

Women's Participation in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution and the Promotion of Women's Rights

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Abstract:

Women's participation in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution increased drastically compared to previous revolutions in Egypt. This study examines the two factors that accounted for this increase in women's participation: the development of education equality and the advent of social media. The study further analyzes how women activists subsequently leveraged the leadership they exerted during the revolution to promote women's legal and political rights and how feminists reshaped social awareness of women's identity by posting challenging content on social media. A qualitative research method was employed, with the main objectives of revealing and analyzing. To support the hypothesis presented, a survey was conducted among 100 Egyptian citizens who experienced the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. Two objectives were stated for this study, namely to examine the factors that contributed to the advancement of women's rights in Egypt during and after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution and to provide useful insights for future women activists' movements in the Middle East, where women's rights are often abused and disregarded.

Keywords: *2011 Egyptian Revolution, women's rights, social media, education, politics, law.*

1. Introduction

The Middle East has long been considered one of the world's most conservative areas, where women's rights are restricted. According to the 2019 Women, Peace, and Security Index,¹⁰ of 18 Middle Eastern countries are among the 12 worst performers worldwide in terms of gender-based legal equality (Connolly, 2020). Although multiple institutions, including the United Nations, have been working to eliminate gender-based discrimination, gender inequalities still persist. Thus, it is important to find ways of promoting Middle Eastern women's rights. The increased participation of Egyptian women during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution offers insights to the solution to this issue.

An analysis of its causes and progression shows that the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, a major event that reshaped Egypt's social and political landscape, was a typical revolution: citizens in pursuit of a more democratic political regime overturned an authoritative government, in this case the government of President Hosni Mubarak, through protests. However, according to Marie Frederiksen, an expert on Middle Eastern conflicts and the editor of the Danish newspaper *Revolution*, the 2011 revolution also reflected a dramatic gender-related change: women comprised 40–50% of the protesting population in this revolution, compared to about 10% in previous revolutions in Egypt (Frederiksen, 2011). Moreover, many women played a leading role in organizing the protests. Naomi Wolf, an influential American feminist writer and journalist, wrote: "Women in Egypt did not just 'join' the protests—they were a leading force behind the cultural evolution that made the protests inevitable" (Wolf, 2017). After two years, the revolution achieved its primary goal of ousting the Mubarak government. However, women's advancement did not stop after the revolution. They began leveraging the leadership influence they exerted during the revolution to advance women's rights by driving changes in legal and political standards. Eventually, this top-down approach led to a dramatic increase of legal and political rights for women. Women activists also posted challenging content related to women's identity on social media, dramatically reshaping the social configuration of gender issues in Egypt, which values men over women. Due to these intense efforts to promote women's rights, in a few years after the revolution Egypt transformed from the most conservative country in terms of gender issues to a model for gender equality in the Middle East.

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In this paper, I attempt to explain the reasons for the sudden increase in women's participation during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution through the lens of social media and education. Moreover, this paper argues that women's role in the revolution subsequently advanced women's rights. In order to test the presumed hypothesis on the causes of women's increased participation in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution and the subsequent successful promotion of women's rights in Egypt, a survey was conducted of Egyptian citizens who had either participated in or personally experienced the 2011 Egyptian Revolution.

The structure of the paper is laid as follows: First, I highlight women's increased participation in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution by showing the variety of protest forms in which women have engaged. Second, I provide an analysis of why women's participation in the revolution increased unexpectedly, focusing on how the advancement of women's education and the advent of social media access have directly or indirectly impacted the mindset of Egyptian women and encouraged them to take an active role in advocating for social change. Next, I show how women activists used their leadership influence in the revolution to consolidate and promote their rights in the post-revolutionary period of legal and political reformation. I also show how women activists continually used social media as a tool to reshape women's identities and argue for equal rights by posting challenging gender-based content. Finally, I show how the promotion of Egyptian women's rights can provide insights regarding the continuing process of eliminating gender inequalities in other Middle Eastern countries.

