EXPATRIATES VERSUS IMMIGRANTS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SECOND-GENERATION EGYPTIANS IN QATAR AND THE UNITED STATES

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By

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ABSTRACT

Academics have extensively studied the life trajectories of second-generation immigrants. Various research studies have explored their identity-negotiation processes by looking at their degree of assimilation and acculturation into their host countries and their transnational connections to their home countries. However, there is a dearth of literature on how children of *expatriates* handle their identity negotiation processes. Relying on open-ended interviews, the research question that this thesis addresses is the following: how can we explain the differences and similarities in identity negotiations that arise between second-generation Egyptian immigrants in the U.S. and second-generation Egyptian expatriates in Qatar?

The main similarity that arises between the identity negotiation processes of Egyptians in Qatar and Egyptians in the U.S. is that both groups negotiate the 'identities' around them while getting involved in various "transnational practices" in the context they operate. Respondents were raised in highly "transnationalized" environments in their communities, which subsequently served as pretexts to respondents' decisions to "engage" in further "transnational practices."

Three main differences arise between the identity negotiation processes of Egyptians in Qatar and those of Egyptians in the U.S. The differences that arise go back to two interrelated factors: 1) the unique cosmopolitan context surrounding respondents in Qatar, and 2) the fact that Egyptians in Qatar almost have no possibility of obtaining Qatari citizenship. The first difference that arises between the two groups is in the acculturation processes that both groups adopt. Whereas second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. adopt various ways of acculturating into the mainstream American culture surrounding them while "engaging in transnational practices," respondents in Qatar acculturate into other cultures that they become heavily exposed to outside their homes. The second difference that arises is in how second-generation Egyptians negotiate their identities through their relations with Egyptians around them who were born and/or raised in Egypt. The third and final difference that arises is in how respondents negotiate their identities in terms of their relations with their host societies and consequently their relations with Egypt.

The conclusion of this thesis is that the identity negotiation processes of respondents in Qatar appear to be much more fraught than those of respondents in the U.S. I argue that comparisons between different diasporic groups originating from the same home country highlight similarities and differences that allow us to better understand how such groups negotiate their identities. I argue that when studying identity negotiation processes, one must take into consideration the very specific details of respondents' lives and the details of the particular communities they interact with. And finally, I argue that one must take note of particular contextual events, such as revolutions, that can shape respondents' understanding of themselves and how this is similar or different between the diasporic groups.

iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Research Motivation

When the Egyptian revolution erupted on January 25, 2011, I was completing my undergraduate studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service (SFS) campus in Doha, Qatar. As an Egyptian who was born and raised in Qatar, this historical event had a significant impact on me personally. It so happened that the revolution started while I was busy conducting research for my senior thesis. My research primarily aimed to address Egyptians living in Qatar and the process of their identity development. When the revolution erupted, I included a discussion in my thesis on how the revolution influenced my research. From February until late April 2011, (when my thesis was due), Egypt was going through the 'romantic' post-revolution period. This was also the period when many became concerned with the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces' (SCAF) role in the transition period. It was an emotionally charged period; nevertheless, I had to work through it in order to submit my thesis on time. In the end, the conclusion of my thesis highlighted the generational shift and the ownership of young Egyptians of their homeland.[1]

Shortly afterwards, I moved to Washington, D.C. to pursue an M.A. in Arab Studies at Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies. During the first few months of my studies, I attended many events in the D.C. area that revolved around the Egyptian revolution and the Arab uprisings. I was very interested in understanding how Arab Americans, particularly those whose homelands had been affected by the Arab uprisings, were reacting to the remarkable changes that were taking place in the region. It is indeed during those events that I started to

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[1] My undergraduate thesis, titled, "Who is the Egyptian Today? A Journey to Self-Liberation," was submitted on April 21, 2011.

slowly become introduced to the Egyptian community in the D.C./Maryland/Virginia area. I met

many Egyptians who had spent the past twenty or thirty years of their lives in the U.S. after

emigrating from Egypt. Some of these Egyptians left Egypt with the intention of immigrating

and seeking U.S. citizenship. Others left Egypt only to pursue their higher education, but

somehow found themselves starting a family and a life in the U.S. I met many Egyptians like

myself, who had moved recently to the U.S. to pursue an education and/or a career and still did

not know their plans for the future. I also met many young Egyptians who were either born in the

U.S. or had immigrated to the U.S. at a very young age. The common characteristics that all of

these Egyptians shared was their immense concern for their homeland, and their desire to do

something to help.

My interactions with Egyptians in the U.S. inspired me to write my thesis about the

Egyptian communities in the U.S. and in Qatar. After six months of living in the U.S., I started to

get to know members of the Egyptian community in the U.S. on a personal basis. I was able to

listen to their life stories, of how they ended up in the U.S., what they did for a living, where

their families lived in Egypt, why they are interested in Egypt's revolution, and perhaps most

importantly, whether they were as interested in Egypt and its fate *prior* to the revolution. The

more I got to know this community, the more I felt the need to tell their stories. From my

previous research, I knew that very little anthropological and ethnographic work had been done

on/about Egyptian expatriate and immigrant communities. I noticed that academics, the media,

activists, and political analysts have been very interested in the developments that are taking

place in Egypt and how Egyptians living in Egypt are dealing with all the changes. However, not

nearly as much attention has been given to how Egyptians in the diaspora or Egyptians living

abroad are reacting to these changes. This strikes me as very interesting particularly since I know that many Egyptians living abroad left Egypt because of the deteriorating political and economic circumstances over the past three decades. This is not to mention that many of the activists who were instrumental in triggering the January 25, revolution, lived outside of Egypt. An example of those activists is Wael Ghoneim, a Google Executive[2] who at the time was living in the United Arab Emirates.

Research Question(s) and Main Findings

I decided to take advantage of my presence in Washington, D.C. to pursue a comparative study about Egyptians in the U.S. and Egyptians in Qatar. Egyptians in Qatar are an interesting group to study because they have proven to be quite active despite their small size relative to other Egyptian expatriate groups. For example, statistics show that Egyptians in Qatar rank fourth in the number of registered voters of Egyptians abroad, whereas the U.S. ranks fifth.[3] Such statistics demonstrate that this group is worth studying. My original research question had aimed to compare Egyptians in Qatar and those in the U.S. by looking at how the revolution shaped their sense of 'Egyptianness.'[4] However, during the interview process, I noticed that the revolution was actually not the only influence on respondents' sense of 'Egyptianness' and that in fact, there were other factors that had a larger influence, such as their families, their travels to Egypt, etc. As a result, I decided to compare their diasporic lives as Egyptians living abroad.

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[2] Lance Whitney, "Google proud of Wael Ghoneim's role in Egyptian protests," *CNET,* February 16, 2011, accessed April 20, 2013, http://news.cnet.com/8301-13578_3-20032239-38.html.

[3] "Iḥṣāʾīāt al-tasjīl," Intikhabāt mṣr, accessed April 20, 2013, https://www.elections.eg/ocv/ocv-stats.

[4] I have heard the term 'Egyptianness' used occasionally in casual talk to describe particular Egyptian aspects. I define sense of 'Egyptianness' as how 'Egyptian' respondents feel.

3

However, I decided to focus solely on second-generation Egyptians; Egyptians who were either born abroad, outside of Egypt, or who left Egypt with their parents at a very young age.[5] The most relevant piece of literature that I refer to quite often in this thesis is Jehan M. Agha's M.A. Thesis titled "From Homeland To Adopted Home: A Study On Identity Formation And Negotiation Among the Arab American Diaspora." Agha provides a comparative analysis of the Palestinian diaspora and the Egyptian diaspora by focusing on the ensuing question: "how are differences explained in identity formation and negotiation among diasporic communities in the United States?"[6] For my own thesis, I adopt a different version of her research question. The main research question that my thesis addresses is the following: how can we explain the differences and similarities in identity negotiations that arise between second-generation Egyptian immigrants in the U.S. and second-generation Egyptian expatriates in Qatar? An immigrant is "a person who leaves one country to settle permanently in another,"[7] whereas an expatriate is someone "who has taken up residence in a foreign country."[8] The reason I chose to focus only on second-generation Egyptians is because, through my interactions with them in both Qatar and the U.S., I noticed that each of them presented different life experiences and connections to Egypt. Interactions with first-generation Egyptians that I interviewed presented

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[5] In Chapter One (Literature Review), I discuss how I came to this definition from previous literature.

[6] Jehan M. Agha, "From Homeland To Adopted Home: A Study On Identity Formation And Negotiation Among the Arab American Diaspora," (MA Thesis, Georgetown University, 2005), 2.

[7] *The Free Dictionary.* "Immigrant," accessed April 20, 2013. http://www.thefreedictionary.com/immigrant. In the context of this thesis, I use 'immigrants' to define Egyptians who were born and/or who have settled in the U.S. permanently and who have obtained/will be obtaining the U.S. citizenship.

[8] *The Free Dictionary.* "Expatriate," accessed April 20, 2013. http://www.thefreedictionary.com/expatriate. In the context of this thesis, I use 'expatriates' to define Egyptians who were born and/or who have settled in Qatar with little to no chance of obtaining the Qatari citizenship, hence making their stay ultimately temporary.

very similar trajectories in terms of life stories and connections to Egypt.[9] In addition, I was able to build stronger rapports amongst second-generation respondents, which enabled them to feel more at ease during the interviews. More importantly, the reviewed literature, which I discuss in the Chapter One, demonstrates that most immigrant research has focused on first-generation immigrants. Due to the scope of this thesis, I decided to focus only on second-generation Egyptians.

Results of this research demonstrate that the main similarity that arises between the identity negotiation processes of respondents in Qatar and respondents in the U.S. is that both groups negotiate the various 'identities' around them while also becoming involved in various "transnational practices" in the contexts they operate. The literature I reviewed has debated exactly what constitutes a "transnational practice." In their article titled "Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends," Peggy Levitt and B. Nadya Jaworsky survey a number of sources that define "transnational life." They note Robert Smith's definition of "transnational life" as "includ [ing] those practices and relationships that link migrants and their children with the home country, where such practices have significant meaning and are regularly observed."[10] From this definition, I use "transnational practices" to refer to aspects of everyday life that respondents referred to as being Egyptian aspects of their lives in the U.S. or in Qatar, or as aspects of their lives that remind them of Egypt. The most common of these aspects are the following: Muslim/Coptic Sunday schools, Egyptian social networks, being around Egyptian

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[9] I discuss the main differences that arose between first-generation Egyptians and second-generation Egyptians in Chapter Two (Methodology).

[10] Peggy Levitt and B. Nadya Jaworsky, "Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends," *Annual Review of Sociology* 33 (2007): 132, accessed April 15, 2013, doi: 10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131816.

family friends or school friends, Egyptian 'culture' (conservative values, language, food, movies, music, soap operas, etc.), and travels to Egypt.

The fact that second-generation Egyptian immigrants "engage in transnational practices"[11] supports recent literature, which I discuss in the first chapter that argues that second-generation immigrants as well as first-generation immigrants "engage in transnational practices." Additionally, I show that second-generation *expatriates* "engage in transnational practices" as much as second-generation immigrants. I show how because respondents in both countries were raised in highly "transnationalized"[12] environments in their communities, that such environments subsequently served as pretexts to respondents' decisions to "engage" in further "transnational practices" on their own. This also supports recent literature, such as Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Water's "Introduction" in their edited volume titled, *The Changing Face of Home,* in which they emphasize the need for scholars to explore the extent to which second-generation immigrants "engage in transnational practices" when they are older.[13]

Three main differences arise between the identity negotiation processes of Egyptians in Qatar and those of Egyptians in the U.S. The differences that arise go back to two interrelated factors: 1) the unique cosmopolitan context surrounding respondents in Qatar, and 2) the fact that

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[11] This phrase, which I adopt extensively throughout this research, was put forward by Peggy Levitt in the following chapter: Peggy Levitt, "The Ties That Change: Relations to the Ancestral Home over the Life Cycle," in *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation,* ed. Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), 141-2.

[12] I discuss this term, which was introduced in Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Water's edited volume, *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*, in Chapter Three (Experiencing 'Egypt').

[13] Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters, "Introduction," in *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Loves of the Second Generation,* ed. Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), 3.

Egyptians in Qatar have little to no option of obtaining Qatari citizenship. I explain those two factors in detail before discussing the main differences.

Qatar, located in the Gulf, is one of six countries that compose the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Geographically, it is quite close to Egypt, with the distance between them totaling almost 1270 miles.[14] Qatar is an interesting case study because of the makeup of its population. The estimated total population of Qatar is just over 1.9 million people.[15] Estimates claim that the population of the local Qatari community is less than a quarter of a million,[16] meaning that expatriates (people coming from all over the world to Qatar primarily to work), compose the majority of the population. As a result of this highly cosmopolitan context, it is not unusual to find different education systems in Qatar that fulfill the education needs of these various communities: Egyptian schools,[17] Qatari schools, Lebanese schools, American schools, Indian schools, French schools, international schools, etc. Having lived in Qatar, I know that students from all over the world attend international schools, whereas Egyptian schools are mostly attended by Egyptians, Qatari schools by Qataris, etc. In addition to Qatar University,[18] Qatar's main public university, there are also many different universities from the U.S. and

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[14] "Distance from Egypt to Qatar," Distance From To, accessed April 20, 2013, http://www.distancefromto.net/distance-from/Egypt/to/Qatar.

[15] "Qatar Demographics Profile 2013," Index Mundi, accessed April 10, 2013, http://www.indexmundi.com/qatar/demographics_profile.html.

[16] Anthony Shadid, "Qatar's Capital Glitters Like a World City, but Few Feel at Home," *New York Times,* November 29, 2011, accessed April 20, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/30/world/middleeast/doha-qatar-glitters-like-a-world-city-but-few-feel-at-home.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

[17] For a comprehensive list of all types of schools in Qatar, please visit the following website: http://schoolsinqatar.net/.

[18] "Qatar University." Qatar University, accessed April 20, 2013, http://www.qu.edu.qa/.

Europe that are all part of Qatar's Education City[19] initiative. In this research, respondents in Qatar came from well educated and professional families that are much more economically stable than other Egyptians in Qatar, such as construction workers. All of the Qatar-based respondents went to one of the international schools that usually adopt the British curriculum, and most of them have chosen to study abroad or are/were enrolled in one of those American/European universities that also attract people from all over the world. As a result, Qatar-based respondents found themselves growing up in a highly cosmopolitan society, which they interacted with primarily via schools and universities. Because of their interactions with such a cosmopolitan community (that is overwhelmingly dominated by expatriates), and because of the small size of Qatar's local population, respondents in this research stated that they do not engage often with the local Qatari population.

The second factor that brings about differences between respondents in the U.S. and respondents in Qatar goes back to the question of citizenship. In 2005, Qatar created a new citizenship law that listed necessary preconditions required of any expatriate living in Qatar who wishes to obtain the Qatari citizenship. *Qatar's Legal Portal* published a translated version of Law 38 of 2005. Article 2 of the Law lists the necessary preconditions for any expatriate wishing to apply for the citizenship. The four preconditions are 1) to "ha[ve] been a regular resident in Qatar for not less than twenty-five consecutive years," 2) "ha[ve] a lawful means of income," 3) be "of good repute and ha[ve] not been convicted of any offence impugning his honour or

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[19] Education City is the name given to the area where several Western branch campus universities are located in Doha, Qatar. The universities include Virginia Commonwealth University, Weill Cornell University, Texas A&M University, Georgetown University, Carnegie Mellon University, and Northwestern University. For more information, please visit their website: http://www.myeducationcity.com/.

integrity," and 4) "ha[ve] good knowledge of the Arabic language."[20] Article 17 of the Law states that the Qatari government will grant Qatari citizenships to naturalized citizens to only fifty individuals per year.[21] Moreover, Article 18 of the Law states that the Qatari government does not permit individuals to be dual citizens.[22]

The limitations above make it very difficult for expatriates to obtain the Qatari citizenship, not only because of the long required period of residence, but also because the Law issues a very small number of citizenships to naturalized citizens, and because expatriates would have to give up their original citizenship. The application of the Law is questionable for two reasons. First, according to an article posted in *Gulf News,* some individuals who have tried to apply after satisfying all preconditions failed to obtain it, claiming that one must have important connections to succeed.[23] Second, none of the respondents I interviewed in Qatar ever mentioned this Law. As this research will show, respondents in Qatar spoke as if they were never to become Qatari citizens. Hence, it seems as though people were not aware of the Law implying that either the Law is indeed not applied very often or that it is not applied at all.

It is extremely difficult to assert whether or not the Law is implemented. However, assuming that it is, the very strict rules surrounding the possibility of obtaining the Qatari citizenship allows us to assume that, at least the respondents in this research, have little to no chance of obtaining the citizenship. In almost all cases, members of the expatriate community

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[20] "Law No. 38 of 2005 on the acquisition of Qatari nationality 38 / 2005," *Qatar's Legal Portal*, accessed April 20, 2013, http://www.almeezan.qa/LawView.aspx?opt&LawID=2591&language=en.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Barbara Bibbo', "Expats Can Apply For Qatari Citizenship," *Gulf News,* June 6, 2006, accessed April 20, 2013, http://gulfnews.com/news/gulf/qatar/expats-can-apply-for-qatari-citizenship-1.239793.

retain the citizenships of their home countries no matter how long they live in Qatar. This means that for second-generation Egyptians, they most probably will never be recognized as citizens in the country where they were born and/or raised and where they have spent most of their lives the way Egyptians in the U.S. are. This last point is crucial; the difference between both groups of respondents is not just based on holding a passport, but it is more about a sense of belonging and a sense of ownership of the country they are most familiar with and the country they identify as home. Holding the citizenship of the country you were born and/or raised in brings about feelings that you belong and that you want to contribute to and invest in this country. Having a citizenship entails that you have equal rights and equal legal standing as everyone else around you, which also contributes to people feeling a sense of belonging and a sense of ownership. Because expatriates have almost no access to the Qatari citizenship, and because they are essentially treated differently before the Law, one finds that they have no continuous access nor do they feel entitled or encouraged to internalize and adopt the specifics of local Qatari life (in terms of the Qatari dialect, Qatari norms and customs, social life, entertainment avenues, etc.), even if this is the identity of the country in which they spent most of their lives.

These two factors explain the three main differences that arise between respondents in the U.S. and respondents in Qatar. First, because of the unique makeup of Qatar's population described above, the manner in which respondents in Qatar acculturate in the society they live while "engaging in transnational practices" is different from that of respondents in the U.S. One of the leading acculturation scholars, John W. Berry, explores "how individuals who have

developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new contexts that result from migration."[24]

Berry defines acculturation as "the cultural changes resulting from these group encounters, while

the concepts of *psychological acculturation* and *adaptation* are employed to refer to the

psychological changes and eventual outcomes that occur as a result of individuals experiencing

acculturation."[25] Since respondents in this research mostly "developed" in one context only (the

U.S. or Qatar), the theory of acculturation will be used to determine how respondents adopted

aspects of their family's home country context to the context in which they operate.

The literature I reviewed in Chapter One show how "transnational practices" allow

individuals to bring together and negotiate aspects of their home country identity and aspects of

their host country identity simultaneously. Respondents in the U.S. demonstrate ways in which

they acculturate in their American context while "engaging in transnational practices" that

revolve around their Egyptian lives. Egyptians in Qatar do not acculturate in the same way

Egyptians in the U.S. do, in the sense that they do not acculturate in Qatar's local/national

context. Whereas second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. adopt various ways of acculturating

into the mainstream American culture, respondents in Qatar acculturate into other cultures that

they become heavily exposed to outside their homes. In the case of this research, respondents in

Qatar were acculturated into the Western culture, primarily via international schools and

universities. This is because these specific respondents have not been surrounded by Qataris or

have not operated in a local Qatari environment for a substantial amount of time, (none of them

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[24] John W. Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 46 (1997): 6, accessed January 12, 2013, http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1230903.files/immigrationacculturtion%20Reading.pdf.

[25] Ibid., 6.

attended Qatari schools for example). As a result, they have not had deep exposures to the specific aspects that constitute local Qatari life. Many of them grew up in a cosmopolitan setting (a setting which is very much unique to Qatar and most other GCC countries) and constantly interacted with different cultures, religions, customs, and norms, especially in their schools and universities and even at their workplaces. In addition, respondents' citizenship status and their legal separation from the local Qatari population gives them little reason or motivation to seek out ways to negotiate Egyptian aspects of their lives while acculturating into the local Qatari life. Hence, respondents in Qatar negotiate "transnational practices" while acculturating in Qatar's cosmopolitan context they are used to engaging with, not a 'Qatari' life per se. This shows that the theory of acculturation must be further expanded to include analyses of very specific factors that can apply to one group of individuals in a larger community. One must study the specific contextual factors surrounding individuals and communities to understand their manner of "engaging in transnational practices."

Before I move on to discuss the second difference that arises between the two groups of respondents, it is very important that I highlight the specificity of my sample and its consequences on my findings. As I have already insinuated, respondents in both Qatar and the U.S. come from highly educated, professional middle class if not elite families. As I will show in the following chapters, respondents in the U.S. have operated in highly diversified communities, and because of their particular class and education/professional backgrounds, have not expressed difficulties assimilating into mainstream American society in terms of language, education, employment, etc. Of course, this begs the question, what *is* 'mainstream American society'? Is there such a thing as 'mainstream American society'? Surely, as will also be argued in the next

12

chapter by previous scholars, because of the diversified nature of America, one cannot assert that there is only *one* American context that *everyone* acculturates into. However, for respondents in this research, the American lives they talk about, the American contexts in which they were raised, have been very diversified. None of them discussed being raised in a very Egyptian/Arab community, such as that which exists in some working-class areas of New Jersey, for example. Most of them were raised in communities in Chicago or Northern Virginia that attract a middle/elite class of Americans of various backgrounds. In fact, as I will show later, at least one of the respondents talked about meeting the first Egyptian (outside her family) in high school. Hence, when I say 'mainstream American society,' I am referring to a society that is composed of various groups of immigrants, (belonging to different generations) who pertain to America's middle-class. Because of their particular backgrounds, these respondents did not express difficulties getting along with their friends in school, or with communicating with them, nor did they express difficulties finding jobs. As I will show in the following chapters, because of their backgrounds, respondents have been able to find jobs in renowned organizations. Hence, the point that I am trying to make is that, even though there *is* no *one* American culture that one can acculturate into, for the respondents I interviewed, when they talked about their "American lives" or "American friends" or "American values and opportunities," they were referring to a context that revolved around a particular class that is highly educated and highly diversified. "America" for them is largely based on their own specific experience, which they did not discuss as encompassing strong connections or even interactions with working-class Egyptians.

The same situation applies to respondents in Qatar, who also come from highly educated, professional middle/elite class backgrounds. As a result, their parents could afford to enroll them

in private international schools, which heavily exposed respondents to a context that was highly

diversified. Moreover, due to the nature of their American/Canadian/British education,

respondents in Qatar talked about being highly influenced by a specific Western[26] culture, in

terms of preferences in language, music, movies, television shows, and even in some morals and

values. However, not all Egyptians in Qatar spend their school years in such schools, meaning

that it is unlikely that they followed similar acculturation paths. As I previously mentioned, there

are also Qatari and Egyptian schools that many Egyptians go to. Egyptians who attend the

Egyptian or Qatari schools may certainly come from middle/elite class family. However, it is

unlikely that they will be as involved and as acculturated into Qatar's cosmopolitan society, in

which a Western culture dominates, as Egyptians who attend international/British/American

schools are. As a result, what determines respondents' acculturation processes is not just their

class, but also the education choices their parents made on their behalf. The main difference then

that arises between the acculturation processes of these two groups of respondents is that, unlike

respondents in Qatar, the respondents I interviewed in the U.S. have a direct way of labeling the

society in which they acculturate, and that is the American society, where most people have U.S.

citizenship or are eligible to obtain it. For Egyptians in Qatar, even though the cosmopolitan

context in which they acculturate *is* the main context, there is no *legal label* to categorize this

context. This is what constitutes the first major difference between the two groups of

respondents.

The second difference that arises between the two groups is in how second-generation

Egyptians negotiate their identities through their relations with Egyptians around them who were

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[26] For the purpose of this thesis, I use "Western culture" to refer to preferences in everyday aspects that respondents in Qatar were introduced to *as a result* of receiving a British/American/Canadian education in Qatar or abroad.

born and/or raised in Egypt. Respondents in the U.S. did not really seem to have frequent interactions with Egyptians in the U.S. who were born and/or raised in Egypt. But when they did, respondents felt that such interactions helped them maintain their sense of 'Egyptianness.' Respondents in Qatar, however, interacted frequently with Egyptians in Qatar who were born and/or raised in Egypt. Because of respondents' inability to connect with the experiences of Egyptians who grew up in Egypt, they often times felt uncomfortable and sometimes even resentful of being around them. Being legally, emotionally, socially and physically connected to and identifying with another country that they were born and/or raised in halfway across the world from Egypt makes it much more acceptable and understandable for respondents in the U.S. to not connect with the experiences of Egyptians who grew up in Egypt.

I predict that the situation is different for respondents in Qatar for several reasons: a) they live relatively close to Egypt and hence travel there much more frequently, b) because of its widespread availability in Qatar and the Arab world, Egyptians in Qatar interact very frequently with Egyptian media,[27] c) similarly to Egyptians in Egypt, respondents live in an Arabic-speaking country amongst many other Egyptian and Arab communities, meaning language should not be a barrier, and d) their unique status as *expatriates* means that respondents are legally just Egyptians like the other Egyptians around them who were born and/or raised in Egypt. Despite these reasons, respondents still find trouble relating to experiences of those born and/or raised in Egypt, because they are only familiar with their lives in Qatar. Moreover, respondents in Qatar belong to a particular professional economically stable class, making it more unlikely that they can understand the kinds of experiences that an average Egyptian born

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[27] All respondents in Qatar noted how they have access to Egyptian satellite television at home. Many respondents in the U.S. noted that they only have cable television, which does not have Arabic channels. Several respondents explained to me that Arabic satellite television is quite expensive to buy in the U.S.

and/or raised in Egypt goes through. For example, if respondents in this research were born to fathers who worked as construction workers or cab drivers in Qatar, their ability to understand those experiences of Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Egypt might be different.

The consequence of their presence in Qatar as Egyptians is that respondents in Qatar sometimes perceive themselves as being *expected* to connect with Egyptians who grew up in Egypt because of their Egyptian citizenship and their physical proximity to Egypt. I predict that the four factors I mentioned above make it harder for respondents in Qatar to understand and/or justify why they cannot connect with Egyptians who grew up in Egypt, which consequently increases their insecurities. This uncomfortable situation places respondents in Qatar in some form of limbo, where they do not feel Egyptian the way Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Egypt do, nor can they identify as being Egyptian-Qataris, for the reasons I explained earlier. Such complex interactions have led respondents in Qatar to identify more *specifically* with Egyptians who grew up in Qatar like themselves because they find that their understandings of Egypt and their sense of 'Egyptianness' are distinct from Egyptians around them who grew up in Egypt.

The third and final difference that arises between the two groups concerns how respondents negotiate their identities in terms of their relations to Egypt and their host societies. Respondents' understandings of their connections and relations to Qatar or the U.S. impact how they foresee their connections with Egypt. Respondents in Qatar feel that Egypt is their permanent home because it is the only country they are legally connected to, something that Egyptians in the U.S. do not feel. Egyptians in the U.S. identify the U.S. as their home and consequently their ability to live, work, and contribute to American society freely, which is

16

something that Egyptians in Qatar do not have the option of doing in Qatar. Again, whereas Egyptians in the U.S. felt that seeking knowledge about Egypt, its people, and its culture, was a choice, Egyptians in Qatar felt that it was expected. Such reflections demonstrate that having a second citizenship and feeling a sense of belonging in another country excuses Egyptian-Americans from having to know everything about Egypt and having to see Egypt as a place where they can or should live permanently.

As a result of these findings, and as result of the unique context in which respondents in Qatar operate, the main conclusion of this thesis is that the identity negotiation processes of respondents in Qatar appear to be much more fraught than those of respondents in the U.S. I argue that comparisons between different diasporic groups originating from the same home country highlight similarities and differences that allow us to better understand how such groups negotiate their identities from within their own contexts. I argue that when studying identity negotiation processes, one must take into consideration the very specific details of respondents' lives and the details of the particular communities they interact with, particularly in terms of class. And finally, I argue that one must take note of particular contextual events that can shape respondents' understandings of themselves and how these understandings are similar or different between the diasporic groups.

There are several specific sub-questions that this thesis addresses to answer the larger research question and guide the research project. An important question that I address is the extent to which second-generation Egyptians articulate their sense of 'Egyptianness,' how they practice their 'Egyptianness,' what evidence they give to support this articulation, and whether or not this has changed over time. This is an important question, particularly because many had

17

different understandings of what it means to be 'Egyptian.' Their answers emerged while they were asked to discuss aspects of their lives that they feel are Egyptian. Another question, and perhaps the most relevant one given the context in Egypt today, is how the revolution has shaped their identity negotiation processes. This line of questioning opened up discussions on how Egyptians in the U.S. negotiate their American identities with their ethnic heritage, a subject that has been studied extensively with other ethnicities. But this thesis also introduces discussions on expatriates who are not undergoing a process of assimilation because the prospects for them gaining citizenships in their host countries are almost non-existent. Hence, this thesis additionally opens up discussions on how Egyptians in Qatar make sense of the fact that their home is a place they can never live in permanently. It opens up discussions on how they feel about being legally connected to a country they have never lived in for a substantial amount of time.

