Network Science Center at West Point

Graffiti Decomposition

Marielle Ness

Abstract:

The recent civil unrest and uprisings across North Africa and the Middle East has caused speculation about precipitating events, unifying themes and symbols, and viable resolutions. In times of unrest, graffiti becomes a means of expression, communication, identifying with groups and ideals, and marking territory among antagonists. This study researches the symbolism within the graffiti that has surfaced in Cairo, Egypt and proposes a process to decode the graffiti, which can be applied to the graffiti appearing in uprisings across North Africa and the Middle East.

The results of this study show the existence of a large coherent in-group with a nationalistic focus. The works convey nonviolent themes targeting the local population through the use of symbols and the Arabic language. Although several works symbolize a coexistence of Christians and Muslims in Egypt, the majority of graffiti works convey demands for liberties, freedoms, and a new government. The works do not call for acts of violence against Mubarak, the regime, or the police but rather call for their resignation or illustrate the in-group's dislike of them. The study concludes that the in-group is not advocating democracy but rather celebrating Egyptian nationalism and the instigation of a new government.

Background:

Since December 2010, Northern Africa and the Middle East have experienced political and social transformations through two revolutions, a civil war, and continuous civil uprising. [1] The initial regional rebellion originated in Tunisia, which likely emboldened movements in adjacent nations. [2]

On December 17, 2010, Mohamad Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vender, set himself on fire. [3] His act, which eventually led to his death, was fueled by social humiliation and a "resignation from reality." His death coupled with the Wiki Leaks', revealing the United States' criticism of President Ben Ali's regime, sparked youth protesting, and unrest. [4] [5] The protesting was rooted in the disaffection with the Ben Ali regime, specifically due to the neglect of rural areas and repression of labor movements. [6] [4] The month long protests caused Ben Ali to dismiss the government and flee Tunisia on January 14, 2011. [7] During the "Jasmine Revolution," as the Tunisians referred to the unrest, an

estimated 219 people died. [8] Government elections were originally scheduled to be held in July 2011, but were postponed until October 2011. [9]

On January 25, 2011, following the Tunisian revolution, protests erupted across Egypt. [10] President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak and his regime had continuously struggled with the increasing demands of the growing Egyptian population. The regime's failure to provide basic welfare services, lower unemployment, and lower poverty across large portions of the growing population alienated sections of the population, particularly the younger demographic, from the regime and the business elite. [4] This shared interest of rejecting the regime's norms and rebellious attitude among various classes within Egyptian society created an "in-group." By definition a group, "consists of people who interact with one another and who feel that the values, interests and norms they have in common are important." [12] In-groups are formed through the development of a sense of community and a coherent mindset focused on redefining society. [11] The government, or the "out-group," became a foil for the "in-group."

According to Carl von Clausewitz, to maintain a stable nation the Wunderliche Dreifaltigkeit (Fascinating Trinity), consisting of the groups of the populace, the military, and the government, must remain in balance. [13] Mubarak's regime was unable to maintain this balance among the Wunderliche Dreifaltigkeit. [4] The development of a distinct and isolated majority group within the populace created an in-group disaffected with the regime. [14] It is at this point that authority based on coercion fails and the Wunderlich Dreifaltigkeit becomes unbalanced. [15] [13] Due to this unbalance, on February 11, 2011, Mubarak fled Cairo. [16] Although Mubarak resigned as President, the unbalance has continued because the regime maintains in control. Thus, despite the appointment of Prime Minister Essam Sharaf and the scheduled September 2011 elections, the lack of regime change has perpetuated the riots and civil unrest. [16] [8]

Mubarak's resignation was followed by further civil unrest across the Arab world. [17] On February 16, 2011, protests erupted in Libya after a Human Rights campaigner was arrested. The protests blossomed into antigovernment protests and a call for democratic elections. [1] The demonstrations quickly escalated into a bloody conflict, when on February 28 the Libyan government used air strikes on protestors. [4] On March 17, 2011, in response to the air strikes, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1973, which called for the protection of civilians, a no-fly zone, an enforcement of the arms embargo, a ban on all flights, and an asset freeze. [18] The continued escalation of violence and human rights atrocities resulted in NATO forces actively participating in the peace-making process. [19] A Provisional Transitional National Council declared itself the legitimate government of Libya, which has resulted in the civil unrest transforming into a civil war between "rebel forces" and "al-Qadhafi loyalists." [4] [20]

Mubarak's resignation was followed by demonstrations in both Bahrain and Yemen in early February 2011, which have continued to the present. [1] Syria has also

experienced ongoing civil uprisings beginning on March 19, 2011, which were sparked by young teenage boys drawing antigovernment graffiti. [1] [21]