2. Women's Increased Participation in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution

Compared to previous revolutions in Egypt, significantly more women became involved in the 2011 Revolution. Women protesters showed determination to make progress. "We have suffered the taste of teargas, but we are not afraid," Riham Muntaz, a 25-year-old English private-school teacher who actively participated in the protest, told a reporter from the newspaper *The National* during the revolution (Biggs, 2021). Women's enthusiasm for participating in the movement for social change was fierce. Hadil El-Khouly, one of the women protesters during the 2011 Revolution, asserted the following in an interview with the Association for Women's Rights in Development: "They [revolutionary organizations] did not need to [mobilize women to protest] because we women were already out in the streets!" (Kinoti, 2011). In addition to their own resoluteness, women protesters inspired others to overcome challenges. Dalia Ziada, another women protester during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, states: "We [women] did not only participate in the protests but even in the making for the protest. I remember in so many days ... people started to give up. The women were the ones who were motivating them to remain in the street" (NPR News, 2013).

Women's participation in the revolution can be divided into two types, namely offline participation in Tahrir Square—where most of the protests took place—and online coordination through social media platforms such as Facebook.

Offline, women activists from diverse demographic backgrounds gathered in Tahrir Square, helping with "security, communication, and the provision of shelter," according to Naomi Wolf (Wolf, 2017). Women were also a driving force in the two significant missions of the protests—distributing propaganda and organizing strikes to overthrow Mubarak. Esraa Abdel Fattah, an Egyptian human rights activist, blogger, co-founder of the April 6 Youth Movement, and 2011 Nobel Peace Prize nominee, stated that "During the protests at Tahrir Square, women were organizing, demonstrating, and calling for [President] Mubarak's ousting" (Collins, 2012).

Women protesters also developed several creative ways of protesting offline. A former protester in the revolution described how she spread slogans about taking over the government by employing drums at Tahrir Square: "We wanted to be more vocal and louder in the revolution so I took a big Ultras drum to the protest, creating a rhythm and making our slogans more vocal" (Allam, 2018, p.108). In addition to contributing to the protest movement in central Cairo, women participated in pro-democracy rallies across Egypt, inspiring members of the public to become potential protesters by showing the significance of the revolution, according to an interview with Mona Eltahawy, an Egyptian journalist reporting for Reuters about events in Egypt (Martin, 2011).

Women were equally active online. In fact, women's online activism promoted the start of the revolution. In January 2011, Asmaa Mahfouz, a prominent Egyptian human rights activist and a co-founder of the April 6 Youth Movement, posted a video on YouTube urging people to protest against Mubarak's "corrupt government" by rallying in Tahrir Square on January 25. In the video, Mahfouz employs emotionally charged language urging all members of the Egyptian public to join the anti-Mubarak government movement:

I, a girl, am going down to Tahrir Square, and I will stand alone. And I'll hold up a banner. Perhaps people will show some honor...Don't think you can be safe anymore. None of us are. Come down with us and demand your rights, my rights, your family's rights.

I am going down on January 25th and will say no to corruption, no to this regime (Democracy Now, 2011; iyadelbaghdadi, 2011).

Her video was highly successful and was often referred to as “the video that sparked the revolution” (Jardan, 2011). A large number of Egyptian citizens supported her stance by joining the revolution. The video also gained support from international audiences, which is reflected in some of the positive comments posted under the video:

Yusuf A:

Thank you soooooo much. Free Egypt! You are the best!!!!!!

Eomynofrohan:

I can hear the passion in her voice ... we are all people, no matter whether we're from Egypt or America, we must band together against oppression, against powerful groups that would oppress us, we all need what's universal, freedom and dignity. Doesn't matter what country we're from, what matters is whether we stand on the side of freedom or oppression. We must fight this wherever we are or else we're guilty as the ones who oppress us. It happens everywhere, more or less and if we don't notice it happening to us we must help others who are being hurt by those stronger, without morals or remorse.

CashFuel&CFXstudio:

Awesome! I feel the power in this message! Strong and AMAZING FEMALE!