The main research question points to a larger theoretical puzzle: how can we explain the differences and similarities in identity negotiations that arise between second-generation immigrants and expatriates *originating from the same home country*? Unfortunately, the literature that addresses second-generation identity-negotiation processes almost always refers to immigrants in the U.S., Canada, or Europe. There is a dearth of literature on how children of expatriates handle their identity negotiation processes. The Egyptian case study that this thesis addresses will serve as a way of answering the above larger theoretical question. Placing the Egyptian case study in this larger theoretical framework allows us to explore the impact of a second citizenship (or lack thereof) on one's identity negotiation process. It allows us to explore the significance of physical proximity to Egypt on one's connection to Egypt. This thesis is

18

therefore important because it introduces analytical approaches and tools to analyze children of expatriates that have been ignored in the past.

Overview of Chapters

The first chapter addresses the literature available on second-generation immigrants. Literature tends to discuss theories on children of immigrants who do not have the option of legally assimilating in the host society in the context of refugee studies. However, such literature is inapplicable to this research since respondents in Qatar are not refugees. In Chapter One, I survey literature that discusses immigrants, particularly those who immigrate to Northern America. In this chapter, I focus on the mainstream theories that have arisen from studies about second-generation immigrants primarily living in the U.S. The three major themes that I address are a) assimilation, b) acculturation, and c) transnational migration. Furthermore, I briefly discuss some studies that have been written on Egyptians living abroad, and on Arab Americans at large. At the end of the chapter, I situate my research in this larger theoretical debate about the three main themes listed above, showing how it contributes to the ongoing discussion and the gaps in the literature it addresses.

In the second chapter, I provide an outline of the methodology of this thesis. Following an overview of the methodological approaches I chose to conduct this research and the rationale behind my choices, I provide a brief background about each community and the respondents who participated in my study. I also discuss the limitations and risks of the research project.

The third and fourth chapters present the findings of the research. Chapter Three refers to the theories discussed in the reviewed literature and applies them to second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and Qatar. The chapter begins to portray the first three differences in identity

negotiations that I discussed earlier. Focusing on the various ways respondents experience Egypt, this chapter highlights the various ways second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and in Qatar "engage" in and react to the various "transnational practices" that they are involved in. Moreover, the chapter exposes the different acculturation processes that both groups undergo while "engaging" in these "transnational practices." In addition, the chapter exposes the differences that arise in terms of how respondents in each group feel about other non-Egyptian communities and about Egyptians around them who were born and/or raised in Egypt. The chapter is divided into several sub-sections that address the following themes: a) child-rearing and family upbringing, b) social networking and community engagement, c) reflections on travels to Egypt, and d) schooling and college.

The fourth chapter transitions from some of the theoretical applications in Chapter Three, and elaborates further on the consequences of citizenship (particularly the third difference) and the differences in identity negotiations that emerge between the two groups of respondents. The chapter divides this discussion into how respondents from each group constructed imaginaries about a) Qatar and the U.S., b) Egypt, and c) the revolution. The concluding chapter discusses the main findings, their connections to the larger theoretical framework on segmented assimilation, acculturation, and transnational migration, addressed in the literature review, highlights the main conclusions, and proposes potential research questions for future studies.

I hope that the results of this research will open up different research questions that include studies on expatriates, and Arab expatriates in the GCC in particular, in order to identify further similarities and differences between them and their counterparts in North America that can help us better understand the consequences of immigration in different contexts.

CHAPTER ONE:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter Overview

The research questions and methodology of this thesis cannot be discussed without first looking carefully at what previous scholars have written about second-generation immigrants. The literature reviewed here is of scholars studying second-generation immigrants in North America with a particular emphasis on the U.S. In this chapter, I review how various authors chose to study this generation of immigrants, their motivations behind their research, and the theoretical approaches they relied on and developed. After briefly discussing the main definition used by the authors to describe the second-generation, we then move on to discuss three major themes that were debated extensively in the reviewed literature. The three themes are assimilation, acculturation, and transnationalism. I chose to review these themes separately to illuminate the different ways scholars have approached the question of second-generation immigrants. I then show how previous scholars have studied Egyptians living abroad in general. The review ends with a discussion on how my research is situated within previous works and what new approaches and questions it contributes.

Defining the "Second-generation"

Different authors define second-generation immigrants differently. The literature reviewed here usually describes second-generation immigrants[28] "as those born in the United States to at least one immigrant parent."[29] In addition, literature on second-generation

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[28] 'Children of immigrants' is also used to describe second-generation immigrants in some literature.

[29] Philip Kasinitz et al., *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008), 2.

immigrants refers to "children born abroad who came at a very early age (sometimes called the 1.5 generation)."[30] For the purposes of this thesis, I will be using 'second-generation immigrants/expatriates' to define both, immigrants/expatriates born in the United States/Qatar respectively, and immigrants/expatriates who immigrated/migrated with their parents to the United States/Qatar respectively when they were still children.

Contextualizing the Literature

Before delving into the theoretical arguments of the reviewed literature, it is worth noting the context in which this specific body of literature arises. Most literature reviewed here discusses second-generation immigrants who arrived to the United States following the passing of the 1965 Immigration Act. According to Portes and Schauffler, the "present wave of immigration was triggered by the 1965 Immigration Act as well as by subsequent changes in American asylum and refugee policies."[31] They describe how these policies resulted in an increased number of immigrants coming from Third World countries as opposed to earlier waves of immigration that were mostly composed of Europeans.[32] The policy changes resulted in this change of immigration patterns, because "the overall direction of the new policies was toward greater universalism, eliminating previous discriminatory racial barriers and opening the doors of the country on the basis of uniform criteria."[33] Such dramatic changes in U.S. immigration

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[30] Alejandro Portes, "Preface," in *The New Second Generation*, ed. Alejandro Portes (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996), ix.

[31] Alejandro Portes and Richard Schauffler, "Language and the Second Generation: Bilingualism Yesterday and Today," in *The New Second Generation*, ed. Alejandro Portes (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996), 9.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

policies triggered the rise in research on first-generation immigrants coming from non-European countries.[34]

Several scholars have noted that the children of these immigrants have not received sufficient attention as that received of their parents: the bulk of research and studies that focused on this new era of immigration in the U.S., or, "the new immigration," "has been focused exclusively on the first generation, that is, on adult men and women coming to the United States in search of work or to escape political persecution."[35] Rumbaut believes that, "less noticed in the literature, […] has been the fact that a new generation of Americans raised in immigrant families has been coming of age-transforming their adoptive society even as they themselves are being transformed into the newest Americans."[36] Levitt and Waters pose a similar debate. They describe how the increase in interest in the 'new' second generation arose because people became interested in whether or not those immigrants will end up like their European counterparts during the earlier phases of migration who "gradually ascended the socioeconomic ladder."[37]

This increasing interest in the 'new' second generation has resulted in a massive research study that was initiated in the nineties: "The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS)

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[34] Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 17.

[35] Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 (1993): 75, accessed January 12, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1047678.

[36] Rubén G. Rumbaut, "Sites of Belonging: Acculturation, Discrimination, and Ethnic Identity Among Children of Immigrants," in *Discovering Successful Pathways in Children's Development: Mixed methods in the Study of Childhood and Family Life,* ed. Thomas S. Weiner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2.

[37] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction," 2.

is a comprehensive survey of the second generation that commenced in 1992 in the metropolitan

areas of Miami/Fort Lauderdale and San Diego."[38] As is obvious from the title of the study, the

research is conducted over a long period with interviews being conducted with the same people

over different time periods.[39] A significant portion of the reviewed literature has relied on

various results of this study.

Assimilation

One of the main issues of contention that arises in the literature surrounds the debates on

assimilation. In the introduction of their book, Kasinitz et al. review the most important theories

that discuss the question of immigrant assimilation. One of the theories they discuss is the

"straight line theory," which they attribute to the work of William Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole.

In their original book, the authors state that "each consecutive ethnic generation pushes

progressively farther out of the bottom level and into each of the successive layers above. That

the class index of an ethnic group is related to the length of its settlement in the city is a

manifestation of the continuous advance achieved in the hierarchy of each new generation."[40]

The main criticism that Kasinitz et al. have of Warner and Srole's approach is that they

"assumed that immigrant children would be absorbed into a single, unified, middle class

"American culture."[41] Another criticism of the theory is that it "proposes a one-dimensional

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[38] William Haller and Patricia Landolt, "The Transnational Dimensions of Identity Formation: Adult Children of Immigrants in Miami," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (2005): 1190, accessed January 12, 2013, doi: 10.1080/01419870500224554.

[39] Ibid., 1190-1.

[40] W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), 72.

[41] Kasinitz et al., *Inheriting the City,* 7.

model of assimilation," without taking into account that sometimes, "groups often assimilated in one sphere of life while remaining distinct in others."[42] Zhou discusses the same assumptions and criticisms of the theory, which he refers to as the "classical assimilationist" theory.[43] Zhou quotes several authors who argue against the theory, with one of the main criticisms being that it is not always the case that immigrants experience "upward mobility," particularly since "recent studies have revealed an opposite pattern: the longer the U.S. residence the more maladaptive the outcomes, whether measured in terms of school performance, aspirations, or behavior and regardless of immigrant groups."[44]

In response to this theory, another theory emerged that appears to be much more inclusive to diverse outcomes in assimilation than the traditional straight-line/classical assimilation theory. Portes and Zhou describe the trajectories behind the theory:

> […] the question is into what sector of American society a particular immigrant group assimilates. Instead of a relatively uniform mainstream whose mores and prejudices dictate a common path of integration, we observe today several distinct forms of adaptation. One of them replicates the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class; a second leads straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity. This pattern of segmented assimilation

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Min Zhou, "Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation," *International Migration Review* 31 (1992): 976, accessed January 12, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2547421.

[44] Ibid., 978. I was unable to find the original source of their paper, but according to Zhou, Landale and Oropesa, found that children were increasingly raised in "single-parent families" over several generations and in various immigrant communities. Zhou explains that the authors find that "this situation implies that even if the parental generation is able to work hard to achieve higher positions and higher incomes, their children's access to these gains may be seriously circumvented by acculturation." The full citation of their paper is the following: Landale, N.S. and R. S. Oropesa, "Immigrant Children and the Children of Immigrants: Inter- and Intra-Group Differences in the United States," East Lansing: Population Research Group, Michigan State University.

immediately raises the question of what makes some immigrant groups become susceptible to the downward route and what resources allow others to avoid this course.[45]

Throughout the rest of their article, they discuss the main contextual factors that one needs to look at in order to understand why certain groups experience "upward mobility" and why others follow different trajectories. In their opinion, "there are three features of the social contexts encountered by today's newcomers that create vulnerability to downward assimilation. The first is color, the second is location, and the third is the absence of mobility ladders."[46]

The authors identify three other contextual factors that can "confront the challenges of contemporary assimilation."[47] One of these factors is the refugee status of some immigrants, which can grant them particular benefits that they otherwise would not have received, such as educational loans.[48] A second factor is that "certain foreign groups have been exempted from the traditional prejudice endured by most immigrants, thereby facilitating a smoother process of adaptation."[49] For example, individuals who came to the U.S. in search of a better life after facing discrimination and political upheavals have escaped such hardships.[50] The final factor that can significantly alter the outcomes of immigrants is the presence of "resources made available through networks in the coethnic community. Immigrants who join well-established and

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[45] Portes and Zhou, "The New Second Generation," 82.

[46] Ibid., 83.

[47] Ibid., 85.

[48] Ibid., 85-6.

[49] Ibid., 86.

[50] Ibid.

diversified ethnic groups have access from the start to a range of moral and material resources well beyond those available through official assistance programs."[51]

The conclusions that the authors arrive at point to the idea that children of the more recent immigrants might follow a different trajectory than their white counterparts in the earlier period because they "may not even have the opportunity of gaining access to middle class white society, no matter how acculturated they become."[52] The literature on assimilation is useful to understand how immigrant communities have been studied. However, they do not completely fit with my own research because the respondents I interviewed come from high socio-economic backgrounds, and did not come as refugees (at least not in the same ways as Cuban immigrants did). As I showed in the Introduction, because of their backgrounds, respondents in the U.S. have not experienced the hardships that many other immigrant communities endured, as the literature discussed. Respondents' particular class and education/professional background made it easier for them to assimilate into the middle/elite class of American society while at the same time retaining some form of connection with Egypt. Nonetheless, respondents in the U.S. demonstrated elements of the "segmented assimilation" theory that I resort to occasionally in the following chapters, namely Chapter Five and the Conclusion.

Acculturation

Another important theme that arises in the literature on second-generation immigrants pertains to the question of acculturation. John W. Berry, studies the impact of acculturation on adaptation processes of individuals in a different community. In the Introduction, I noted how he

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid., 96.

explores "how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new contexts that result from migration."[53] I also noted Berry's definition of acculturation, as "the cultural changes resulting from these group encounters, while the concepts of *psychological acculturation* and *adaptation* are employed to refer to the psychological changes and eventual outcomes that occur as a result of individuals experiencing acculturation."[54] To distinguish different "cultural groups" who "come to live together in a diverse society," Berry divides them into "dominant" and "non-dominant" groups.[55] Factors that differentiate "dominant" from "non-dominant" groups are factors that make one group more "powerful" than the other, in terms of "numerical, economic, or political" powers.[56]

Berry describes the process of acculturation in such multi-cultural societies by focusing on two main factors: "cultural maintenance" and "contact and participation." "Cultural maintenance" refers to the need for individuals to hang on to their "cultural identities" whereas "contact and participation" refers to the level of participation in external "cultural groups."[57] Berry explains how as people try to navigate between those factors, several "acculturation strategies" are employed. Individuals belonging to a "non-dominant" group sometimes employ the first "strategy," the "assimilation strategy."[58] They feel that they "do not wish to maintain

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[53] Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," 6.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid., 8.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., 9.

[58] Ibid.

their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures."[59] The "separation" approach refers to individuals who are not interested in participating in other "cultural groups" but instead wish to remain within their own groups.[60] The "integration" approach is employed by individuals who want to reach a middle ground between the two "cultural" groups, "here, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network."[61] "Marginalisation" occurs "when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)."[62]

For someone to pursue the "integration" approach, which Berry describes to be the more "positive" approach, "depends on the willingness of the dominant society to allow it, and the wish of co-ethnics to pursue it."[63] The "integration" approach would only be possible in societies that are very open to different cultures, that have "relatively low levels of prejudice," "and a sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all groups."[64] Moreover, "integration (and separation) can only be pursued when other members of one's ethnocultural group share in the wish to maintain the group's cultural heritage."[65]

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., 27. One can conceptualize these different adaptation processes by comparing the immigration processes in Europe with those in the U.S.

[64] Ibid., 11.

[65] Ibid.

Portes and Rumbaut build upon the "segmented assimilation" theory discussed earlier, by expanding upon the various factors that influence the level of assimilation of immigrant groups. To explain the different outcomes of various immigrant communities, they identify four different factors, "1) the history of the immigrant first generation; 2) the pace of acculturation among parents and children and its bearing on normative integration; 3) the barriers, cultural and economic, confronted by second-generation youth in their quest for successful adaptation; and 4) the family and community resources for confronting these barriers."[66] They show how the second factor, the "pace of acculturation" is not the same for all immigrant communities. Portes and Rumbaut explore the different "strategies" of acculturation that are employed by children and their immigrant parents that determine the "pace of acculturation."[67] "Dissonant acculturation" takes place "when children's learning of the English language and American ways and simultaneous loss of the immigrant culture outstrip their parents'."[68] The authors describe that this is when the children become much more capable and comfortable living in this society than their parents who find themselves having to rely on their children to get things done in this new environment. "Consonant acculturation" is "where the learning process and gradual abandonment of the home language and culture occur at roughly the same pace across generations."[69] With this approach, the parents "possess enough human capital to accompany the cultural evolution of their children and monitor it."[70] The final approach, the "selective

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[66] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies,* 45-6.

[67] Ibid. 53.

[68] Ibid., 53-4.

[69] Ibid., 54.

[70] Ibid.

acculturation" approach, occurs "when the learning process of both generations is embedded in a

co-ethnic community of sufficient size and institutional diversity to slow down the cultural shift

and promote partial retention of the parents' home language and norms."[71]

"Selective acculturation" is the acculturation approach that takes place when there are

functional ethnic communities helping individuals balance these forces out.[72] Relying on data

collected for the "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Studies," the authors conclude that the

"selective acculturation" approach was more common and produced "positive" outcomes.[73]

Children who appeared to assimilate very well in the 'host' societies in terms of language,

education, and employment without necessarily abandoning their parents' original language

appeared to "have a much better understanding of their place in the world."[74] Conflicts between

parents and their children, particularly those who try so hard to assimilate into the society they

live by abandoning their cultural roots, do not happen with children who experience "selective

acculturation."[75] In fact, this approach results in "an intergenerational alliance for successful

adaptation."[76] Moreover, children who adopt this approach find that their second language is

highly valued in the workplace.[77] The main disadvantage of the approach is that it brings up

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[71] Ibid., 53-4.

[72] Ibid., 54.

[73] Ibid., 274.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

profound limitations on the political activities of such individuals: "for both nativists and assimilationists alike, anything that reeks of preservation of foreign ways is suspicious and should be made to disappear. For assimilationists, this is accomplished by the surrender of immigrants' language and cultures; for nativists, by the removal of the immigrants themselves."[78] For the "selective" approach to succeed, it "requires a socially and politically supportive environment where learning of English and American culture takes place in a paced fashion, without losing valuable cultural resources in turn."[79]

Portes and Rumbaut argue for the need to accept different approaches to assimilation that are not based on abandoning and belittling cultural assets, because "these are the resources that provide second-generation youths with the necessary sense of self-worth and normative guidance to succeed in the face of multiple external challenges."[80] The acculturation theme is crucial for the subject of this thesis, as it explains how second-generation Egyptian-Americans negotiate their various identities, and how they adopt one acculturation "strategy" over the other. In the following chapters, I show how for the most part, respondents in the U.S. sought the "integration strategy," put forward by Berry,[81] because they retained some of their Egyptian cultural aspects while at the same time being very heavily involved in their American contexts outside the home. Moreover, I explore ways by which it can be applied to Egyptians who were born and raised in Qatar. I show how respondents in Qatar acculturated into this cosmopolitan context because the "dominant" society in Qatar *is* the cosmopolitan one that is composed of many different

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid., 275.

[80] Ibid*.,* 276.

[81] Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," 9.

communities. I also show how respondents were particularly involved in a specific Western culture.

Transnational Migration

The final crucial theme that arises in the literature addressing second-generation immigrants is that of "transnationalism." In their edited volume, *The Changing Face of Home,* Levitt and Waters introduce the different chapters in the book by discussing some of the gaps in the literature on second-generation immigrants. According to them, scholars have focused on either the assimilation process of immigrants, or the relationship of immigrants to their home countries. In their volume, the authors describe their attempt to find a middle ground between these two approaches by discussing what they call "transnational migration."[82] The authors define "transnationalism" as roughly referring to "the frequent and widespread movement back and forth between communities of origin and destination, and the resulting economic and cultural transformations."[83] However, the various chapters in the book revolve around the concept of "transnational migration," which refers to "how ordinary individuals live their everyday lives across borders and the consequences of their activities for sending- and receiving-country life."[84] The authors in the edited volume "are concerned about how social actors construct their identities and imagine themselves and the social groups they belong to when they live within

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[82] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction," 2-3.

[83] Ibid., 5.

[84] Ibid., 8.

transnational social fields and when they can use resources and discursive elements from multiple settings."[85]

The authors note that one major gap in the literature on "transnational migration" is that it has been largely confined to first-generation immigrants, but that it is important to explore whether or not second-generation immigrants experience "transnational migration."[86] They describe the importance of understanding the extent to which first-generation "transnational practices" are passed on to the second-generation, and the extent to which second-generation immigrants take the initiative to produce and maintain connections to their parents' homelands.[87]

Levitt and Water's edited volume is divided into several parts. In the first part, they refer to chapters in the book which show how despite the fact that members of the second-generation have proven that they have experienced "transnational migration" in various ways, one must take such experiences with a grain of salt.[88] Rumbaut's chapter, which relies on data gathered for the CILS study, concludes with the following statement:

> […] there is very little evidence that the kinds of attachments that are fundamental to pursuing a meaningful transnational project of "dual lives" are effectively sustained in the post-immigrant new second generation. For most of them, unlike their parents- […] there appears to be no 'tingling' sensation, no phantom pain, over a homeland that was never lost to them in the first place.[89]

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[85] Ibid., 9.

[86] Ibid., 3.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid, 19-20.

[89] Rubén G. Rumbaut, "Severed or Sustained Attachments? Language, Identity, and Imagined Communities in the Post-Immigrant Generation," in *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation,* ed. Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), 91.

Similarly, in another chapter studying various ethnic groups, including West Indians, Dominicans, and Chinese, the authors found that a small percentage of their respondents demonstrated "the kind of sustained commitment to maintaining meaningful ties to the parental home societies that would seem to be necessary for transnationalism to flourish in the second generation."[90] The authors show how some ethnic groups have a small number of second-generation immigrants who demonstrate commitment and passion particularly in maintaining "structural ties between the home countries and their diaspora communities in New York."[91] However, they also argue that "in the absence of significant ongoing transnational networks, ties between that ethnic community and the home country, if they survive at all, are likely to be mediated through formal organizations and national governments."[92] Both chapters show that a small portion of their respondents demonstrated proof of "transnational practices," which "are likely to become even less significant over time."[93]

Levitt and Waters find that those two chapters provide a limited understanding of how one can approach the study of "transnational practices." They believe that it is important that one expand the approach so as to explore how second-generation immigrants experience "transnational practices" over an extended period of time, and that one has to take into account conditions in the homelands and in the countries they live in.[94] Other chapters adopt a different

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[90] Philip Kasinitz et al., "Transnationalism and the Children of Immigrants in Contemporary New York," in *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation,* ed. Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), 117.

[91] Ibid., 119.

[92] Ibid.,119-20.

[93] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction," 20.

[94] Ibid.

approach. In Levitt's own chapter, she argues that research focused on "transnational practices" "sets the bar too high, causing us to miss many of the smaller, less frequent transnational practices among the children of immigrants."[95] To explain how these spontaneous practices come about, she analyzes three different factors: highly established ethnic social networks, "life-course effects that produce different levels of intensity of transnational practices at different states of the life cycle," "and the class and racial characteristics of immigrant group members."[96] Levitt explains that the three factors can be used to understand how particular "transnational practices" develop. Established and active networks are more capable of encouraging second-generation immigrants to participate.[97] "Life-course effects" refers to how one's involvement with "transnational practices" depends on one's availability and on particular contexts.[98] As for the last factor, she shows how because some second-generation immigrants struggle to assimilate in the countries they live in while at the same time struggle to fit in their homelands, they find that they have no choice but "to engage in transnational practices."[99] In her analysis, she demonstrates the value of research projects that take place over an extended period of time, and argues that this is particularly crucial "because the second-generation's interest in, need for, and ability to participate in their ancestral homes varies considerably over time."[100]

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[95] Levitt, "The Ties That Change," 124.

[96] Ibid., 125.

[97] Ibid., 134.

[98] Ibid., 139.

[99] Ibid., 141-2.

[100] Ibid., 144.

Also in this volume, Robert C. Smith discusses how "transnational practices" are

encouraged and cultivated as second-generation immigrants 'come of age' and become adults.[101]

Smith offers his understanding of "transnational life," which he claims to prefer over the term

"transnationalism." According to Smith, "transnationalism" is "sometimes understood to indicate

a kind of 'third space' divorced from both the home and host societies" and therefore indicating

"that there is an entirely new way of being as a migrant- a transnational- whose entire life is lived

simultaneously in two places."[102] Smith articulates "transnational life" "as that sphere of life that

flows out of the regular contact between sending and receiving societies, a social field of

relations that, in the second generation especially, has a character akin to associational life and is

particularly strong in particular phases of life."[103]

With this definition in mind, Smith explores how "transnational practices" emerge as "a

result of the dual processes of assimilation and settlement and related processes such as social

locationing in New York City, migration from and return to Mexico, and the transnationalization

of adolescence."[104] His argument is largely based on an analysis that brings together "the

dynamic interaction between the American context and the parents' hometown, focusing on the

ways in which transnational sites and practices are used to redefine second-generation social

locations and the meaning of Mexican-ness in New York."[105] Examples of what he refers to as

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[101] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction," 21.

[102] Smith, "Life Course, Generation, and Social Location as Factors Shaping Second-Generation Transnational Life," in *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation,* ed. Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), 147-8.

[103] Ibid., 147-8.

[104] Ibid., 145.

[105] Ibid., 146.

"Mexican-ness" includes defending how Mexico is portrayed within the U.S., which immediately leads them "into a tight engagement with New York's racial hierarchies […]"[106] His main contribution to the "transnational practices" discussion is his emphasis on the need to study how "assimilative pressures actually foster it by giving the second generation a reason to want to redefine their Mexican-ness in a new context."[107]

The transnational research studies literature described above is just a sample of an emerging body of scholarship on the subject. The important conclusion to take from the theoretical discussions on assimilation, acculturation, and transnationalism is that the study of second-generation immigrants is rapidly developing and changing. Before discussing how my research contributes to this literature, I briefly look into some of the research done on Egyptians living abroad and Arab Americans in general to explore the extent to which these theoretical discussions are applied.

Literature on Egyptian Immigrants/Expatriates

Literature on Egyptians living abroad tends to fall under two major categories. The first category includes literature that addresses the question of Egyptian migration and its socio-economic consequences. Several Arabic sources focus on this particular topic, such as Muná Qāsim's 1988 study in which she discusses the various motivations that drive Egyptians to migrate and how this migration process has been affected by political changes in the GCC

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[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid., 147.

countries.[108] Focusing on the importance of studying migration as a 'social process' and linking

Arab migration to general migration theory, Ralph R. Sell shows how the Arab Gulf countries

are most likely going to have Egyptian communities, or that Egyptian communities will start

taking form in other areas in the world.[109] Other more recent studies, such as that of Yasmine M.

Ahmed's, look at how low-income Egyptians deal with the economic liberalization reforms that

have taken shape in both Egypt and the U.S.[110] Ahmed additionally studies the extent to which

those Egyptians "engage in transnational practices" but from an economic perspective. Some

studies look at a particular migrant group, such as teachers who migrate to the Gulf.[111] But again,

the focus is always on the socio-economic reasons for leaving, and the socio-economic

conditions they face when they arrive to their host country.

The second category of literature takes a more anthropological or informational stance on

a particular group of migrants/immigrants. For example, Guy Homer Wolf II's dissertation, titled

"A Study of Egyptian-American Professionals Utilizing the Focused Life History Method,"

focuses on first-generation Egyptian-American professionals. In his research, "a processual

framework was adopted in order to see how these immigrants use tradition as a means for

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[108] Muná Qāsim, *Al-'Āmilūn fī Al-Khārij Bayna Al-Ḍayā' Wa-Al-Tanẓīm* (al-Qāhirah: Mu'assasat al-Ahrām, 1990), 4-5.

[109] Ralph R. Sell, *Gone for Good? Egyptian Migration Processes in the Arab World* (Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 1987), 1.

[110] Yasmine M. Ahmed, *The New York Egyptians: Voyages and Dreams* (Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 3.

[111] Suzanne A. Messiha, *Export of Egyptian School Teachers to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait: A Cost-Benefit Analysis* (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1983).

maintaining the status quo as well as altering it."[112] Another paper provides a historical and

contemporary overview of Egyptians living in Britain, particularly since the paper claims this

group had not been discussed before.[113] A similar account was written about the Coptic

community in Michigan.[114] An interesting book by Racheline Barda was recently published on

the Egyptian-Jewish community in Australia. This book provides a historical description of their

lives prior to emigrating from Egypt in addition to how they negotiated their identities.[115]

Jehan Agha's M.A. Thesis, which I briefly referred to in the introduction, is perhaps the

most relevant research project to my thesis. She aimed to distinguish amongst different diasporic

communities particularly with regards to how they articulate and deal with their competing

identities. She relies substantially on the impact of social networks while making references to

Berry's acculturation theory. She argues that "it is necessary to differentiate between and within

diasporas" and that "in studying identity formation and negotiation it is not enough to simple

look at present circumstances (i.e. socio-political events) one must contextualize further."[116] Her

research is relevant to my own research because some of her main findings on the Egyptian

community in the U.S. were very similar to those I found. Throughout the chapters, I point out

some of my findings that corresponded with hers. As I showed in the introduction, my research

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[112] Guy Homer Wolf II, "Remembering The Nile: A Study of Egyptian-American Professionals Utilizing the Focused Life History Method," (PhD Diss., The Catholic University of America, 1991), ix.

[113] Ghada Karmi and University of Durham, *The Egyptians of Britain: A Migrant Community in Transition* (Durham, U.K.: University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1997), 6.

[114] Eliot Dickinson, *Copts in Michigan* (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2008).

[115] Racheline Barda, *Egyptian-Jewish Emigrés in Australia* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2011), 1-4.

[116] Agha, "From Homeland to Adopted Home," 3.

takes her research question further, and demonstrates the importance of studying diaspora groups who originate from the same country but who live in different host countries.

Situating My Research

My research fits into the existing literature in several ways. The various assimilation theories presented earlier are important in the context of this thesis because they have yet to be applied to the Egyptian-American community. As shown above, the "segmented assimilation" theory has largely focused on immigrant communities and the possibility that they would achieve "upward" or "downward mobility." This thesis is not really concerned with this process because all respondents come from highly educated backgrounds and were able to fit well in the American middle/high socio-economic context. None of the respondents described any difficulties in school or in finding a job, etc. Nonetheless, "segmented assimilation" theory is useful to explain how different factors influence how second-generation immigrants relate to school, family, and other immigrant communities.

