penetrate men's behavior" in order to conform to the society to avoid being subjected to abuses of power.(Foucault 1975,204) The threat of violence at the hands of the regime "inhibited any potential for a sense of social solidarity as it ensured that

no one would get any 'political ideas' that might threaten the regime's political and economic interests." (Matthies Boon, Head, 2018, 266)

Furthermore, another theme that was common to the Egyptian experience at the hands of the state was the continuous idea that the regime was notorious for humiliating its citizens and robbing them of their dignity. This humiliation and indignation of the Egyptians, particularly the men at the hands of the police, was one of the rallying calls for the movement. Humiliation within this context refers to "a sense of an injurious attack on one's self esteem and self-respect."(Ismail 2012,442) Many of the men claimed that this came from their experiences with the police that typically involved some form of subjection to beatings, dehumanizing language and overall degrading treatment.(Ismail 2012,441) These feelings were shared by a large portion of the population, both men and women and were symbolized powerfully in a quote by a young man who had these same feelings. He stated, "I am a son of the country, my blood is free, and I do not accept humiliation. "(Ismail 2012,442) To further exacerbate how deeply humiliation and indignation played in the Egyptian's discontent with their government, Ismail provided a deeper explanation and example of the impact these acts had on the people, particularly the youth:

These feelings were experienced when the police called drivers "ya wala" ("you boy") or when they insulted youth using sexually charged language in which their mothers' honor was verbally and symbolically violated, or when the officer's hand came down on the back of the neck, and when sexual violence was threatened or actually inflicted. The visibility and publicness of the humiliation put a brake on challenging the police as citizens sought to avoid and evade confrontations as much as possible. Also, it undermined their senses of self, and, for popular-class youth, it undermined their constructs of masculinity. (Ismail 2012,455) These various injustices that the citizens suffered under Mubarak's rule represent forms of trauma that were enacted on individual, social and political levels. The fact that these

traumas, particularly the violent ones, came at the hands of the state and police, who would normally protect you from these violent acts, were the main perpetrators of said violence and never faced consequences because the system catered to them had a significant impact on the continuation of this trauma (Straker, 2013)

Not only did these acts traumatize the Egyptians, but it also affected their psyche and wellbeing to the point that they were relegated to social exclusion and there was a lack of desire to participate in politics or solidarity movements because there was this overwhelming feeling that they would have to deal with the regime at some point. (Matthias-Boon, Head 2018) This was until the case of Khaled Said. Khaled's death had a reverberating impact on the people of Egypt, especially the young people. As stated earlier in the paper, Khaled's death represented a new hope for the people of Egypt who were tired of living under these oppressive conditions. Citizens were able to find solidarity amongst their compatriots in the aftermath of Said's death and this served as a major mobilizing factor for those who were initially hesitant to join in the protests but eventually joined as they gained momentum. The amount of people which felt compelled to act on behalf of their compatriots due to the years of trauma they endured was like something that had never been seen before in the country. Many of the Egyptians shared the same sentiments as evidenced by a young Egyptian man who had this to say about the protests that emerged after:

“I was seeing a new Egypt. Suddenly I feel a new hope coming. Suddenly I feel like ... a massive strength inside me, a massive power, willing of change. I did not have fear seeing other people been shot and have then been thrown with teargas and bullets around you. Seeing how they insist to continue. They want to go, they keep going and they are so strong, just catching the tear gas and throwing it back to the police...And I was feeling a huge anger inside me, it was not anger against the poor policeman or the poor soldier who did not understand anything but I was throwing my stone at all the depression I had suffered through

my life. Towards all, yaeny, all unappreciation, a lack of dignity” (Matthias Boon, Head, 2018)

The last phenomena which exacerbated traumatic feelings was the process of “othering” that happened at the hands of the regime. Othering is defined as “as a process in which, through discursive practices, different subjects are formed, hegemonic subjects, that is, subjects in powerful social positions as well as those subjugated to these powerful conditions.” (Thomas-Olalade, Velho, 2011, p.27) This chapter has already discussed how prominent power is to this conflict, specifically the Foucauldian lens of power. With the Egyptian government and forces containing so much power within the society, they looked at everyday Egyptians as expendable and because of this, they were given leeway to abuse their power against them. This is because they were not looked at as members of the Egyptian military or members of the Egyptian elite, they were just the “others” who had no ties to the upper class in the society. A lot of the knowledge on othering stems from Edward Said’s famous book, *Orientalism*. However, Said never used the term “othering” in the book, instead opting to use the word “*orient*.” Othering is looked at as a two-part process. First, the Others are socially constructed by the dominating class through the production of knowledge to delegitimize them and to legitimize the dominator. Secondly, this hegemonic intention which stems from political, social or cultural ideology makes these epistemological tactics look like a necessary evil. (Thomas- Olalde, Velho, 2011, p.29-30) In practice, the combination of these two factors looks like an institutionalization of hegemonic knowledge about the others in political power relations. (Thomas-Olalade, Velho, 2011, p.34)

This combination of factors ties into the theoretical framework of power and subjectivation because it is used as a means to explain the subjugation of the other by those in power and also how these acts contributed to harboring feelings which led to the revolution.

This is what was seen in Egypt in the years leading up to the revolution and it also played a role in acting as a motivating factor for the Egyptian citizens.

### **6.3 The Traumatic Aspects of the Onset of the BLM Movement**

Within the BLM Movement, trauma is synonymous with the movement. The literal name of the movement stems from a trauma that is being inflicted upon the African American community nearly every day, in some way shape or form. However, the impetus behind the movement stems from the unjust killings of African Americans, particularly at the hands of the police but also from those who engage in vigilante activity that targets African Americans. (Black Lives Matter 2020) As mentioned earlier in the paper, Black Lives Matter came to prominence after the killing of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman and his subsequent acquittal. However, that was just the start of the movement, there have been various iterations since, but George Floyd's death had the most prominence. Floyd's death was the encapsulation of how black people have felt at the hands of the state. Because of incidents such as Floyd's death and countless others over the years, African Americans' perception of the police as well as their relationship has been shaped by these incidents and interactions. These have had a detrimental effect on the relations between the police and the black community. When trauma is examined through the lens of police brutality against African Americans, it has the possibility to result in flashbacks and nightmares even when the sufferers aim to not remember the police brutality event. (Bryant et al 2017) Trauma from incidents of police brutality can result in hypervigilance and mistrust in regards to the police and can also have a reverberating effect on the community especially when these deaths become national headlines, such as Floyd's. (Pryce et al 2021) This mistrust in police is rooted in years of subjection at the hands of the state. According to Hinton and Cook, "Policing and criminalization practices have played a strong role historically in monitoring marginalized communities within the US. Since the origins of modern American policing and

imprisonment, black people—free, enslaved, and self-emancipated—have consistently been the targets of unique forms of policing.” (Hinton and Cook 2021) This history goes all the way back to the days of slavery. This is evidenced by the fact that police in the 18th and 19th century, particularly in the American South, were entrusted with the role of maintaining the racial hierarchy often through forceful means and this manifested itself with domination over the slaves through discipline and/or death. (Hinton and Cook 2021) This subjugation and domination helped to keep slaves in their place for multiple generations until the abolition of slavery. After the abolition of slavery, white militias took the place of slave patrols but still used the same forceful methods to maintain order and the racial hierarchy. (Reichel 1988) Their methods resulted in the deaths of 6,000 African Americans between 1870 and 1960. (Feagin 2000) However, these numbers do not even take into account the number of African Americans who died during slavery and were treated as subhuman for their entire lives. According to Hinton and Cook, “Slavery ensured that black people were the object of surveillance and social control throughout the country.” (Hinton & Cook 2021) Due to these experiences with slavery and the police, this history has a direct correlation to the 20<sup>th</sup> century criminalization, demonization and violence against African Americans in the country on behalf of both the state and white supremacists.