The uprisings across Northern Africa and the Middle East have caused much of the Western world to refer to the phenomenon as the "*Arab* Spring." The term was coined by the French delegation during the 2011 G8 Summit when referring to Tunisia and Egypt, specifically. [22] The historical underpinnings of the term originate from the Prague Spring, which refers to a period of political liberalization in Czechoslovakia while under USSR jurisdiction. [23] Much of the Arab World dislikes the term because it implies that there will be a winter to follow. [24] Moreover, individuals have expressed annoyance with "box filing" the uprising countries into the title of "*Arab Spring*."[25]

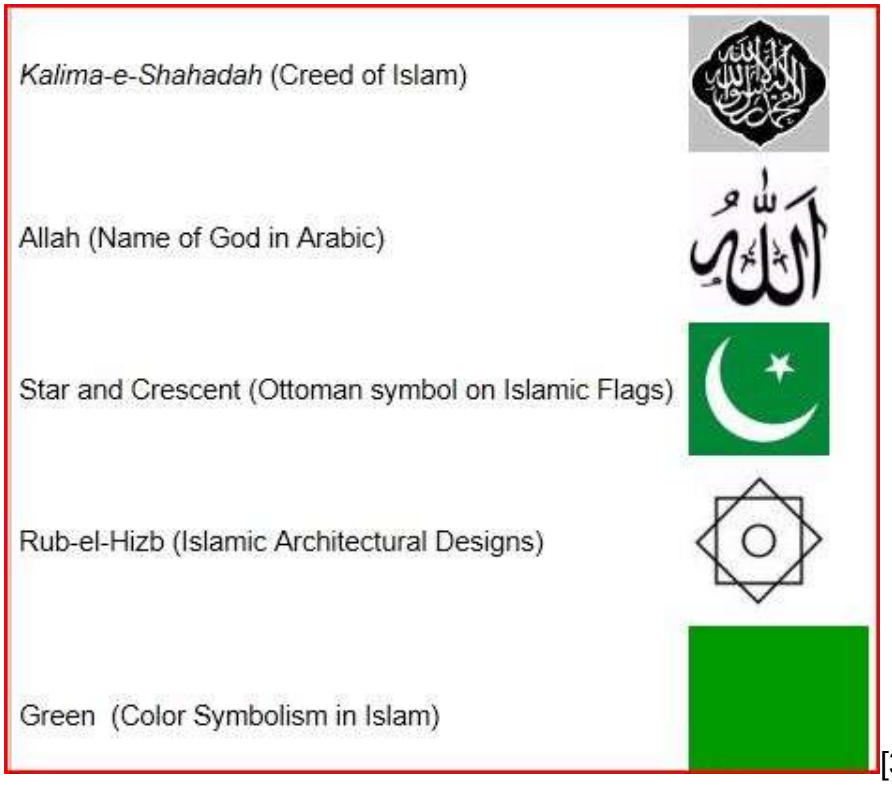
In Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, and Syria, the political and social unrest and the governments' inability to completely suppress individual expression, has resulted in an increase in graffiti and urban art as a form of expression among individuals. [26] [27] [21] The graffiti and urban art arising from these uprisings illustrates the coherent mindset of the "in-group." [11] Graffiti is more than "unauthorized writing or drawing on a public surface," [28] it is a transnational "collective activity constructed out of the practical aesthetics of its writers" [29] that provides a universal means to communicate political and cultural archetypes. [29] These archetypes identify the psyche of a movement and the groups associated with the movement. [30] Groups mobilize and rally around these archetypes, which promote unity and a sense of belonging to a group. [31] Through graffiti one can understand sociology of style, or style as a tool to locate the "distinctive texture of group identity and action, in the practice of everyday life." [29] Sociology of style can be used to decode territories where groups reside or operate, the boundaries of these groups and whether they commingle or have strict territories, and the ideology representing the groups. [29] Insights and interpretation of this information can help mitigate violence, promote negotiation and facilitate resolution. [32]

Embedded in the sociology of style are four types of graffiti: tagging, piecing, throwing up, and sign painting. [29] Tagging is the act of creating "a practiced, stylized version of their subculture nickname, or "tag."" [29] Tags are works that have stylized markers and components of an artist's social interaction, location, network, and identity. [29] Piecing is "the painting of large, illegal murals or "pieces."" [29] Throwing up are works that are "an enlarged, two-dimensional versions of an individual or crew tag." [29] Sign paintings are works produced when artists are commissioned by organizations. [29] Using the sociology of style, these four types of graffiti can be decomposed to deduce an artist's purpose, mission affiliation, and motive. [29]