Aside from Agha's thesis, it was quite difficult to find the acculturation theoretical discussion in similar research studies that address second-generation Arab-Americans let alone Egyptian-Americans. Most of the literature I found that addressed questions of acculturation did so with a focus on how the events of September 11, 2001 had an impact on the psychological state of Arab Americans.[117] Nonetheless, the acculturation discussion is useful because it exposes how other communities have acculturated. This thesis hopes to expose the extent to which processes of acculturation are similar or different between second-generation Egyptian-American communities and other immigrant communities. The thesis also sheds light on the possible

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[117] Please see Germine H. Awad, "The Impact of Acculturation and Religious Identification on Perceived Discrimination for Arab/Middle Eastern Americans," *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 16 (2010), accessed March 20, 2013, doi: 10.1037/a0016675.

limitations of this literature to the topic at hand. As shown above, literature on Egyptians abroad has either focused on particular immigrant/expatriate groups in the Arab world or abroad, or has focused on the socio-economic ramifications of labor migration. I was not able to find any study that not only dealt with second-generation immigrants/expatriates, but also sought to compare an immigrant Egyptian community (such as that in the U.S.) with an expatriate Egyptian community (such as that in Qatar) from an 'identity' perspective. This thesis hopes to bridge literature on Egyptian immigrants with the greater assimilation and acculturation theoretical frameworks used to discuss other communities in the U.S.

A crucial contribution to the literature is the inclusion of Egyptians living in Qatar. Despite the fact that most of the respondents in Qatar were not dual citizens, the fact that they spent most, if not all of their lives in Qatar has had a significant impact on how they understand themselves and how they articulate their sense of "Egyptianness." It is precisely because they are not dual citizens, because they are not immigrants, that one would expect their 'identities' to be different from Egyptian-Americans or Egyptian-Canadians, for example. Even if it is very difficult to discuss assimilation in the context of Egyptians in Qatar, I found that it is certainly not that difficult to discuss how processes of acculturation and "transnational practices" emerge with Egyptians in Qatar. This thesis takes on Levitt and Waters' flexible approach to "transnational migration," focusing on the need to analyze particular life moments or periodical events that emerge in the lives of Egyptians in the U.S./Qatar. The most important reviewed theoretical discussion pertains to "transnational practices," particularly because I found that it is the main theory that connects the experiences of second-generation Egyptian expatriates with second-generation Egyptian immigrants.

Applying acculturation theory to Egyptians in Qatar is also possible, because even though none of the second-generation Egyptian-Qataris were interviewed (which could have exposed us to how they acculturate into Qatari local life), one must take into account the fact that Egyptians (along with other expatriate communities in Qatar) still find themselves interacting substantially with the cultures of many other nationalities. For almost all of my respondents, the cultures they grew up with at home were very different from the cultures they encountered at school and at work. In this way, this thesis hopes to bring expatriates into theoretical analyses that have largely focused on immigrants.

CHAPTER TWO:

METHODOLOGY

Research Context

The research process started at the end of May and lasted until mid-August. During those three months, important events had taken place in Egypt, including SCAF's dissolution of Parliament, SCAF's constitutional declaration limiting the President's powers, the election of the Muslim Brotherhood candidate, Mohamed Morsi, as President of Egypt, Mubarak's sentencing and Morsi's cancellation of SCAF's earlier declaration. It was certainly a highly charged period that had an impact on how respondents were reflecting on the revolution. Since context would make a big difference for discussions on the revolution, I made sure to contextualize respondents' answers that deal with their reflections on particular details of the revolution specifically.

Research Methods

I adopt a qualitative approach to address the research questions. Even though a significant number of the studies surveyed relied on quantitative methods (particularly surveys), I found that studies that relied more on qualitative approaches produced richer and more nuanced results.

The first method I utilized was the participant observation. Participant observation is a method in which researchers operate as observers of a particular setting, such as observing an event or observing ways in which people interact with each other to get a better sense of how people behave in their "natural setting."[118] While in the U.S., I attended as many events as

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[118] Margaret D. Le Compte and Judith Preissle and Renata Tesch, *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1984), 95.

possible that were about Egypt and/or were organized by Egyptian-Americans. These events

ranged from social events, cultural events, and events that addressed Egyptian current affairs.

Some events focused on politics while others focused more on social entrepreneurship. I attended

one of Ana Masry Foundation's concerts. On their Facebook page, the group describes their

mission as the following: "To contribute to promoting better awareness of Egypt's multi-layered

and common heritage through financially and technically supporting relevant cultural activities

related to arts, education and the media in Egypt as well as for the Egyptian expatriate

communities."[119] Hence, Ana Masry Foundation aims to display the various cultures that

represent Egyptian society.

EgyptNEGMA is a newly established organization that was formed after the revolution

with the aim of promoting and supporting social entrepreneurship projects in Egypt.[120] I attended

EgyptNEGMA's first annual conference, along with many other social gatherings and Egyptian-

American community events that addressed Egypt's transition. Most of the events I attended in

the U.S. took place during the academic year, so it was easy attend these events. During the

summer in Qatar, and especially during Ramadan and Eid, when most of this research was

conducted, many Egyptians had already left to Egypt and elsewhere for their summer vacations.

However, I managed to attend two events while in Qatar; a tea party hosted by the Egyptian

Ladies Association as well as another Egyptian social group's (Egyptian Association) lunch

party. I discuss those two particular organizations later on in the thesis.

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[119] "The Ana Masry Foundation," Facebook, accessed April 15, 2013,
https://www.facebook.com/TheAnaMasryFoundation/info.

[120] "Vision and Mission," EgyptNEGMA, accessed April 10, 2013, http://www.egyptnegma.org/content/vision-mission.

Participant Observation method was useful in several ways. I was interested in what types of events were being hosted in order to understand the interests of the immigrant/expatriate communities. I was particularly interested in determining whether or not many young Egyptians attended these events. This helped me understand interests of the diaspora community. Attending such events helped me obtain important background information about the communities I was researching.

The second method I used was focus group discussions (FGDs). FGDs are discussions that take place with a specific group of people that are chosen from a wider popular to reflect on a particular subject.[121] For this research, the purpose of the FGDs was to explore how the media play into the diaspora's sense of 'Egyptianness,' and the diaspora's manifestation of their sense of 'Egyptianness.' I started by having respondents fill out a short survey about the satellite television channels and programs they watch, favorite movies, music and favorite sports team. The focus group then continued by asking them about the media they became involved with in the revolution and in the period after the eighteen days. I was interested in understanding where they were obtaining their information about Egypt, as this allowed me to see if certain members of the diaspora community preferred certain media outlets to others, or if certain media outlets were more readily available than others. More importantly, it was interesting to see the reasons why they choose to watch particular media outlets: are they more accessible to them, reliable, or more understandable etc. The FGDs helped me understand how the media contributed to the diaspora's connectedness to Egypt. I also asked participants to identify and articulate the extent to which media influence their sense of 'Egyptianness.'

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[121] *The Free Dictionary.* "Focus group," accessed April 20, 2013, http://www.thefreedictionary.com/focus+group.

I was able to conduct three FGDs, two in Qatar, and one in the U.S. I had originally

hoped to conduct at least two in each country, one with older individuals (over forty-five years

old), and one with the youth (between eighteen and thirty-five) with mixed genders and religions.

However, I was only able to conduct one FGD in the U.S. with adults, and two youth FGDs in

Qatar. I was not able to conduct the FGDs in the manner I would have preferred because it was

very difficult to organize; the FGDs were conducted during the summer and Ramadan, when it

was hard for people to co-ordinate schedules. The results obtained from the FGDs will not be a

the focus of this research for two main reasons: 1) Given the new focus on the second-

generation, I will not include the results of the first-generation immigrants I conducted the FGD

with in the U.S., 2) The impact of the media was no longer a major focus of this research.

Though I do not include the results from the participant observation events or the FGDs, they

were still instrumental in helping me contextualize and become familiarized with the

communities I was studying. Moreover, they provided me with access to participants for the

interviews.

The main methodological approach that I rely on is open-ended face-to-face/Skype

interviews. Originally, forty-six individuals were interviewed, twenty-three in the U.S. and

twenty-three in Qatar. However, when I decided to focus only on second-generation immigrants,

twenty-three interviews qualified, twelve in the U.S. and eleven in Qatar. The dominant theme

that came up in the twenty-three interviews of first-generation Egyptians in both the U.S. and in

Qatar is that Egypt never ceased being part of their lives when they left. Many of them held on to

their memory of Egypt when they left, and thus had troubles relating to the reality of Egypt

today. The ultimate difference between first-generation respondents and second-generation

respondents is that second-generation respondents did not have prior memories *living* in Egypt. This difference has allowed for a variety of experiences amongst the second-generation respondents when it comes to their interactions with everything that is 'Egyptian.' The results discussed in this thesis are based on the twenty-three interviews I conducted with second-generation immigrants.

The interview questions were divided into several sections. In the first section, I asked respondents basic information that enabled me to understand their backgrounds and general interests. The second section dealt with their travels to Egypt and their experiences while in Egypt. In the third section, I asked them questions about how they identify themselves, the impact their parents had on their understanding of their identities, their relationship to the Egyptian community and other non-Egyptian communities, and their connection to and preference of Egyptian 'culture,' such as food, music, movies, sports, etc. In this section, I asked them to reflect on daily things/places/people etc. in their lives that make them feel a sense of 'Egyptianness' or make them feel Egyptian. Such information was crucial for answering my research question as it allowed me to get a sense of a) how connected the diaspora community is to various aspects of being 'Egyptian' and b) the extent to which the diaspora community thinks that such characteristics play into their understanding of their sense of 'Egyptianness.' The fourth section discussed their lives during and after the revolution. In this section, the respondents are asked to reflect on their lives during the eighteen days of revolt, and the post-revolution period. Such information was relevant for the research question because it allowed me to understand why members of the diaspora reacted in particular ways to the revolution and the extent to which this was related to their sense of 'Egyptianness.' I also asked whether or not

they ever think about living in Egypt for an extended period of time. At the end of the interview, I asked them to reflect on how they rate and measure their interest in what happens in Egypt and how they rate and measure their sense of 'Egyptianness.' This information was very important as it allowed me to understand how each respondent articulated their interest in Egypt and their understanding of their own sense of 'Egyptianness' and most importantly, how this articulation changed over time. The rating question complements Levitt's earlier emphasis on the need to study second-generation immigrants over a long period of time.[122] Though this thesis does not achieve this per se, having them reflect on the most important episodes in *their* lives that they feel had a significant impact on their connection and identification with Egypt helps make up for that. For members of Egypt-related organizations, I had additional questions that sought to get a better understanding of the types of organizations out there and the kinds of events they were engaged in.

Sampling

Since I am a member of the Egyptian expatriate community in Qatar, I was already exposed to a great number of people who could participate in the research. Since I was initially researching a large population, I aimed to diversify my sample to make my research as representative as possible. This strategy proved very useful later when I decided to narrow my focus to the second-generation Egyptians as I still managed to obtain diverse interviews from youths with varied life stories. I relied on four or five 'informants' who exposed me to various groups of people. These 'informants' are people I know very well from family friends and school of various ages and occupations, and they all had access to many Egyptians. I tried to obtain an

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[122] Levitt, "The Ties That Change," 144.

equal ratio of men to women, and an equal ratio of Copts to Muslims. I additionally emailed organization leaders/coordinators and posted on the different Egyptian community organizations Facebook pages, asking those interested to contact me directly via email or phone number. As I mentioned in the Introduction, the sample of Egyptians in Qatar was largely limited to Egyptians from professional middle/elite class families. The sample did not include lower-income Egyptians who do in fact compose the majority of the Egyptian population in Qatar.

During my time here in the U.S., I attended several conferences focused on the Arab uprisings along with various Egyptian-American events, and it is these events that helped me make contacts with Egyptians in more than one city/state (e.g. Washington D.C., Boston, New York City, and Virginia). I treated those individuals as my initial 'informants' as they varied in age, gender and religion. The difference between these informants and the informants in Qatar is that I did not know the informants in the U.S. very well. This means that I initially had to rely on more 'informants' in the U.S. than in Qatar just because I was uncertain how responsive and helpful some of them would be. However, my main contact in the U.S. was Dr. Amin Mahmoud, a retired professional who is perhaps the most active Egyptian-American in the Washington, D.C. area. More importantly, Dr. Mahmoud, as a leader/board member of several organizations (The Alliance of Egyptian-Americans[123] & the American Egyptian Strategic Alliance[124]), had access to hundreds if not thousands of Egyptian-American contacts across the country. Most of my respondents contacted me after receiving an email about my research from Dr. Mahmoud. I also relied on various organization email listservs and Facebook groups to ensure that my

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[123] "The Alliance of Egyptian-Americans," accessed April 10, 2013, http://aeamisr.org/.

[124] "The American Egyptian Strategic Alliance," accessed April 10, 2013, http://www.americanegyptiansa.org/.

interview request reached a broad group of people. For both informants in the U.S. and informants in Qatar, I specified what kind of participants I needed from which informant in terms of gender and religion. For example, I knew of a Coptic university student who was extremely active in the Coptic community in the U.S. and was therefore able to select Coptic participants. In addition to relying on my informants, I relied substantially on random selections by sending out emails (and posting on Facebook) to various listservs of Egyptian groups. I relied on the same sampling methods for the FGDs. The only difference is that I asked my informants to find participants who fit the criteria of every focus group in terms of age and gender.

Similarly to the sample in Qatar, the sample of Egyptians in the U.S. come from professional middle/elite class families. The sample did not include Egyptians who work as cab drivers or those who live in the working-class neighborhoods of particular cities.

Credibility of the Researcher

Before I discuss the community subjects, I want to briefly discuss my position towards the research project and its impact on my credibility as a researcher. As indicated above, the reason I became interested in this topic was largely personal. As an Egyptian who was born and raised in Qatar, I find myself belonging to one of the communities I am comparing. This, of course, brings up questions of bias, particularly since at least half of the respondents I interviewed in Qatar I knew on a personal basis. I enrolled in a Qualitative and Research Methods class in Spring 2012 that introduced me to qualitative research projects and to ways to minimize the impact of bias on my results. To account for this risk, I expended extra effort to make sure that my interview requests reached circles of people that I did not know. For respondents I knew personally, I took the time before the interview to explain to them the

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importance of treating me as nothing more than an interviewer who is interested in their lives as Egyptians living in Qatar. I made sure to convey that I was not looking for any particular answer, and that I was just as interested in unique and unconventional experiences if that was their experience. Making this information clear was more important for people I knew personally than for people I did not know because it indirectly indicated that I was not doing this research to judge them, but simply to learn about their lives. I noticed that because I was Egyptian, respondents sometimes discussed their stories while assuming that I will 'know' what it is they were experiencing when X happened, or when they interacted with X community etc. Hence, I had to persistently ask them to clarify and explain what they meant. There was also the possibility that some respondents felt embarrassed to give particular details about their lives, a problem that would have been difficult to detect. However, in general, the fact that I was Egyptian who shared similar experiences to second-generation Egyptians made my respondents (both in the U.S. and in Qatar) feel more comfortable. I noticed this because we often found ourselves drifting off to discussions on topics such as Egyptian football and political developments that gave them enough comfort to feel that this was more of a causal conversation than an interview. Moreover, when I reflect on how different the interviews would have been had I *not* been Egyptian, I realize that the conversations would not have continued so freely nor would the respondents have felt comfortable imparting private and sensitive accounts of their families, their communities, and Egypt. Hence, the fact that I am a member of one of the target communities also served as an advantage.

Case Study Choice

Why did I choose to compare the Egyptian community in Qatar with that in the U.S.?

First, as mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, there is a dearth of literature that compares immigrant communities with expatriate communities who share the same homeland. Moreover, in the Introduction, I discussed how the Egyptian community in Qatar is very active despite its small size, particularly with regards to election registrations. The reason I chose those two communities in particular also had much to do with what was most practical. Because of my personal background, I knew that it would be very easy to get interviews with Egyptians in Qatar, and that my position in the community would make others feel comfortable talking to me about this sensitive topic. I chose the Egyptian-American community also because of my availability in the U.S. Since I was already pursuing my M.A. in Washington, D.C., and since I had already made contacts here, it made sense to use the Egyptian-American community as my second case study.

Egyptians in Qatar

Official population estimates of Egyptians in Qatar are extremely difficult to find. Many Egyptian community members told me that I would have to go to the immigration office in Qatar to obtain this information, but that I would be required to present permission and authorization from various entities. Instead, I decided to pay the Egyptian Embassy a visit, and schedule a meeting with an Embassy official. I was able to meet with Consultant & Deputy Chief of Mission, Walid Haggag, who was able to provide some information about the Egyptian community in Doha. The administrative attaché, Ihab Fawzi, was also present during the meeting to assist with some of the questions. According to Haggag, Egyptians comprise somewhere between 140,000-160,000 of Qatar's population.[125] He claimed that he could not provide me

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[125] Walid Haggag and Ihab Fawzi, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, January 1, 2013.

with a more accurate estimate because many Egyptians failed to register their names at the Embassy upon moving to Qatar. When I asked him about why this was the case, he told me that many Egyptians did not know about the registration process or did not want to be registered. They described how in the past, some Egyptians avoided the Embassy because of their disapproval of the old Egyptian government, but that this had changed significantly since the revolution.

The Embassy officials were not able to provide me with an estimate on the number of Egyptian Coptic Christians in Qatar. I asked several Egyptians who were very active in the Egyptian community, in addition to asking a few Coptic leaders, and the estimate revolves around 3-4000 Coptic Christians. Egyptians in Qatar work in various fields. The officials described how low-income workers tend to be construction workers. Most low-income workers are males, though some females come to work as skilled laborers, such as crafters.[126] According to the Embassy officials, Egyptian law does not permit Egyptian women to work as in-home assistants or baby-sitters in Qatar; they must have a particular skill.[127] High-income workers are spread in various fields: medicine, engineering, law, banking, hotels and tourism, and academia. According to the administrative attaché, about 25% of the Egyptian population are high-income workers.[128]

All of the second-generation Egyptians I interviewed in Qatar are between the ages of 18 and 30. Additionally, they all come from highly educated families. Six of them are Egyptian

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[126] Haggag and Fawzi, interview.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Fawzi, interview.

Copts, and the other five are Muslims. Almost all of them received their school and college education from Western institutions in Qatar or abroad. Only one of them pursued his university studies in Egypt.

Egyptians in the U.S.

I contacted the Arab American Institute (AAI) to obtain background information about Egyptians in the U.S. On its demographics page, AAI estimates that there are 1.9 million Americans who are of Arab descent. Of this 1.9 million, 10% are Egyptian,[129] which means that there are about 190,000 Egyptians in the U.S. When I emailed AAI to ask about specific population estimates, they claimed that their estimates on Arab Americans in general are much higher in reality. Similarly to the situation in Qatar, some members in the Egyptian community claimed that many Egyptians have little to no connection with the Egyptian Embassy/ Consulates and hence have not registered their information.

When I emailed AAI to find out if they had any statistics on the distinct religious affiliations, they wrote back stating that their data comes from the American Community Survey, which does not carry out surveys on religious affiliations. As a result, AAI could not provide me with estimates on the percentages of Egyptian Coptic Christians and Egyptian Muslims. However, AAI was able to provide me with other information that was not available on their website. From their population surveys, I was able to see that New York, Northern New Jersey, Los Angeles and the DC/VA/MD areas have some of the largest numbers of Egyptians.[130] The

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[129] "Demographics," Arab American Institute, accessed April 10, 2013, http://www.aaiusa.org/pages/demographics/.

[130] "Total Population, 2006-2010 American Community Survey," Arab American Institute, accessed February 28, 2013. I received these documents after I requested them directly from AAI. To obtain these documents, please contact AAI directly.

most popular occupations are in the education, health, and social assistance sectors; almost 25% of employed Egyptians work in the above sectors. Other popular occupation sectors are retail trade, arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation, and food services.[131] Egyptians in the U.S. are highly educated. Almost 41% of Egyptians over 25 years of age have at least a bachelor's degree.[132]

The age of respondents in the U.S. ranged from 18 to about 45. Eight of the twelve respondents are young professionals who are at least 30 years old. The other four are college students. Four of the respondents were Coptic Christians, while one was a Catholic. The rest were Muslim, although two of them identified that they were not practicing Muslims. All the young professionals were working in various fields: law, political science, medicine, engineering, literature, and photography.

Limitations and Risks

My research faces a few methodological and practical limitation and risks. The first set of limitations address outreach problems. Though I was hoping to attract the perspectives of Egyptians who hold various opinions about the 'revolution,' it was extremely difficult to find people with unfavorable reflections on the 'revolution' that were willing to take part in this research. It was also very difficult to find Egyptian-Americans who hardly identified with their Egyptian identity, or who had no interest in being identified as Egyptians. I asked respondents in

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[131] "Selected Economic Characteristics, 2006-2010 American Community Survey," Arab American Institute, accessed February 28, 2013. I received these documents after I requested them directly from AAI. To obtain these documents, please contact AAI directly.

[132] "Selected Social Characteristics in the United States, 2006-2010 American Community Survey," Arab American Institute, accessed February 28, 2013. I received these documents after I requested them directly from AAI. To obtain these documents, please contact AAI directly.

both Qatar and the U.S. with whom I had already interviewed to direct me to Egyptians who might not have shared their points of views or experiences. However, no one holding such perspectives was willing to speak to me. I am not sure why this was the case, but I imagine that they may have assumed that I wanted to question the basis of their perspectives. It would have been extremely valuable for this research to include the perspectives of these individuals. This is an important limitation because my research would have yielded even more revealing and varied results about one's articulation of one's sense of 'Egyptianness' and the practical evidence one provides for this articulation.

Another problem with outreach is that resources and time did not allow me to travel to other parts of the U.S. for interviews. Most of my interviews were conducted in D.C./MD/VA/MA/NYC, but none in the Mid-West or the West coast. The major outreach problem I noticed in Qatar is that I was mostly finding young Egyptians who were still in college, or who had just started working. I was not able to find many young professionals (between 30 and 40 years old) as opposed to the case in the U.S. Nonetheless, the ability of young professionals in the U.S. to reflect on their lives when they were in college helps make up for this limitation as I was still able to make formative comparisons. Moreover, I was not able to find young Egyptian-Qataris who were willing to talk to me. Unfortunately, there was nothing I could do about this simply due to the sensitive nature of the topic.

The most important outreach problem was not being able to find Egyptians who come from different class and education backgrounds. As I noted earlier, respondents in the U.S. pertained to a highly educated and professional middle if not high class of Egyptians. The situation was similar for respondents in Qatar. If I were to interview Egyptians from the

working-class, it is quite likely that their acculturation processes would have been different, and that they would have followed a trajectory that is similar to that discussed in the above literature on other immigrant communities. Moreover, the respondents in Qatar had followed an education path that increased their interaction substantially with the majority cosmopolitan community in Qatar, and exposed them into a particular Western culture. If I were to interview Egyptians who spent their lives in Egyptian, Qatari, or French schools, their acculturation processes may have been different. Hence, the results of this research are very specific to Egyptians who pertain to a particular class and education/professional background.

Even though I decided to focus solely on second-generation Egyptians, I still value the contributions of the first-generation. I would have preferred to study those groups simultaneously in order to understand how they interact with each other, and whether or not such interactions were different between Egyptians in the U.S. and Egyptians in Qatar. But for the scope of this thesis, a close analysis of the understudied group of the second-generation was necessary first. I will consider doing an expansive version of this thesis at a later time.

There were no serious risks associated with participants in the U.S., but I was much more concerned about participants in Qatar since, indirectly, there are stricter limits on what people can say or do with regards to a topic that is controversial like the Arab uprisings and also with regards to questions of citizenship. Because the Egyptian community in Qatar is small, and people tend to know one another, I was concerned people were going to worry about their responses somehow being linked to their identity and potentially threatening their residence/employment permits in Qatar. To resolve everyone's fears, I emphasized that in addition to changing their names (except for public figures), that I would change details of their

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lives that did not necessarily impact the results of the study. For example, I do not include their

precise occupation title; a general understanding of their field was enough.

CHAPTER THREE:

EXPERIENCING 'EGYPT'

Chapter Overview

In the introduction of their edited volume, Levitt and Waters "propose a somewhat more expansive view" of "transnational migration" and "transnational practices," arguing that "the thicker and more diverse a transnational social field is, the greater the number of ways it offers migrants to remain active in their homelands."[133] One of the consequences of looking at "transnational practices" this way is that "the thick and expansive set of social relations that migration produces diminishes the importance of movement as a requirement for engaging in transnational practices."[134] They reference different authors who have different understandings of what "transnational practices" entail:

> Those who travel regularly to carry out their routine affairs have been called "transmigrants" by some researchers (England 1999; Glick-Schiller 1995; Guarnizo 1997). Some individuals move infrequently and are rooted primarily in a single sending- or receiving-country setting, but their lives are integrally involved with resources, contacts, and people from far away. Finally, there are those who never move but who live their lives within a context that has become transnationalized because it is permeated by social remittances and cultural elements[135] that migrants introduce.[136]

This chapter focuses on the theoretical components that I addressed in the literature review. The chapter explores how the lives of second-generation Egyptians are "transnationalized" and their reactions to the "transnationalized" aspects of their lives whether

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[133] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction," 9-10.

[134] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction," 10.

[135] Throughout the rest of this thesis, I extensively adopt the following terms and phrases as discussed by Levitt and Waters: "cultural elements," "transnationalized," and "engage [or engaging] in transnational practices."

[136] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction,"10-11.

they travel frequently or not. In the literature review, I showed how Levitt and Waters find that it is important that one look at the extent to which second-generation immigrants "engage" in their own "transnational practices" when they are older.[137] Building off from this discussion, most of this chapter focuses on how respondents' lives were "transnationalized" within the contexts they operate in and how this influenced, either directly or indirectly, their choices to "engage" in particular "transnational practices" at a later age. As I noted in the introduction, "transnational practices" in this study refers to aspects that respondents' referred to as constituting Egyptian aspects of their lives in the U.S. or in Qatar, or as constituting aspects that remind them of Egypt. I also include a section on how they experience "transnational migration" with regards to their travels to Egypt. Reflections presented in this chapter demonstrate the similarities and differences in how respondents negotiated their identities around the different transnational aspects of their lives. The chapter highlights the first difference described in the Introduction that arises between the two groups of respondents, which addresses the different ways both groups acculturate in the societies they live in while "engaging in transnational practices." I reference various elements of the acculturation theory introduced in Chapter One (Literature Review) to expose how they apply to second-generation Egyptian immigrants and expatriates and how they influence the way in which respondents 'experience' Egypt. Additionally, the chapter exposes the second difference discussed in the Introduction, which addresses how respondents connected with Egyptians around them who were born and/or raised in Egypt.

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[137] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction," 3.

I start with a discussion on the impact of the home and the family. Then, I explore a key factor in the life of all respondents, which is that of the Egyptian community. In this section I also discuss how respondents interacted with non-Egyptians around them. The third section in this chapter examines the experiences the respondents had traveling to Egypt, and how that factored into their sense of 'Egyptianness.' The fourth and final section looks at the impact of schooling and college on how the respondents identify with their sense of 'Egyptianness.'

The findings presented in this chapter and the next are based on the responses I received from the twenty-three interviews I did with second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and in Qatar. Almost all respondents in Qatar are either still completing their undergraduate studies or are recent graduates pursuing jobs in Qatar. All respondents in Qatar went to Western schools and/or universities and speak English fluently. Almost all them were born and raised in Qatar; a couple were born in Egypt and moved with their parents when they were still infants. A couple of the respondents have the Canadian citizenship which they obtained after living briefly in Canada, but the rest only have the Egyptian citizenship. Most respondents in the U.S. are young adults who have started their careers and/or families of their own. Most of them were born and raised in the U.S. except a few of them who moved to the U.S. with their parents when they were children. Some of them have dual citizenship while others have the U.S. citizenship and the Egyptian identification card. I provide more detailed biographies of each respondent as I begin to discuss each of their reflections.[138]

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[138] To protect the identities of the respondents, unless otherwise noted, I use pseudonyms to represent their contributions.

Child-Rearing and Family Upbringing

Agha notes that for her Egyptian-American respondents, "the degree of Egyptianness was contingent on the environment in which they were raised."[139] I found that this was very true in both contexts. One of the main "transnational practices" that parents introduce to their children's lives is registering them at various Sunday schools to learn Arabic and religion. Respondents in the U.S. stated that they were all somehow involved with a community Egyptian organization and/or Sunday school. They informed me that Sunday schools for both Muslims and Christians combined religious studies and social activities. Coptic Churches are composed of just Egyptians, so the division between religion and national heritage is blurred. However, sometimes, Muslim respondents stated that their parents took them to Sunday schools and mosques that were attended by large Egyptian communities.[140] Qatar-based respondents had a somewhat similar experience. Coptic Christian respondents I interviewed stated that they went to Church with their families at least once a week. Gerges is a twenty-four year old Coptic Christian Egyptian who was born in Qatar. Gerges first attended the Egyptian Language School in Doha, which is one of two Egyptian schools in Qatar that follow the Egyptian Curriculum. However, he explained how his parents preferred that he obtain an international education rather than an Egyptian one, and switched him to one of the international schools in Doha that follow the British curriculum. When he graduated from high school, Gerges wanted to pursue his college degree at the American University in Cairo, but his father advised him to pursue a better degree in Canada. Gerges is currently completing his undergraduate degree in Canada, but visits

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[139] Agha, "From Homeland to Adopted Home," 72.

[140] Ahmed, interview by author, voice recording, Washington, June 28, 2012.