These phenomena were commonplace during the Civil Rights Movement of the late 1950s to the 1960s. During this time period in American history, many of the African Americans who wanted to get rid of segregationist and racist policies were subjected to state-sanctioned violence, most notably in the American South. (Southern Poverty Law Center 2011) However aside from just the state sanctioned violence, they even faced acts of racial terror from groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist organizations and vigilante groups. These groups engaged in heinous acts such as lynchings, cross burnings, bombings, castrations and just full-blown murder and they often made a spectacle out of

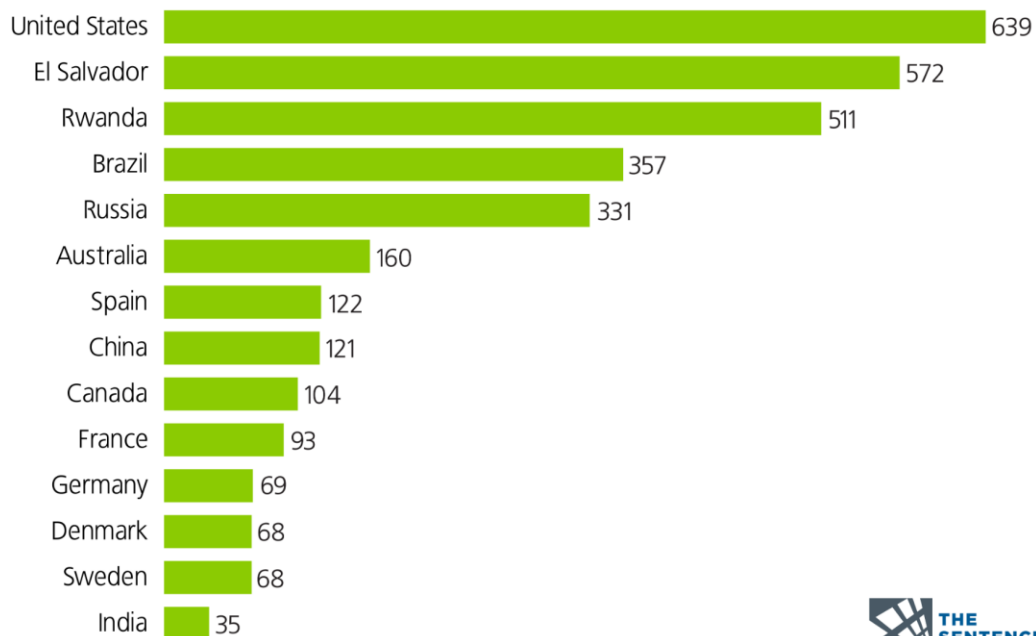


these acts to strike fear into African Americans. From 1956-1966, the time period that many define as the “Civil Rights Era”, there were over 1000 documented instances of these acts that had the sole purpose of stopping integration. (SPLC, 2011) Often times these groups never faced punishment for their violent actions and in other cases the state and federal governments just failed to act such as their refusal to make racist assaults a hate crime or by not passing comprehensive anti-lynching legislation that would bring actual punishment upon those who committed these acts, making them complicit.

Throughout the history of the country black people have been brutalized and criminalized at every chance, starting with slavery and then evolving into the Jim Crow era until the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1965. However, while this act was passed, the strife of black people would continue on, albeit in a new form of criminalization. This criminalization has led to the disproportionate rates of incarceration that we see affecting black individuals and it also has ties to slavery.

Slavery was abolished with the 13th Amendment. However, there is a specific line within the 13th Amendment that states, “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.” (US Constitution, 13th Amendment) This language is very specific and has been interpreted by the state in a way that says that people will not be subjected to slavery or slave like conditions **unless** they are convicted of a punishment. Well, when it comes to punishment, the US is the world leader in incarceration by a significant margin which the graphic below illustrates, especially amongst the more developed countries. (Sentencing Project 2021)

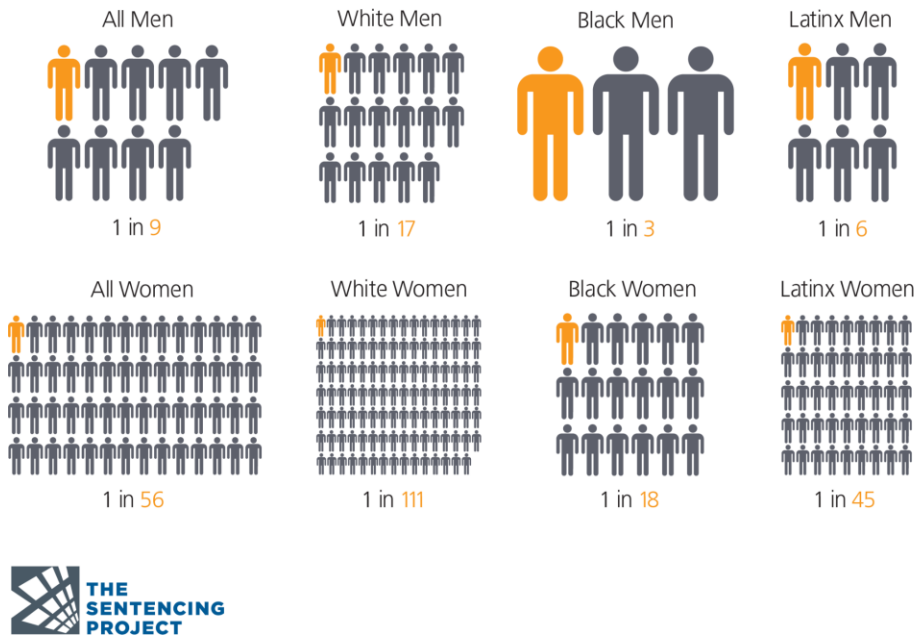
## International Rates of Incarceration per 100,000



<https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/intl-rates.png>

Furthermore, Black Americans are incarcerated in state prisons at nearly **five** times the rate of white Americans and 1 in 3 Black men are likely to experience imprisonment at some point in their life (Sentencing Project 2021) As one can see, Black Americans are criminalized and subsequently incarcerated at a rate which far exceeds those of White Americans and other minorities. A lot of this criminalization not only has ties to slavery but also targeted policing with policies such as the War on Drugs of the 80s and mandatory minimums which also disproportionately affected African Americans. (Duvernay 2016)

## Lifetime Likelihood of Imprisonment of U.S. Residents Born in 2001



<https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/lifetime-likelihood-by-race.png>

This graphic shows just how disproportionate it is for the black population when it comes to chances of imprisonment. Due to this, they can be subjected to slave like conditions if they are convicted of a crime, despite the abolition of slavery. Expanding upon this notion, the insertion of slave patrols and white militias as police forces paved the way for our modern interpretation of the role of the police but in examining some of the modern-day statistics and stories, their mission of maintaining the racial hierarchy with whites on top does not seem to have changed even after all of these years. Black people can still have their lives stripped away from them at any moment through discipline and/or death at the hands of those who have the power to take said lives away from them: the police. The impact of this history lives on within the ancestry of many African Americans which will be discussed in the next section of the paper.