Since the sociology of style is a western concept, when applying it to North Africa and the Middle East it is important to understand that there has been a long tradition of hand painting shop signs on to walls and pasting stickers, drawing or writing calligraphy on trucks as a means of advertising and self expression. [33] Furthermore, Tunisian, Egyptian, Libyan, Bahraini, Yemeni and Syrian populations are

predominately Muslim, resulting in different purpose, mission, affiliation, and motive of graffiti works from those of Western countries. Although there are no official symbols of Islam, Arabic calligraphy has become a staple of Islam. [33] Arabic calligraphy is a tradition, which has shaped and influenced the visual portion of Islam. According to Hadiths, images of living things are not permitted in Islam, therefore making Arabic calligraphy one of the few means of artistic expression universally accepted throughout all areas of Islam. [33] [34]

Although calligraphy is an orthodox means of artistic expression, images of living things do appear in Islamic art mainly due to the mixing of cultures through Islamic conquests across the Middle East and North Africa. [35] Although there are no official Islamic symbols, symbols do have significance in certain aspects and sects of Islam and include, Kalima-e-Shahadah (Creed of Islam), Allah (Name of God in Arabic), Star and Crescent (Ottoman symbol on Islamic Flags), Rub-el-Hizb (Islamic Architectural Designs), and the color green. [35]



[35]

During the twentieth century, Arabic calligraphy was reintroduced to the youth through numerous educational programs. Graphic designers have taken a fresh perspective on the traditional art form. [33] Beginning in the 1990's, stylistic experiments with Arabic calligraphy emerged from the younger generation of design artists. The artists, through these experiments, pride themselves on their uniqueness. [33] This uniqueness is evident in the revolution graffiti.

Definitions

Arab Spring:

Due to the weak analogy with the Czechoslovakian uprising, the tendency to "box file," and the dislike of the seasonal metaphor in the region, the term "Arab Spring" will not be used. [22, 23, 24] Rather, the countries will be divided into the categories of *Revolution*, *Civil War,* and *Civil Uprising*. *Revolution* is defined as a "public seizure of the state in order to overturn the existing government and regime." [36] *Civil War* is defined as a war between opposing groups of citizens of the same country. [28] *Civil Uprising* is defined as an act or instance of rising up especially as a localized act of popular violence in defiance of an established government. [28] Tunisia and Egypt are categorized as *Revolutions*, in that during both displays of unrest the heads of state were forcibly removed and democratic elections have been scheduled, inferring a regime change. Libya is categorized as a *Civil War* because there are two distinct sides, "rebel forces" and "al-Qadhafi loyalists," [8] who continue to war for control. Bahrain, Yemen, and Syria are categorized as *Civil Uprisings* in that the populace has displayed its dissatisfaction with the current situations in their countries by rising up against the government, but they have not overthrown or formed a fighting force against the government.

Graffiti:

Graffiti is defined as "unauthorized writing or drawing on a public surface," [28] which is a transnational, "collective activity constructed out of the practical aesthetics of its writers" [29] that provides a universal means to communicate political and cultural archetypes. [29] Graffiti falls along a continuum of pro-social to aggressive.

Aggressive graffiti acts are biting, going over, and vandalism. [29] Biting "denotes a situation in which [these] boundaries are called into question, in which the authenticity and legitimacy of a writer's style becomes a point of contention among other writers in the scene" or graffiti plagiarism. [29] Going over is when one artist puts up a work over another artist's work whether completely or partially. [29] Vandalism is the act of defacing another artist's work. [29]

Initial research:

Initial research was conducted to assess the current situation in North Africa and the Middle East. Research consisted of surveying online media sources, including The Guardian, Dailynewsegypt.com, the Christian Science Monitor, BBC, and Ahramonline, reading blogs, following Twitter feeds, following Facebook pages, speaking with the reference librarians at the United States Military Academy Library, and speaking with specialists at the United States Military Academy including COL John Graham, LCDR Scott Granger, COL Irving Smith, Dr. Morten Ender, MAJ John Ringquist, Dr. Nelly Lahoud, COL Cindy Jebb, and Dr. Rasheed Hosein. Countries of focus were included

based on reports of current political events. The CIA World Factbook was used to survey the geography, people, government, economy, communications, transportation, military, and transnational issues. [29] Although protests have erupted in Oman, Morocco, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia, the initial research showed that Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, and Syria had established well-defined in-groups, which is a prerequisite to meeting the categories of Revolution, Civil War, and Civil Uprising. Therefore, this study will limit focus to Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, and Syria.