Qatar and his family regularly during the holidays. Similarly to the other Coptic Christians I interviewed, Gerges' interactions with other Egyptians outside his family take place at Church or with his childhood friends.[141]

Gerges discussed how members of the Coptic Christian community also met for Bible study groups during the weekend, which can be considered the equivalent of Sunday school in the U.S.[142] In addition, the Egyptian Coptic Christian respondents in Qatar described how their Church would similarly organize social gatherings in Qatar. Since Qatar is a Muslim country, none of the Muslim respondents I interviewed went to Muslim weekend schools. Because I live in Qatar, I am aware that there are in fact Islamic centers and mosques that give weekly and biweekly Quran lessons. However, none of the respondents in Qatar mentioned that this was part of their lives growing up. The obvious explanation behind this is that Qatar is already an Islamic country and that the respondents already grew up in a conservative religious environment. Nonetheless, as I will show later, the Egyptian Muslims in Qatar I interviewed still interacted frequently with Egyptians through their school friends and other social network groups.

One interesting similarity that I found in both communities is that respondents did not always enjoy some of the activities they used to participate in growing up or some of the Egyptian cultural aspects of their lives. For example, Wael, a forty-four year old engineer living in Boston, Massachusetts, described how he used to communicate in English with his parents because he "want[ed] to be American more."[143] Growing up, Wael's family took him to Sunday

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[141] Gerges, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, August 6, 2012.

[142] Gerges, interview.

[143] Wael, interview by author, voice recording, Boston, July 15, 2012.

school to learn Arabic and Quran and was also active in the Egyptian community. Wael described that he had "almost distanced [himself]" from the Egyptian aspects of his life because he "wanted to fit in as being American."[144] His insistence on communicating in English and not Arabic with his parents is one example he gave of how he attempted to "distance" himself from specific Egyptian aspects. Similarly to other respondents that I discuss in this chapter, Wael described that this was just a phase that he went through that went away as he grew older.

Maged, a twenty-one year old Coptic Christian Egyptian living in Doha had similar experiences. Maged's parents were living in Qatar before he was born. He is currently completing his undergraduate studies at a university in Canada. Just like all the respondents in Qatar, Maged went to an international school that followed the British curriculum. He described how during his school years, until he was about thirteen or fourteen years old, he went through this "rebel phase" in which he "wanted to be like his British friends" because they were "more popular."[145] He explained that during this phase, he was much less connected to Egypt. Such examples show how, particularly in the early phases of their lives, some second-generation Egyptians attempted to resist the influence of their parents on their sense of 'Egyptianness.' In her thesis, Agha similarly noted that some of her respondents had similar reactions in their early childhoods.[146] Levitt argues that the "transnational life" of second-generation immigrants "evolves as the second-generation moves from adolescence into early childhood, an important

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[144] Ibid.

[145] Maged, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, August 5, 2013.

[146] Agha, "From Homeland to Adopted Home," 72.

step in the life course."[147] This explains why some of the respondents in both Qatar and the U.S. stated that when they were younger, they had different reactions to their sense of 'Egyptianness' from those they had when they grew older.

Another example of resisting family influence is the fact that some respondents claimed that they did not enjoy going to these larger community Egyptian gatherings. One of the Egyptian-American respondents, thirty-five year old Dalia, described how she used to react to Egyptian community outings as a teenager. Dalia was born and raised in the U.S. and currently lives and works in Boston, Massachusetts. She spent her childhood in Northern Virginia. Dalia is an American citizen and holds an Egyptian I.D. (but not the passport).[148] Her parents moved to the U.S. for education and employment purposes. She is married to an Egyptian-American and has two children. Dalia discussed how her parents, along with other couples, created a Muslim Sunday school of their own so that they can be in control of what their children were learning and in what environment instead of just sending them to other established Sunday schools in the area. According to Dalia, the motivation behind this decision was to ensure that she and the other children were not learning about religion in a closed, segregated environment that was isolated from the rest of American society. Dalia's parents wanted the school to be "moderate" and they did not want to take their children to other Sunday schools "where they're being taught how to think about religion."[149] Dalia completed her undergraduate and post-graduate studies in the U.S., but has been working on public health issues related to Egypt and the Middle East in the

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[147] Levitt, "Life Course, Generation, and Social Locations," 146.

[148] In the next chapter, a few respondents discuss the consequences of having just an Egyptian I.D. and not the Egyptian passport on their career options in the U.S.

[149] Dalia, interview by author, voice recording, Boston, July 13, 2012.

last few years. She is also one of the main founders of a social entrepreneurship initiative

focused on development in Egypt that was established after the January 25, revolution.

During her interview, Dalia described how as a teenager in the U.S., she sometimes

preferred to go out with her school friends rather than accompany her parents to these Egyptian

community events:

> There were definitely times growing up where we'd be like 'ugh, we have to go to that'
> and we'd want to go out with our American friends or go to another dinner, but I think
> we got to appreciate it when we became older because we're all best friends now. All the
> kids of my parent's friends, we're all best friends, we're beyond best friends, we're a
> family.[150]

This is an example of how respondents in the U.S. reacted to certain "transnational

practices" in a way that exposed negotiations and acculturation processes between their Egyptian

lives and their mainstream American lives. Yasmine, one of the respondents in Qatar, identified

similar reactions. Yasmine is a twenty-four year old Egyptian Muslim who was born in Egypt

and raised in Qatar. Her parents moved to Qatar for work shortly after she was born. Similarly to

the above respondents, Yasmine spent her school years in an international school that adopted

the British curriculum, and has recently graduated from one of Education City's American

Universities. Yasmine is currently working in an international firm in Qatar. Growing up,

Yasmine's parents were also quite connected to the Egyptian community in Qatar. During her

interview, Yasmine offered interesting observations about the Egyptian community and her

involvement in it. She identified how she does not attend all the community gatherings: "I go to

some of them, when my mum really nags [laughs]."[151] Hence, families play an important role in

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[150] Ibid.

[151] Yasmine, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, August 11, 2012.

ensuring that their children are interacting with other Egyptians even if initially this causes a conflict between the generations. However, as this quote indicates, second-generation immigrants and expatriates do not always welcome the "transnational practices" that they find their families taking part in but prefer to do their own things with their own friends.

Another common parental influence on their children is the culture that they produce at home. Almost all of the respondents in both communities identified that Egyptian food was a main, if not *the* main, cuisine they eat at home. Having Egyptian movies, shows or news running on the television in the background was a common activity at home. When asked to describe her life as an Egyptian living in Qatar, Layla cited the home environment as the main "reminder":

> Well, I live at home, which is the biggest strengthening force of maintaining my 'Egyptianness.' At home, every discussion is always about Egypt, or about keeping in touch with our family in Egypt because you're always with your family here. And even though I don't watch TV, I would go downstairs and see my family watching Egyptian *musalsalāt*[152] or watching the news about Egypt. So there is this constant reminder. We have a flag on our door of Egypt, with the revolution and everything.[153] And we're always eating Egyptian food, and keeping in touch with our friends here who are all Egyptian as well. So you stay very connected to your Egyptian roots I think when you live with your family.[154]

Layla spent most of her childhood in Qatar, but also spent a few years in Canada growing up where she attained her Canadian citizenship. While in Qatar, she was enrolled in an international school that followed the British curriculum. For her undergraduate studies, she also enrolled in one of Education City's American universities.

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[152] *Musalsalāt* means soap operas.

[153] In the next chapter, I discuss Layla's reflections on her life as an Egyptian after the revolution. Layla was one of many respondents who claimed that the revolution increased her pride in Egypt. Not only does her family now have an Egyptian flag on their door, but she also has an Egyptian flag in her car.

[154] Layla, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, June 4, 2012.

Sally similarly reflects on the importance of family in ensuring that members of the second-generation maintain their sense of 'Egyptianness.' Sally is a twenty-six year old Egyptian-Canadian Muslim whose childhood was split between Qatar and Canada. Her parents moved to Doha because her dad found a good job opportunity. Sally was born in Qatar shortly after her parents settled in Doha. While in Canada, her family was keen on ensuring that she and her siblings maintained Arabic as a language. As a result, Sally's parents took her to a school on Saturday where she learnt Arabic and where she celebrated many religious and cultural events. She moved to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) after completing high school to pursue her undergraduate studies and returned to Doha after graduating to pursue a career. In Qatar, she went to international schools that followed the British curriculum and she attended an American University in the UAE. In Qatar, Sally's parents were and continue to be involved in the Egyptian community where they also celebrate religious and cultural events. During her interview, Sally claims that to maintain connections with Egypt, one should be connected to the Egyptian community, but that family has the strongest impact:

> Because if it weren't for my family here, and let's say I was living on my own in a really random country, I would have no sense of 'Egyptianness.' I wouldn't even know what was happening [with] the revolution, because my dad is very political, so I can always go to him and ask him something, and he will always know all the facts. Our dinner table is our conversation time, so when we sit, they each tell us what's happening in their day, and then they talk about Egypt and what is happening in the country. Even if I am not in the mood, it still enters, because I'm still listening, so I get to know a lot about it.[155]

Sally's last sentence depicts how parents can have an impact even if the second-generation is not interested or is not seeking this impact. This is similar to the above accounts of parents taking respondents to large Egyptian community gatherings against their liking.

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[155] Sally, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, June 3, 2012.

Similarly, one of the respondents in the U.S. describes the importance not just of one's immediate family members, but also of having other family members in the U.S. Ahmed is a forty-four year old with dual citizenship who works in the public affairs sector in Washington, D.C. Ahmed is an interesting case study because the way he connects and feels about his sense of 'Egyptianness' changed drastically when the January 25, revolution erupted. Ahmed grew up in Chicago, and like the other respondents in the U.S., his family was very active in the Egyptian community. Ahmed's parents also wanted him to be exposed to and acquire Arabic, so they took him to a Muslim Sunday school where he learnt Arabic and religion. Ahmed is married to a non-Egyptian Arab and has two children. He explains that "if you are surrounded by aunts and uncles and cousins, you're talking about Egypt and speaking Arabic, and they're cooking Egyptian food, and they're watching Arabic movies- you're reinforcing cultural elements, and I had a fair amount of that."[156] These are all examples of how second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and in Qatar experience "transnational practices" without necessary traveling to and from Egypt. More importantly, these are all examples that show how respondents in both communities were raised in highly "transnationalized" lives.

One common aspect between second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and second-generation Egyptians in Qatar is that the friendships that they created with the families growing up, particularly the children of those families, remain until today. Moreover, in the U.S. where many of the respondents were married with children, some of the respondents, such as Dalia and Malak,[157] stated that they involved their kids in the Egyptian community through Sunday schools

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[156] Ahmed, interview.

[157] Malak, interview by author, voice recording, Washington, July 5, 2012.

so that they too could learn about their heritage, language, and religion. Malak is a forty-year old Egyptian-American Muslim (with dual citizenship)[158] who was born and raised in Maryland. Similarly to many Egyptian-Americans, her parents moved to the U.S. to obtain their PhD degrees but they still currently live in the U.S. Malak is an attorney and works in a renowned international organization in Washington, D.C. and her regional focus is the Middle East. It is interesting to note that both Dalia and Malak, both of whom are married to Egyptian-Americans, chose Arabic names for their own children,[159] another potential signifier that shows how they choose to indirectly maintain transnational connections with Egypt.

One major difference that arose between respondents in Qatar and respondents in the U.S. is the emphasis on specific cultural practices and conservative values that respondents in the U.S. felt reminded them of their heritage. Mary, a twenty-year-old Coptic Christian Egyptian living in Maryland described how her mother remembers Arab Mother's Day on March 21st.[160] Cynthia, another twenty-eight year-old Coptic Christian, who is associated with the Ana Masry Foundation, described how had it not been for the current location of her job, she would be living with her parents, something that she feels distinguishes her from other Americans around her.[161] Additionally, Cynthia identified how having to explain to people around her what Coptic Christianity is, and the fact that they celebrated Easter and Christmas on different days were other examples of how she felt different from her classmates and friends growing up.

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[158] Though she had to give up her Egyptian citizenship- I explain this incident later.

[159] Dalia, interview, and Malak, interview.

[160] Mary, interview by author, voice recording, College Park, June 20, 2012.

[161] Cynthia, interview by author, Skype voice recording, July 24, 2012.

Rana, one of the respondents in the U.S., discussed some of her family's conservative practices that distinguished her from people around her. Rana is a twenty-one year old Coptic Christian Egyptian who was born in Cairo. When she was three, her parents moved to the U.S. because her dad wanted to pursue better economic opportunities. Rana's mother partially grew up in the U.S. but had traveled to and from Egypt quite often. Rana grew up in Maryland and is currently completing her undergraduate degree. Similarly to Gerges in Qatar, the main Egyptian community that she often interacts with is the Coptic Church community. Rana notes how her parents only allow her to sleepover at friends who are Egyptian.[162] She also notes how her parents did not allow her to date when she was in school, and that her Egyptian heritage, which she is very proud of, is the justification for why she feels different from her American friends. Both Mary and Cynthia reiterated their families' reservations on the question of dating.[163] Moreover, Mary added that one of her parents had to accompany and remain with her whenever she was at a friend's house. Furthermore, her parents never brought in a stranger to baby-sit her and her brother, but relied on her grandparents.[164] It was examples like this that respondents in the U.S. identified as making them feel different from other Americans around them, and more aware of their cultural heritage. Conservative morals and values are therefore examples of "cultural elements" that contributed to the "transnationalized" lives of second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. Egyptians in Qatar did not discuss such conservative practices, which again, relates to their living in a country that is already quite conservative.

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[162] Rana, interview by author, voice recording, College Park, June 25, 2012.

[163] Mary, interview, and Cynthia, interview.

[164] Mary, interview.

Another interesting discussion that arose in the reactions of both respondents in the U.S. and those in Qatar was about the extent to which parents "forced" a sense of 'Egyptianness' on second-generation Egyptians. Dalia describes how her family's approach to introducing Egyptian aspects to her and her siblings' lives in the U.S. made her even more willing to engage with her Egyptian heritage. She compares herself with other friends she knew whose parents forced particular things on them, which made them feel that "being Egyptian is a constricting force not a fun liberating force."[165] She notes how this approach caused these second-generation Egyptians to backfire against their parents and against these Egyptian life aspects they were forced to adopt: "their parents were so strict on them that they hated everything Egyptian, everything Muslim, and they just went the other way completely."[166] Instead, Dalia feels that her parents "offered" her a sense of 'Egyptianness'; "For me, I felt that I can take the best of it and leave the worst, because we were offered it."[167] Moreover, she describes how unlike many of their family friends, Dalia's mother ensured that she allowed her to do everything her brother was allowed to do, instead of being more constricted with her over her brother: "in that sense, I don't feel the same sense of *katma*[168] that a lot of my girlfriends felt growing up."[169]

Dalia explains that her family adopted a more complex approach to identity negotiation that ensured that she and her brother maintained particular values while at the same time also enjoyed common aspects of American life. For example, she noted how her parents allowed

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[165] Dalia, interview.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

[168] *Katma* means suppression.

[169] Dalia, interview.

them to go out with their American friends freely and partake in common teenager events, such as dance parties. But at the same time, Dalia noted how her parents' upbringing gave them confidence that she would not drink alcohol at prom parties, and that she would maintain her religious duties such as praying and fasting.[170] These examples demonstrate that people like Dalia adopt the "integration" process of acculturation put forward by Berry that was discussed in Chapter Two, in which immigrants seek to take part in the community they live in while retaining their own cultural morals and values.[171]

In Qatar, there were also feelings of a forced sense of 'Egyptianness,' but the aspects that were being forced on them were not so much things that they could not do, but rather, aspects that they were forced to do. In the following quote, Layla compares her sense of 'Egyptianness' when she is by herself with her sense of 'Egyptianness' when she is with her family. She particularly refers to the revolution, because when the revolution erupted she was not in Qatar:

> Being on my own I felt like I had to represent my nationality, religion, family, culture by myself. When I am with my family, I rely on them to represent us altogether so I don't go out of my way to show my Egyptian side because I know they will show our 'Egyptianness'. […] When I am with my family, it is part of us, it's everywhere in everything we do, when I speak with them, discussions at dinner, the food we eat, holidays we celebrate-it's all around me, I didn't select which parts I enjoy-its all encompassing 'Egyptianness.' When I am alone, I select which parts I enjoy about being Egyptian and adapt it so I show off what makes me proud to be an Egyptian and present that as Egyptian-I selected that 'Egyptianness,' I like to show the more open-minded, educated, capable of having a discussion with someone who doesn't share the same opinion, nationalistic side and present that as Egyptian, that's when I feel its not forced.[172]

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[170] Ibid.

[171] Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," 9.

[172] Layla, interview.

The next section elaborates on the idea of a forced sense of 'Egyptianness,' but the main point to take from this discussion, is that second-generation Egyptians do not always welcome the things that their parents ask them to do, and that sometimes, they have alternative ways of negotiating their sense of 'Egyptianness.'

Aya is a twenty-year-old Egyptian Muslim who spent her entire life in Qatar. Similarly to other respondents, Aya was born in Qatar after her parents settled in Doha for work purposes. She went to an international school that followed the British curriculum and is currently enrolled in one of the American branch campuses in Education City. Aya's parents are quite involved in the Egyptian community in Doha.[173] Throughout this chapter, I reference Aya's experience with a particular informal Egyptian social group that her parents meet with quite often called the Egyptian Association[174] group.

During her interview, Aya discussed how in fact, besides some of the religious moral values she retains, her parents did not have that much of an impact on the way she describes herself. She lists other factors (mainly education and school friends) that have had the bigger impact, but also points out particular aspects about her parents that she does not agree with. For example, a key difference between her and her parents is preference to building close relationships with individuals who are not Egyptian Muslims. Aya stated that has no problems whatsoever being friends with Egyptians of other religions nor does she have a problem befriending non-Egyptians all together. Aya's parents however, do not share similar opinions, and refer to this as "taking risks": "But my parents are in the kind of safe zone, 'let's just hang

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[173] Aya, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, May 30, 2012.

[174] Due to the sensitive nature of some of the reflections expressed towards this particular group, and to protect the privacy of the respondents, I have decided to label this group with a pseudonym.

out with people we know.' They haven't really experienced globalization like we have, this new generation."[175] Aya explains that it is because of her upbringing in a very cosmopolitan city like Doha, (unlike her parents who grew up mostly around "middle-class Egyptian Muslims"[176] in Egypt) that she is much more open to forming close relations with non-Muslims and non-Egyptians. In this particular example, Aya demonstrates how her identity-negotiation processes and the types of "transnational practices" she chooses to adopt or abandon are largely influenced by the context she was raised in; she chooses to abandon her parent's insistence on befriending Egyptian Muslims because she is used to being around individuals of other religions and other nationalities. This also exposes the difference that citizenship brings about between respondents in the U.S. and respondents in Qatar; respondents in the U.S. negotiate "transnational practices" while acculturating into their mainstream American lives that they are very much part of because of their immigrant status, whereas respondents in Qatar negotiate "transnational practices" while acculturating into the cosmopolitan life in Qatar they are used to engaging with, not a 'Qatari' life per se. Hence, as shown above, parents can be influential for both respondents in the U.S. and in Qatar. However, this influence is sometimes not welcomed by second-generation Egyptians who feel that there are other ways to negotiate and adopt their sense of 'Egyptianness.' These examples show how second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and in Qatar negotiated which aspects of the "cultural elements" that are introduced into their "transnationalized" lives they wished to adopt, and which ones they wished to abandon.

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[175] Aya, interview.

[176] Ibid.

Social Networking and Community Engagement

In this section, I first discuss the engagement of second-generation Egyptians with Egyptian networks, and then I discuss how the second-generation interacts with other non-Egyptian members in their communities. This is important because it sheds light on how upbringing plays a role in whom they choose to interact with and why. I already briefly discussed the second-generation's reaction towards these social network groups, but before I move on to discuss them in greater detail, I want to take some time to review the kinds of 'groups' that were often referred to.

    a) Egyptian Community Engagement

As discussed above, most interactions of Egyptian-Americans have been through Sunday schools (Coptic Christian and Muslim). Other groups that were referred to were social groups, such as EACA, the Egyptian American Cultural Association,[177] or Egyptian-American clubs (both of which I mentioned before). In Qatar, there is also the Coptic Church that Coptic Christians interact with very frequently (more than once a week). In addition to weekly meetings for Mass and Bible Study, Gerges and other Coptic Christian respondents described how religious celebrations, such as Christmas, New Years Eve, and Easter, were always celebrated at the Church with the rest of the Coptic Church community.

Another informal social group that was mentioned often is the Egyptian Association group. The Egyptian Association group was initiated by an Egyptian woman living in Doha who stated that she wanted to increase interactions between Egyptians living in Qatar. The group is composed mostly of Muslims and focuses on social gatherings. Egyptian Coptic Christian

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[177] "EACA- The Egyptian-American Cultural Association," accessed April 15, 2013, https://www.facebook.com/pages/EACA-The-Egyptian-American-Cultural-Association/225737630778975.

respondents in Doha were not aware of this group's existence. When I spoke to the founder of the group, she noted that the group is, at least for the moment, designed to bring only Egyptian Muslims together. She explained that the Coptic Christian community already has its own group, which is why she has been keeping the group open for Egyptian Muslims only so far.[178] Though respondents did not identify the group as being a Muslim social group, the events they celebrated were often Muslim religious celebrations, such as Eid and Ramadan. When I spoke to the organization's founder, she mentioned that the group aimed to be a platform where fellow Egyptians in Doha could help one another.

What is interesting about these Egyptian community groups is that they are not just divided in terms of religion, but there are also intra-religious and class divisions. Malak, one of the respondents in the U.S., had interesting insights on this question. Growing up, Malak's parents were among the founders of EACA (mentioned above). During her interview, Malak describes how growing up, the Egyptian community around her in Maryland was divided into two main groups. The first group was composed of Egyptians whom she referred to as the "engineers' group" because it was mostly engineers who composed this group.[179] The other group, whom she refers to as the "World Bank" group, was composed mostly of Egyptians working in international organizations and at the Embassy. The two main differences between these groups that she identifies is that first, the "engineers' group" was much more conservative and religious; for example, they did not consume alcohol. The 'World Bank' group however, consumed alcohol much more regularly at their events. The second difference is that the

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[178] Dina, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, August 8, 2013.

[179] Malak, interview.

"engineers' group" is mostly composed of "self-made Egyptians" or the "nouveau-riche,"

whereas the "World Bank" is composed of Egyptians who already came from high elite wealthy

families.[180]

There were also divisions amongst the Egyptian community in Qatar. Besides the

obvious Coptic-Muslim division, there were also intra-community divisions. Layla discusses

how Egyptians in Doha are mostly from the middle-class; a class, which she describes no longer

exists in Egypt.[181] Both Aya and Sally also describe Egyptians in Doha as belonging to the

middle-class.[182] Aya describes how because the Egyptian community is divided between

Egyptians who grew up in Doha and Egyptians who moved to Doha for work, that it becomes

hard to interact with all Egyptians in Doha. She specifically discusses how often times the

Egyptian community can be divided between conservative Egyptians and liberal Egyptians.[183]

Aya implies that Egyptians who grew up in Egypt and came to Doha for work recently tend to be

more conservative, making it hard for her to interact with them. This description introduces us to

a key distinction between respondents in the U.S. and respondents in Qatar that I discussed in the

introduction of this chapter. In the Introduction, I noted how citizenship status that differentiates

between respondents in the U.S. and those in Qatar influences how respondents in Qatar interact

with Egyptians around them who were born and/or raised in Egypt. Aya notes that the Egyptian

community that she interacts with is a mix of both Egyptians who were born and/or raised in

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[180] Since I do not live in Maryland, it is difficult to verify Malak's observation. None of the other respondents who grew up in Maryland described the community in this explicit manner. Nonetheless, it is important to include Malak's own experiences as someone who grew up amongst the Egyptian community in Maryland.

[181] Layla, interview.

[182] Aya, interview, and Sally, interview.

[183] Aya, interview.

Qatar, and Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Egypt. I elaborate further on this distinction shortly, but the point to take from the discussion on the makeup of the communities in each country, is that in Qatar, there seems to be more interaction between second-generation Egyptian expatriates and Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Egypt than there is in the U.S.

One difference that results from the makeup of these communities is the difference in the types of events hosted in each country. For example, several respondents mentioned that events in Qatar revolved mainly around religious celebrations or regular social outings, such as baby showers, dhow cruise trips, tea parties, etc. In the U.S., Egyptians met up for the same reasons, but there was a stronger emphasis on Egyptian cultural events. For example, Egyptian bazaars were a common social gathering, and I had the pleasure of attending one of them. The bazaar that I attended was organized and held at St. Mark Coptic Church in Fairfax, Virginia. The first thing that caught my attention is that upon walking into the yard, I immediately felt that I was in Egypt. Surely there were other non-Egyptian members of the community at the bazaar, but there were also Egyptians everywhere, selling Egyptian products, serving Egyptian food, and a small band playing folklore Egyptian songs. The only religious elements about the bazaar were its location and the incorporation of a tour of the Coptic Church.

Ahmed discussed how the Egyptian-American club that his father was heavily involved in would often organize Egyptian movie screenings among other things, which "was an attempt to recreate an Egyptian life on some levels in the suburbs of Chicago."[184] Even though my time in Doha witnessed similar events, they do not occur as frequently as they do in the U.S., and their

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[184] Ahmed, interview.

80

main purpose is not necessarily to "recreate Egyptian life" in Doha, but rather, to expose and introduce the Egyptian culture to other communities in Doha. Hence, in Doha, the cultural aspects of Egypt are not as emphasized as they are in the U.S., probably because access to Egyptian media is much more readily available in Qatar than it is in the U.S. As implied by Ahmed's response, the events in the U.S. focus not just on showcasing Egyptian culture to other communities in the U.S., but perhaps more importantly, focus on ensuring that younger American-born Egyptians were exposed to Egyptian "cultural elements." The inclusion of "cultural elements" in U.S. social life is unlike the case in Qatar, where it appears as though these "cultural elements" were almost taken for granted by Egyptians in Qatar; many of them were born and/or raised in Qatar and are exposed to various Egyptian "cultural elements" via Egyptian media. This differentiation speaks to the difference in the makeup of each community. Additionally, such events are further examples of how "cultural elements," discussed by Levitt and Waters earlier,[185] are introduced to the "transnationalized" lives of Egyptians in Qatar and the U.S. without them having to travel to Egypt to experience them.

It is important to note that the Egyptian communities are not the only communities second-generation Egyptians interact with. Agha describes how the Egyptian-American interviewees in her research "spoke of the dualities in their childhood: their Egyptian life in the private space, and their American life in public."[186] U.S.-based respondents that I discussed above have similarly demonstrated how they participated in those different "spaces." In the U.S., second generation Egyptians discussed how growing up, they tried to balance out their family

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[185] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction," 10.

[186] Agha, "From Homeland to Adopted Home," 72.

Egyptian community engagements, with the interactions they had with their school or work friends. As I discussed briefly in the previous section, Dalia was one of the respondents who talked extensively about how the Egyptian community she grew up in was very keen on ensuring that growing up, second-generation Egyptians could relate to both their Egyptian heritage and their American lives. She emphasized that the community did not force her to "choose [her] identity one-way or the other."[187] She referred to the community as offering her the freedom of choosing which parts of Egypt and America she wanted to adopt: "I think that freedom, they were inadvertently teaching, or advertently maybe on purpose, that you can be who you are within the context of being American and respecting your values and yourself and your religion and your family's culture and ethnicity, all of that, while still enjoying the things that are quintessentially American."[188]

Dalia elaborates on how this approach impacted how she interacted with Egyptians when she grew up and went to college:

> For me, I had American friends and friends from different backgrounds but I always had enough of an affinity especially when I went to college and I was left on my own; I find myself seeking out other Arabs and Egyptians to interact with also in addition to my other friends. […] I think it's really when you're on your own that you start to decide what you're going to keep and what you're going to leave […][189]

Hence, because of the open and mixed environment that Dalia grew up in, she found herself wanting to be around Egyptians and Arabs without her parent's influence while maintaining connections to her other non-Egyptian or Arab friends. She explains that because her

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[187] Dalia, interview.

[188] Ibid.

[189] Ibid.

parents did not force on her one identity over the other, and instead "trusted" that she would be who she wanted to be while retaining basic moral and Islamic values, ensured that she did "not hate the other side."[190] This is another example of how Dalia adopts the "integration"[191] process of acculturation, making sure that she interacts socially with other members of her Egyptian community while maintaining and also "seeking out" relations with other Americans.

Second-generation Egyptians in Qatar also juggle different communities, but the main communities they engage with other than the family Egyptian communities, are their own groups of Egyptian and non-Egyptian friends. Most of them have a group of Egyptian school and/or college friends that they interact with often. Yasmine describes her own Egyptian friends as being "a community within a community" that she interacts with often, not necessarily because they discuss Egypt all the time or because they're all Egyptian, but because they share "similar background[s] [of having been raised in Qatar] and […] think the same way."[192] This is an important reflection that deserves attention. Yasmine's reflections on socializing with Egyptians who similarly grew up in Qatar shows that sometimes, second-generation Egyptians in Qatar regard themselves as a distinct group: they cannot be regarded as simply Egyptians because they did not grow up in Egypt, and also, they are not Egyptian-Qataris because they do not hold the Qatari citizenship nor is it something that they have direct access to the way Egyptian respondents in the U.S. have access to the U.S. citizenship. Rather, they are something in between those two models which explains why their experiences will, a lot of the times, be different than the experiences of Egyptian-Americans; Egyptians in Qatar are not a legal group

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[190] Ibid.

[191] Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," 9.