During the revolution, women activists organized protest actions, such as work strikes, on Facebook, Instagram, and other social platforms. Moreover, they posted video clips and discussions on these platforms to inform the world of what was happening in Egypt (Martin, 2011). Esraa Abdel Fattah, often dubbed the “Facebook girl,” posted regular real-time reports and opinion pieces about the revolution on Facebook (Georgy, 2016). In one post, Fattah wrote that “the Egyptian public will not negotiate with anyone until the Mubarak government is overthrown,” showing the determination of protesters (Martin, 2011). According to the British newspaper *The Independent*, Fattah and other social media activists also “launched a web page that urged young people to join a strike to support workers in an industrial town” (Georgy, 2016). These online activities all contributed to women’s leading role in the revolution.

Thus, this determination of women to succeed in the revolution, which contrasts with the general performance of women in revolutions, leads to the following question: What caused this change in mindset among women, prompting them to participate in the revolution? The answer to this question would also provide insight into how to promote women’s activism in other parts of the Middle East.

3. Causes of Women’s Increased Participation

3.1 Educational Changes for Women

The primary enabling factor for women’s role in protests during the revolution was the government’s promotion of women’s education. A gender gap had long existed in Egypt’s education system. According to the Borgen Project, an NGO focusing on ending global inequality, in 1984, 96% of boys attended primary school, compared to 76% of girls (The Borgen Project). The corresponding gender rates at the secondary and tertiary levels were 73% versus 52% and 28.6% versus 14.8%, respectively (El-Sanabary, 1998, pp.180-197; Susilastuti, 2003, p.15). However, the situation changed dramatically in the first decade of the 21st century, before the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. Although the Mubarak government was brutally oppressive, it implemented comprehensive initiatives for eliminating the gender gap in education—the best known being the Girls’ Education Initiative—and invested heavily in education programs for female students (Waddell, 2013). The government also collaborated with NGOs such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to increase female students’ access to resources in specific fields. For instance, the government and USAID co-launched multiple free STEM programs for girls, starting at the primary level and continuing at the secondary education level (The Borgen Project, 2019; USAID). These actions had notable effects.

The percentage of literate girls in Egypt increased from 66.9% in 1996 to 90.3% in 2013 due to the efforts of the Egyptian government (The Borgen Project, 2019). In 2011, when the Egyptian Revolution started, women outnumbered men in the country’s universities, accounting for more than half of all university students, according to *the Global Press* (Sadek, 2012). Sam Clemence, a journalist affiliated with *Desert News* in Egypt, stated: “Before the 2011 revolution in the country, Egypt had one of the better education for women in the Middle East” (Clemence, 2013).

The advancement of education undoubtedly played a role in women's growing empowerment. As Philip Foster, an expert on the effect of education change in developing countries, argues, schooling exerts a very significant influence on mobility opportunities and breaks the rigidity of existing occupational or status bound (Foster, 1977, p.222). This conclusion is clearly reflected in women's participation in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. Women agitated for more rights because they possessed more advanced education and were no longer trained only to be submissive, as required by traditional Islamic teachings. In addition to breaking traditional boundaries, women also learned creative and powerful ways to resist supreme power structures. As Naomi Wolf wrote in an opinion piece: "Because of women's educational advancement, women [in Egypt] are being trained to use power in ways that their grandmothers could scarcely have imagined: publishing newspapers; campaigning for student leadership posts; fundraising for student organizations; and running meetings" (Wolf, 2017).

In my survey of a group of Egyptian citizens, 62.3% of respondents agreed that "the development of women's education has contributed to women's increased participation in the 2011 Revolution." Additionally, in a question series about functional illiteracy—which means a person possesses adequate communication skills for daily life but is unable to read written works—among women, 70.93% of respondents agreed that "compared to men, women were more used to possessing functional illiteracy *before* the 2011 Egyptian Revolution," whereas only 54.65% of respondents agreed that "compared to men, women were more used to possessing functional illiteracy *after* the 2011 Egyptian Revolution." This difference shows the Egyptian public is aware of advancements in gender-equal education and how these advancements promote women's increased participation in political movements, in this case, the 2011 Egyptian Revolution.