The following table compares the corruption rank, poverty percentage, literacy rate, median age, percent of unemployed youth, and the unrest index. The unrest index or the Shoe-Thrower's Index, published in "The Economist" on February 9, 2011, aims to predict the next Arab country to experience a civil uprising. [37]

Table I: Demographic Breakdown of Rebelling Countries

Country	Corruption Ranking	Poverty	Literacy	Median Age	Unemployed Youth	Unrest Index
Tunisia	**59/178**	**7.6%**	**78%**	**29.7**	**30.4%**	**49.4%**
Egypt	**98/178**	**16.7%**	**66%**	**24**	**42.8%**	**67.6%**
Libya	**148/178**	**n/a**	**88%**	**24.2**	**n/a**	**71%**
Bahrain	**48/178**	**n/a**	**91%**	**30.4**	**19.6%**	**37.7%**
Yemen	**146/178**	**41.8%**	**61%**	**17.9**	**15%**	**86.9%**
Syria	**127/178**	**11.9%**	**84%**	**21.5**	**24.4**	**67.3%**

[38]

The main similarity among the six countries in the table above is their young median age. Compared to western countries the median age of the six Arab nations of interest are on average ten years younger. Moreover, the median age is of importance in that the majority of the civil uprisings have been facilitated by the youth.

Furthermore, the data in Table I illustrates a high youth unemployment rate in all Arab countries of interest. Youth unemployment has been an instigator of many of the civil uprisings across the region, specifically in Egypt. These data are positively correlated in that if the majority of the population is young and a large percentage of the youth is unemployed there is a basis for discontent among large portions of the population.

Since all of the populations of interest have a relatively young median age, their demographics are of interest to the study, specifically the youth literacy. Literacy rates are important to the study because the use of language and diction are crucial to identify the audiences of graffiti works. From language and diction, one can deduce the purpose, mission, affiliation, motive and, more specifically, the education level of an individual.

The following tables display data from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics:

Table III: Literacy Percentage

Country	Men		Women	
	15+	15-24	15+	15-24
Tunisia	86	98	71	96
Egypt	75	88	58	82
Libya	95	100	81	100
Bahrain	92	100	89	100
Yemen	79	95	43	70
Syria	90	96	77	93

[39]

In all cases, the 15 to 24 year old age bracket has a higher literacy percentage than that of the population of 15 and older. With the exception of Yemen, the male and female literacy rates for the 15 to 24 year-old age bracket are within six percentage points of one another. These data imply that the audience of Arabic graffiti has a large male and female youth audience in comparison to the whole population. Moreover, the data imply that there are both male and female potential actors producing the graffiti. These demographics provide context when analyzing graffiti works originating from a particular area.

Data Collection:

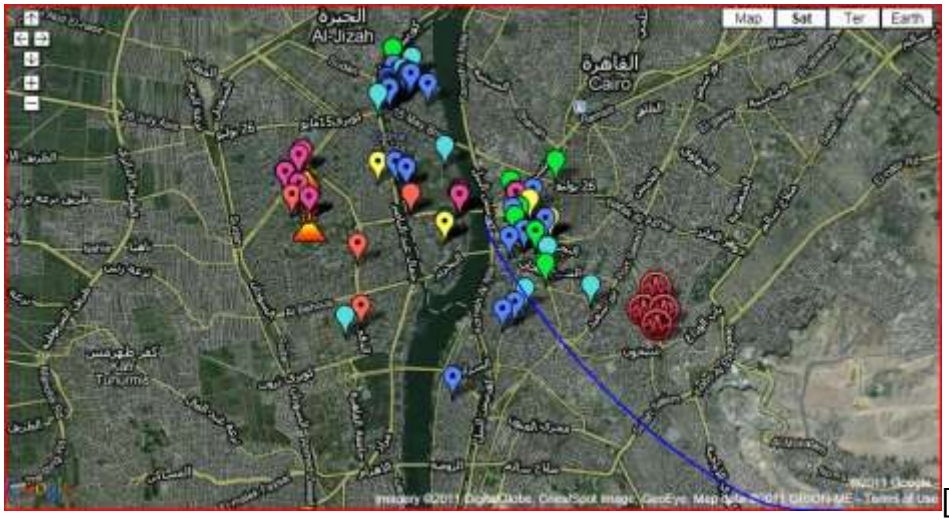
Once the countries of interest were selected and initial country analyses were conducted, graffiti data were gathered. Graffiti was gathered using Google, Bing, Twitter, Facebook, Blogs, Flickr, Tumblr, and other online sources. After a graffiti work was downloaded, it was assigned a code and saved into its designated country's folder. The code consists of a number, which corresponds with a country, a letter referring to the source and then another number, which corresponds with the number of the graffiti work taken from a given source. For example, the fourth work taken from ganzeer.com/cairostreetart/index.html, which is a website that documents the street art in Cairo, would be assigned the code "*3f4*." Egypt was assigned as the 3rd country, "f" means that ganzeer.com/cairostreetart/index.html is the fth source for Egypt and four means this work is the fourth taken from this source.

After graffiti was gathered, the data sets of the countries were reviewed. The data set for Egypt and specifically Cairo was greater than 450 graffiti works in comparison to the other data sets that were less than 100 graffiti works. A qualitative method was used to emphasize depth over breadth. [35a] The Cairo data set offered a larger amount of data to develop a method, a method that would provide means of analyzing graffiti occurring in other areas experiencing civil uprisings.