[192] Yasmine, interview.

the way Egyptian-Americans are in the U.S. The point to take from Yasmine's reflection is that Egyptians who grew up in Qatar, similarly to other Arab communities, have this distinct connection by virtue of their distinct experience that differentiates them from Egyptians who grew up in Egypt and Egyptians in the U.S.

This differentiation is highlighted as a few respondents in Qatar expressed feelings of resentment towards the Egyptian community that they interacted with. As described earlier, Egyptians in the U.S. occasionally expressed that they did not like attending the larger community outings, but there were other important reasons for why this feeling was stronger in Qatar. The first reason is that respondents felt at many times that they were forced to attend these events. Both Aya and Yasmine expressed this sentiment.[193] The second reason is that second-generation Egyptians struggled to connect with other members in these Egyptian community outings, especially those hosted by the Egyptian Association. Yasmine for example, struggled to connect with the purpose of the group all together:

> I'm not actually entirely sure what the point of the group is; I just attend events because it's just the way to maybe network with Egyptians in the community. I just don't feel like it's helping me contribute to the country. I feel that it's just a way to get to know Egyptians here but I would be more interested in a group that actively brings something to Egypt.[194]

Similarly, Aya had reservations about the purpose of the group. As someone who befriends people who share similar experiences to hers, Aya described how she could not accept the idea that a group, such as the Egyptian Association, should be formed just because they are all Egyptian. In other words, Aya's main criticism of the group is that national identity is the

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[193] Aya, interview, and Yasmine, interview.

[194] Yasmine, interview.

84

basis of getting to know someone, and not the fact that this person could be interesting because of his or her experiences.[195] Respondents in the U.S. did not question the basis of Egyptian community groups.

However, the main way by which Egyptians in Qatar struggle to connect with them is what I mentioned before, the fact that members in this community tend to be young and older Egyptian adults who grew up in Egypt. Aya expressed this sentiment and discussed how she finds trouble understanding the jokes that were told, and perhaps more importantly, she could not understand the tough economic challenges that they experienced in Egypt before coming to Qatar. When I asked her to provide examples of why she could not connect with how Egyptians in Egypt live, this was her response:

> I feel like I was pampered during my life here in the Gulf, and I feel like people in Egypt in general, whether extremely wealthy or extremely poor, they work hard. […] I feel that to a certain degree I was pampered, and a lot of the times I don't understand when they're like "oh you're just here for the summer, you don't know what it's like living here with the *muwasalāt*[196] etc." and I've never had this kind of experience. On the contrary, two summers ago I remember I was so excited to get onto the bus in Egypt. I was like 'yay!' but people were sweating and they were so upset that they're in buses and just wanted to get to their destination and that sort of thing.[197]

This reaction is very different from how Egyptians in the U.S. related to Egyptian community outings; in general, they did not have any criticisms against the communities they engaged with besides the fact that they sometimes preferred to socialize with their other American school friends. In addition, none of the respondents in the U.S. noted that the communities they grew up around were composed of Egyptians who were born and/or raised in

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[195] Aya, interview.

[196] *Muwasalāt* means transportation.

[197] Aya, interview.

Egypt, or recent Egyptian immigrants who were yet to start their lives in America. They simply described those communities as being Egyptian-American communities. Hence, even if there were people (like their parents) who were born and/or raised in Egypt, they were more or less part of the same legal category of Egyptian-Americans.

Mary was the only respondent in the U.S. who had a different experience. Mary grew up in an area that was not very diverse and in area where her family was the only Egyptian family. She describes how three major events impacted her connection to Egypt: her first (and only) visit to Egypt when she was twelve (which I discuss later), finding a vibrant Coptic Christian community at her university, and the revolution. Mary's Coptic Christian community in college is actually composed mostly of Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Egypt and who were currently seeking U.S. citizenship. She provides examples of how sometimes they make fun of Americans in front of her and that when she jokingly says that she also is American, they respond by saying "no, you're Egyptian." She describes how being around Egyptians like her friends has exposed her to the Egyptian dialect and Egyptian jokes that she otherwise would not have been exposed to so frequently. As a result, she describes how this has significantly helped her increase her sense of 'Egyptianness,' and in fact describes how she "can't go back to not having them" because she realizes their influence on her: "to have people who identify so strongly as Egyptians makes me happy."[198] Unlike respondents in Qatar, Mary described her interactions with this community as encouraging her to maintain her sense of 'Egyptianness' and not at all something that pushes her away or upsets her. In fact, when she was talking about their

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[198] Mary, interview.

Egyptian dialect and their Egyptian Arabic jokes she noted that "they can't help it, this is what they know."[199]

The fact that Mary was born in the U.S., and lived her entire life in a country whose culture is generally-speaking very different from that in Egypt (in terms of language, religion, level of conservatism, etc.) makes it much more acceptable for her not to be able to understand the experiences of Egyptians who lived in Egypt. Whereas living in Qatar as a permanent expatriate, and living in a country that is much more connected to Egypt in terms of language, religion, level of conservatism, and in terms of Egyptian media access and geographic proximity, can sometimes make it harder for people like Aya to justify why they are incapable of relating to these experiences. Yehya, a thirty-three year old Egyptian-Canadian doctor currently living in Boston made an interesting observation that helps clarify the difference in how Egyptians in Qatar (or the Gulf in general) and how Egyptians in the U.S. are perceived: "This sense of 'Egyptianness' I think, especially for people who have been raised abroad is almost forced on you, especially if you live in the Gulf. People look at you and say 'he is Egyptian,' […] you are kind of forced to take on this identity because people put you in this identity."[200] Yehya spent his early childhood in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates which exposed him to some of the differences that arise between Egyptians in the Gulf and Egyptians elsewhere. He clarified that his statement is not meant to be a negative thing, but it still shows how he felt that Egyptians in the Gulf specifically are treated differently than those elsewhere as they are expected to "take on

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[199] Ibid.

[200] Yehya, interview by author, voice recording, Boston, July 16, 2012.

this identity."[201] This expectation, and Qatar-based respondents' inability to fulfill this expectation, causes them to develop a sense of insecurity. Agha found that Egyptian-Americans were most at ease when they were surrounded by other Egyptian/Arab-Americans: "informal and formal social networks provide Egyptian Americans with what a home does- security, comfort, belonging, understanding, and it is where they can be themselves."[202] Respondents in Qatar are not able to experience this relief, because of the existence of other Egyptians in those communities who have very different experiences.

The third reason behind the feelings of resentment that some Qatar-based respondents have towards the Egyptian community in Qatar, particularly the Egyptian Association group, is the fact that members in those groups confirm some of the negative stereotypes of Egyptians. Layla expressed how she enjoyed interacting with the Egyptian community in Canada more so than she did with the community in Qatar:

> […] The Egyptians there [in Canada] don't fulfill the stereotype of Egyptians, we are loud, obnoxious, messy at gatherings, maybe because the Egyptians here are among many other Arabs, they exclude themselves and reinforce the stereotype of Egyptians because that is understood of them. Also the community in Canada does not live by the social stigmas of the Middle East which is much more apparent in the community in Qatar. So Egyptians in Canada take the more positive side to getting together and forming a community versus in Qatar where there is a lot more gossip and the negative stigmas being brought up-community purpose doesn't feel as sincere in Qatar.[203]

None of the U.S.-based respondents expressed such sentiments towards the Egyptian communities in the U.S. The above sentiments are examples of how engaging with the Egyptian communities can have a negative impact on the second-generation's sense of 'Egyptianness.'

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[201] Ibid.

[202] Agha, "From Homeland to Adopted Home," 98.

[203] Layla, interview.

Because Egyptians in Qatar noted that they interact with Egyptians who grew up in Egypt quite often (this was not conveyed by respondents in the U.S.), confrontations between the two groups especially with regards to behaviors and systems of thought are more frequent.

b) Social Networking with Non-Egyptian groups

Respondents in the U.S. did not express difficulties interacting with the rest of American society and/or other immigrant communities. Similarly to the observations made earlier by Aya, Dalia expressed how there was a difference between how her generation and how her parents' generation made friends. Like Aya, she described how her parents cared mostly about finding other Arabs who come from the same cultural background. But for people like herself, "the culture is liquid to begin with,"[204] hence making her interactions with non-Egyptians and non-Arabs much different. Dalia had an interesting observation about her friendships growing up, which have mostly been with other second-generation immigrant communities: "In some way, their parents act the same way, in terms of protecting culture, and religion, or whatever, in the middle of being in the U.S. and I think the effect is very similar on them. And the richness of interacting with people from their culture as well […]"[205] In this way, Dalia is able to interact more with individuals who share a similar experience of growing up in a conservative culture that is quite different from that in the U.S., at least in the community where she grew up.

Respondents in Qatar had more complex interactions with other communities in Qatar. Respondents in Qatar interact often with other Arabs with some of them expressing that they felt they could connect more with them in terms of conservative morals and values. Yasmine, for

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[204] Dalia, interview.

[205] Ibid.

example, described how befriending Arabs was "a lot less confusing or a lot less

complicated."[206] She explained that there were more things to talk about with other Arabs in

terms of shared experiences than with other nationalities. However, almost all respondents in

Qatar noted how they have very little or no interaction whatsoever with the local Qatari

community. When asked about her connectedness to the Arab community, Yasmine

distinguished between the Gulf communities and the rest of the Arab communities. She

explained that "you feel that their lifestyles and culture and their values are quite different than

how it is in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, all these places."[207] The Qatari culture does not appear to

have had *any* impact whatsoever on the identity-negotiation process of respondents in Qatar.

Several respondents explained that this had more to do with the other prevailing culture they

experienced in school, which is the Western/international culture. This is an example of how

respondents in Qatar find themselves becoming affected by different cultures from different

expatriate groups. Even if second-generation Egyptians find it difficult to acculturate into the

Qatari culture, there are many other cultures in Doha that make up for that. Yasmine explains:

> I feel like in Qatar, if any culture has deviated us away from the Egyptian culture it is not
> the Qatari one it is probably the more Western one. […] I just don't feel like the Qatari
> culture has had that much of an influence even though we live here. If I had gone to a
> Qatari school, then maybe, but because of our schooling, and you know school is where
> you spend most of your time, and I've been surrounded by a more Western environment,
> so that's why I feel like it's had more of an impact than an Qatar.[208]

Layla expressed similar sentiments, describing her transition from Canada to Qatar:

"Growing up there [in Canada], I got a lot into the pop culture of the West in general. But I feel

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[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid.

[208] Ibid.

like people who live in Qatar, they do [too], and you can still relate to them, and it's shocking

because we relate more to the West in a sense, with regards to pop culture and our education."[209]

In this way, the two main related reasons that explain the lack of interaction between the

respondents and members of the Qatari community is that respondents feel they have a different

lifestyle, and that they are more influenced by the Western culture from school. This shows how

respondents in Qatar "engage in transnational practices" while acculturating into the majority

cosmopolitan culture in Qatar and not the local Qatari culture.

I discuss the impact of Western education on respondents in Qatar and how this serves as

an example of how expatriates can also be acculturated in the last section. But before we move

on, I want to shed light on another important observation made by Yasmine that describes the

politics of nationalities in Qatar. Yasmine describes that when she started working, she naturally

found herself getting closer with the Arabs and Egyptians because she slowly started noticing

that this is what everyone does in the workplace. Yasmine explains how office politics can

sometimes work in Qatar:

> […] Here [in Qatar] you feel like there's a duty to connect. So that's one of the things
> that I noticed. Sometimes you feel that yes, certain nationalities help each other more. For
> example, the Indians here are more inclined to help Indians, or the Arabs are more
> inclined to help Arabs. […] It's not right, you feel that it's not fair, but you see that
> everyone around you does that, so you just find yourself forced into it. Obviously there's
> a lot of office politics but you just have to do what you're comfortable with. This is just
> the way it goes, this is the norm, and especially when you speak the same language
> […][210]

Hence, sometimes the choice of interacting with Arabs is not just because of a similar

culture but also for strategic reasons, that expose the nature of citizenship politics in Qatar and

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[209] Layla, interview.

[210] Yasmine, interview.

the Gulf countries in general. This observation alludes to Yehya's earlier observation, when he discussed how people in the Gulf are driven to "take on [their] identities" because this is how people around them perceive them. Such observations are very important because they help us understand why it is that respondents in Qatar feel insecure and sometimes even defensive when they cannot understand the experiences that Egyptians in Egypt have. As I discussed earlier, such insecurities are the result of this expectation that is attached to peoples' citizenships.

Reflections on Travels to Egypt

The most direct way of experiencing 'Egypt' and experiencing "transnational migration" has been through travels during vacations. Almost all respondents in Qatar visit Egypt on at least an annual basis if not several times a year. For respondents in the U.S., travel frequencies varied depending on the type of work they did, how much vacation time they had off of work, etc. Growing up, respondents in the U.S. traveled to Egypt every other year, or every few years. A couple of respondents managed to travel to Egypt once or twice only throughout the course of their lives. Most of them travel to Egypt more frequently now because of the nature of their jobs and because they have the freedom to travel without having to go with their parents. I divided this short section into two parts. I first talk about the common observations and experiences felt by both respondents in the U.S. and in Qatar. I then talk about the major differences that arose between them.

Both respondents in the U.S. and Qatar shared similar negative observations about their travels in Egypt. The most common observations were language difficulties (including the inability to understand contemporary Egyptian slang and jokes), lack of privacy, lack of cleanliness, lack of independence, difficulties relating to religious/social conservative practices,

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and the chaotic environment of Egypt's large cities. Moreover, members in both groups

described the level of economic struggle and hardships that they noticed during their travels in

Egypt. Both Aya and Mark described how their lives in Qatar have been closed off and protected

from the harsh realities in Egypt. Mark, a twenty-eight year old Coptic Christian who completed

his undergraduate studies at an Egyptian university in Egypt described how Egyptians who are

raised in Qatar do not experience and are not exposed to the kinds of tough experiences that an

average Egyptian is exposed to.[211]

There were also many accounts of respondents describing how they felt like foreigners

while traveling in Egypt. Ahmed described how his experiences in Egypt shaped his sense of

'Egyptianness':

> I feel much more American when I go there, because I'm in the middle of actual
> Egyptians. As opposed to here, when you can romanticize about being Egyptian, even if
> you're with other Egyptians or Egyptian-Americans here, the only way I can say it, is that
> I feel less Egyptian when I am in Egypt.[212]

Layla expressed very similar sentiments about how she feels about Egyptians in Egypt:

> My mentality and the way I think is different than Egyptians living in Egypt, I relate
> more to the "gulf babies," who have a mixed background and [who] grew up in the Gulf.
> I had a more similar upbringing to them. In Egypt, I don't know where things are, how
> certain things function in the society, there is a common Middle Eastern culture of course
> but "pure Egyptians" have a different indescribable quality than Egyptians living abroad,
> and I feel that I lack that trait, that's why I feel like an outsider.[213]

Respondents described how traveling to Egypt exposed them to a specific life that was

very unique to local Egyptians, a life that they found trouble understanding because it was

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[211] Mark, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, June 8, 2012.

[212] Ahmed, interview.

[213] Layla, interview.

different than the life they were used to. Maged noted that he found it "hard to be angry"[214]

during the revolution because of the fact that he could not connect with what Egyptians in Egypt

were going through. Maged's and Layla's sentiments go back to the distinction I made in the

earlier section between the sentiments expressed by Egyptians who were born and/or raised in

Qatar and those in the U.S. towards Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Egypt. Layla's

description goes back to the idea that respondents in Qatar see themselves as a unique group,

whose life is largely influenced by their upbringing in the Gulf.

Mary's first and only visit to Egypt occurred in 2005. She described how she experienced

"cultural shock" during her visit. She was shocked to see that her mother could not wear shorts

despite the hot weather because it was not "appropriate" for her to do so.[215] She was shocked to

see first-hand the severe levels of poverty in Egypt. Furthermore, she noted how her visit to

Egypt exposed her for the first time to Egyptian Muslims. Mary described how immediately after

her trip, she felt so excited to be back in the U.S. and that she felt "thankful [for] being

American."[216] What is interesting about Mary is that she felt that the "cultural shock" she

experienced in Egypt decreased her patriotism somewhat, but at the same time increased her

curiosity to learn more about Egypt besides what she already knew about Ancient Egypt.

Moreover, she described how the trip increased her understanding of Egypt in general: "[the trip

made me] become more thankful [for] being American, but I got a better perspective about being

Egyptian; it no longer became the place where my family was from, it became a place where

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[214] Maged, interview.

[215] Mary, interview.

[216] Ibid.

people had their own way of life apart from America."[217] Mary noted how she specifically

wanted to learn more about the "Muslim identity" which she claims was "new" to her.[218]

Nonetheless, despite such negative experiences, respondents in both countries identified as

Egyptians, or as having Egyptian heritage.

Both groups of respondents noted positive experiences in Egypt. However, while

respondents in Qatar discussed them briefly, Egyptians in the U.S. described very particular

experiences that they claim had a significant impact on how they see the country. The two main

aspects about life in Egypt that respondents found particularly intriguing are the warmth and

hospitality of Egyptians, and the instant connection with strangers. Dalia described her

experiences traveling to Egypt growing up:

> […] Everybody was close, everybody visited each other, and there was laughter, and
> telling stories to children. I always felt that value […] I remember we used to arrive late
> at night. Everybody would be in the airport waiting for us, and there was something so
> warm about the country and the culture. But I definitely felt a difference especially in
> language, and people, you know making fun of my broken Arabic and all that kind of
> stuff. But there was a love that transcended that. And I remember going to my
> grandmother's place, and the neighbors…everyone would ask about everyone, and
> everyone would visit everyone. I just love that so much. So for me that's what I got very
> attached to. And the culture was different, like staying up late, playing cards late, and
> telling jokes, […] I also feel that my parents especially my mum, just felt like she was
> totally in her comfort zone there so she was happy and relaxed, so everything went, all
> the rules were broken, you can stay up as late as you want, you can go wherever you
> want. In her mind it was safer and easier, you know? So that facilitated it being more
> fun.[219]

I noticed that respondents in the U.S. were much more intrigued by particular positive

interactions in Egypt than respondents in Qatar; respondents in the U.S. had much more

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[217] Ibid.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Dalia, interview.

descriptive reflections on very small "cultural elements" about Egyptian life that most respondents in Qatar may mention briefly but not in any way with the same level of romanticism. I imagine that this is because Egyptians in Qatar probably travel to Egypt much more often, and also have similar interactions in Qatar with other Arabs.

Forty-nine year old Nermien Riad, the Founder and Executive Director of Coptic Orphans, retold the story of how she spent years saving all her earnings to be able to buy a ticket to Egypt at the age of fifteen. Nermien was born in Egypt, and lived there until her parents moved to the U.S. when she was seven. She explained to me that for a long time, she "didn't know" she was American but that she had always wished to return to Egypt:

> Ever since I was little, and even my parents don't understand it, there was this longing for Egypt, I dreamed of going back to Egypt. So at seven years old, I started saving pennies to be able to save enough money to go to Egypt. It took until I was fifteen and I had gotten a part-time job, […] to buy a plane ticket, and I went by myself at fifteen.[220]

What is interesting about Nermien is that her parents initially did not want her to go to Egypt, but that her father finally told her mother, "let her go to Egypt, and then she will know what's there and she'll never *zin* [ask repeatedly] again:"[221]

> So I went to Egypt for two months, [and] fell in love with it even more. And came back at that point fluent in Arabic, I had lost my Arabic, came back fluent, loving Fareed El-Atrash, and feeling that that was my home, and planning when the next time I'll be able to go again […][222]

When I asked her to reflect on why she was so adamant about going to Egypt alone at such a young age, she explained that it was related to her willingness to connect with what was

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[220] Nermien Riad, interview by author, voice recording, Fairfax, July 20, 2012. Because Nermien is a public figure who heads her own organization, after receiving her permission, I decided to use her real name.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Ibid.

"familiar" to her: "Going at fifteen, and *remembering* your childhood is very valuable to you. I remembered the taxis, how they looked like. So remembering the familiar, or becoming familiar with your memories."[223] Nermien additionally explained to me that back in the day, there were not that many Egyptians in the Washington, D.C. area where she lived, and that she met the first Egyptian other than her family when she was in 12th grade:

> They [Egyptians] were so rare, and so precious. There were no Egyptians. There was no Coptic Church even. Where would you find an Egyptian? You would never hear Arabic spoken in public, never. And, I remember this day very clearly. When the VHS came out, of course, no one could afford something like that. It was the diplomats who had it. And so my Iraqi friend, this is many years later, my Iraqi friend invited me and said "I have an Egyptian *masrahīya.*"[224] And I was like, "what's a *masrahīya?*" And she goes, "oh, when they act on stage, and it's Adel Imam." And I said, "who's Adel Imam?" [her friend responds] "he's a very famous [actor], come and see it." So she put it in and started playing it, and I was like, "the television is speaking Arabic!" I can't believe that! Oh my God! And I was glued and I couldn't believe it. It was the first time I ever heard the television speaking Arabic. So that's how rare it was, this was in the late seventies early eighties. When you have that, you value Egypt so much more because it is so far away.[225]

This beautiful description of Nermien's story explains why U.S.-based respondents directed attention towards very small details about their visits to Egypt. As the above reflections expose, Egypt meant much more to them because they were not as exposed to these particular experiences in the U.S. as respondents in Qatar were. Almost none of the respondents in Qatar gave descriptions about their travels to Egypt in the way that most respondents in the U.S. did. This is naturally because Egyptian media outlets are widely available at relatively cheap prices in Qatar than they are in the U.S. Moreover, Arabic is a common language in Qatar, and the

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[223] Ibid.

[224] A *masrahīya* is a play.

[225] Nermien Riad, interview.

proximity between Qatar and Egypt allows respondents in Qatar to travel to Egypt much more frequently.

Respondents in both countries identified the importance of traveling to Egypt to one's sense of 'Egyptianness.' Even though respondents in both countries felt that Egyptians in Egypt treated them as tourists, they nonetheless felt that traveling to Egypt helps second-generation Egyptians connect with the people, their families, the culture, the history, etc. Both Ahmed and Yasmine described how getting involved in an organization in Egypt, (even if it only requires some online interaction) would help maintain these connections and would increase one's sense of 'Egyptianness.'[226] Yasmine described how this would make one feel that they own something there, or that they have a constant connection with the country that is more than just seeing family every now and then.

Schooling and College

In this section, I show how second-generation Egyptians experience 'Egypt' during their school and/or college years. I show how many of them identified particular experiences within this period that have had the most significant impact on their sense of 'Egyptianness,' particularly since they chose to experience 'Egypt' on their own. Such experiences come about, at least indirectly, from the fact that they were raised in highly "transnationalized" environments that served as pretexts to their later choices in life. Additionally, this section highlights the differences in the acculturation processes that each group adopts, and the influence of this on their identity negotiation processes.

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[226] Ahmed, interview, and Yasmine, interview.

Several Egyptians in the U.S. discussed how they became more grateful for their Egyptian heritage in this particular period. As described earlier, Dalia became more grateful when she went to college, because she was on her own away from the impact of her parents and her community friends. As a result, she found herself voluntarily joining Arab organizations to meet other Arabs on campus. She realized how much she "appreciated"[227] the life that her parents had created for her when she was no longer living that life. Dalia also studied Middle East studies extensively in college, mainly to learn more about her heritage. She notes that even though her current work is very much focused on the Middle East, her college studies had more to do with wanting to know more about where she came from. Other respondents identified how they started taking formal Arabic training in college. Wael, the Egyptian-American I described earlier who tried to avoid some of the Egyptian aspects of his life growing up described how during college he also joined Middle-Eastern clubs. Just like many other people during this age, Wael described how he went through a phase of self-discovery particularly during his college years.[228] Maged, the respondent in Qatar who also wished to become like his British friends more when he was younger, similarly stated that when he moved to Canada to pursue his undergraduate studies, he found that he was alone, and not surrounded by many Egyptians, which made him feel "distinct" from everyone else around him.[229] Maged described how he felt more Egyptian just by virtue of the fact that he was *not* surrounded by other Egyptians or Arabs. He also stated that when he went to Canada, he felt that certain behaviors that his parents taught

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[227] Dalia, interview.

[228] Wael, interview.

[229] Maged, interview.

99

him made him feel more Egyptian when he did them in Canada. For example, he noted how his friends in Canada found it unusual that he insisted to walk his female friends at night. He described that such things, which are normal in Qatar, became much more apparent to him when he practiced them in Canada.[230] This is an interesting observation, because it shows how people can feel more connected to their sense of 'Egyptianness' both, when they are in a very Egyptian environment, *and* when they are in a very foreign environment. Such examples demonstrate the various ways second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and Qatar experience "transnational practices" without having to travel to Egypt.

However, extended time spent in Egypt, volunteering, working, or studying abroad, also had a significant impact on respondents' sense of 'Egyptianness.' Malak for example, describes how the most she's ever felt Egyptian was during her study abroad experience: "I would say the peak was probably in my college years. You may find that a lot of Egyptian-Americans go through a period where this is where they try to find their identity and look for their 'Egyptianness,' and then maybe or maybe not it kind of wanes, because you're here and your distanced from them."[231] In this way, Malak implies that being *in* Egypt for an extended period of time had a significant impact on her sense of 'Egyptianness.'

Other respondents, such as Caroline for example, described how volunteering in Egypt, particularly in the poorer parts of Egypt, gave her a different appreciation of the country.[232] Caroline is a twenty-four year old Coptic Christian residing in Qatar who spent one year working

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[230] Ibid.

[231] Malak, interview.

[232] Caroline, interview by author, voice recording, Doha, August 2, 2012.

and volunteering in Egypt. Cynthia, another Coptic Christian Egyptian-American whom I introduced earlier, spent six months during college volunteering in Egypt with Coptic Orphans. She described how her "knowledge [on Egypt] was personalized" after that trip, and how it encouraged her to focus her studies on international development in Egypt.[233] Mark describes how the four years he spent studying in Egypt made him identify more as an Egyptian than ever before.[234]

This is not to say that second-generation Egyptians were *always* interested in finding ways to connect to their heritage. Rana for example, discusses how her Church community in Maryland gave her enough of the Egyptian cultural experience that sometimes, she felt that she wanted to try other things with her college friends that her Egyptian friends might not be so interested in: "Sometimes, *batkhene'*,[235] like I love being Egyptian, and I love everything about it, but sometimes, it's nice to not have to go to a place that has such cultural boundaries […] so sometimes I want to go to a cultural event or a museum or an outing or see a film that's not in the theaters and other people just don't have the same interest in that."[236]

The one aspect about college life that several Egyptians in Qatar identified as the main reinforcement of a sense of 'Egyptianness' is the community of Egyptian college friends that they made. Aya in particular emphasizes how her sense of 'Egyptianness' increased substantially because of the time she spends with her Egyptian classmates:

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[233] Cynthia, interview.

[234] Mark, interview.

[235] *Batkhene'* means "I get suffocated."

[236] Rana, interview.

I actually have a lot of Egyptian friends, they are all from Education City, that's why I can relate to them, we share the same thoughts and ideas, but I don't think I've ever made a friend just because they're Egyptian […] I categorize the Egyptian community as my university friends who are Egyptian and the [Egyptian Association] group, which is the only other Egyptian community group I hang out with.[237]

Aya explains that because she spends most of her time at university, her education and her friends have had the bigger impact on her sense of 'Egyptianness,' not her parents. The classes she took also helped her connect more to her sense of 'Egyptianness':

Just this semester, I took a class [on Egypt], and it was extremely challenging for me, because I knew zero history about my country […] I was by far the least one amongst the Egyptians who knew anything about Egypt. I was challenging myself because I needed to know more about my country and I wanted to know more about my country.[238]

Hence, similarly to Egyptians in the U.S., being surrounded with other Egyptians in college and taking classes that related somehow to Egypt (or the Arab world by extension) helped second-generation Egyptians feel more Egyptian. These are examples of how second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and in Qatar start to become involved in their own "transnational practices."

Second-generation Egyptians in Qatar identified several differences between their Egyptian college community and the larger family-based communities. The main difference, which I described earlier, is the degree of interactions with Egyptians of a different religion. Gerges discusses how most of his family friends are Coptic Christians as a result of their interactions at Church. His own friends however are a mixture of Muslims and Coptic Christians. His parents also have a few Muslim friends whom they invite over during the Coptic Christian

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[237] Aya, interview.

[238] Ibid.

celebrations, and his parents also invite his own Muslim friends to their events.[239] But the important point to take from this is that, similarly to Aya whom I discussed earlier, second-generation Egyptians are much more open to building close friendships with Egyptians of another religion than their parents. In fact, Aya describes how despite the fact that her Coptic Christian friends have their own Church community, when they are in Education City, both Muslim and Coptic Christian Egyptians spend a lot of time together and are extremely good friends.[240]

Because respondents in Qatar operate in a very cosmopolitan setting, where they meet people from different countries and religions who have different ideas and thoughts, they find themselves having to negotiate the identity that they share with their families at home, with the identities that they start interacting with outside the home. The only stories I heard from respondents in the U.S. about their interactions with particular groups during college, is Mary's description of her college Coptic Christian friends, and Dalia's earlier description of her friendships with other second-generation immigrants. The result is that second-generation Egyptians in Qatar interviewed in this research develop identities that are more multi-faceted than the identities of average Egyptians in Egypt.

Layla also discusses the importance not just of her university friends (Egyptian and others), but also of her loyalty to her university. She claimed that she identified the most with her university and the values of her university and that this is where she felt she belonged the most.

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[239] Gerges, interview.

[240] Aya, interview.