3.2 Egyptian Women Activists' Employment of Social Media

Egyptian women's easy access to social media also provided them with the opportunity to become leaders in the revolution. The access to social media not only broadened the public sphere for participation by divergent political actors, but also reduced the costs of collective action, according to Howard Rheingold, an American critic known for his work on the cultural and political implications of modern social media (Rheingold, 2003). In other words, social media provided another method for women political actors to convey their messages, also enabling them to increase the scope of the audiences in which they were able to influence. Women tend to avoid the "figurehead status of traditional protest such as a hot-headed young man protester with a megaphone," as Naomi Wolf argues (Wolf, 2017). However, social media has changed the common perception of leadership, changing the focus from individual dominance to strong personal connections. In a *Project Syndicate* column, an anonymous women leader in the 2011 Revolution is quoted as saying the following during the 2011 revolution: "You can be a powerful leader on Facebook just by creating a really big 'us.' Or you can stay the same size, conceptually, as everyone else on your page—you don't have to assert your dominance or authority" (Wolf, 2017). Therefore, although social media itself cannot bring about revolutions, it became a place for women, who are often marginalized in Egyptian society, to redefine and challenge the existing social configurations and play the role of protest organizers in a time of change. According to Amy E. Cattle, a researcher at Duke University focusing on the effect of social media on the promotion of human rights, "Social media became a place where many women debate[d] on equal footing with men, ... and where regime secrets [were] exposed" (Cattle, 2016, p.434).

Social media's successful contribution to women's activism in the revolution is also due to the lenient censorship on these platforms, enabling women to "make progressive discourses online and not being banned for posting," according to Sara Khorshid, a professional journalist and columnist in Egypt (Khorshid, 2021). During revolutions, governments often cannot ban social media such as Facebook, leading these online platforms to become places for nearly unlimited information flow, thereby exerting a powerful influence on the country's public.

In my survey, 78.69% of respondents agreed that "the advent of social media access for women, such as enabling women to send out messages on Facebook" was a factor in women's more intense involvement in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution.

4. The Promotion of Women's Rights After the Revolution

4.1 Egyptian Women Activists' Pursuit of Political and Legal Rights

As the revolution ended, Egyptian feminists began working on their primary mission—promoting women's rights by continuing their leadership role in the revolution. Mozn Hassan, the executive director of the organization Nazra for Feminist Studies, argues as follows: "Revolution is not about 18 days in Tahrir Square and then turning it into a carnival and loving the army.

We have simply won the first phase” (Otterman, 2013). Most of the respondents (94.5%) in the survey I conducted agreed that “women’s increasing participation has largely contributed to the subsequent advance of women’s rights.” Women leaders decided to take advantage of their active, leading role in the Egyptian Revolution and chose a definitive approach to fighting for women’s legal and political rights. This new strategy differed considerably from the previous approach, which focused on solving specific gender discrimination issues. The former approach was ineffective because there were too many issues to consider. Thanks to this new approach and their influence during the revolution, Egyptian feminists made substantial progress in ensuring women’s rights.

Through petitions and negotiations, Egyptian feminist leaders urged government officials to include women in positions in political systems. According to *The New York Times*, only days after the revolution ended, a coalition of 63 women’s groups started a petition to include a female lawyer on the Egypt National Committee, arguing that women “have the right to participate in building the new Egyptian state” (Otterman, 2013). At the same time, Nawal el-Saadawi, a leading Egyptian feminist, was planning a “million women’s march” to urge the government to appoint women to political positions in Egypt (Hassan, 2015). Various women’s and feminist groups, such as the Centre for Egyptian Women’s Legal Assistance, have also drafted legislation to reform personal status law, which governs personal affairs such as marriage and inheritance (Hassan, 2015). Shortly after the end of the Egyptian Revolution, Asmaa Mahfouz, the woman activist who recorded “the YouTube video that sparked the 2011 revolution,” wrote on Facebook: “If the judiciary doesn’t give us our rights, nobody should be surprised if militant groups appear and conduct a series of assassinations because there is no law and there is no judiciary” (Barnes, 2013, p. 43). Although she was later arrested for inciting violence via social media, her message garnered support from the Egyptian public, who further pressed the government to make changes to women’s legal and political rights.

These actions led to the successful promotion of women’s role in Egypt’s political decision-making sector. In the new electoral system announced by the Egyptian government in 2012, political parties are required to nominate at least one woman on their districts senator candidate lists (Hassan, 2015). Moreover, the government imposed a 25% rule for local councils: Women and young people must hold a quota of 25% of reserved seats. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, a global organization of national parliaments, women’s representation in the Egyptian parliament grew dramatically after the 2011 revolution, increasing from two in 2012 to 14.9 in 2017 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019). Seeing this advancement of women’s rights on the political level, Mozn Hassan, an Egyptian feminist activist and human rights defender, stated: “Egyptian women have seized their long longed fair representation in decision-making positions” (Hassan, 2015).