Process:

The Cairo graffiti works were printed and their designated code was written on the back. Each source was revisited to make sure the source still existed and to gather more specific information about the given pieces, such as artist, location and possible translation. The data were sorted into “pre-revolution” graffiti and “revolution” graffiti or graffiti in Cairo prior to January 25, 2011 and graffiti appearing in Cairo after January 25, 2011, respectively. The pre-revolution graffiti, which consisted of eight works, was analyzed to assess over arching themes and motifs of the graffiti and street art scene before January 25, 2011. This process created a base from which to compare the revolution graffiti.

The revolution graffiti was reviewed based on artists that composed the works and the Cairene neighborhoods in which the works were created and displayed. The main source that facilitated this process was CairoStreetArt.com, an interactive website created by Ganzeer, an artist of interest, where individuals can go on and document on a map where they have seen or put up graffiti in Cairo. Below is a photograph of the map.



[40]

This site was very useful when determining the active neighborhoods and the distribution of graffiti throughout Cairo. Through this process, nine main artists and seven neighborhoods emerged. The nine artists were then divided into individuals and groups. The nine artists consisted of seven individuals (Ganzeer, Sad Panda, El-Teenen, Keizer, HK, X-ist, and Mohamed Alaa) and two groups (Freedom Painters and Academy of Fine Arts Wall). The neighborhoods were redefined as spheres, in that the graffiti did not stay exactly within the neighborhood boundaries. The spheres are Giza (1), Zamalek (2), Downtown (3), Nasr City (4), Heliopolis/Korba (5), Maadi (6), and El-horya (7). An extra sphere, “Non Affiliated,” was added for works that did not have geographical context and generally no artist affiliation.

The diagram below illustrates the seven physical spheres.

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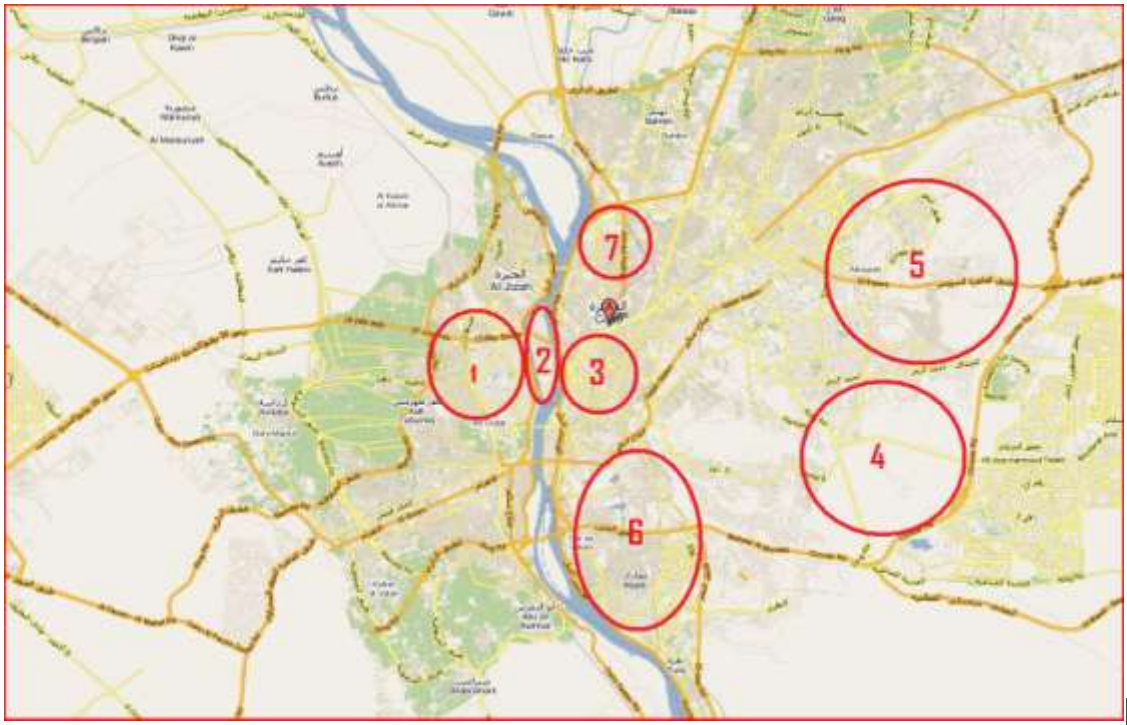

[41]

Method:
In order to apply the following method to decode a graffiti work from a current rebelling North African or Middle Eastern country, context is crucial. Cultural, political, economic, geographic and social context are important in that they provide parameters for the graffiti works. For example, when studying Cairo, Egypt, the focus of this study, issues such as sexual harassment, growing youth population, literacy rates, neighborhoods and the religious makeup of the population are important in understanding works produced.