When I asked her to elaborate more on why her university meant so much to her, this was her

response:

> Maybe it is because I selected my college friends; my Egyptian community friends were
> chosen for me by my family. I also don't feel judged or like everything I do is being
> observed with my college friends, but with the Egyptian community I feel like I am under
> a microscope and all the youth of the Egyptian community are put under the same
> microscope-I just don't like that feeling. The mentality of my college friends is also very
> different, we think the same way versus people in my Egyptian community where I just
> don't relate to them as well.[241]

We now start to more visibly see the differences between the acculturation processes that

both groups of respondents adopt. As noted earlier, almost all respondents in Qatar spent their

lives in international British schools and went on to pursue their undergraduate degrees at

American or Canadian universities. They have received a Western education from a young age,

and as someone who followed an identical path, I know that such schools do not teach

Egyptian/Arab history, politics, literature, culture, etc. in the same way that schools in Egypt do.

Hence, students attending such schools grow up with very little knowledge about Egypt and end

up knowing much more about the West. Not only do they learn more about Western or European

history, they become exposed to Western culture and entertainment. Yasmine explains how she

identifies herself:

> My sisters are all younger than me, I feel like we're kind of hybrid: we're not 100 percent
> Egyptian and we're not 100 percent Americanized. It is because of where we were
> brought up and where we went to school. We live in an Arab country but pretty much
> most of our communication and our studies have been in English which is why I think
> we're kind of hybrid. My parents tried to bring us and maintain our Arab identity, but if it
> were just up to me and my sisters I guess we'd be full on American [laughs] if it wasn't
> for our parents grounding us in Arab values and things like that.[242]

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[241] Layla, interview.

[242] Yasmine, interview.

The first thing that we notice about her response is the fact that Qatar is not in the picture. Yasmine explains that Qatari culture has no impact on her, and that residents and nationals lead different lives separately. I showed earlier how she speculates that if she had she gone to a Qatari local school, she may have turned out differently, but because she received a Western education, she feels that she's much more connected to the Western culture than the Qatari culture. In fact, her response implies that had it not been for her parents, she would have been completely "Americanized."

Caroline and Maged expressed very similar sentiments. Both described how their parents did indeed attempt to have a strong influence on their sense of 'Egyptianness,' by, for example, surrounding them with Egyptian family friends, Church, etc. but that the schools they went to had a very strong influence too. Caroline described that she "wasn't shaped to be 100 percent Egyptian" because she went to an international school, because she interacted with people from all over the world, and because she spoke English much more comfortably than Egyptian Arabic.[243] She noted that "everything around us is international."[244] Moreover, she noted how she did not have Egyptian friends of her own growing up. Caroline feels that her exposure to such an international arena made her "stronger" and that it "open[ed] her eyes."[245] She referenced the fact that Qatar's "lifestyle is very rich," which presented her with opportunities to "have the best education and travel the world."[246] As a result, Caroline feels that had she been

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[243] Caroline, interview.

[244] Ibid.

[245] Ibid.

[246] Ibid.

raised in Egypt, her personality, education, and employment prospects would have turned out very differently. Maged described that he is "not Egyptian as [he] could be"[247] because he went to an international school. His friends from school were mostly not Arabs, but British, Irish, Scottish and other countries.

> Growing up with them for a long time, I started to think in the same way as they do […] Something me and my parents never agree on, is the whole thing about marriage and girlfriends. To them, I have to marry an Egyptian, she has to be Christian, she has to be Coptic. Even my [Egyptian] friends think the same way, I don't agree with that. Or the fact that I would prefer to live with my girlfriend before we even get engaged or married. They find that shocking, that that's not right, and that's not the way we do things, which is fine for them, but for me I don't find it logical.[248]

This description is absolutely crucial, because it goes so far to show how influential international schools and universities can be on respondents' system of thought. Such reflections show how the location of second-generation Egyptians is not what matters. What matters is the kind of culture they grew up in, which for most of them happened to be school. Even though they lived in Qatar, because their interactions have mostly taken place within a highly cosmopolitan context and not a particular Qatari context, they found themselves acculturating into a Western culture. Many of them stated that they mostly speak in English with their siblings, something that was common amongst respondents in the U.S. This point was highlighted by the fact that eight of the eleven Qatar-based respondents conducted the interview using mostly English, whereas the other three alternated between English and Arabic. Moreover, many Qatar-based respondents identified that they mostly listen to Western music and watch Western movies. At least one respondent noted that she does not listen to any Arabic music.

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[247] Maged, interview.

[248] Ibid.

106

Sally expressed that she connects with her cousins in Egypt who received a Western education more so than she does with those who received an Egyptian education.[249] Aya discusses the difficulty she has connecting with her cousins in Egypt, repeatedly saying how they have a different mentality. When asked to elaborate on what she means by mentality, this was part of her response:

> Even when I talk to my cousins who went to all girls public schools, I don't relate to them when they tell me "oh wow, you talk to guys? How's that like?" And they also say "oh my God, you wear skinny jeans?" and they tell me "you can't show your figure" and things like that.[250]

She explained that she reckons she would be able to connect more with Egyptians who went to AUC than with those who did not, just because on the surface, they appear to be more open-minded and more liberal, much like she is.[251] Caroline similarly noted how during the year in which she volunteered and worked in Egypt, that she was able to connect much more and build rapports with Egyptians who had studied abroad or who had received a Western education, or who had been raised in the Gulf.[252] Maged shared similar reactions, noting how he connected much more with his Egyptian friends in Qatar than his own cousins in Egypt, because his friends in Qatar were like him in terms of their use of English, and did not make fun of his Egyptian dialect.[253] Maged, Caroline, and Yasmine noted that they find difficulties connecting with their cousins in Egypt because they talk about Egyptian political and economic issues that they are not

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[249] Sally, interview.

[250] Aya, interview.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Caroline, interview.

[253] Maged, interview.

familiar with. This goes back to the fact that these particular respondents did not learn about contemporary Egyptian life at school.

Such experiences expose an interesting connection between Egyptians in Qatar and Egyptians in the U.S. As a result of the Western education they received, it is very likely that Egyptians in Qatar would be able to connect more with Egyptians in the U.S., because they could connect in terms of language, aspirations, entertainment, etc. It is as a result of the Western education they received that many of these Egyptians found trouble connecting with the Egyptian community. This exposes a similarity between the upbringing of Egyptians in the U.S. and Egyptians in Qatar that have made their experiences surprisingly similar. Moreover, this is connected to the question of class; as I noted earlier, respondents in Qatar come from economically stable families that are able to afford private education.

The above discussion is very important as it shows how respondents in Qatar became acculturated into the majority cosmopolitan context in Qatar, which they interact with via schools/universities. More specifically, respondents acculturate into a Western culture as a result of being exposed to years of Western education. This is another difference that citizenship status influences; because Qatar-based respondents can almost never obtain the Qatari citizenship, they have little reason to want to be acculturated into the local Qatari culture. Respondents in Qatar are not acculturated into the Qatari culture but into the cultures they were most exposed to.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has demonstrated the various ways Egyptians in Qatar and Egyptians in the U.S. experience "transnational practices" in Qatar and the U.S., and in Egypt. One main conclusion to take from this chapter is that it supports Levitt and Water's earlier arguments that one must study

second-generation immigrants by making the definition of what constitutes "transnational practices" more inclusive.

It is also important to note that second-generation Egyptian *expatriates* in this research adopt different acculturation processes than their counterparts in the U.S.: second-generation whereas Egyptians in the U.S. "engage in transnational practices" while acculturating into their middle-class/elite American lives, second-generation Egyptians in Qatar do not have the option of acculturating into the local Qatari life because the Qatari culture is not the most dominant group that they interact with *and* because do they not even have access to it. The cosmopolitan context and the Western education that second-generation Egyptians in this research were exposed to explain why they have acculturated into the Western culture.

Another interesting differentiation that arose in this chapter is the differentiation between Egyptians who grew up in Qatar, Egyptians who grew up in Egypt, and between Egyptians in the U.S. It is interesting to find that there appeared to be more conflict between Egyptians in Qatar and Egyptians in Egypt compared with Egyptians in the U.S. and Egyptians in Egypt. This differentiation refers to the earlier discussion on Egyptians who grew up in Qatar as being a distinct group. The confrontation between Egyptians who grew up in Qatar and Egyptians who grew up in Egypt and then moved to Qatar seems to be largely the result of Egyptians who grew up in Qatar not knowing what it is like to be raised in Egypt, not knowing the latest jokes, the latest slang language, and not understanding the daily struggles of an average Egyptian. Life in Qatar is the only life they are familiar with making them incapable of connecting with those who experience life in Egypt. However, I argue that the source of confrontation between the two groups is not just the fact that respondents in Qatar cannot understand the experiences of

Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Egypt, but rather that there is this expectation by other people that respondents in Qatar *would* be able to connect with their counterparts in Egypt and should be more Egyptian.

This shows that geographic proximity is not always the determining factor when it comes to how Egyptian second-generation Egyptians in Qatar feel. This is not to say that Egyptians in the U.S. can connect more with Egyptians in Egypt, but as I showed above, I argue it has something to do with the makeup of the Egyptian community that Egyptians in the U.S. interacted with: whereas they interacted mostly with Egyptians like themselves, who were learning Arabic and religion, and who were mostly Egyptian-Americans, Egyptians in Qatar interacted quite often with Egyptians coming directly from Egypt. Egyptian-Americans seemed to be more comfortable with the fact that even if they cannot connect so well with Egyptians in Egypt, that they can still connect with Egyptian-Americans, as alluded to indirectly by Ahmed earlier in this Chapter. This is another example of how many of the respondents I interviewed in the U.S. were quite comfortable with the "integration"[254] acculturation process they adopted. Moreover, the parents of second-generation Egyptians who mostly grew up in Egypt have by now become part of the same legal category of Americans. In other words, the fact that second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. hold a second citizenship and are very much invested in their American identity serves as a form of excuse or explanation for why they can never really know what it is like to grow up in Egypt; it is much more acceptable for them not to understand what it feels to have lived in Egypt. However, Egyptians who grew up in Qatar do not have that

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[254] Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," 9.

option[255] because they mostly just have the Egyptian passport and hence are also labeled as being

Egyptian regardless of their own different experiences. The next chapter elaborates further on the

difference between these different groups, particularly highlighting how Egyptians in Qatar

frequently felt that they were *expected* to know things about Egypt, a feeling that was not

expressed by respondents in the U.S.

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[255] Even though I reference the responses of Layla and Sally, who hold the Canadian citizenship, about the differentiation between Egyptians in Qatar and Egyptians in Egypt, in the next Chapter, I depict similar responses given by Egyptians in Qatar who hold only the Egyptian citizenship.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CONSTRUCTING THE IMAGINARY

Chapter Overview

This chapter highlights more explicitly the differences that arise between second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and second-generation Egyptians in Qatar. Specifically, I examine how having a second-citizenship (i.e., a U.S. citizenship) and an explicit second identity shapes the imaginaries of respondents as opposed to the situation of those in Qatar who only have Egyptian citizenship. In this chapter, I discuss the various ways by which respondents retold their understanding of Egypt, their understanding of the country they live in, Qatar or the U.S., and finally, their understanding of the revolution. Focusing on the third difference I identified in the Introduction, this chapter highlights the main differences that result from the differences between the immigrant model in the U.S., and the expatriate model in Qatar. I argue that their narratives and diverse depictions of their Egyptian imaginaries are in large part a product of their legal status, and the subsequent sense of cultural belonging in their adopted homes is shaped by this legality.

Defining Life Experiences in Qatar and the U.S.

Naturally, respondents in the U.S. conceptualized the U.S. in a manner that was completely different than the way respondents in Qatar conceptualized Qatar. When asked to describe what the U.S. means to them, the responses sometimes tended to revolve around the American Dream, about particular values and opportunities. Dalia explains:

> The U.S. represents the strength of an idea, and a vision, which is a very different thing. The U.S. doesn't have the same depth or rootedness in history [as Egypt], it just has an idea that is highly attractive, in events all over, and everybody wants to come and contribute to, and what hangs in the balance for America is that people believe in that

vision and in the idea. I think when people stop believing in the vision and the idea, that's when you'll see the downfall of America. But Egypt is something else.[256]

When I asked respondents in Qatar to answer the same question about Qatar, I received different answers. For most respondents, Qatar was a country that they were familiar with, that they were comfortable in, and that they enjoyed living in because of the friendships they made living there. Yasmine compared her level of comfort in Qatar with that in Egypt:

> Well I mean, I'm very comfortable here, I know my way around, all my friends live here. When I go to Egypt, I feel that I am confined within my circle of family, because I don't have friends there outside of my family. Here, I can get around a lot easier. There, I just do what my family does, whereas here I have a lot more independence than when I am in Egypt.[257]

Gerges additionally emphasized that from his experience living in Qatar his entire life, Qatar represents safety, comfort, and a good environment to raise young children. He claimed that ideally, he would like his own children to grow up in a country like Qatar since Qatar is relatively safer than others. He described how in other countries, like the U.S. and Egypt, it was easier for teenagers to follow the wrong path and get involved with drugs for example, something he felt was not as big of a threat in Qatar. Moreover, he noted how he enjoyed the kind of protection the Qatari government was providing Coptic Christians and their Church in Qatar, protection he felt was not available in Egypt.[258]

In fact, I received similar reactions from respondents in the U.S. who also implied that their religious beliefs sometimes conflicted with their connections with Egypt. Mary, for example, noted that one of the advantages of living in the U.S. as opposed to in Egypt in her

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[256] Dalia, interview.

[257] Yasmine, interview.

[258] Gerges, interview.

opinion is that she does not have to worry about being a Coptic Christian. She claimed that the fact that she is "not part of the majority [Muslim] religion" in Egypt, and that Coptic Christians in Egypt are under "threat of discrimination"[259] has a negative impact on her sense of 'Egyptianness.' None of the Muslim respondents noted how they felt threatened in Egypt because of their religious beliefs, but it certainly came up several times by a few Coptic Christian respondents who felt that they were safer and more protected in their host countries.

Interesting responses came up when I asked respondents if they considered the country they live in home. Almost all respondents in the U.S. identified the U.S. as their home, the place they were born and/or raised in, and the place where their memories are. A few respondents, like Dalia and Ahmed, felt more American when they traveled to Egypt, particularly because they could only relate to a an orderly, systemized kind of society, where it was relatively much easier to get things done than in Egypt.[260]

Rana had more difficulties answering this question. Rana stated that she did not like being referred to as an Egyptian-American, because she felt that this term applied to someone who was born and raised in the U.S. but whose parents or grandparents, etc. were Egyptian. Rana felt that this did not apply to her because she was in fact born in Egypt and spent the first three years of her life there before moving to the U.S. Rana insists on identifying herself as "an Egyptian who grew up in America."[261] She chose this identification not just because she was born in Egypt, but also because she felt that she was more patriotic than other second-generation Egyptians around her. She could not really explain why she was this way, but felt that it had

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[259] Mary, interview.

[260] Dalia, interview, and Ahmed, interview.

[261] Rana, interview.

something to do with the fact that "being Egyptian is what makes you feel different,"[262] not just in terms of appearance, but also language and cultural beliefs and practices. Nonetheless, such confusions shaped how she felt about the U.S.:

> I don't really know if I have a home, because I fit in here and […] I can make it work, I've gotten an 'A' on America, but does this mean that I'll always feel that I fit in? No. But when I went to Egypt, if I'm in Egypt and I'm thinking 'I can't wait to go home,' it's not going to be Cairo, it's going to be Maryland. So it's kind of like neither, it's like home is both, together, and if I have one part missing it doesn't work. So that's why I feel home is my parents, because I can't put a place on it but I can attach people to it. I mean I love America, it has my memories, and as a place it's so interesting, it's got incredible people to meet, […] but it doesn't fully represent me, yet.[263]

Egyptians in Qatar presented even more conflicted answers regarding how they felt about Qatar. Some considered Qatar their home because it is where they were born and where their childhood memories are. Layla stated that "Qatar is home, it will always be home, I grew up here, [and] all my memories are here, my friends, my family."[264]

However, there was always a 'but' after their responses. For example, Mark, the twenty-seven year old I mentioned in the previous chapter, claimed that he considered Qatar to be his second home. He particularly expressed his gratitude for the life he was able to have in Qatar, but noted that he was not a national. Even though he spent most of his life in Qatar, he considered it his second home: "I'm not a citizen, I will always be a second class citizen."[265] Aya had a similar reaction:

> Of course I consider it my home because I don't know any other place. But I can't say

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[262] Ibid.

[263] Rana, interview.

[264] Layla, interview.

[265] Mark, interview.

that I relate to Qataris at all, and I won't go out to celebrate their national day. I have Qatari friends and I love them and everything, but I won't be part of their country. And I don't think they consider foreigners part of them and I don't think foreigners believe they're part of Qataris or can relate to Qataris. I respect them but I can't ever see myself relating to them. I feel that I'm very different. But the country itself is my home, because I'm raised here, and this is the kind of lifestyle that I'm used to.[266]

It slowly occurred to me that respondents in Qatar felt some form of connection to Qatar the country more so than the Qatari population. Several of them cited that their identification of Qatar as their home had to do with them being familiar with Qatar's roads and whereabouts, something they lacked in Egypt. Aya in particular elaborated on her above response, noting that there's nothing "special"[267] about the country minus the fact that it is the only country she *knows* inside out. Because respondents in Qatar almost do not have the option of ever obtaining the citizenship, they find that they cannot assimilate into the local Qatari population. This is a crucial difference between how Egyptians in the U.S. conceptualize the U.S., since they consider it their home and feel invested in contributing to it in a way that Egyptians in Qatar do not feel about Qatar.

Sally had a similar answer. She actually stated that Qatar means very little to her at the moment, because the friends she enjoyed being in Qatar with were no longer living in Qatar. She noted how the UAE, where she completed her undergraduate degree and where she made her lifelong friends, was the place that meant the most to her at the moment.[268] Such reactions demonstrate how Qatar was perceived to be important to respondents because of their familiarity with the country and because it was where their friends lived. When the people they care about

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[266] Aya, interview.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Sally, interview.

leave, Qatar's value no longer becomes significant.

Others implied that their connection to Qatar was practical, in the sense that once the opportunities they were taking advantage of ceased, so did their connection. Yasmine for example, has lately started to feel more connected to Egypt, because she started to come to terms with the fact that now that she obtained all the education degrees she could possibly obtain from Qatar, that she will have to look for more opportunities elsewhere because she is not a Qatari citizen:

> I feel like [Qatar]- it's a dead end. There aren't opportunities – if I'm thinking of starting a company here or an initiative, I can't do it here, because first of all I need a Qatari sponsor etc. it's just too complicated living here, because you can't do what you want, it's not your country. After university you start to think about what you want to do long-term because *khalas* after university this is really your life starting.[269]

Hence, the most significant difference between respondents in the U.S. and those in Qatar is their understanding of their purpose in those countries, which generates very different understandings of what those countries represent. As noted above, one of the main reasons U.S.-based respondents considered the U.S. as their home is because they feel that they have an opportunity to contribute something to American society. This contribution is what makes them feel ownership of the U.S. Moreover, citizenship brings with it a sense of belonging in a community, a set of legal, political, and economic rights; Egyptians in Qatar do not have these options. Dalia for example, compares how she feels about America with what her father feels:

> […] My father […] had a sense of appreciation but from an immigrant mentality: 'you have to work harder, you have to prove yourself more, and don't rock the boat too much, because you should also be thankful'. Whereas for me, I was thankful and grateful and appreciative, but I also feel like 'yeah, but this is your country to make, and your country to participate in, and your country to own, and you need to have a voice' […][270]

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[269] Yasmine, interview.

[270] Dalia, interview.

117

This is a very interesting differentiation between first-generation immigrants and second-generation immigrants. But what is perhaps more interesting, is the similarity in answers between Dalia's father, and earlier answers of *second*-generation Egyptians in Qatar, who expressed their love for Qatar because of the opportunities and the life it gave them. This is obviously because second-generation Egyptians in Qatar do not have the ultimate right that Dalia and others in the U.S. have, to feel ownership of and feel invested in Qatar.

But respondents in the U.S. additionally want to ensure that the Egyptian part of their identity helps them bring something different to the table. Dalia explains:

> I think being American is what makes me feel ownership of this country, […] I definitely do feel a sense of pride of being Egyptian-American in the sense that I want that to be part of the definition of my success. I want people to see that this group of people can be successful in America too, especially that there are lots of Arabs and Muslims in America who want to put this part aside, or when they become successful, they change their name […][271]

Dalia believes that both America and Egypt can learn important lessons from each other, and she tries to apply this approach to her everyday life. She discusses how her work on health development issues in Egypt, particularly the way she approaches problems and tries to resolve them, are small examples of how she adopts her American upbringing and American values to Egypt and hence, how she adopts the "integration" acculturation approach that Berry proposes.[272] More importantly, such reflections depict how Dalia assimilates into American society. As noted earlier by Portes and Zhou, "segmented assimilation" means that some immigrant communities find a way to achieve economic prosperity while at the same time retaining their cultural

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[271] Ibid.

[272] Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," 9.

values;[273] this is exactly what Dalia is describing. While moving forward with her career and her life in America, Dalia demonstrates how she brings back perhaps the most important value she appreciates in Egyptian society, the extremely social and warm way of approaching people and strangers, to her life in America. For example, during college, Dalia described how her roommates noticed that she was extra friendly to the neighbors, constantly asking if they needed anything and vice versa, something that was not very common in Northern Virginia at least.[274]

Mary had similar reactions. She described how because of her exposure to Egyptian culture, that she now has "a wider perspective on the world."[275] She contrasts her experience with her friends around her that have not had a similar exposure, noting that they are "not invested beyond their own bubbles."[276] Such reactions are similar to what Caroline noted in the earlier chapter, when she described how the international context she was exposed to in Qatar, strengthened her personality. Consequently, in both countries, respondents feel that combining Egyptians aspects of their lives with aspects of their host countries has enriched their experiences.

All respondents in Qatar noted how it is not a permanent home, and that this was a determining factor in how they felt about the country. Layla in particular noted how even though she feels very connected to the country, the local Qatari population make it hard for her to feel this way:

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[273] Portes and Zhou, "The New Second Generation," 82.

[274] Dalia, interview.

[275] Mary, interview.

[276] Ibid.

The problem with Qatar is [that] the locals do not make you feel like this is your home. There is a constant reminder you are an outsider no matter how personally attached you get to the country, […] they remind you that if you don't work or study you are gone, [you] can't just live here-your sponsorship is based on a purpose you are serving to the country, either you work for them or your family does and you go to school here because your family lives here. Locals do not mingle with you, they make you feel like you are less-except for the few educated elite, the general perspective of Qataris is you are here to take our money and our resources, they do not understand that we expats have given their country so much and without expats, it would not have developed at all, and they do not understand that the ones who grew up here find it just as much as home as they do, but then they remind you its not your home.[277]

Hence, respondents in the U.S. and Qatar have different perceptions of their respective host societies. Respondents in the U.S. consider the U.S. their home, not only because it provides them with so many opportunities, and because it represents ideas and values that they grew to believe in, but also because they feel that there were opportunities to contribute to it. Respondents in Qatar have a more complex understanding; they all somehow consider Qatar their home, but not exactly their first home despite having lived there their entire life. This is as a result of the fact that at the end of the day, they will always be residents and have no chance of becoming citizens. Such a status, a status that hinders their love and connection for the country that holds their childhood memories, makes them feel no sense of ownership that would encourage them to *want* to work and contribute to Qatar's society. This is a crucial differentiation between the identity negotiation processes of second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and in Qatar.

Reflecting on the Meaning of Egypt

In this section, I present how respondents discussed their understanding of what Egypt means to them and what it stands for. This section complements the previous section because

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[277] Layla, interview.

respondents continuously compared and contrasted how they feel about Egypt and the country they are living in.

It did not take long for me to notice that for Egyptians in the U.S., Egypt represents many of the things they feel were lacking in the American society they grew up in. As noted earlier, Dalia highly values the feelings of connectedness, particularly between strangers, that she experiences during her travels in Egypt. In fact, she was so intrigued by this social aspect of life in Egypt, that she started adopting it in her daily interactions with people around her.

Mahmoud, one of the U.S. respondents, shared very similar experiences. Mahmoud is a thirty-five year old Egyptian-American currently residing in New York. He was born in the U.S. and spent his childhood in Chicago. Mahmoud is a dual national and works as a lawyer. He also writes fiction (much of which has been on Egypt) and does landscape photography. His parents moved to the U.S. to obtain their graduate degrees. Growing up, Mahmoud's parents, particularly his mother, were very keen on meeting Egyptians in the Chicago area and maintaining friendships over the years. In terms of religion, Mahmoud identifies as a Muslim, but as a non-practicing one. Mahmoud had some revealing observations on Egypt, where he studied abroad as an undergraduate, and where he continues to travel. During his interview, he retold a story that took place while he was studying abroad in Egypt:

> What I learnt to be struck by, growing up was the proximity you feel to total strangers. […] I was crossing the street once, […] and all of a sudden this old lady sort of walks up to me, grabs my arm, and she says, 'please, help me cross the street'. And that's all! I had to slow myself down because this woman, who had to be in her eighties at that point had a deeply engrained idea that she can count on somebody to help her cross the street. You can't do that in the States, I mean you could, in small towns, or in places where the pace of life is a little more orderly, but you couldn't necessarily do that in NY and Cairo is a much bigger, more crowded place. Things like that stick out at me. It speaks to something

121

really special about the place.[278]

Mahmoud describes such experiences as being "quality of life"[279] aspects that define the Egyptian experience. Rana had very similar reactions, describing how Egypt is "more of a lifestyle than a place."[280] She explains how the way people treat strangers in Egypt, the way people are always so welcome, are lifestyle aspects that she adopts and that differentiate her from other Americans around her.

Other respondents in the U.S. stated that Egypt represents the general stereotypical historical greatness that people read about in history books; a profound history that the U.S. did not share. Dalia explains:

> It's funny because Egypt and the United States are such different models of countries when you think about it. Egypt is one of the very long-standing countries in history that never had its borders compromised, thousands of years of dynasties, of history with the Pharaohs, there's just a different level of depth and history and culture in Egypt than there is here. In the U.S. it's just based around an idea and it's so young. So I would say it represents a depth of culture and a depth of history that one has an affinity to and is proud of, for sure.[281]

Such reactions are similar to Agha's findings: "while being Egyptian to most of the interviewees seems to include notions of origin, ethnicity, and culture, their Americanness seems to be associated with their physical local and is attached to responsibilities and opportunities."[282] The main difference that arose between the responses of Egyptians in the U.S. and those in Qatar is that Egyptians in Qatar focused substantially on the idea that Egypt is their permanent and/or

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[278] Mahmoud, interview by author, Skype voice recording, July 22, 2013.

[279] Ibid.

[280] Rana, interview.

[281] Dalia, interview.

[282] Agha, "From Homeland to Adopted Home," 80.

122

eventual home. This is something that was much more of an issue for Egyptians in Qatar

(especially those who only hold the Egyptian citizenship) than it was for Egyptians in the U.S.

because Egyptians in the U.S. are citizens and hence will never *have to* live in Egypt. This

imagined future came up at various times during the interview. When asked to define her interest

in Egypt and her sense of 'Egyptianness,' Yasmine explained that ever since she started to come

to terms with the fact that her ability to live and work in Qatar might come to an end (because

she's just a resident), she has been exploring the potential of working in Egypt. Yasmine visited

Egypt for the first time since the revolution in the summer of 2012, and it was during this trip

that she started to find this possibility more acceptable:

> I feel like I can contribute over there [Egypt]. I don't know what it's like, but there it's
> your country, and you have equal rights, like theoretically speaking as everyone. So I
> think it would be a good experience, the workplace there, to see how it's like, […] it
> would be nice to go and see what it's like to be an equal. I know people in Egypt
> complain about the standards of living and all that, but at the end of the day we're all
> Egyptian and we all have the same rights. But over here, I don't feel like- you know that
> you're not from here, and you can't expect that you will be treated as a local.[283]

Hence, for Yasmine, Egypt meant the possibility of imagining a life where she feels that

she will be treated like everyone else and not feel that she is treated on a different scale, as is the

case in Qatar. When respondents in the U.S. were asked about the prospects of them moving to

Egypt and living there, their responses varied, but many of them claimed that if the appropriate

opportunity comes up (political context or type of employment, employment benefits, etc.), they

would consider it. However, naturally, none of the respondents discussed the possibility of

living/working in Egypt as something they would *have* to get accustomed to the way Yasmine

did because it was not a likelihood let alone a certainty.

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[283] Yasmine, interview.

In fact, holding the Egyptian passport sometimes acted against the careers of Egyptians in the U.S. Malak discussed how she had to renounce her Egyptian passport in order for her to work in one of the most prestigious international organizations in the world. Moreover, when asked whether she would consider working in Egypt, she stated that she would only move to Egypt if she was given what she called an "expat package,"[284] including private education for her children. Hence, she would work in Egypt as an American not as an Egyptian, an option Egyptians in Qatar obviously do not have. Dalia was discouraged from voting in Egypt's Presidential elections because it might have influenced the possibility of her working in the U.S. government in the future.[285] This exposes how second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. never have to worry about the prospects of them having to live and work in Egypt against their own willing; it is more of a choice for them.

The idea that Egypt is a permanent home for Egyptians in Qatar caused some of them to feel that it was an expectation, and sometimes even an obligation, to know what life in Egypt is and just to *know* the country in general. Gerges held this belief, and stated how he is extremely adamant, particularly with his parents, about living in Egypt for a year. Gerges explained to me that he does not know what the future holds for him, what he will be doing or where he will be working upon graduation. However, he stated that the one thing he is sure he will do, is spend one year in Egypt working. When I asked him where this desire came from, especially since his parents were not at all encouraging of the idea, this was his response:

> How can I be an Egyptian and not know what it means to live there? How can I be Egyptian and not know how to interact with people? Not know how to go here and there? Not know which street to take? I need to know this stuff, because when I grow older, […]

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[284] Malak, interview.