Furthermore, in looking at the traumatic aspect of this case, one must take into account the transmission of this trauma. The transmission of trauma, particularly race-based historical trauma, has a direct correlation to the feelings of modern-day African Americans in

mobilizing against those who have played a role in oppressing them. Transmission of trauma is defined as “the enduring effects of a person’s negative experiences on others, including parents, progenies, and other relatives.” (Pryce et al 2021) As mentioned before, transmission of trauma affects people’s perceptions of the police. However, it is not just the police which people begin to lose faith in. Trauma can lead to feelings such as legal cynicism which Sampson and Bartusch define as “the perception of injustice in the application of legal norms and the expression of cynicism about the legitimacy of laws and the ability of police to do their job in an effective and nondiscriminatory manner.” (Sampson and Bartusch 1998) Trauma can also lead to a lack of faith in institutions as well. (Pryce et al 2021) This rise in both legal cynicism and lack of faith in institutions by the Black community is a direct example of the realization that the American social contract was built on white supremacy which was discussed by Porter in Chapter 2. (Porter 2020) By looking at transgenerational transmission through the lens of Volkan’s theory of chosen trauma, which was discussed in Chapter 3, one can see the applicability of his theory to the feelings of African Americans in the modern day, particularly on the psyche of the group. Restating Volkan’s view on the topic of transgenerational transmission from Chapter 3, Volkan states that,

“The transmissions of self-traumatized images occur almost as if psychological DNA were planted in the personality of the younger generation through its relationships with the previous generation. The transmitted psychological DNA affects both individual identity and later adult behavior... the influence of a severe and humiliating calamity that directly affects all or most of a large group forges a link between the psychology of the individual and the group. In the wake of such an event, a mental representation of it, common to all members, begins to take shape. This mental representation is the consolidated collection of the shared feelings, perceptions, fantasies and interpretations of the event...Because the traumatized

self-images passed down by members of the group all refer to the same calamity, they become part of the group identity.” (Volkan 2000)

In dissecting this quote, one can see how slavery and years of subjugation at the hands of the police represent this shared calamity for the African American community. Generation after generation of African Americans have felt the trauma of slavery and although these later generations have not experienced slavery or at least slavery in its earliest forms, its impact is still intrinsic to the large group. In fact, studies have shown that this trauma is not just psychological in nature, it also has a biological basis as well. This is due to a field of study known as epigenetics.

Epigenetics refers to a field of biology which studies heritable changes that do not involve an alteration in the DNA sequence. (Jawaid, Mansuy 2021) Typically epigenetics focuses on health outcomes but in recent years more research has been conducted to show the relationship between epigenetics and trauma and specifically its transgenerational nature. The traumatic memory of slavery is transmitted through a transgenerational mechanism for a large number of individuals whose ancestors had endured slavery. (Grossi 2020) These epigenetic mechanisms have ties to racial discrimination and have a direct impact on the mental health and wellbeing at both an individual and institutional level. (Grossi 2020) With this in mind, epigenetics can have a significant impact on exacerbating feelings of Volkan’s idea of unresolved mourning because it has been genetically passed down to future generations, not just through storytelling. Aside from unresolved mourning, fear and a disdain for the police/criminal justice system, while not necessarily inherited, are more likely to occur because of these epigenetic mechanisms. These mechanisms and subsequent feelings which emerge from these epigenetic and transgenerational mechanisms make up a substantial portion of the African American experience and identity.

Aside from trauma, identity is also synonymous with the movement. Marginalized communities but in particular, the black communities have been unjustly targeted and have faced more violence at the hands of the state and white supremacy for the sole fact that their skin color is different, which is based on identity. This is why many African Americans or allies of Black Lives Matter movement put emphasis on the **Black** in Black Lives Matter because by replacing it with statements such as “All Lives Matter” it undermines the strife that black people have faced throughout their history in the country in comparison to other groups, specifically white people in the country. Expanding upon this notion, black lives for the most part are treated as if they are disposable or have less value in the eyes of the state. When a group, for multiple generations, has been killed and imprisoned at the hands of the state, there is a factual basis for these claims. Due to the uptick in notoriety of the BLM movement in recent years, there has been a major rise in support for the movement over the years as well. The protests which emerged after Floyd’s death were the culmination of this support with the protests having the most support of any protests in US history. BLM protests also emerged all over the world with protests being held all over the world including countries such as: South Africa, Indonesia, and Colombia (Westerman, Benk, Greene 2020)

Another reason identity plays such a major role in this conflict is because through the act of criminalization and demonization, this conflict transforms into an us vs them scenario as well as creates a process of “othering” which was discussed in the previous section in Egypt. While Egypt focused on the postcolonial view of the term, within this context, the contemporary view which centers around racism and stereotyping is more applicable. In the context of race, racial identities are looked at as “processes of defense against the outside reality.” (Thomas-Olalde, Velho, 2011, p.39) This typically applies to the majority and within the US, this refers to white people. Furthermore, on racial identity, there is a theory referred to as nigrescence theory that “describe the experiences of a Black person who becomes

involved in a social movement such that changes in the person's racial identity are mapped across time and experience. (Cross et al 2022,310) Furthermore, participation in movement activities based on race (such as BLM) shapes and strengthens individual's racial identity. (Cross et al 2022, 310)

By creating divisions within the society based around race it gives white people a high sense of self and can be a boost to their ego knowing that they hold the dominant space in a society. Stuart Hall once stated that, "whites are not racist because they hate blacks but because they do not know who they are without blacks." (Hall 1996, p.345) Wollrad expanded upon this notion arguing that, "White subject formations are based on the construction of Whites as a group that is represented as 'normal' and homogeneous." (Wollrad, 2007, p. 41) In understanding these points of view, it begins to explain how white people in the country have essentially been programmed to believe that they hold a higher place in society based on their skin color. This has manifested itself in the US as the demonization and criminalization of minorities, specifically African Americans because they believe that disruptions to the homogeneity of the US can be deemed as a threat. For the context of this case, we can attempt to understand othering as "a precondition of the normality of experiences of very diverse forms of racism." (Thomas-Olalde, Velho, 2011, p. 40) Understanding this aspect helps provide credence for why the African American community has been subjected to years of trauma and indignation at the hands of the police and the state as a whole through various forms of subjugation.

These aspects of trauma for the BLM movement and the African American community at large represent the subjugation, subjectivation and domination which the community has endured at the hands of those in power and in this case that is the police.

#### **6.4 Conclusion of the Traumatic Aspects of the Egyptian Revolution and BLM Movement**

The role of trauma is integral to both movements. Although these traumas manifested in different forms within both contexts, trauma is intrinsic to them and played a significant role in mobilizing the groups. When large groups such as the ones being explored in the paper feel as if the large group has been continuously traumatized, dominated and exploited at the hands of a dominating group it can constitute in widespread social movements. Due to these traumas, which had been inflicted upon them, this displays that there was a cognitive vulnerability embedded within these groups that drastically increased their likelihood for collective action once exposed to these “turning point” events and caused them to reach their revolutionary threshold. This is what we saw in these two cases which are the subject of the examination. These theories tie into the theories of power and subjectivation which were explored in Chapter 3 and also ties into Volkan’s idea of unresolved mourning. The groups felt as though mobilization was the only way to show the way that they felt, and this paved the way for acts of righteous rage which will be explored in the next section of the chapter.

### **6.5 Righteous Rage**

Dean Koontz once said, "Pain can be endured and defeated only if it is embraced. Denied or feared, it grows in perception if not in reality. The best response to terror is righteous anger, confidence in ultimate justice, a refusal to be intimidated." This quote embodies the sentiments of the protestors. The protestors had endured enough pain at the hands of their oppressors and decided to turn this pain into power. These various traumas which had been inflicted upon the groups in both cases combined with the deaths of Khaled Said and George Floyd awakened something within these groups that caused them to mobilize against the perpetrators of these traumas. The demonstrators in these cases felt compelled to act against said injustices and this is likely to be born out of the idea of righteous rage. Righteous rage is defined as a technique of political power, it is deployed to



induce, lure, motivate, and compel support among like-minded and like-feeling allies.