A graffiti work can be decomposed into six categories, *Artist, Type, Medium, Color, Language*, and *Placement*.

The *Artist* category is divided into the subcategories of *Individual* and *Group*. *Individual* means one person produced the work. *Group* implies that multiple people created the work. Determining whether an individual artist or a group of artist produced the work is helpful in determining if the artist is aligned with people who are like-minded or have a similar ideology.

The *Type* category is divided into four subcategories of *Tagging, Piecing, Throwing Up*, and *Sign painting*. [28a] The type of graffiti is important in that it implies how much time an artist has to produce a work. If piecing, the artist has hours where as throwing up or tagging requires less time. From the amount of time invested in a work, one can deduce the security the artist has in the area.

The *Medium* category is divided into the subcategories of *Spray Paint, Paint, Marker, Stencil, Poster*, and *Mixed Media*, which are all mediums used by graffiti artists. Mixed Media are pieces that are made with a combination of spray paint, markers, stencils, or posters. The medium does not only denote an artist's style but again can allude to how secure the area is for the artist, in that given mediums require less time than others do when tagging, piecing, or throwing up.

The *Color* component is decomposed into *Black, White, Red, Orange, Yellow, Blue, Green Purple,* and *Brown* to reveal the color palette used in a piece which can identify common and distinctive color themes across political groups.

The *Language* category is divided into subcategories, which include *English, Arabic, Both* (English and Arabic)*, Neither, French, and* O*ther*. The type of language used is important in that it clearly identifies the target audience for the graffiti. Moreover, based on the diction and construction one can deduce the education level of the artist.

The *Placement* category is divided into the subcategories of *City and Neighborhood* (defining territory), *Canvas* (e.g. wall, abandoned truck, national monument, etc.), *Surrounding Graffiti*, and *Aggressive Acts*. The *Aggressive Acts* are further broken down into *Biting, Going Over*, and *Vandalism*. [29] The placement of the graffiti identifies the graffiti artists' territory and possible friends and foes.

Decomposing a graffiti work into these categories and subcategories supplies a means of concluding a work's purpose, mission, affiliation, and motive. Moreover, finding similarities in types composed, mediums used, aesthetic properties used, language used and placement as well as common themes and motifs among graffiti not only in given cities and countries, but possibly across the region can provide insight regarding political and cultural archetypes. [29]

The data were structured using an excel spreadsheet consisting of each category and subcategory in which the data were entered and evaluated.

Analysis:

The graffiti surfacing in Cairo portrays a coherent in-group that predominately uses red and black throw ups on white surfaces to portray a nationalistic message. When language is used, artists predominantly use Arabic. All individual artists are active in the Downtown sphere and in their respective regions. Although they are all active in the Downtown sphere there are no apparent conflicts between artists. The analysis below examines each artist, sphere, and themes that are presented in the data set. The tables that are referenced to below are in the appendix.

Pre Revolution Graffiti:

There are only eight works in this set, therefore, making it difficult to draw conclusions. Almost 90 percent of the works are throw ups, implying that artists had to produce their work quickly (Table X). 50 percent of the works are stencils and almost 40 percent are free hand spray painted works (Table XI). The majority of the works are done on walls

(Table XIV). Similar to the revolution graffiti, the dominant colors are black, red, and white (Table XII). Generally the works do not use language, however, when language is used the artists use Arabic (Table XIII). Last, only two works have documented neighbors, both of which are in Zamalek.

There seems to be no real overarching theme aside from a means of expression. However, in contrast to the post January 25, 2011 works, there are only two that reference "revolution" and "freedom." Although this is a small data set, it can still be asserted that the concepts of revolution and freedom were not prominent in pre-revolution Egyptian urban street art. Rather, issues of freedom of expression, as illustrated in one stencil throw up which states, in English, "Don't be afraid – it's only street art," was a main goal of graffiti prior to the revolution.

Revolution Graffiti:

Upon sorting the revolution graffiti in the excel spreadsheet it was determined that artists X-ist and Mohamed Alaa and spheres, Maadi and El-horya, did not have enough data to conduct an analysis. Therefore, the following analyses focus on the artists Keizer, Ganzeer, Sad Panda, HK, El-Teneen, Freedom Painters, and Academy of Fine Arts Wall, and on the spheres of Giza, Zamalek, Downtown, Nasr, Heliopolis/Korba, and Non Attributable.