[285] Dalia, interview.

I will be able to interact with people, go here, and see Egypt. I should know Egypt like I know Qatar. How can I hold the Egyptian passport and know Qatar more than Egypt? I know Qatar is very small, but how can I know my way around here more than I do in my country? This is my nationality; I am Egyptian. I need to know this stuff, and this is why I want to live there for one year, in order to know the minimum [details] about Egypt.[286]

Gerges' reaction is representative of very similar reactions I received in Qatar. His

reaction entails his realization that Egypt is the only country in which he is *legally* a member of,

and yet it is the country he knows the least. Perhaps more importantly, his reaction implies that

there is this inherent expectation that since he holds the Egyptian passport and identifies as being

Egyptian, that he should "know" Egypt. None of the respondents in the U.S. implied in any way

that their attachment to Egypt had anything to do with this kind of expectation.

In fact, Maged's response to the question of what Egypt means to him revealed very

interesting observations of how he believes people identify themselves in different contexts:

Egypt is the place I derive who I am; my personality, my beliefs, and my culture. Coming from abroad, I realized that that thing you call "finding yourself" and "finding who you are," I think it's a very Western ideology. […] I feel that being Egyptian, or being raised in the house I was [raised in], that was never an issue for me, just because from birth, we were told "I'm Egyptian, I'm this and this religion, these are my parents, this is who I am." We never really had that problem of "who I am" or "where am I going?" That's more of a Western thing, where they're all encouraged to find out who they are and their individuality, especially in a place like Canada, where to be Canadian isn't set in stone. […] Canada is a place where I feel […] kills any sort of individuality that you might have had, like where you are actually from. It makes you think 'I'm raised in Canada, I'm Canadian." But for us, it's set, especially because we grew up in a place like Qatar, […] where you can't be Qatari. You're wherever you're from. […] Qatar allows you to keep your culture.[287]

Maged's response is peculiar for two main reasons that point to the idea that Egyptians in

Qatar, including second-generation Egyptians are expected to be Egyptian. First, he noted that

Qatar's citizenship policy locks people down exclusively to where they are from. His resort to

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[286] Gerges, interview.

[287] Maged, interview.

125

the phrase "you're wherever you're from" demonstrates how he feels that Egyptians in Qatar are usually defined by where their parents come from. This rigid exclusivist method of defining Egyptians in Qatar speaks to the idea that there is a common expectation that Egyptians in Qatar are simply Egyptian like their counterparts in Egypt. The second interesting point about Maged's response is that he himself described earlier how he has largely been influenced by his experience in an international school and a Canadian university, an influence that he claimed not only affected his Egyptian dialect, but also affected his system of thought. The significance of his response is that it exposes how the citizenship context in Qatar leads people to place themselves in categories *that they are expected to fall under*, even if their own experiences question the basis of this categorization.

On a related note, a really interesting comparison took place with respondents in the U.S. and in Qatar regarding the extent to which they felt that Egypt was *their* country, that they felt ownership of it. Dalia claimed that the kind of ownership that she felt towards Egypt was very different from the sense of ownership she felt towards the U.S. She gave the example of whether or not she would consider seeking a position in Egypt's Parliament in comparison to whether she would consider seeking a position in Congress. Dalia felt complete ownership in her "right" to run for Congress as opposed to in Egypt: "I don't feel it's [Egypt] mine, I feel a great affinity because it's my family's. You see? That's a different thing than to feel that it is *mine,* this is *mine*, this is *my* street, this is where I grew up, these are *my* neighbors, that is *my* Congressman, this is *my* Constitution, […] I feel a different level of affinity towards all of that here than I do in Egypt."[288]

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[288] Dalia, interview.

Dalia discusses how the work she has been doing lately (not just since the revolution, but since she obtained her Master's degree), has been largely focused on Egypt because she genuinely wants to see the country be a better place. However, she notes that this work has been at the grassroots level, not at the government level. This has something to do with the fact that she feels that she has more of a "right" working on the government level in the U.S. than in Egypt.[289] This approach is very different from the approach adopted by some respondents in Qatar, who feel that they have to *know* Egypt or live in Egypt because it is an *expectation* for them to do so. As noted earlier by Dalia, most respondents in the U.S. feel connected to Egypt because it is the country where their parents came from. Dalia notes that one of the reasons she decided to work on Middle Eastern issues is because she feels this is where her parents grew up: "I thought that this is the region of the world that raised my parents, and you feel a sense of wanting to give back to that because you feel that it contributed to two people whom I love dearly, and obviously contributed to me. You feel a sense of needing to give back to that."[290]

In fact, an interesting difference that came up between respondents in Qatar and respondents in the U.S. is that respondents in the U.S. seemed to have very nostalgic and/or romantic ideas about Egypt, much more so than Egyptians in Qatar. Such reactions came up particularly when they were asked 'what represents Egypt or what does Egypt mean to you?' For many of the respondents in the U.S., they defined Egypt with things their families did or said. For example, Mary noted how hearing the *"Maṣri* accent"[291] immediately reminded her of her family. Similarly, when I asked Mahmoud on what he feels represents Egypt, whether it was his

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[289] Ibid.

[290] Ibid.

[291] Mary, interview.

family, the history, land, etc., this was his response:

> All of those things are going to be filtered through my family. So I experienced the culture through my family, I experienced the music through my family. My mother singing Um Kulthum to herself while my father saying that he could never stand her. The Egyptian movies that my mother would watch, knowing that Egypt once had a massive massive film industry of fairly high quality, and rivaled only by Hollywood and India. Knowing that your family carries such a history of the place that is so different from what you've experienced of it and that it can't just end with them, but also knowing that the venue for this isn't necessarily going to be in Egypt or in Cairo, it's going to be here, with you, or wherever you're going to be.[292]

The last sentence of his response demonstrates how the way he experienced Egypt has been largely through his family, hence making his experience growing up as an American of Egyptian heritage largely based on imagined ideas. Agha similarly notes how "immigrants transfer their nostalgia to their children through the stories and memories they share with them about the homeland."[293] In her research, respondents similarly noted that the 'Egypt' they became familiar with was very different from that described by their parents: "the Egyptianness parents instill in their children is overly accentuated and often times based on obsolete notions which were relevant at the time of their departure from Egypt but no longer hold true."[294]

When I asked Mahmoud to define and rate his sense of 'Egyptianness,' his reactions to the question reflected that the experiences he has had with Egypt, whether through his family, or through his travels in Egypt, have had an impact on who he is today. He feels that there is no ultimate definition of one's sense of 'Egyptianness,' and that the definition largely depends on each person's interests, whether it's politics, or culture, or history. Mahmoud describes how his

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[292] Mahmoud, interview.

[293] Agha, "From Homeland to Adopted Home," 66.

[294] Ibid., 67.

own sense of 'Egyptianness' comes from his own engagement with Egypt, engagement where he tries to understand Egypt in a way that is not just so negative and simplistic. Mahmoud feels that because he will never be able to know the kind of Egypt where his parents where raised, that he is going to have to discover a more complex understanding of Egypt in a different way:

> […] The reality is just that you have to immerse yourself in the history of the place, and the nuance of the place, and that's something that I suspect not a lot of people in my position have had to do, they just take it at face value, this is Egypt, and there are these fun things about Egypt, and there are these not so fun things about Egypt, and focus on that, whereas for me […] Egypt is equal something much bigger, and I want to try to find that out.[295]

Mahmoud is very interested in cultural representations of Egypt, literature, movies, documentaries, graffiti, photography, etc. He claimed that he has been able to discuss such works not with Egyptian-Americans around him, but with Egyptians in Egypt who share his interests. He feels that such an approach to understanding Egypt is as if "you created your own culture by yourself."[296] Mahmoud claims that "engaging with it [Egypt] at the level of culture with a capital C, has been very very beneficial for me, because it sort of cut across this idea you have of a culture that has given up on itself. But there are still voices, there are still people in there, increasingly I think, who are willing to cast a critical eye on that, and in the process create something new, something new about the culture, create a different idea about the culture."[297] Mahmoud's advice for second-generation Egyptians who want to feel more connected to their Egyptian heritage is to explore Egypt by themselves in whichever way interests them. Cynthia provides similar advice:

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[295] Mahmoud, interview.

[296] Ibid.

[297] Ibid.

"if you're in Egypt, you need to leave your family […], you need to explore the country on your own or go with people who are of your own generation and not of your parent's generation. […] Because that's when you see it as it is and not something that is pushed on you by your parents. When I was younger, I was very sheltered, you go to very few places, you don't see the poverty, you don't see the diversity, you don't see the culture of it. People forget that Egypt has a very modern vibrant culture. […] If you're only going where your family is going then it seems very restrictive. […] You need to appreciate how the Egyptian culture has enriched your life rather than kind of been an obstacle. I think a lot of the times people perceive it as an obstacle or something they have to get over, because their parents couldn't speak English very well, or because they couldn't do things other people did. But I think my Egyptian culture has enriched my life so much, and I think that's what makes me feel Egyptian; it is to know how much of that is in me and to really appreciate it […][298]

Hence, Cynthia's and Mahmoud's understanding of Egypt and understanding of their sense of 'Egyptianness,' has been largely based on their attempts to imagine and reconstruct an image of Egypt that is much more complex and subtle than it appears to be, and than their experience of Egypt through family gave them access to.

Both Mahmoud and Rana feel that their sense of 'Egyptianness' is something that they will continue to nurture through their desire to explore the country further. In fact, this is something that Mary similarly noted after her first and only visit to Egypt. Rana feels that there is a direct relationship with one's knowledge of Egypt and one's sense of 'Egyptianness,' and that is why she feels that her sense of 'Egyptianness' is not complete so long as she continues to learn more and more about Egypt.[299] Such reactions depict how for Egyptian-Americans, Egypt is something that they have to create for themselves. Hence, learning about Egypt is more of a choice rather than an expectation, which is quite different from the reflections presented by Egyptians in Qatar.

The struggle of Egyptians in Egypt was a common answer between respondents in the

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[298] Cynthia, interview.

[299] Rana, interview.

U.S. and Qatar when asked to reflect on what Egypt means to them. Ahmed for example, feels

that the history of Egypt no longer matters and no longer defines what the country is today. He

feels that Egyptian people best represented what Egypt was. Ahmed explains:

> For me, Egypt is Egyptians. It's not the big monuments and temples, those are not living. It's not the past, the past is dead. It's Egypt, it's the people, it's 90 million people, primarily in Egypt and elsewhere. Those of us living outside of Egypt are probably doing okay, we don't have the same problems in security than people who live there do, so they're the priority, because they stay there and they live there…[It's] really about the people, it's about the well-being of humans as opposed to abstractions like whatever nationalist symbols or constructs.[300]

Aya makes it very clear from the beginning that she is different than Egyptians in Egypt.

When I asked her to reflect on what it means to be an Egyptian, this was her response:

> I think it's a sense of struggle. I think most people here have seen what it means to be an Egyptian by struggling through living abroad or through living in Egypt even and struggling economically, socially on many different levels. It's a struggle but there's always hope. […] I don't think anyone can ever say that Egypt is gone forever, no matter what happens. Egyptians are extremely smart and I feel like they're powerful and they know what they want. We have a lot of obstacles, but being an Egyptian is extremely powerful. I think that's what being an Egyptians means.[301]

Hence, both Aya and Ahmed feel that struggle is an important component in what they

imagine to be Egypt or Egyptians. However, though Ahmed emphasizes the struggle of

Egyptians in Egypt, Aya feels that it is a struggle that is experienced by Egyptians abroad too.

This differentiation most likely is connected to Egyptians in Qatar and to what Layla stated

earlier about the social tensions that exist between expatriates and nationals.

Sally is an interesting case study. She claims that Egypt represents the vacations she used

to have in Egypt during the summer, but that it really just represents her family now. She feels

that if the revolution continues in the right direction, that the meaning Egypt holds for her will

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[300] Ahmed, interview.

[301] Aya, interview.

131

increase. Nonetheless, she does not feel that Egypt will be a place for her in the future, because she does not really connect with the place. But since Sally holds Canadian citizenship in addition to the Egyptian citizenship, she has much more freedom with her future than Egyptians who only hold Egyptian citizenship do. Her disconnect from the negative aspects of Egypt (especially the harsh conditions in Egypt, that she feels had an impact on peoples' behaviors negatively), has shaped her sense of 'Egyptianness.' Sally described how Egypt to her is what it was when she was younger, a time when she used to enjoy her time in Egypt. But because she feels the country has changed so much, not just in terms of cleanliness, but also in terms of peoples' behaviors, she feels she just can no longer connect with it.[302] Hence, for Sally, Egypt revolves around the happy moments that she experienced as a child. It might not be necessarily the case that twenty years ago Egypt was very different in terms of those issues, (in fact, it is more likely the case that they were always present), but perhaps she does not remember them as a child.

The Impact of Egypt's 2011 Revolution on Egyptians Abroad

The revolution has been an interesting episode in the lives of Egyptians abroad. For the most part, Egyptians in the U.S. share the thoughts and reflections of Egyptians in Qatar about the revolution. This section is one example that supports Levitt's description of various "life-course effects"[303] on the frequency and intensity of the "transnational practices" that second-generation immigrants are involved in. This section depicts how a particular moment in history shaped the "transnational practices" of both second-generation Egyptian immigrants and expatriates. In this section, I discuss the most common reactions respondents had towards the revolution, particularly with regards to how it impacted their constructed image of Egypt. I then

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[302] Sally, interview.

[303] Levitt, "The Ties That Change," 139.

briefly discuss some of the differences that arose between the two communities of respondents.

As I mentioned in Chapter Two, this research was conducted during the Presidential elections in May and June 2012, a critical time in the timeline of the revolution. However, most discussions and reactions to the revolution and its impact on their identities have revolved around the initial 18 days of revolt in 2011. Almost all respondents described how the January 25 revolution, the initial 18 days, was an emotionally charged period of their lives. Almost all respondents stated that they followed the events in Egypt during those 18 days very closely, and that those 18 days proved to be very stressful. A few of them described how they knew Egyptians who actually traveled to Egypt to take part in the protests. After Mubarak's resignation, they described their feelings of relief, happiness, and hope. When asked to describe if any changes took place in their respective Egyptian communities after February 11th, they almost all stated that there was a surge in political discussions and debates, via online forums and face-to-face discussions; something that was almost nonexistent prior to the revolution. Dalia explained that before the revolution, Egyptians met socially quite frequently, but that there has been an increase in the level of political awareness since the revolution erupted.[304] Almost all respondents noted that immediately after Mubarak's resignation, there was an increasing sense of interconnectedness between Egyptians abroad. However, as the months went by, and specifically in the period this research was completed, they described how divisions within Egyptian communities started to emerge.

Egyptian-Americans noted how some Egyptian organizations, such as EACA, organized fundraisers for the revolution's martyrs. A few respondents discussed their involvement with the

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[304] Dalia, interview.

Egyptian American Rule of Law Association (EARLA), an organization that was established

after the revolution to address how rule of law can be implemented in Egypt.[305] Another

organization that was also established after the revolution is the American-Egyptian Strategic

Alliance (AESA), the organization I mentioned earlier that seeks to find a middle ground

between the strategic interests of the U.S. and those in Egypt.[306] Ahmed describes how Egyptian-

Americans have come to the realization, especially after the revolution, that they will have to

become much more active in domestic politics in order to impact legislation on Egypt. NEGMA

is another organization that emerged after the revolution. There has also been an increase in

activism in Qatar. The Egyptian Ladies Association (ELA) mentioned earlier is an organization

that emerged after the revolution. When I spoke to the founder of the organization, Dr. Elham

Fawzi, she stated that the purpose of the group is to establish a presence of Egyptian women in

Qatar's community, something she felt was lacking.[307] The organization organizes social

networking events that bring together Egyptian women, but also interacts with other women's

organizations in Qatar.

Almost all respondents reported that their level of interest in what was happening in

Egypt increased during and after the 18 days of revolt. Their level of interest increased by their

frequent following of news updates and online social network forums to find out the latest

updates about developments in Egypt. Some, like Malak, Yasmine, Sally, and Layla, noted that

their interest started to decrease when Egypt's transition started moving in a direction they did

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[305] "About Us," Egyptian-American Rule of Law Association, accessed April 6, 2013,
http://www.earla.org/aboutus.php.

[306] "Mission," American-Egyptian Strategic Alliance, accessed April 10, 2013,
http://www.americanegyptiansa.org/about/mission.

[307] Elham Fawzi, interview by author, Doha, August 12, 2012.

not anticipate; they started to become disappointed with the fact that their hopes for a better Egypt were fading away. Rana, however, stated that the revolution did not really have an impact on her interest in Egypt, noting how she has always been interested in Egypt and what was happening in Egypt.[308]

Different respondents expressed different levels of interest in Egypt and in different ways of engaging with Egypt. For some, it was just keeping up with developments in Egypt, while others hoped that links could be established to connect development efforts in Egypt with development efforts abroad. Ahmed, for example, discussed how one of the challenges that face Egyptians abroad, is the ability to maintain links with Egypt. For Ahmed, maintaining familial links only is not enough; it is important that Egyptians abroad maintain or create links with particular organizations and initiatives, such as EARLA and EASA.[309] Ahmed is one of several respondents I interviewed who traveled frequently between the U.S. and Egypt because of the nature of his job, proving that second-generation immigrants can be actively involved in "transnational migration." Dalia has also maintained her interest in what has been happening in Egypt through the work she's been doing, and via a recently established social entrepreneurship organization.

However, the more revealing responses came about when they described how the revolution shaped their sense of 'Egyptianness.' When asked to describe why they cared about the revolution, or why they had such an emotional reaction to the events that were taking place during the 18 days, several respondents in the U.S. and Qatar described how the revolution broke out for the reasons that made their parents leave Egypt in the first place (namely the lack of

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[308] Rana, interview.

[309] Ahmed, interview.

135

decent job opportunities). Rana expressed this opinion, stating that even though she was not in Egypt or in Tahrir Square, she still somehow felt solidarity because her family left Egypt "for the same reasons that all these people wished they could leave [for]."[310] Dalia struggled while answering the question but she explained that in addition to her strong appreciation for the interconnectedness she felt with her family and strangers while in Egypt, there are particular characteristics about Egyptians that she is in love with:

> There's something about Egyptians, in particular […] I just love them. I really just love them, *feeh haga*[311] in the culture, it's just funny, and good-natured. I feel that Egyptians are good-natured people, I'm someone who tends to see the good in people anyway, so it's not like I think some other ethnicity is bad-natured, but you could say that for example, in this country, there's a general cold vibe from the people, or whatever, just like people say that people in the South are nicer, that kind of a thing. I feel like that's how it is in Egypt, people are very warm and welcoming and they want to laugh. They have inclinations to laugh, inclinations to take things lightly, even in the midst of so much hardship, and I've always loved that […][312]

For Yasmine, who was in Qatar when the revolution erupted, her initial interest in the revolution came about because she felt that she was expected to by virtue of the fact that she is Egyptian. Yasmine described that Egyptians around her were always talking about the events and about specific individuals, while non-Egyptians were constantly asking her about what was happening. As a result, she describes how initially, she felt obliged to be interested in the revolution since she had no interest in Egyptian politics before the revolution (bringing back the notion that Egyptians in Qatar are somehow *expected* to know what was happening in Egypt). But when events during the 18 days started threatening her family in Egypt, Yasmine describes

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[310] Rana, interview.

[311] *Feeh haga* means "there is something."

[312] Dalia, interview.

how she realized that she did in fact care very deeply about what was happening.[313] Sally

similarly feels that the revolution has been a very important episode in her life, because she feels

that the revolution is what is maintaining her connection to Egypt, a connection she feels has

deteriorated over the past years.[314]

I additionally asked Egyptian-Americans to reflect on whether or not the revolution had

an impact on their sense of 'Americanness.' A few respondents noted that the American

administration's disappointing response to the initial days of protests and their support of

Mubarak made them angry about U.S. foreign policy, but did not have an impact on their sense

of 'Americanness.' Ahmed shared this opinion, noting how he tends to look at U.S. politics and

Americans through different lenses, because Americans he interacted with were very supportive

of the Egyptian revolution.[315]

Some Egyptian-Americans said that the revolution did not have an impact on their sense

of 'Americanness,' but much more so on their sense of 'Egyptianness.' Layla describes how the

revolution increased her sense of 'Egyptianness' but did not really shape her sense of

'Canadianness':

> I consider my Egyptianness not just in terms of what I eat, I consider it as like my
> mentality about Egypt or what I think or how proud I am of it or how I want to talk about
> it, or that sort of thing. Before it, I didn't really want to talk about it, I didn't really want
> to identify as an Egyptian, I was very disappointed in Egypt as a whole, and now, the first
> thing I say is that I'm Egyptian, during the revolution especially. And now yes, because I
> want to identify with other Egyptians have discussions and dialogues and see what's
> happening. But before it was just not something that crossed my mind.[316]

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[313] Yasmine, interview.

[314] Sally, interview.

[315] Ahmed, interview.

[316] Layla, interview.

Layla explains that prior to the revolution, her sense of 'Egyptianness' had more to do with the forced sense of 'Egyptianness' she explained earlier; living with her family, going to Egyptian community events, etc. Whereas now, Layla feels that because her identification with Egypt and her interest in what is happening there, (particularly during the 18 days since she was alone in the U.S. at the time), comes from her and not her parents, she feels that her sense of 'Egyptianness' has increased. The revolution has resulted in an increase in her sense of nationalism, which is why she now has an Egyptian flag on her car, something she did not have before. This supports Levitt's analysis of the impact of particular "life-course effects" on one's level of transnational involvement.[317]

Ahmed clarified that even though he has always felt that he is Egyptian, the January 25 revolution had a profound impact on the level of pride he felt towards Egypt and his level of interest towards Egypt, which he feels "mushroomed" and "sky-rocketed."[318] Ahmed describes very simply the impact the revolution had: "It's not about how Egyptian I felt, it's about how I felt about being Egyptian."[319] I asked Ahmed why the revolution was such a turning point in his life, and this was his response:

> Because it was something to be proud of, Egyptians were doing something historic, and it kind of shattered a lot of our stereotypes about Egyptians being passive, risk-averse- although I think some of those stereotypes are still probably true. How could you not feel proud? If ordinary non-Arab, non-Egyptian people were looking at Egypt with a huge sense of pride and inspiration, how could I as an Egyptian not feel that pride? And in my mind, I had always felt that Egyptian nationalism, modern nationalism, is so shallow,

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[317] Layla, interview.

[318] Ahmed, interview.

[319] Ibid.

because it is mostly chauvinism, it is mostly about 7000 years of history, and the Pharaohs, etc. Okay, but go look at Egypt now, show me something in the however many millions of square miles, show me something to be proud of. And I know this sounds obnoxious, but one reason why I suppressed Egyptian nationalism was, 'what do you have to be proud of now?' A corrupt, economic basket case? Dirty streets? What is there to be proud of? Suddenly, there was something to be proud of.[320]

Aya had a similar reaction, but she was particularly referring to how she feels Egyptians have been treated in Qatar and elsewhere in the Gulf:

We want to go back to our country eventually and be able to say we're proud to be Egyptians. Unfortunately here in Qatar, and I don't know if it's just here, but I think for most of the Gulf states, Egyptians are looked down up, maybe because we're not part of the country, and most Egyptians here can't work the best jobs. Sometimes we're discriminated [against] by other nationalities. After the revolution, I thought perhaps there will be the time to see a better Egypt and won't be discriminated against and we wont have to settle less because we don't live in our own country.[321]

In this way, as Ahmed put it, the revolution may not have increased or decreased how Egyptian these respondents felt, or their sense of 'Egyptianness,' but more so increased their *pride* in being Egyptian and increased their desire or willingness to display this pride.

Two main differences emerged between the responses of Egyptians in Qatar and Egyptians in the U.S. The first difference is that a few Egyptians in Qatar noted how they were increasingly interested in Egypt after the revolution because it increased their chances of moving back there. Yasmine describes that because of her summer 2012 visit to Egypt, she started to feel that perhaps she would be able to live in Egypt long-term. She claims that she "started to think of what a life there would look like."[322] When I asked her to describe to me the biggest change on her sense of "Egyptianness," she described that it was that trip to Egypt. I asked her to elaborate:

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[320] Ibid.

[321] Aya, interview.

[322] Yasmine, interview.

[…] Because I felt like it's [living there] realistic. For example, I met people my age who are working there, who *like* working there, […] So it's not all what you see on tv; all the poverty, all the unemployment, because you realize that your education is good. We have really good education here compared to what is there. So it impresses a lot of companies, and a lot of companies do want talents like this. So you feel that you shouldn't just give up on the hope that there's something for you over there. So also, you have to learn to adjust your expectations.[323]

In this way, Yasmine's understanding of what life in Egypt is changed following her visit to Egypt. She has started to imagine a life where she can have a fun social life with people her age and with a decent job. The revolution has therefore paved a way for Yasmine, and others like her, to really come to terms with the fact that sooner or later, she will have to find a way to enjoy living in Egypt long-term.

The second difference I noticed is that many respondents, namely Aya, Mark, Gerges, Layla, and Sally, in Qatar criticized the fact that some Egyptians in Egypt, particularly during the elections, condemned the perspectives and participation of Egyptians abroad. This goes back to their realization that they would have to go back to Egypt at some point and that Egypt is their permanent home. Layla feels that some Egyptians in Egypt act like they are "superior" when it comes to knowledge about who is best to lead Egypt because they actually live there and have an insider's perspective on what is happening. Several respondents in Qatar expressed that Egyptians abroad were perceived to be closer to one another because they constantly feel excluded by Egyptians in Egypt. Layla explains:

Egyptians abroad all have the sense of longing for home; they all want to go back to Egypt. Egyptians in Egypt think we betrayed Egypt in a sense and left to find an easier life, they don't understand that this wasn't by choice and that a lot want to return to their home. This gives Egyptians abroad more of an appreciation for Egypt. Egyptians in Egypt think we have it so much better and we aren't entitled to have certain perspectives

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[323] Ibid.

140

or opinions about what is happening in Egypt because we are not actually there and facing what's happening. That is incredibly frustrating, we are just as Egyptian as Egyptians in Egypt but they turn us off […] so we end up relating more to Egyptians abroad.[324]

Layla is talking in the context of the Egyptian revolution, but her thoughts about the division between Egyptians abroad and Egyptians in Egypt is not just a question of who has the right to have an opinion on Egypt; it is deeper than that. Sally shares a similar perspective, noting that the main challenge that faces Egyptians abroad is having them "be accepted by Egyptians in Egypt."[325] Sally feels that if anything, Egyptians abroad are actually more nationalistic than Egyptians in Egypt:

> We still love our country and we want to see it better. We have things to lose there, so we'd want it to be a better place for them, for people who chose to stay in Egypt, it doesn't make us bad people for leaving. […] The people who are living outside of Egypt are more patriotic than people living inside of Egypt, because, like I said, they actually witnessed that things can be better because they lived outside and if they saw a bad situation they tried to take a good opportunity outside to see what it was like. I'm not saying it can work for everyone, a lot of people have tried to come outside and it didn't work so they moved back. But, they're [Egyptians abroad] more patriotic because they're like, 'no, we lived in a good place and it can become good, Egypt can become good', and they want to move back.[326]

The remarks put forward by Layla and Sally are very interesting because they relate to the earlier discussion on how Egyptians who grew up in Qatar specifically tend to see themselves as a separate group that is distinct from other Egyptians who grew up in Egypt. The first thing to note about Sally's reflection is that she continuously refers to Egypt as her *own* country, even though she described earlier that her connection to Egypt before the revolution was very weak. This is very different from the reactions I received from Dalia for example, who has been very

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[324] Layla, interview.

[325] Sally, interview.

[326] Ibid.

connected to Egypt personally and career-wise, and yet has made it clear that Egypt is a country she is connected to because of her family but not because it is necessarily her *own* country. In the conclusion section, I elaborate on this differentiation.

The other thing to take into account is her feeling that because Egyptians abroad have been subjected to better living circumstances, they know that Egyptians can work for a better future for Egypt. Again, Sally's reaction revolves around her imagined idea of what Egypt *could* become, particularly after the revolution. Hence, the revolution has played a major role in constructing an imaginary of the kind of country Egypt could become, and the impact of this on the prospects of Egyptians in Qatar moving back. It is important to keep in mind that both Layla and Sally have the Canadian citizenship and hence are not necessarily as restricted in terms of residency options as most Egyptians in Qatar are. Nonetheless, both of them lived in Canada for just a few years and spent most of their lives in Qatar. Moreover, as Canadian citizens, they still do not have the option of living in Qatar permanently, and hence, as a result of their frequent interactions with Egyptians in Qatar, the rhetoric of having to leave Qatar at some point is very much alive. In fact, Maged, who also holds the Canadian citizenship, noted that he never really thought about his Canadian citizenship until he moved to Canada to pursue his studies.[327] As a result, I speculate that their reflections on wanting to go back are connected to the common rhetoric of the majority population of Egyptians in Qatar.