(Rothbart 2021) Righteous rage can affect one on the individual level or affect a group on a collective level. The latter was seen in both of these cases. The rage in the context of righteous rage is born out of an emotional response to a perceived injustice. Haidt asserts that, “As a moral emotion, rage rests on the negative evaluation of others that is typically triggered by an intense reaction to experiencing or witnessing a moral infraction, such as an injustice, another person or group has committed. Rage, anger, contempt, and disdain tend to be clustered together.” (Haidt, 2003, p. 855) These feelings can result in a form of coalescence for a movement, “coalescence occurs as the structural needs of the group are shaped by the dynamics of a movement as well as the talents and gifts participants bring to the movement. “(Cross et al 2022, 310). Righteous rage serves as a coalescence of the years of trauma and injustice and its formation into a social movement, something that can rally the people together. People unite behind this rage and create movements based on them because righteous rage creates “social bonds with people who have experienced these similar grievances.” (Rothbart 2021) It can cause people to engage in acts which they may not have normally acted in because it is based within emotions and is likely tied to trauma. Due to its connections to trauma, righteous rage also serves as evidence of Volkan’s notion of unresolved mourning because it represents the groups attempting to “reverse the humiliation and feelings of helplessness pertaining to his forebears.” (Volkan 2000) As the social movements which are being examined within these cases begin to gain a larger following, they stand to gain strength in numbers that becomes a legitimate form of people power. Once this people power has been legitimized, those who are in power (the state/police in these cases) have no choice but to recognize these movements and listen to the demands of these movements because they represent a real political entity, not just small unorganized factions.

In Egypt and the US, we saw how righteous rage was a real motivating factor for those who took part in the protests. In Egypt, the beginning of the protests on January 25th were referred to as 'The Day of Rage'. (Cook 2018) These years of trauma that had intergenerational effects had been paving the way for these acts of righteous rage to occur but it was not until the deaths of Khaled Said and George Floyd that we saw the people involved in these protests turn their indignation and strife into real movements which aimed to uproot these institutions of harm. By attempting to uproot these perpetual systems and institutions of harm, these movements had all the tools necessary to create changes within their respective contexts. What changes were actually made? What were the subsequent outcomes of these nationwide movements? The change that these movements were able to make as well as their aftermaths will be briefly examined in the next chapter of the paper.

## **CHAPTER 7: EXPLORING THE AFTERMATHS OF THESE MOVEMENTS**

### **7.1 Introduction**

Although this paper mainly focuses on the motivations and onsets of these movements, in particular their relationship to these acts of martyrdom. This paper would be incomplete without at least briefly examining the aftermaths of these two movements. Exploring the aftermaths of these movements will serve to explore whether these movements were able to make the changes that they were aiming for. They will also inform whether these methods used by the movements were useful in going up against these deeply entrenched institutions and systems.

### **7.2 Brief Examination of the Aftermath of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution**

In Egypt, the aftermath of their revolution must be discussed in two parts: the immediate aftermath of their revolution (between 2011 and 2013) and the present day standing of Egypt.

Before the official revolution was set in motion, the initial goal of the “We are Khaled Said” Facebook group was to shine a bright enough light on Khaled’s death to charge the officers involved in his death. The two officers, Awad Suleiman and Mahmoud Salah were initially convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to seven years in jail in October 2011. (BBC 2014) A few years later though, a retrial was ordered, and the men were resentenced to ten years in jail for their actions. (BBC 2014) Said’s lawyers thought that this would send a strong message of deterrence to the powerful Egyptian police institution, but this section of the paper will discuss how that did not end up being the case.

In the immediate aftermath of their nonviolent revolution, starting with the initial demonstrations on January 25th in Tahrir Square, the Egyptian citizens were able to remove

the longtime dictator Hosni Mubarak from power after just eighteen days of protest. (Hamdy 2012) They were then able to install a democracy shortly after. The country had their first free elections in their history in January 2012. (Hamid 2019) The citizens of the country elected Mohammed Morsi, a prominent member of the Muslim Brotherhood into power. He was sworn into the presidency in June 2012. Morsi and the Brotherhood had a bright plan for Egypt known as the Renaissance Project. (Hamid 2019) However, his presidency was short-lived. It was marred by more protests breaking out with Egyptians voicing their discontent with his policies and strategies in building a new and sustainable Egypt. (Wike 2013) A Pew Research Center survey from March 2013 revealed some grim statistics regarding Egyptian's feelings about Morsi's presidency. Following the removal of Mubarak of power in 2011, 65% of Egyptians thought that Egypt was on the right track. (PRC 2013) During Morsi's presidency this fell down to 30% and only 39% of Egyptians believed that Egypt was better off now that Mubarak was out of power. (PRC 2013) In regards to the economic situation in the country at the time of Morsi's presidency, only 23% of Egyptians described the economic situation as "good". (PRC 2013) Lastly, political polarization was extremely high, and many Egyptians had mixed feelings regarding the role of religion in building a new Egypt. (Wike 2013) However, despite Morsi's tumultuous tenure, the majority of Egyptians still believed that democracy was the right path for Egypt. (Wike 2013) Exactly one year and three days into his presidential tenure, he was removed in a military coup. The coup was led by then Minister of Defense Abdel Fattah el-Sisi and this led to a period of military rule in the country. Shortly after, Sisi was sworn in as the next leader of Egypt and he vowed to fix the mistakes made by the Egyptians during the revolution as well as Morsi's tenure.

### National Mood Turns Grim

<i>Way things are going in the country</i>	2010	2011	2012	2013
	%	%	%	%
Satisfied	28	65	53	30
Dissatisfied	69	34	41	62
Don't know	3	2	6	7
<i>National economic conditions are ...</i>				
Good	20	34	27	23
Bad	80	64	71	76
Don't know	0	2	2	1
<i>In next 12 months, economy will ...</i>				
Improve	25	56	50	29
Remain the same	35	26	28	26
Worsen	38	17	20	42
<i>Now that Mubarak is not in power, Egypt is...</i>				
Better off	--	--	44	39
Worse off	--	--	26	30
Both/Neither (Vol)	--	--	26	26
Don't know	--	--	3	4
<i>Way democracy is working in our country</i>				
Satisfied	--	--	--	43
Dissatisfied	--	--	--	56
Don't know	--	--	--	1

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q1, Q4, Q5, Q10EGY & Q90.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact->

[tank/2013/06/28/egyptians-plan-nationwide-protests-as-discontent-grows-under-morsi/](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/06/28/egyptians-plan-nationwide-protests-as-discontent-grows-under-morsi/)