Artist:

Keizer - 33-year-old Full-Time Street Artist [42]

Facebook: http://www.facebook.com/groups/131737610239576
Twitter: http://twitter.com/#!/Kiezer1
Website: http://www.wix.com/keizerstreetart/cairo
Email: keizerstreetart@hotmail.com

[42]

Keizer believes that street art "is accessible to everyone; we should all be doing it. There's no exclusive club." [43] His design philosophy is "Visual imagery that is thought provoking, satire, awakening, open ended with an emphasis on universal threads and concepts that we share collectively as a race." [44]

According to “An Evening on the Streets with Keizer” from Suzee in the city’s blog, Keizer’s main area of composition is the back wall of El Ahly Club in Zamalek. [43] However, according to the data he is predominantly active in Giza, but also has works in Zamalek and Downtown (Table IV). Keizer uses a distinct tag, which is a stencil of his name in stylized letters. Most of his works are either tags or throw ups (Table IV). In the data set, 91 percent of his work is done in black and 9 percent is done in red (Table VII). Like most graffiti, Keizer’s work is done on walls, however, in contrast to most artists, Keizer also throws up on abandoned billboards (Table XI). Generally, when deploying language he uses English, however, in the data set 45 percent of his work does not use any language (Table VIII).

Many of his pieces he uses a stencil of an ant, as seen in the image below. Moreover, his website has animated ants that climb over the page.

[45]

On his website, he states that, “the ant symbolizes the forgotten ones, the silenced, the nameless, those marginalized by capitalism. They are the working class, the common people, the colony that struggles and sacrifices blindly for the queen ant and her monarchy. Ants are devoted, dedicated workers, they cooperate, organize, delegate, and put themselves first in the line of danger and duty. Under appreciated and ruled, they receive and expect no reward for their efforts, toil, and struggle. Its time the ant masses showed the queen the sheer power of their numbers! If ants were humans, they would be Japanese or Chinese...maybe even Egyptian." [44]

Keizer’s website is sponsored by Freedom Fighters. Their icon is seen below.

[44]

No information about Freedom Fighters is on Keizer's website nor could any specific information be found online. However, their icon, a bottle with flames coming out of the bottle head, is similar to a work thrown up by El-Teneen, which follows.

[40]

The fire in El-Teneen's throw up spells "They Fired," in Arabic. [46] El-Teneen will be analyzed in the following sections.

Ganzeer – Mohamed Fahmy – 29 year-old - Graphic Designer and Street Artist [42]

Facebook: http://www.facebook.com/pages/Ganzeer/120342874706950
Twitter: http://twitter.com/#!/ganzeer
Blog: http://ganzeer.blogspot.com/
http://ganzeer.tumblr.com/
Website: http://www.ganzeer.com/

[47]

Mohamed Fahmy is a graphic designer that works under the name Ganzeer, which is also the name of his studio. After completing college at the American University in Cairo he worked as a graphic artist and illustrator. [48] [49] He does not perceive himself as only a street artist. [50] He entered the street art scene three years ago in Alexandria. However, his more political stance has developed recently to counter what he believes is “a brainwashing strategy employed by the state’s media outlets.” [50]

According to the data set, he is predominantly active in Zamalek, however, he also has works Downtown (Table IV). In contrast to most artists and revolution graffiti, Ganzeer primarily uses piecing (Table V). Most of his work in the data set comes from his Martyr Murals Project, a project where Ganzeer and his friends paint mural of the fallen martyrs of the Egyptian revolution on public streets. [51]

[40]

All of his pieces in this data set are done with stencil on walls (Table VI & IX). He predominately uses black, red, white, and yellow (Table VII). About 80 percent of his work uses the Arabic where the other 20 percent only uses visual devices (Table VIII).

One of his pieces is a sign painting. He was commissioned by Ayyam Gallery in Zamalek to create a work on the gallery’s wall. The work is titled “Down with the Regime Lovers.” This shocking work depicts Mubarak, Tantawi, Farouk Hosni and Ahmed Nazif holding hands and embracing one another. Ganzeer also surrounds the four men with

red hearts to imply their love for one another. The piece was later vandalized, as shown below. [52]

[40]

[40]

In response to the vandalism, Ganzeer has gone on record saying,"if what I'm creating has nothing religiously or sexually offensive in it and people still feel the urge to [deface it]…then I'm probably doing something right." [50]

On May 26, 2011, Ganzeer was arrested with film director Aida El-Kashef and musician Adel Rahman Amin for hanging and distributing the "Freedom Mask" poster (below), which outwardly opposes the interim military regime. [42] [26]

[53]

The posters portray a man masked and gagged. The poster reads, "New. Mask of Freedom. Salute from the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to the loving sons of the nation - Now available for an unlimited period of time." [54] Ganzeer, El-Kashef and Amin were released the same day of their arrest with no charges.