Respondents in the U.S. mostly criticized some of the common ideas about Egyptians abroad, such as the idea that they are not as loyal, or not as connected to Egypt, or the idea that they should not vote in Egyptian elections. Though most respondents in the U.S. criticized these

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[327] Maged, interview.

ideas, particularly those that stated Egyptians abroad should be excluded from the election process, they did not justify their responses with the idea that they will be returning to Egypt. For example, Malak noted that it is understandable that Egyptians who live in the U.S. unlike Egyptians in the Gulf would be less connected to Egypt. However, she noted that this does not mean she should be excluded from the election process because she is "still Egyptian."[328] In fact, Nermien Riad, felt that the argument that Egyptians abroad should not vote was "a valid argument" because Egyptians abroad would not "bear the consequences" of their vote.[329] Hence, the difference that arises between both groups of respondents is that the basis of their resentment or criticism of the idea that Egyptians abroad should not vote is different, since Egyptians in Qatar focused on the idea that they will be returning to Egypt eventually, whereas their counterparts in the U.S. did not.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has demonstrated the ways by which citizenship influences one's understanding of Egypt and one's self and future. Possessing a second citizenship and a feeling of ownership and belonging in another country, shapes the relationship with one's home country (or that of one's parents) and effects the degree to which one is invested in contributing to it.

The importance of citizenship emerged most clearly during discussions on the revolution, as respondents in Qatar felt that it was almost a *duty* to know what was happening. This sense of *duty* was conveyed by respondents when discussing the idea of traveling to Egypt and getting to know Egypt in general. Respondents in the U.S. discussed how they were in the process of creating their own understandings of Egypt, and seeking out knowledge about Egypt.

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[328] Malak, interview.

[329] Nermien Riad, interview.

Respondents in Qatar did not portray their relationship to Egypt in the same way. Rather, it was portrayed as a given. It is almost as if Egyptians in Qatar had no excuse not knowing what was happening since they were Egyptian. Egyptian-Americans cannot be placed under the same pressure because their loyalties are legally and emotionally connected with two countries.

Finally, and perhaps more importantly, citizenship shaped how respondents perceived their future home, which for Egyptians in Qatar was almost always Egypt, whereas for Egyptians in the U.S. it was whatever they wanted it to be. In the concluding chapter, I bring together all these discussions, and provide examples of what future research could focus on.

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, I summarize the different ways in which the findings of this research complement the theoretical discussions in the literature reviewed in Chapter One. I also propose potential research studies for the future that can further allow us to explore comparisons between immigrant and expatriate communities originating from the same home country. The thesis started with the following question: how can we explain the differences and similarities that arise between second-generation Egyptian immigrants in the U.S. and second-generation Egyptian expats in Qatar? I summarize the theoretical contributions and the main conclusions.

Main Findings and Theoretical Applications

The main similarity that arose between the identity negotiation processes of Egyptians in Qatar and Egyptians in the U.S. is that both groups negotiate their various 'identities' while "engaging in" various "transnational practices" in the contexts in which they operate and live. In both countries, we saw examples of how "transnational practices" were adopted at home, in terms of food, language, and cultural norms and values emphasized. The various Egyptian communities, whether they are informal, social, religious, economic, or political, have also been crucial in instilling a sense of 'Egyptianness' in second-generation immigrants. In Chapter Three, I showed how in both countries, respondents were raised in highly 'transnationalized' environments in their communities, which subsequently served as pretexts to respondents' decisions to get involved in further "transnational practices," as predicted by Levitt and Waters.[330]

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[330] Levitt and Waters, "Introduction," 3.

145

Both Egyptians in Qatar and in the U.S. have demonstrated ways by which they "engage" in "transnational migration" activities. Travel to and from Egypt has been a key "transnational migration" practice for both Egyptians in Qatar and in the U.S. Travel has connected second-generation immigrants to their families in Egypt, and has allowed them to experience ways in which life in Egypt is similar and/or different than their lives in the U.S. or Qatar. The unique experiences that some respondents have described (whether stories about the connectedness between strangers, or stories about what living there long-term would be like) have helped second-generation Egyptians create imaginaries of what life in Egypt is. The fact that some second-generation immigrants in the U.S. work on Egyptian affairs, (whether through the organizations they are part of or in their actual jobs) is another key example of how they "engage in transnational practices;" no matter where they are, respondents have demonstrated that their home countries are very much a part of their everyday lives.

In her chapter, Levitt highlights the importance of taking particular "transnational migration" practices, (especially those that are not so obvious and frequent), into consideration when discussing the extent to which second-generation immigrants "engage in transnational practices."[331] This argument applies to both groups of respondents, because in each group, studying abroad, volunteering or working in Egypt are activities that have been identified as key factors in shaping their sense of 'Egyptianness.' It is important to note that such decisions to spend time in Egypt were in most cases, at least indirectly connected to the "transnationalized" lives they experienced in their host countries. Another key life event that has proven to be important for some respondents is the January 25, revolution, an event that was very spontaneous

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[331] Levitt, "The Ties That Change," 124.

146

when it erupted, and yet had a significant impact on how some respondents identify as being Egyptian today.

In Chapter Two, I showed how Levitt identifies the importance of ethnic networks in enabling second-generation immigrants to take part in various "transnational practices."[332] Though her focus is on functional networks that have direct relations with individuals and institutions in the home country, religious and social networks in both contexts still proved to be instrumental examples of "transnational practices" that respondents were heavily involved in. We saw examples of this in Qatar and the U.S., with Egyptians maintaining the relationships they created with members of their various Egyptian community groups. Moreover, some have started to introduce their own children to Egyptian community groups, meaning they want them to maintain some aspects of their home cultural identity. Additionally, Levitt identifies how "transnational practices" can help second-generation immigrants who somehow struggle to fully relate to either context,[333] something that has proven to be more applicable to Egyptians in Qatar than Egyptians in the U.S. in this research. Hence, discussions surrounding "transnational practices" of respondents in the U.S. and in Qatar supports recent literature, which argues that second-generation immigrants as well as first-generation immigrants "engage in transnational practices." Additionally, I showed that second-generation *expatriates* "engage in transnational practices" as much as second-generation immigrants. As a result, more research needs to be dedicated to the study of second-generation expatriates' "transnational practices."

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[332] Levitt, "The Ties That Change," 134.

[333] Levitt, "The Ties That Change," 141-2.

As I have demonstrated throughout the last two chapters, there are two main interrelated factors that explain the main differences that arise between the two communities. First, I have shown how the Qatar-based respondents came from a very specific group of expatriate Egyptians who grew up in highly cosmopolitan contexts primarily via their schools and universities. They were not raised in an environment that was exclusively Egyptian or exclusively Qatari because they went to international schools and universities.

The second factor goes back to the legal status of both communities; while respondents in the U.S. are recognized before the law as equal citizens, respondents in Qatar are not. This lack of legal recognition is more of an issue for second-generation Egyptians than it is for first-generation Egyptians because Qatar is the only home they know of. But the lack of citizenship inhibits them from having a sense of belonging in Qatar and from feeling that they are part of a larger community the way respondents in the U.S. feel in America. As a result, respondents find that they are not really encouraged to want to adopt some of the cultural aspects of Qatar's local community.

Those two factors resulted in three main differences between the identity-negotiation processes of second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. and second-generation Egyptians in Qatar. The first difference that I highlighted in Chapter Three arises in the ways both groups of respondents "engage in transnational practices" while acculturating into the context in which they operate. Egyptians in the U.S. "engage" in activities that bring together their Egyptian lives while acculturating into mainstream American society. Dalia serves as a good example of a second-generation immigrant who achieves a middle ground between her life in the U.S., and her parent's previous life in Egypt that she wants to be part of and adopt certain aspects of. This

148

brings us to the theory of acculturation and its various proponents. In his article, Berry discussed the "integration" approach, an approach in which immigrants wish to achieve this middle ground between their life in the host countries and their home countries.[334] As this thesis has demonstrated, the "integration" approach was a common approach for Egyptians in the U.S. It is slightly more difficult to determine the extent to which respondents in this research can fit in the context of Portes and Rumbaut's discussion of the various "acculturation paces," simply because the research has not involved parallel interviews of second-generation immigrants and their parents. However, the findings above seem to point more towards the "selective acculturation pace," in which parents and their children become accustomed to the host society at a moderate pace that allows them to maintain some of their home cultural values.[335] However, more accurate predictions would require an extensive research study that interviews both second-generation immigrants and their parents.

Can we apply the acculturation theory to Egyptians in Qatar? I would argue yes. Egyptians in Qatar do not have the Qatari passport and the prospects of them obtaining the citizenship are almost non-existent. Nevertheless, although Egyptians in Qatar have not been acculturated into the local "national Qatari" culture, their processes of acculturation are a product of whom they interact with the most in Qatar, which has largely been determined by their educational experiences. What seems to matter most for Egyptians Qatar is the environment they are surrounded by, a Western environment that has resulted in important similarities with respondents in the U.S. More specifically, respondents have identified their Western education and hence, their exposure to Western culture as having a profound impact not just on how they

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[334] Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," 9.

[335] Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies,* 54.

identify themselves, but also on their interests, ideas and thought processes. Hence, respondents in Qatar find themselves able to connect more with Egyptians who have had a Western education. Western education has introduced them to Western languages (namely English), culture, music, movies, television shows, etc. But also, a few respondents have identified how they are more individualistic, and much less conservative than Egyptians in Egypt because of their lives abroad and because of their exposure to Western culture. Whereas second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. can "engage in transnational practices" while adopting various ways of acculturating into the American culture because of their immigrant status, second-generation Egyptians in Qatar cannot do so because of their permanent expatriate status that discourages them from wanting to seek out Qatari cultural aspects. In many respects, for those in Qatar, acculturation is acculturation is into a transnational cosmopolitan culture, an experience quite distinct from their counterparts in the U.S. Instead, they acculturate into other cultures that they become heavily exposed to outside their homes. However, since many respondents in Qatar identified it as being their home, this was largely because it is where they grew up, where their families and friends lived, and where they find their childhood memories. Qatar is home, but not completely because of the fact that they cannot obtain citizenship and because they sometimes feel that the local population excludes them. One interesting observation is that Egyptians in the U.S. and Egyptians in Qatar share similar identity negotiation processes partly because of the impact of globalization- globalization and the export of Western culture has made second-generation immigrants more connected than one could have otherwise thought. Hence, what determines the level and intensity of "transnational practices" are the specific contextual factors surrounding each individual, such as location of upbringing, citizenship, class, and education.

150

It is absolutely important to re-emphasize the point I made in the Introduction that the results of this research are based on the responses I received from individuals who come from well educated, middle class and upper middle class professional families. The particular discussion on the acculturation of Egyptians in Qatar into the Western culture and the discussion on how they "engage in transnational practices" would probably not apply to Egyptians in Qatar who went to Egyptian or Arabic schools in Qatar or to Egyptians working as construction workers in Qatar. Similarly, if I were to interview Egyptians in the U.S. who were working as taxi drivers or who were handling the hot dog stands, I would probably receive very different results. I predict that their experiences would be similar to those analyzed by mainstream literature that looks at immigrant communities that start at the bottom of the economic "mobility ladder."[336] For such respondents in the U.S., what they believe defines their "American" life will probably be different than that described by U.S.-based respondents in this research. Hence, there really is no *one* American culture that all Americans acculturate into. This is not to discredit the responses revealed in this research, but it is more so to clarify that it is impossible to generalize the entire Egyptian community in the U.S. and Qatar. Nonetheless, this research has therefore also shown that it is important that acculturation be applied to expatriate communities too, in order to explore if there are other factors (besides the family and host country) that lead to new acculturation processes and "engage[ment] in "transnational practices."

To summarize, the first difference between the two communities arises in how respondents understand and make sense of their acculturation approaches. We could label this distinction with how respondents in each group define the society in which they acculturate. For

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[336] Portes and Zhou, "The New Second Generation," 83.

respondents in the U.S., this society is ultimately American, even if their American society experience is different form what others might experience; the fact of the matter is, it is *still American.* However, respondents in Qatar cannot easily label the cosmopolitan and particularly Western culture that they are acculturated into definitively. Is the culture Western, is it Arab, is it multi-Arab? There is no *legal* label that they can use except that it is *non-Qatari.* The consequences of this difference is that the acculturation processes, and consequently the identity-negotiation processes of respondents in Qatar appear to be much less definitive than the acculturation processes of their counterparts in the U.S.

The second differentiation that arises between the two groups is in how they connect with Egyptians around them who were born and/or raised in Egypt and the impact of such connections on their identity negotiation processes. Egyptians in Qatar have expressed more confrontation and more distance between themselves and Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Egypt. Qatar is a country where second-generation expatriates have interacted with Egyptians coming from Egypt perhaps more closely than Egyptians in the U.S. The communities that Egyptians in Qatar interact with are a mix of Egyptians who have lived in Qatar for a substantial amount of time and of Egyptians who recently moved to Qatar. In the U.S., it seemed that growing up, second-generation immigrants interacted mostly with other second-generation immigrants and their families who shared similar experiences and who shared the same legal category of being Egyptian-Americans. Because Egyptians in the U.S. already have another citizenship that they obtained for having been born and/or raised in the U.S., America becomes an obvious part of their identity. Hence, if they find trouble relating to Egypt or Egyptians in Egypt, it is not a

serious matter because the Egyptians they interact with in the U.S. are similar to them; Egyptian communities in the U.S. serve as the second best alternative.

However, Egyptians in Qatar are more fraught because they do in fact find difficulties relating to Egyptians around them who were born and/or raised in Egypt. Even though respondents are legally part of the same group, they have spent most of their lives in Qatar. However, as I have shown throughout Chapter Three and Chapter Four, respondents implied on several occasions that they were *expected* to know Egypt and that they were *expected* to know what life there is about. I argue that this source of expectation comes from several factors: a) respondents live relatively close to Egypt and hence travel there much more frequently, b) because of its widespread availability in Qatar and the Arab world, Egyptians in Qatar interact very frequently with Egyptian media, c) similarly to Egyptians in Egypt, respondents live in an Arabic-speaking country amongst many other Egyptian and Arab communities, and d) their unique status as *expatriates* means that respondents are legally just Egyptians like the other Egyptians around them who were born and/or raised in Egypt. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, the fact that individuals in Qatar are ultimately defined by where they are from and defined by which category of citizenship they fall under, further increases the pressure on people to abide by these categorizations. Respondents in the U.S. are not subjected to this particular pressure.

However, what makes it harder for respondents in Qatar to connect with their Egyptian counterparts despite the above reasons is the fact that they have mostly lived in Qatar and know little about what life in Egypt is like. Their interactions with the local Qatari community are limited, (as is the case for most expatriates in Qatar) *and* the Egyptian communities have

members who come from Egypt, making it difficult for second-generation Egyptians to find a middle ground between their Egyptian identity and their Western education. Moreover, they come from a different socio-economic class that further inhibits their ability to understand how an average Egyptian lives. But the reasons above can potentially explain why respondents sometimes felt that they were supposed to understand and connect well with any Egyptian in Qatar. This expectation places respondents in an uncomfortable and insecure position that almost pushes them to connect only with those who shared their experiences.

The results of this research ultimately point to the larger question of class; how would the results be different if I conducted this research with Egyptians in Qatar who spend most of their time around other Egyptians whom they interact with in their Egyptian schools? Thinking about this question reminded me of a particular incident that I myself experienced and that I believe would help clarify my point around the fraught experiences of Egyptians in Qatar.

When I was in fifth grade, like many other Egyptians abroad, my mother enrolled me in the Egyptian curriculum exam at the Egyptian Language School in Doha. The exam is administered for Egyptians abroad to facilitate the process of students' transitions should they decide to move to Egypt and enroll in Egyptian schools. I had to prepare for this exam while I was enrolled in an international school that adopted the British curriculum. All subject exams were administered at the Egyptian Language School, and I remember that throughout the week I felt completely uncomfortable and very foreign in the setting of the Egyptian Language School. That feeling came about largely because I was surrounded by Egyptians whom I could not identify with in any way. I was not accustomed to being around so many Egyptians at once, and I was certainly not accustomed to operating in a school setting where English was not the main

154

language of communication. This feeling worsened when I was given the math and science exam sheets in Arabic, when I had studied the subjects in English. I remember feeling extremely embarrassed to put my hand up and ask for the English version, because I did not want the other Egyptian students to judge me. I was frustrated that I could not take the exam in the same language as the other students could, all because I went to a different school. In the end, the instructor exchanged my exam sheet, but the point to take from this is that I felt extremely foreign around other Egyptians who were also born and/or raised in Qatar, but who simply went to a different school.

This story should clarify the kinds of confrontations I discussed earlier between Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Qatar, and Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Egypt. The confrontations and feelings of insecurities partially stem from the fact that Egyptians in Qatar sometimes feel that they are expected to identify easily with Egyptians from Egypt (which can be a source of pressure), and partially because Egyptians who were born and/or raised in Qatar can only identify with their lives in Qatar. This results them to share more of an affinity with others like them making them feel like they are their own group.

The third and final differentiation which I explored in Chapter Four, refers to how respondents understood their connections with their host countries, and how this subsequently shaped their understanding of Egypt. Host citizenships determine one's commitment and willingness to invest in their host country. Egyptians in the U.S. expressed how they take advantage of the opportunities that the U.S. offers, but also how they want to contribute to American society; America is therefore an important factor in their identity. The situation is different with Egyptians in Qatar, who, like their parents, have the mentality that one can only

take advantage of the opportunities available until one is essentially asked to leave. Second-generation Egyptians in the U.S. feel that they can contribute to the U.S. because it belongs to them, whereas Egyptians in Qatar do not have that option. Hence, citizenship determines one's constructed imaginary of the host country and one's relationship and commitment to it and of one's country of origin. Chapter Four exposed the differentiations between the two groups regarding their perception of Egypt as a permanent home. Such differentiations emerged with respondents' reflections on the revolution and on how it shaped their sense of 'Egyptianness' and their connections to Egypt. Respondents in Qatar focused their reflections on the idea that Egypt is their permanent home; respondents in the U.S. did not really discuss this as something that was inevitable, but more so that it was something that might be the case if they find an appropriate opportunity. Moreover, such differentiations emerged as respondents talked about their experiences in Egypt, particularly since respondents in the U.S. discussed their connection with Egypt as something they would like to maintain, whereas respondents in Qatar discussed their connection as something they *have* to maintain or are expected to maintain.

The reactions revealed by Egyptians in Qatar in this research show that their identities are more fraught than the identities of Egyptians in the U.S. because Egyptians in Qatar have to deal with a) being born to Egyptian parents and raised to *be* Egyptian and knowing that at some point Egypt will be their permanent home despite having never lived their for a substantial amount of time, b) growing up in Qatar and identifying with their lives in Qatar the most yet not being able to fully identify with the country because they do not have citizenship and consequently cannot live there forever and be fully invested in it, and c) being acculturated throughout their childhoods in to the Western culture through their education. Hence, what determines one's

156

sense of 'Egyptianness' is not necessarily citizenship or distance from Egypt, but the specific

contextual factors surrounding each respondent.

Future Potential Research Studies

Research on identity negotiation processes must take into account all these factors: the

importance of citizenships, the degree of inclusion by the local communities, the composition of

the Egyptian communities, and other important influences, such as class and education. Future

research should focus on comparing immigrants with expatriates originating from the same home

country to determine the extent to which citizenship and location of upbringing inform their

identity negotiation processes, and whether or not other factors prove to be just as important in

influencing such processes. Future research should focus on various groups from the same

immigrant/expatriate community in the same location, in order to compare individuals who come

from different education and socio-economic backgrounds. When studying identity negotiation

processes, one must take into consideration the very specific details of respondents' lives and the

details of the particular communities they interact with. Moreover, one must take note of

particular contextual events, such as revolutions in the homeland that can shape respondents'

understanding of themselves and how this is similar or different between the diasporic groups.

In Chapter One, I addressed three major themes that came up in the literature on second-

generation immigrants. From the literature reviewed, I got a sense that the "segmented

assimilation"[337] theory, discussed by Portes and Zhu, is a theory that has not been applied to

Arab Americans in the exhaustive manner that it has been applied to other immigrant

communities in the U.S. This thesis has shown that it is possible to explore ways to apply the

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[337] Portes and Zhou, "The New Second Generation," 82.

"segmented assimilation" theory to Egyptian-Americans to study their assimilation trajectories and the reasons behind these trajectories. For example, the circumstances surrounding Dalia's life in the U.S. have led her to pursue a life in the U.S. where she feels very much that she belongs, just like any other American, while at the same time ensuring that she retains significant cultural norms and values that she uses to guide her everyday life in the U.S. Dalia, a highly accomplished young woman, academically and career-wise, has been able to achieve economic and social "upward mobility," while ensuring that her cultural heritage is part of her successful second-generation immigrant story in the U.S. How can we explain Dalia's outcome? Unlike most immigrant communities surveyed in the reviewed literature, Dalia comes from a highly professional family of a high socio-economic status that allowed her family to get a good start on the economic "mobility ladder." Unlike most literature on assimilation, which has focused on immigrant communities starting from the bottom of the "mobility ladder," this thesis has shown that there could be potential in applying the theory to immigrant communities whose members start at different stages of the "mobility ladder." Further research needs to explore the application of the "segmented assimilation" theory on Arab immigrants in the U.S. in general.

Literature on Egyptians has largely focused on migration patterns, but not so much on the very specific details of their lives living abroad and how these details impact their identity negotiation processes. This thesis has demonstrated the importance of studying immigrant and expatriate communities by taking a look at the very small details of their everyday lives in order to truly capture the impact of migration on their identity negotiation processes.

Another interesting area of research is the study of the particular experiences of other Arab expatriates in the Gulf. As I mentioned in the Introduction, literature that discusses

158

expatriates who have little option of obtaining citizenships in their host countries tend to focus on refugees. However, the Arab expatriates are a very different case study. As shown above, the particular experience of Egyptian expatriates is something that has been understudied. More research needs to be done to study the specifics of these communities, especially since the communities themselves are very diverse in terms of class, education choices, etc. The respondents I discussed came from a very specific socio-economic class whose experiences are most likely very different from those who come from a different class. More specifically, this area of research is even more important in the context of the Arab uprisings as these expatriates attempt to make sense of what is happening in their home countries and of their prospects of moving back there.

I hope that this research opens up more questions and discussions on the similarities and differences that arise between immigrants and expatriates originating from the same home country and the consequences of these similarities and differences on their identity negotiation processes. And I hope that this research further expands the discussions of the Arab uprisings to the reactions and reflections of other Arabs in the GCC who are wondering about the fate of their homelands and consequently, about the fate of their eventual return to their homelands.

APPENDIX:

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Background Information
Name:
Year of birth:
Country of Birth:
Citizenship (s):
Occupation:
Occupation of your parents:
Religion:
How long have you been living in Qatar/U.S.?
What language/dialect do you speak at home?
What kind of music do you listen to often?
What kind of movies do you often watch?
Are you interested in a particular sport? Which sport? And what team?
Do you have satellite television at home? What channels do you mostly watch?
What is your favorite cuisine?
What kind of cuisine do you/your family usually cook at home?
Why did you or your family leave Egypt to come live in Qatar/U.S.?

Visits to Egypt
1. Do you ever visit Egypt? If yes, how often? Do you always visit Egypt for this often/infrequently?

2. What are the primary reasons for your visits to Egypt? (Work, family, education, other)

3. What are your experiences like when you are there? (Particularly with regards to how much you feel that you belong to this country, and that you are like the Egyptians in Egypt, or how you connect to Egyptians in Egypt).

4. Have you visited Egypt since the revolution? If so, please describe your thoughts, feelings and experiences when you went there.

5. How does your experience visiting Egypt after the uprising compare with your experience visiting before?

   What remained the same since your last visit and what changed?

Family in Egypt
6. Has your relationship with your family/friends in Egypt changed since you moved out of Egypt? How so?

[ONLY POSE THIS FOR EGYPTIANS WHO MOVED RECENTLY OR WHO ARE OLD ENOUGH TO REMEMBER]

Has this changed recently? How so?

<u>Self-identifications</u>
7. How would you describe where you're from?

    Have you always described yourself in this way?

    [Explain sense of 'Egyptianness']

8. ***For those who hold a foreign citizenship (in addition to/instead of an Egyptian citizenship): How has this impacted your sense of 'Egyptianness'?

    Can you give me concrete examples?

9. ***For Egyptians who were born in Qatar/U.S. or who came with their families: How has your family (or other people who live with you at home) shaped the way you describe yourself?

    Can you give me concrete examples?

10. You've been living here for X amount of years, what meanings does this place hold for you?

11. ***For Egyptian-Americans/Egyptian-Qataris only: Has the revolution changed the way in which you understand or experience your American/Qatari citizenship?

    How? In what ways? Can you give me concrete examples?

12. Describe to me your life as an Egyptian in Qatar/U.S. Are there particular actions/practices that have helped you maintain your sense of 'Egyptianness' OR that have helped keep you connected to Egypt? If so, what are they?

    Has this changed at all? In what ways? Can you give me concrete examples?

13. Describe to me the friends you hang out with the most: where are they from, how often do you meet, and what do you do together?

    Family friends?

14. Are there things that you do with your [Egyptian] family friends that you do not do with your other non-Egyptian friends?

15. Talk to me about the Egyptian community here, what are they like, and how often do you interact with them?

    Were you part of an Egyptian network/organization prior to the revolution?

16. Describe to me a typical religious/national celebration here that involves the Egyptian community? Who usually attends? What do you do? Do they happen frequently? Etc.

17. Are there any noticeable changes in the Egyptian community around you since the uprising?

    Can you give me concrete examples?

18. What about the greater Arab community here, how connected are you to them?

    Would you say you are more connected to the greater Arab community or the Egyptian community in Qatar/U.S., or both?

    How so? Can you give me concrete examples?

The Uprising/Revolution in Egypt
19. What was your initial reaction when you first heard about the revolution?

20. What in your opinion was the revolution all about?

21. What was the general or overall reaction of other Egyptians in your community?

    How do you know- who among the Egyptian community were you discussing events with?

    Were there other ways to know about how Egyptians in your community were responding to events in Egypt?

22. Did you contact your family in Egypt to inquire for more information? If so, what was their reaction about the revolution when it first started?

23. Tell me more about yourself and your everyday life during those 18 days: your thoughts and feelings during the 18 days, what were your responses and reactions throughout the revolution, until Mubarak stepped down?
    a) Atmosphere in the home?
    b) Participation in any protests in respective countries? If so, how many?
    c) Did you reach out to Egyptians in Egypt?

d) How were other non-Egyptian people around you approaching them about the subject (if at all), and how did the participants respond to them?

e) Is there a noticeable difference in how non-Egyptians react to you in everyday life when they find out that you are Egyptian?

24. Why did the revolution cause you to have such feelings, why did you feel or react this way?

    To what extent did you feel that you were part of the 'revolution,' or that the 'revolutionaries' represented you? (RATE: 1-did not represent me at all, 10- represented me completely) How so?

    Has this changed in the past year? How so?

25. What, in your opinion, have been the most defining moments in Egypt's history since the revolution? Why?

26. What is your opinion on what has been happening in Egypt lately?

27. What in your opinion are the three top challenges Egyptians face today?

28. What in your opinion are the three top challenges Egyptians abroad face?

29. Both before and after the revolution, some Egyptians have questioned the loyalty of Egyptians abroad. Some have argued that Egyptians abroad should not have the right to participate in elections. What do you think about that?

30. Where do you see yourself in 5-10 years?

31. What does Egypt mean for you? Has this always been the way you felt about Egypt?

32. What, in your opinion, is needed to keep an Egyptian living abroad connected to Egypt? Are there particular actions/practices that you think help maintain a sense of 'Egyptianness'? What are they?

    Is this how you've been maintaining your sense of 'Egyptianness' since the 'revolution' and how you've maintained connections with Egypt since the 'revolution'?

33. Do you ever plan on moving back to Egypt? When?
    If yes, why is this part of your future plans?
    If not, if you don't mind, can you please explain why?

Conclusion

34. How would you rate your interest in what is happening in Egypt? 1 extremely not interested, 10 extremely interested. EXPLAIN HOW/WHY.

    Was this always your response? If the response has changed over time, WHEN, and HOW SO?

35. How would you rate your sense of 'Egyptianness'? 1 extremely not-Egyptian, 10 extremely Egyptian. EXPLAIN HOW/WHY.

    Was this always your response? If the response has changed over time, WHEN, and HOW SO? How do you remember your sense of 'Egyptianness' in the past?

Questions for Egyptians who are involved in a particular initiative/organization
Organization Name:
Founding Date:
Founding Members:

1. Introduce me to your organization/group/initiative. What is the name of the organization/group/initiative? [cover: mission and your role/position]

2. When and how did you become interested in working in this organization [why you think you cause is important]?

    [FOR ORGANIZATIONS THAT STARTED AFTER THE REVOLUTION: Why did you decide to start your organization at this time and not before? Was the issue you are addressing not of concern in the past?

3. [For those who have established their own organizations] Talk me through the precise details of when you received the idea to start this mission until you completed your organization/mission/initiative/group's formation:
   a) Paperwork necessary (from Qatar/U.S.)
   b) Funding
   c) Networks
   d) Advertising the mission
   e) Reactions to the mission

4. [For organizations that preceded the revolution], how has the work of your organization evolved/changed since the revolution?

5. Who were your biggest supporters for your organization/mission/initiative/group?

6. Did you face any obstacles/challenges as you started this organization/mission/initiative/group?

7. How has living in Qatar/U.S. impacted the operation of your organization/mission/initiative/group? Legal context/Size & character of the Egyptian community?

8. What kinds of activities/events does your organization engage with? (in the present or in the future)

9. Who is your target audience? And why?

10. Have you tried engaging with Egyptians in Egypt? Explain why yes or no.

11. [If theirs is a membership organization] How many members do you have at the moment? (If the organization existed prior to the revolution, has membership increased since then?)

12. What do you know about your members? Do they share some characteristics?

13. How are you advertising to get more members? Where do you think most members heard about your organization?

14. Are you collaborating with any of the other Egypt-related organizations in your community?

15. What impact do you think your organization has had thus far? [depending on when they started]

16. Where do you see your organization in 5-10years?

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