Sisi's tenure has represented an erasure of hope for many Egyptians who felt as though the revolution would be a new era of democracy and free elections for Egypt. Sisi's tenure as leader has been a regression to the old Egypt which is characterized by repression, oppression and no free speech. Sisi has made it his mission to put constraints on all aspects of civil society, which includes political, social and economic institutions while strengthening the institutions which he controls: the military. (Springborg 2021, p.285) Since the beginning of his tenure, Sisi has made it a directive of his to rule on fear, typical characteristics of many strongmen dictators. After the ousting of Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood, Sisi used fear and terror to control the Egyptian population. This included but was not limited to ordering the killing of nearly 1000 unarmed protesters against the coup, arrested nearly 40,000 "opponents" of the regime including Muslim Brotherhood members and declared them as terrorist group again and those opponents who were not arrested were snatched up off the street and "disappeared" often for months at a time without notifying family members. They

were often kept in terrible prison conditions as well (Springborg 2021, p.286) According to Human Rights Watch, between June 2013 and December 2019 the number of Egyptian detainees who died in custody is estimated to be 958. (HRW 2021) Sisi also essentially declared war on his political opponents before the 2018 election. He arrested multiple candidates and their running mates for made up reasons and deemed their campaigns invalid for numerous reasons as well. (Springborg 2021, p.287) Sisi has also continued the themes of corruption, crony capitalism and patronage and has filled up the Egyptian institutions with yes men and family members. (Springborg 2021, p.289) Overall, Sisi's tenure has been characterized by terrible social conditions, a higher police/military presence, human rights abuses and crackdowns on any form of political expression and a new version of the politics of the old dictators Nasser (lacking the charisma) and Mubarak. In fact, some Egyptians believe that "Sisi is Mubarak on steroids." (Cook 2018) Sisi believed that the 2011 Revolution, led by the youth, was a mistake and that has been the crux behind his crackdown all forms of free expression. Sisi has declared that he was charged with protecting Egypt and that protesters, specifically the youth, are too politically immature to engage in politics compared to him. He had this to say about protesters, "Protesters will go home in the end and sleep at home, while they don't know the effects on the state and its stability, tourism industry and other sectors." (Springborg 2021, p293)

### **7.3 Egyptian Revolution Aftermath Conclusion**

In Egypt, the people were able to create change in the form of raising awareness about Khaled Said's death, awareness that led to the charging of the two officers involved in his death. This was something which they did not expect to happen due to the impunity that Egyptian officers operate under. They also were able to create change by removing Mubarak from power and having a free and fair election for the first time in the country's history with

the election of Mohammed Morsi. However, the country had not been ready for democracy, and it paved the way for yet another dictator, Sisi, who is worse than Mubarak to many. Sisi is just another authoritarian in a long history of authoritarianism in the country, which is disheartening to many Egyptians after the shining light of the 2011 Revolution. With Mubarak being in power for so long, he had so much influence on the institutions in the country that once he was removed from power, it was up to the Egyptian people and military to work in tandem to create a new Egypt. However, the lack of experience and expertise in governmental politics set them down a path that has sadly brought them right back to what they were trying to get rid of: a strongman dictator. The Egyptians have experienced the highest of highs going back to 2011 ousting of Mubarak during the Arab Spring in the aftermath of Khaled Said's death. However, over ten years later, many are questioning whether their revolution was actually worth it if it was just going to bring them right back to where they started.

#### **7.4 Brief Examination of the Aftermath of the 2020 BLM Protests**

With the US still living in the aftermath of the George Floyd protests, this paper will only examine the past two years to explore the aftermath of George Floyd's death and see where it has taken the country. In the aftermath of Floyd's death and in the subsequent nationwide protests, there were a lot of calls to arrest the officers who killed George Floyd as well as end qualified immunity, defund or even abolish the police in favor of more community-based approaches, and just completely overhaul the policing system within the US. The movement had a lot of hope behind it and many were hoping that they would be able to create the substantive change they were looking for, change that would affect the course of the country's history. Rev. William Lawson, a pastor in Houston summed up the hopes of the movement perfectly when he stated that, "You think

something good can't come out of this? His death did not simply start a bunch of good speeches, a bunch of tributes. Out of his death has come a movement. A worldwide movement...And that movement is not going to stop after two weeks, three weeks, a month. That movement is going to change the world." (Somvichian-Clausen 2020) This section will discuss some of the various outcomes of the BLM protests that engulfed the country in 2020.

As just mentioned, a lot of the protests centered around ensuring that the officers involved in the killing of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor. Many of the protests around the country had signs with slogans such as #JusticeforGeorgeFloyd, #JusticeforBreonnaTaylor, and #ArresttheOfficers. (Gottbrath 2020) These calls were warranted because throughout the history of the Black Lives Matter movement, officers involved in these killings have not faced justice for their actions, often because they are inherently protected by the state through laws such as qualified immunity. Qualified immunity of course refers to the statute that protects a government official from lawsuits alleging that the official violated a plaintiff's rights, only allowing suits where officials violated a "clearly established" statutory or constitutional right. (Cornell Law) In looking at these two goals of the protests, we will examine whether these goals were actually met. Since the protests, the officers involved in George Floyd's killing were all fired from the Minneapolis Police Department and have all been charged with some type of crime ranging from second degree murder and manslaughter charges for the main perpetrator Derek Chauvin and the aiding and abetting of second-degree murder and manslaughter for the other three officers involved. (Somvichian-Clausen 2020) Derek Chauvin was found guilty of second-degree murder and sentenced to 22.5 years in prison for his crimes in 2021 and he was also found guilty of violating Floyd's civil rights. (Lempert 2021) Some believed that this was not enough time for his crimes, but others believe that this is



a huge step in the right direction of holding police officers accountable for their roles in killing unarmed black people. The other officers involved were found guilty of violating Floyd's civil rights by not providing him with adequate medical care as well as depriving Floyd of his right to liberty, a crime which is punishable by life in prison, However, they have not been sentenced yet. (Sullivan 2022)

In looking at the larger police reform conversation which emerged from the protests, defunding the police was one of the hot topics during the protests with many people having different interpretations of the term. However, the real definition of defund referred to the practice of reallocating or redirecting funding away from the police department to other government agencies funded by the local municipality. (Ray 2020) Despite many conflating the term defund with abolish, and there were definitely some people with radical feelings who felt abolishment was the best course of action, defunding or "reallocating" did seem to have the most support as opposed to complete abolition of the police. There also seemed to be a lot of support for the use of social service workers in response to nonviolent crimes instead of sending the police because police officers have shown a history of escalating certain situations because of their training in use of force tactics and lack of training in de-escalation tactics.(Ray 2020) While not all states and municipalities created substantial reforms, a number of them have already done so or are aiming to. These states include but are not limited to: 1)Kentucky, who suspended the use of no knock warrants in the wake of Breonna Taylor's death, 2)Bill de Blasio of New York committed to repeal section 50-A which prevented the public from accessing disciplinary records of police officers and 3) Vermont called for the creation of law enforcement accreditation process which would make the requirements to become a police officer more difficult, and 4) Minneapolis, Minnesota, where Floyd was killed,

voted unanimously to require the intervention of police officers anytime they see unauthorized use of force as well ban the use of chokeholds. (Somvichian-Clausen 2020)

Lastly, on a national level there were large pushes from substantial portions of the Black Lives Matter movement to address some of the deeply entrenched racism in the country and hold police officers accountable for their actions. Ending qualified immunity was one of the first things on the docket to address. There was a lot of support to put HR 1470 (Ending Qualified Immunity Act) into action in Congress. The goal of this bill was to “eliminate the defense of qualified immunity in civil actions for deprivation of rights. (Congress.gov) The bill was introduced by Congresswoman Ayanna Pressley of Massachusetts but sadly has not passed the house yet. Another bill which would have had further implications on US society and history was H.Con.Res.19. This bill was introduced by Congresswoman Barbara Lee of California and the aim of the bill was to introduce the establishment of United States Commission of Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation which would aim to “properly acknowledge, memorialize, and be a catalyst for progress, including toward permanently eliminating persistent racial inequities.” (Congress.gov) This bill would have been akin to the truth commission seen in South Africa after Apartheid and would have been a huge step in the right direction for the country in terms of addressing the deeply pervasive history of racism within the US. This bill also has not passed the House yet despite a strong push to get this bill to become law during Biden’s presidency. The last national act that many were clamoring for was the act which aimed to mark June 19th better known as Juneteenth as a federal holiday. As we know, the US gained independence from the British in 1776. Later on, Abraham Lincoln declared the end of slavery with the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 which would have freed enslaved people in the Confederate states. However, for two years, states in the Confederacy fought to keep slavery alive and did not relay this message to their slaves. However, on June 19, 1865, Union

soldiers got to Texas, which was still an isolated part of the country at the time and finally relayed the messages to the last slaves that they had been freed, thus marking the official end of slavery in the US. (Wise 2021) For years, there had been a push to acknowledge Juneteenth as a federal holiday but after the racial reckoning the country dealt with after George Floyd's death, President Biden made it his duty to make the day a national holiday. On June 17th, 2021, Biden officially signed the bill and made Juneteenth a federal holiday. (Karni and Broadwater 2021) Biden stated that slavery was America's original sin and stated that "all Americans can feel the power of this day and learn from our history." (Karni and Broadwater 2021) In looking at how Americans have learned from their history, many more people all over the world are aware of the discrimination against African Americans, in the aftermath of Floyd's death, which has been a core tenet of American society. Cross et al (2022) asserted that "the video clip of the killing spread across the nation and globe through multiple social media platforms causing a worldwide and simultaneous sense of becoming woke about the treatment of Black people as less than human, as if their lives did not matter. "(Cross et al 2022,317)