Feminists’ activities also pressed the government to make legislative changes on gender equality. In 2014, the Egyptian government drafted an amendment to the constitution, establishing multiple rights related to the criminalization of violence against women. This amendment includes provisions on the elimination of gender discrimination and the political empowerment of women (OCED, 2018). According to a United Nations report on gender justice and the law in Egypt, a national strategy to combat violence against women was approved in 2015 (UNFPA Arab states, 2019). On April 8, 2021, the Egyptian government issued another policy plan to promote women’s rights, making Egypt “the first country worldwide that issued a policy paper on preserving women’s rights during the corona virus pandemic” (Egypt Today, 2021). The policy paper includes measures such as increasing the monthly revenue of rural women entrepreneurs and providing more help to women over 65 (Egypt Today, 2021). These laws and policy articles enacted by the Egyptian government are a direct reflection of feminist activists’ successful pursuit of women’s legal rights.

4.2 Posting Challenging Content: The Continual Usage of Social Media to Promote Women’s Rights

In addition to fighting for legal and political rights, women activists employed social media to post challenging gender-related content in an attempt to reshape the traditional Egyptian values for women and press the government for changes. Following the emerging trend of online feminist activism, on October 23, 2011, social activist Aliaa Magda Elmahdy posted nude pictures of herself to challenge the social configurations of sexual identity in Egypt. She added the following paragraph next to the series of nude photos:

The yellow rectangles on my eyes, mouth and sex organ resemble the censoring of our knowledge, expression and sexuality. I have the right to live freely in anyplace ... I feel happy and self satisfied when I feel that I’m really free. (Barnes, 2013, p. 99)

Elmahdy’s photos soon went viral and were viewed more than a million times on Twitter under the hashtag #nudephotorevolutionary, according to CNN News (Fahmy, 2011). Although Elmahdy was criticized by conservative Egyptian online users, she received a great deal of support locally and internationally.

According to Sydney Winston Barnes, a researcher at the American University in Cairo focusing on the Egyptian Revolution and women's rights in Egypt, Elmahdy's online activism "br[ought] up important concerns about the bodies of women and the symbolic significance they harbor" (Barnes, 2013, pp. 43-44).

In December 2011, an image often referred to as the "girl in the blue bra" was released on social media. The image captured soldiers beating and dragging a veiled young woman during the Egyptian Revolution. The woman's torso was bare except for a blue bra. The image quickly became a visual symbol of the Egyptian military's abuse of women's rights. Social activist Samir reposted the "girl in the blue bra" image on Facebook with the heading "Egyptian Army Brutality Against 'FEMALE' protester," with the word "female" intentionally written in capital letters. He also attached the following paragraph:

It was shocking for all of us, especially because they are unarmed women. Women are symbols and that day, it was the first time for us to see them target women to beat. They use these things to take people away from the revolutionary core in order to create a barrier to discourage them to join the revolution, but actually they made the opposite happen. (Barnes, 2013, p. 90)

According to NPR News, the image eventually became a "rallying cry" for thousands of Egyptians protesting against the violent treatment of women in Tahrir Square in December 2011, chanting that "the women of Egypt are a red line" (Amaria, 2011). This protest resulted in the military sector publicly apologizing for the event and the government enacting a new law to regulate soldiers' behavior. The image's influence was so widespread that Egyptian blogger Faten Mostafa tweeted that "the blue bra is unforgettable and we all became 'the blue bra' girl one way or another" (Barnes, 2013, p. 89).

Due to these creative efforts on social media, women activists successfully gained support from the Egyptian public and promoted changes by the government. Additionally, the challenging content posed by feminist activists increased the public's awareness of the roles women could play and the status of women in Egyptian society. Barnes argues that "discourses about these feminism activities or abuses of women by supreme power become symbolic representations of gender roles and statuses, in which individuals challenged or supported the patriarchal values that govern them" (Barnes, 2013, p. 96).