### **7.5 Black Lives Matter Protests Aftermath Conclusion**

As one can see, the aftermath of the George Floyd killing in the US set the stage for a new chapter in American history. The protests were deemed the largest in US history and brought together so many Americans from all diverse backgrounds, the intersectionality of the protests was one of the most beautiful things about them. Although some progress was made in addressing the policing system and America's history of racism, there was still not enough sadly. Police killings still happen and racism has still not ended, nor may it ever end. However, the protests did shine an extremely bright light on the flaws of American history and Americans are much more aware of the work that

must be done to heal our country to become the beacon of hope and acceptance that we view ourselves as. Although George Floyd should still be alive, his death did open the floodgates for this new era of awareness about racism and the role it has played in America and for that, he should be viewed as a martyr because his death was not in vain.

## **CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION**

The aim of this research was to position itself as a new piece of literature that connects the two cases of Khaled Said's death and the subsequent 2011 Egyptian Revolution and George Floyd's death and the subsequent 2020 US Black Lives Matter protests, something which had not been done in previous literature. This research explored the similarities and differences between these two cases of police brutality and examined their status as tipping points for nationwide social movements in their respective contexts. This research also discussed the role of trauma in creating the feelings that were brewing in the populations and how said trauma contributed to these population's decision to mobilize against the institutions that perpetuated their trauma. Lastly, this research also briefly discussed the aftermaths of these movements to determine whether the methods they used to create change led to the societal transformation that they were aiming for.

### **Main Findings**

The main findings of my research were that these two cases have more similarities than they do differences. However, the main differences between the two are on a fundamental level, mainly due to the government systems in which they arose. These fundamental differences affected both the trajectories of these movements as well as their outcomes. These movements also had extenuating factors going on that helped galvanize their movements with the Arab Spring in Egypt and the COVID-19 pandemic in the US.

Another main finding of the research was that both groups had endured traumas at the hands of the state albeit different forms of trauma. In both cases, the state had far reaching power which expanded into all aspects of both societies and allowed them to act as the main perpetrators of said trauma. The trauma these groups endured played a pivotal role in

mobilizing the groups against these institutions in a form of righteous rage which was discussed in Chapter 6.

The last main finding of the research was that these groups were able to create some change, albeit not the sustainable changes that they were hoping for. In Egypt, their demonstrations did lead to a guilty verdict for the police officers involved in Said's killing which was one thing they were aiming for, but it did not lead to widespread police reform. They also were able to remove Hosni Mubarak from power and attempted to install democracy, but it brought them right back to square one with democracy failing and another dictator taking Mubarak's place in Sisi. In the US, their protests also led to the charging of the officers involved in Floyd's killing which was a step in the right direction. However, when looking at the larger conversation surrounding police reform and addressing America's history of racial injustice, at this time, there has not been the substantive change that the protests were calling for.

### **Answers to the Research Question(s)**

In looking at whether the martyrdom of these two men were tipping points for mass mobilization within their respective contexts, which was the main research question. The research shows that **yes, these cases were indeed the turning points for mass mobilization in their contexts and yes, they were shaped by cognitive vulnerabilities in the populations.** This is because in Egypt, although people had been harboring feelings of dissent for years, the dissent with the regime reached a boiling point after the images of Khaled's mutilated face were released to the public. This led to the creation of the "We are Khaled Said" Facebook page and the page gained a large following because it provided an outlet for those who had been fed up with the regime and its perpetuation of trauma against them. Many saw themselves and their family members within Khaled's mutilated face

because they had already been traumatized by the years of abuse by the regime. After the self-immolation of Mohammed Bouazizi in Tunisia and subsequent Jasmine Revolution, the Egyptians were inspired, and the Facebook page led the charge to designate January 25th as their “Day of Rage” on National Police Day against the Egyptian police forces. Thus, starting what we now classify as the 2011 Egyptian revolution.

In the US, George Floyd’s death was the tipping point because African Americans were still reeling from Breonna Taylor's death right before the start of the pandemic. Once the pandemic started everyone had been advised to stay in the house for the two months leading up to his death. However, despite these stay-at-home orders, somehow some way, another unarmed black person was killed at the hands of the police, this time in a gruesome fashion and for the entire world to see. People of all races who participated had already been fed up with having to be in the house because of the pandemic. The visceral reaction that Floyd’s death brought upon everyone gave them a reason to go out and mobilize because people were tired of seeing the police kill black people and get away with it. For African Americans specifically, they were tired of dealing with the continuous trauma that had been afflicted at the hands of the state and because of this they went out to do something about it. His death was an awakening for everyone in not only the country but worldwide.

### **Recommendations**

This research can be used to potentially predict the outbreak of social movements in any context. When you have a traumatized population and continue to traumatize them over time, especially at the hands of the state, you increase the likelihood of a single event leading to the outbreak of a social movement.

### **Final Thoughts**

This research has been a great intellectual challenge for me, yet it has also been a passion project for me because of my interests and experiences. However, I feel as though I am much better off because of it and I feel like it can have a strong contribution to the analysis of social movements. Lastly, Khaled Said and George Floyd should be alive today.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- *93% of Black Lives Matter Protests Have Been Peaceful, New Report Finds.* (n.d.). Time. Retrieved September 8, 2022, from <https://time.com/5886348/report-peaceful-protests/>
- ABDELRAHMAN, M. (2011). The Transnational and the Local: Egyptian Activists and Transnational Protest Networks. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 38(3), 407–424.
- Abdou, D. S., & Zaazou, Z. (2013). *THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION AND POST SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT*. 15(1), 24.
- Ahmaud Arbery: What you need to know about the case. (2021, November 22). *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-52623151>
- Akcesme, G. (n.d.). *Economic motives behind the 2011 Egyptian Revolution*. 84.
- Analysis | No, antifa didn't 'infiltrate' Black Lives Matter during the 2020 protests. But did it increase violence? (n.d.). *Washington Post*. Retrieved September 9, 2022, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/02/08/antifa-blm-extremism-violence/>
- *Analysis of the Arab Spring*. (n.d.). GSDRC. Retrieved April 8, 2022, from <https://gsdrc.org/publications/analysis-of-the-arab-spring/>
- *AP tally: Arrests at widespread US protests hit 10,000.* (2021, April 28). AP NEWS. <https://apnews.com/article/american-protests-us-news-arrests-minnesota-burglary-bb2404f9b13c8b53b94c73f818f6a0b7>
- Auxier, B. (n.d.). Social media continue to be important political outlets for Black Americans. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved August 9, 2022, from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/12/11/social-media-continue-to-be-important-political-outlets-for-black-americans/>

- Badr, H. (2021). Before the ‘Arab Spring’: How challengers pushed counter-issues in Egypt’s hybrid media system. *Media, War & Conflict*, 14(4), 522–541.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635219894611>
- Bakr, N. (2012). *The Egyptian revolution*. University of Malta. Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies.  
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/39509>
- Barker, K., Baker, M., & Watkins, A. (n.d.). *Inquiries into law enforcement’s handling of the George Floyd protests last summer found insufficient training and militarized responses—A widespread failure in policing nationwide*. 9.
- Certo, P. (2014, February 28). *Did Nonviolence Fail in Egypt? - FPIF*. Foreign Policy in Focus. <https://fpif.org/nonviolence-fail-egypt/>
- Cheche, O., & Maltby, E. (2021). Perceptions of Race Relations, Black Lives Matter, and the Shaping of 2020’s Politics: How Race Influenced Political Participation in the Year of George Floyd. *Undergraduate Research Symposium Podium Presentations*.  
[https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/durep\\_podium/25](https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/durep_podium/25)
- Choudhary, A., Hendrix, W., Lee, K., Palsetia, D., & Liao, W.-K. (2012). Social Media Evolution of the Egyptian Revolution. *Communications of The ACM - CACM*, 55, 74–80. <https://doi.org/10.1145/2160718.2160736>
- Clarke, K., & Kocak, K. (2020). Launching Revolution: Social Media and the Egyptian Uprising’s First Movers. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 1025–1045. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123418000194>
- Cook, S. A. (n.d.). Sisi Isn’t Mubarak. He’s Much Worse. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved September 5, 2022, from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/19/sisi-isnt-mubarak-hes-much-worse/>

- Cross, W. E., Neville, H. A., Austin, C. L., & Reinhardt, J. S. (2022). Black Lives Matter and Nigrescence Theory: When Police Violence Triggers an Encounter. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 48(3–4), 309–326.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00957984221086449>
- Danielle, B. (2021, April 21). *George Floyd Did Not Sacrifice Himself to Make America Better*. Shondaland. <https://www.shondaland.com/act/a36189241/george-floyd-verdict-sacrifice/>
- Desai, R. M. (1 C.E., November 30). Authoritarian Bargain Collapses in Middle East. *Brookings*. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/authoritarian-bargain-collapses-in-middle-east/>
- Desilver, D., Lipka, M., & Fahmy, D. (n.d.). 10 things we know about race and policing in the U.S. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved August 12, 2022, from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/06/03/10-things-we-know-about-race-and-policing-in-the-u-s/>
- DeSoucey, M., Pozner, J.-E., Fields, C., Dobransky, K., & Fine, G. A. (2008). Memory and Sacrifice: An Embodied Theory of Martyrdom. *Cultural Sociology*, 2(1), 99–121. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975507086276>
- Diani, M. (1992). The Concept of Social Movement. *The Sociological Review*, 40(1), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1992.tb02943.x>
- Eagle, G. T., & Kaminer, D. (2015). Traumatic stress: Established knowledge, current debates and new horizons. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 45(1), 22–35.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246314547124>
- *Egypt's economy and Mubarak's fall—POLITICO*. (n.d.). Retrieved September 9, 2022, from <https://www.politico.com/story/2011/02/egypts-economy-and-mubaraks-fall-049736>

- Egypt's revolution: I saw the unimaginable happen. (2021, February 9). *BBC News*.  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-55887869>
- *Egypt's Second January Uprising: Causes and Consequences of a Would-be Revolution: IEMed*. (n.d.). Retrieved April 8, 2022, from  
<https://www.iemed.org/publication/egypts-second-january-uprising-causes-and-consequences-of-a-would-be-revolution/>
- *Exclusive: Amnesty maps out US police violence at #BlackLivesMatter protests*. (2020, June 23). Amnesty International.  
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/06/usa-unlawful-use-of-force-by-police-at-black-lives-matter-protests/>
- Fresh Air. (2012, February 9). Wael Ghonim: Creating A "Revolution 2.0" In Egypt. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2012/02/09/146636605/wael-ghonim-creating-a-revolution-2-0-in-egypt>
- Foucault, M. (n.d.). *WhyStudyPower? The Question of the Subject*. 19.
- *Full article: What is martyrdom?* (n.d.). Retrieved August 9, 2022, from  
[https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13576275.2014.894013?casa\\_token=j6Ubd1iDXu8AAAAA%3AyN6DMdZS1gIMmZerfMB8Bu\\_VfaNEa6zBA\\_o2YYq2W0cy3kpZZJEr69yIQiz8SepPqdBqN1-Q3XuoT3g](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13576275.2014.894013?casa_token=j6Ubd1iDXu8AAAAA%3AyN6DMdZS1gIMmZerfMB8Bu_VfaNEa6zBA_o2YYq2W0cy3kpZZJEr69yIQiz8SepPqdBqN1-Q3XuoT3g)
- Grossi, É. (2020). New avenues in epigenetic research about race: Online activism around reparations for slavery in the United States. *Social Science Information*, 59(1), 93–116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0539018419899336>
- HAMDY, S. F. (2012). Strength and vulnerability after Egypt's Arab Spring uprisings. *American Ethnologist*, 39(1), 43–48.

- Hill, E., Tiefenthäler, A., Triebert, C., Jordan, D., Willis, H., & Stein, R. (2020, June 1). How George Floyd Was Killed in Police Custody. *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html>
- Hill, M. L., & Brewster, T. (2022). *Seen and Unseen: Technology, Social Media and the Fight for Racial Justice*.
- Hinton, E., & Cook, D. (2021). The Mass Criminalization of Black Americans: A Historical Overview. *Annual Review of Criminology*, 4(1), 261–286.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-060520-033306>
- Holmes, A. (2012). There are Weeks When Decades Happen: Structure and Strategy in the Egyptian Revolution. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 17(4), 391–410. <https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.17.4.905210228n564037>
- Human Rights Watch. (2020). Egypt: Events of 2020. In *World Report 2021*.  
<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021/country-chapters/egypt>
- Ismail, S. (2012). The Egyptian Revolution against the Police. *Social Research*, 79(2), 435–462.
- Jackson, J. (2021, December 29). *America's biggest cities to invest \$450M more in police following 2020 defund movement*. Newsweek.  
<https://www.newsweek.com/americas-biggest-cities-invest-450m-more-police-following-2020-defund-movement-1663599>
- Karni, A., & Broadwater, L. (2021, June 17). Biden Signs Law Making Juneteenth a Federal Holiday. *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/17/us/politics/juneteenth-holiday-biden.html>
- Khosrokhavar, F. (2018). 6. Violence, Social Actors, and Subjectivation in the Egyptian Revolution. In 6. *Violence, Social Actors, and Subjectivation in the Egyptian*

*Revolution* (pp. 159–182). Amsterdam University Press.