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown how Egyptian women, benefiting from the advancement of education and the advent of social media such as Facebook, became increasingly motivated to become involved in the 2011 Egyptian revolution. The sources used included articles, news, interviews with protesters in the 2011 Revolution that appeared in the media, and a survey I conducted. I have also shown how women activists successfully seized the opportunities created by women's significant contribution to the revolution to gain more rights through political and legislative approaches. Additionally, I discussed how women activists continued to use social media after the Egyptian Revolution as a tool to pursue equal rights. Although it could be argued that women's rights have not been thoroughly realized in Egypt yet, women's rights activists have made great strides in advancing their rights compared with women in other Middle Eastern countries. Thus, women's participation in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution provides the following insights on how to promote women's rights in other parts of the region:

1. Eliminating the gender gap in education provides women the potential to further fight for their rights.
2. Ingenious usage of social media can reshape the social configuration and identity of women in society.
3. Social change and revolutions are often important turning points in the pursuit of gender equality.
4. Feminists should initiate protests to urge changes related to the fundamental political and legal level.

In fact, various successful movements for social change in the Middle Eastern region have already employed these insights in their activities. For instance, in the Tunisian Revolution, women activists employed social media to post instantaneous updates about the situation (Pompper, 2014). Additionally, following the success of the revolution, feminist leaders successfully used their influence to promote gender equality in the country.

As Ruth Bader Ginsburg, one of the most influential women associate justice of the U.S. supreme court, argued: "As society sees what women can do, as women see what women can do, there will be more women out there doing things, and we'll [women will] all be better off for it." As Middle Eastern women's rights activists develop creative means to reshape their identities in society and promote changes on the government level, the continuing gender inequality in the region is set to change in the future.

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7. Appendix: Self-Conducted Survey

A survey on women's rights changes during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution

Q1 Do you think women's rights have been promoted because of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution? (SingleSelection)

- Yes
- No

Q2 Do you think women's increasing participation in the Egyptian Revolution contributed to women's rights promotion after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution? (in earlier protests in Egypt, women only accounted for about 10 percent of the protesters, but during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, they accounted for about 40 to 50 percent). (SingleSelection)

- Yes
- No

Q3 What factors do you think contributed to women's increasing participation in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution? (MultipleSelection)

- The development of women's education
- The advent of social media access to women. Eg. women now can be a leader by simply sending out a message on Facebook
- Women endured larger suffering than men during the Mubarak ruling.

Q4 Please List several women's rights fighters during or after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution that you know. (OpenEnded)

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Q5 If you had been through the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, please recall a piece of your memory of either women's promotion of the revolution or women's rights campaign during the revolution. What happened? What is your feeling? (Please be as specific as possible, my paper depends on you, thanks!) (OpenEnded)

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Q6 Do you think that compared to men, women were more used to having "functional illiteracy," that is, not being able to read things well enough to operate in daily lives but are designated as "literate" by the government, before the 2011 Egyptian Revolution? (SingleSelection)

- Yes

- No

Q7 Do you think that compared to men, women are more used to having "functional illiteracy," that is, not being able to read things well enough to operate in daily lives but are designated as "literate" by the government, now after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution? (SingleSelection)

- Yes

- No

Q8 How would you rate the effectiveness of women's primary education in "safeguarding against illiteracy" during the time of your primary education? (OpenEndedNumerical)

-

Q9 How would you rate the effectiveness of women's secondary education in "extending their knowledge-base" for general secondary or "developing vocational skills" for technical secondary during the time of your secondary education? (OpenEndedNumerical)

-

Q10 To what extent would you rate women's willingness to participate in the government system in Egypt? (OpenEndedNumerical)

-

Q11 Do you think that Egyptian cultural traditions are blocking women from living freely? (SingleSelection)

- Yes

- No

Q12 Have you encountered Anti-feminists or people who believe that women's rights should be limited? (SingleSelection)

- Yes

- No

Q13 Do you think that a woman has equal rights in a marriage as a man? (SingleSelection)

- Yes

- No

Q14 Do you ever discuss the matter of women's rights with your family and/or friends? (SingleSelection)

- Yes

- No