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048536160-008>

- Kishi, R. (2021, May 25). A Year of Racial Justice Protests: Key Trends in Demonstrations Supporting the BLM Movement. *ACLEd*.  
<https://acleddata.com/2021/05/25/a-year-of-racial-justice-protests-key-trends-in-demonstrations-supporting-the-blm-movement/>
- *Ku Klux Klan: A History of Racism*. (n.d.). Southern Poverty Law Center. Retrieved August 23, 2022, from <https://www.splcenter.org/20110228/ku-klux-klan-history-racism>
- Larres, K. (2021). *Dictators and Autocrats: Securing Power across Global Politics* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003100508>
- Lee, B. (2021, April 28). *H.Con.Res.19 - 117th Congress (2021-2022): Urging the establishment of a United States Commission on Truth, Racial Healing, and Transformation*. (2021/2022) [Legislation]. <http://www.congress.gov/>
- Lempert, R. (2021, July 1). The Derek Chauvin sentencing decision: Is it fair? *Brookings*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2021/07/01/the-derek-chauvin-sentencing-decision-is-it-fair/>
- Library, R. L. (n.d.). *A Brief History of Civil Rights in the United States*. Retrieved August 12, 2022, from <https://library.law.howard.edu/civilrightshistory/BLM>
- Liu, W., Sidhu, A., Beacom, A., & Valente, T. (2017). *Social Network Theory*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0092>
- Masoud, T. (2011). The Upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia: The Road to (and from) Liberation Square. *Journal of Democracy*, 22(3), 20–34.  
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2011.0038>

- Matthies-Boon, V., & Head, N. (2018). Trauma as counter-revolutionary colonization: Narratives from (post)revolutionary Egypt. *Journal of International Political Theory*, 14(3), 258–279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1755088217748970>
- McGreal, C., & Shenker, J. (2011, February 11). Hosni Mubarak resigns – and Egypt celebrates a new dawn. *The Guardian*.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/11/hosni-mubarak-resigns-egypt-cairo>
- Niedrig, H., & Ydesen, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Writing Postcolonial Histories of Intercultural Education*. Peter Lang D. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-02004-5>
- *No-Knock Warrant | Wex | US Law | LII / Legal Information Institute*. (n.d.). Retrieved September 7, 2022, from [https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/no-knock\\_warrant](https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/no-knock_warrant)
- NW, 1615 L. St, Washington, S. 800, & Inquiries, D. 20036 U.-419-4300 | M.-857-8562 | F.-419-4372 | M. (2013, May 16). Egyptians Increasingly Glum. *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project*.  
<https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2013/05/16/egyptians-increasingly-glum/>
- *On George Floyd's birthday, we need more than reflection. We need action*. (n.d.). MSNBC.Com. Retrieved August 12, 2022, from <https://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/george-floyd-birthday-rcna3013>
- Osman, A. A. (2021). The Egyptian revolution of January 25, 2011, as an anti-systemic movement. *Journal of Humanities and Applied Social Sciences*, 4(4), 338–356. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JHASS-11-2020-0211>
- Peay, P. C., & Camarillo, T. (2021). No Justice! Black Protests? No Peace: The Racial Nature of Threat Evaluations of Nonviolent #BlackLivesMatter Protests. *Social Science Quarterly*, 102(1), 198–208. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12902>

- Porter, E. (n.d.). America's Social Contract Is Still Built on Racial Hostility. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved April 8, 2022, from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/08/american-racism-welfare-state-george-floyd-protests/>
- Pressley, A. (2021, April 28). *H.R.1470 - 117th Congress (2021-2022): Ending Qualified Immunity Act (2021/2022)* [Legislation]. <http://www.congress.gov/>
- Pryce, D. K., Olaghere, A., Brown, R. A., & Davis, V. M. (2021). A Neglected Problem: Understanding the Effects of Personal and Vicarious Trauma on African Americans' Attitudes Toward the Police. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 48(10), 1366–1389. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00938548211006756>
- Publisher, A. removed at request of original. (2016). *21.3 Social Movements*. <https://open.lib.umn.edu/sociology/chapter/21-3-social-movements/>
- *Redefining the social contract in the wake of the Arab Spring: The experiences of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia | Elsevier Enhanced Reader*. (n.d.). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2019.104774>
- *Remembering Khaled Saeed, whose death sparked Egypt's revolution*. (2014, January 25). Al Arabiya English. <https://english.alarabiya.net/perspective/features/2014/01/25/Khaled-Saeed-Egypt-s-Jan-25-icon-remembered-unlike-before>
- Rezk, A. (2016). The Political Economy of Violence in Egypt. *IDS Bulletin*, 47(3). <https://doi.org/10.19088/1968-2016.147>
- Riedel, B. (2021, October 1). What Anwar Sadat's murder 40 years ago meant for the Middle East. *Brookings*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/10/01/what-anwar-sadats-murder-40-years-ago-meant-for-the-middle-east/>



- Rothbart, D. (2021). Righteous rage as political power. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 27(4), 681–684. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000544>
- Silverman, J. (n.d.). *The breakdown of the social contract*. Retrieved June 28, 2022, from <http://njewishnews.timesofisrael.com/the-breakdown-of-the-social-contract/>
- Somvichian-Clausen, A. (2020, June 10). What the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests have achieved so far [Text]. *The Hill*. <https://thehill.com/changing-america/respect/equality/502121-what-the-2020-black-lives-matter-protests-have-achieved-so/>
- Stansfeld, S., & Rasul, F. (2007). Psychosocial factors, depression and illness. In *Depression and physical illness* (pp. 19–49). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000287536>
- Stephen, T. O. (2013). Self Determination and the People of Egypt in 2011. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2267390>
- Sullivan, B. (2022, February 24). Three ex-Minneapolis police officers guilty of violating George Floyd’s civil rights. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2022/02/24/1082643767/george-floyd-civil-rights-trial>
- Sztompka, P. (2000). Cultural Trauma: The Other Face of Social Change. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 3(4), 449–466. <https://doi.org/10.1177/136843100003004004>
- *The Arab Spring popular uprisings – myth and reality* | openDemocracy. (n.d.). Retrieved August 12, 2022, from <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/arab-spring-popular-uprisings-myth-and-reality/>
- *The Concept of Martyrdom in Islam*. (2013, February 24). <https://www.al-islam.org/al-serat/vol-12-1986/concept-martyrdom-islam-ezzati/concept-martyrdom-islam>

- *The Deadly Beating that Sparked Egypt Revolution*. (n.d.). Retrieved August 9, 2022, from <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-deadly-beating-that-sparked-egypt-revolution/>
- The Egyptian revolution: An analysis of the Egyptian police response, the way to the Egyptian police reform (subjective projection). (2015). *Forensic Research & Criminology International Journal*, Volume 1(Issue 5).  
<https://doi.org/10.15406/frcij.2015.01.00030>
- *The emotional and mental health impact of the murder of George Floyd on the US population*. (n.d.). PNAS. Retrieved April 8, 2022, from <https://www.pnas.org/doi/abs/10.1073/pnas.2109139118>
- *Tunisia: The last hours of Mohamed Bouazizi*. (2020, December 17). The Africa Report.Com. <https://www.theafricareport.com/55743/tunisia-the-last-hours-of-mohamed-bouazizi/>
- Vasquez Reyes, M. (2020). The Disproportional Impact of COVID-19 on African Americans. *Health and Human Rights*, 22(2), 299–307.
- Welle (www.dw.com), D. (n.d.). *Egypt's Arab Spring: The bleak reality 10 years after the uprising* | DW | 25.01.2021. DW.COM. Retrieved July 4, 2022, from <https://www.dw.com/en/egypts-arab-spring-the-bleak-reality-10-years-after-the-uprising/a-56336238>
- *What Happened to No-Knock Warrants Since Breonna Taylor's Killing*. (n.d.). Time. Retrieved July 6, 2022, from <https://time.com/6156590/breonna-taylor-no-knock-warrants/>
- Wike, R. (n.d.). Egyptians plan nationwide protests as discontent grows under Morsi. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved September 5, 2022, from

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/06/28/egyptians-plan-nationwide-protests-as-discontent-grows-under-morsi/>

- Worth, R. F. (2016). *A Rage for Order: The Middle East in Turmoil from Tahrir Square to ISIS*.
- Writer, C. W. H. S. (2021, February 23). Solving racial disparities in policing. *Harvard Gazette*. <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2021/02/solving-racial-disparities-in-policing/>