Referenced above, Ganzeer has created the interactive site, CairoStreetArt.com. On this website, individuals can record and virtually review the graffiti around Cairo. When an individual clicks on a pin a window appears. Generally the window displays a

photograph of the work, the title, date uploaded, and artist. Individuals can get directions to the piece, save the map or search for other works around that area. [40]

Sad Panda – Hatem [55]

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/sadpandaa?ref=ts&sk=wall
Twitter: https://twitter.com/#!/The_Sad_Panda_
Blog: http://yfrog.com/h4zor0j

Like many graffiti artist, Sad Panda keeps his identity a secret. He developed the alias of "Sad Panda" "because it was his nickname in school, which was given to him due to his size and his melancholic demeanor." [55] According to Suzee in the city's blog, he is a chain smoker and admits to constantly being depressed. [55] In fact, Sad Panda ends all his tweets and Facebook posts with sad faces. [55] He is originally from Masaken Sheraton in Cairo, which in this study is considered part of the Downtown sphere. [55] Regarding his work, Sad Panda does not like his work to be pigeonholed as political, rather he wants audiences "to focus on the comedic element of his work." [55] His work "uses relatable local personalities" such as Saad Zaghloul, Abdel Halim Hafex, politicians, protestors, and the military, all of which are tagged with a small panda face. [55] One figure he uses that is not very identifiable is Che Guevara the Salafist. [55] The following picture displays his panda tag, in the lower left corner.

[55]

According to the data set, the majority of Sad Panda's work does not have a documented location (Table IV). 18 percent of his work is Downtown, which is in the vicinity of his home of origin of Masaken Sheraton. A recurring work is his stencil profile of a panda (below).

[55]

Most of his works are throw ups using stencils and mixed media, consisting of marker and poster mediums (Table V & VI). He mainly uses black and white walls as canvas (Table VII). In the data set, 55 percent of his work is in Arabic and the remaining does not use language (Table VIII).

HK

Not much is posted online about HK. The majority of HK's work in the data set does not have a documented location (Table IV). He or she has works in Zamalek and Downtown (Table IV). His or her works are either pieces or throw ups done with either spray paint or paint on walls (Table V, VI & IX). HK uses black, white, red, yellow, blue, and green (Table VII). He or she also uses both Arabic and English (Table VIII).

El-Teneen – Late 20s - Street Artist

Facebook: http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100002130497877
Twitter: https://twitter.com/#!/ElTeneen

In an interview, El-Teneen explains that he calls himself "El-Teneen" because in Arabic it means "dragon." In the interview, he compares the revolution happening in Egypt to a sleeping dragon that has suddenly awoken. [56] One of his more popular works is a stencil work that depicts Mubarak's face and has the word "Leave" written below it.

[57]

From the beginning of the uprisings, El-Teneen participated in the protests. [26] His goal was to document the unrest with his “Leave” stencil. [26] For him, the documentation was important because he did not know how effective the protests would be or how long they would last. [26]

In the data set, the majority of El-Teneen’s work does not have a documented location, however, he does have works Downtown (Table IV). He generally uses throw ups, but also produces pieces (Table V). All of his works are done with stencils in black, white, red or green on both walls and electrical boxes (Table VI, VII & IX). When El-Teneen uses language, he uses Arabic (Table VIII).

Freedom Painters

[58]

Facebook: http://www.facebook.com/FPainters

Initiated by a Facebook event, the Freedom Painters are a group of young adults that are “painting for a better looking Egypt.” [59] [58] Robin Wyatt describes the Freedom Painters as “educated, talented students with a burning desire to see human rights, democracy and progress in the country they love.” She goes on to refer to them as “visual peacemakers.” [58]

Five girls who were not allowed to actively participate in the protests in Tahrir Square started the group. The girls along with approximately 150 Nasr residents began cleaning the streets progressed into decorating blank walls with murals. One Freedom Painter has said that, “we didn’t feel that this was our country until after the revolution.”

Although graffiti is illegal, the police have not disciplined them for their actions, but rather complimented the Freedom Painters on their work. The Freedom Painters stress that they are only expressing themselves and spreading awareness. They are not participating in delinquent acts. [59]

The Freedom Painters are the only group with a distinct icon. Although Keizer and Sad Panda have distinct tags, the Freedom Painters’ icon, as seen above, is different in that

it is used as a watermark on the photographs of their work, whereas Keizer and Sad Panda use their tags to tag their work on the streets. From the tag an individual can deduce that the participants of the Freedom Painters paint for freedom of Egypt from the use of language as well as the use of color and the Egyptian flag.

According to the data, over 82 percent of the Freedom Painters' works are located in Nasr (Table IV). The remainder of the works does not have a documented location (Table IV). Almost 80 percent of their works are pieces and the remainders are throw ups (Table V). Almost all pieces are done in paint on walls (Table VI & IX). Compared to the individual artists, the Freedom Painters use a large variety of colors, however almost every piece predominantly uses black, white, and red (Table VII). The Freedom Painters also use English in over 43 percent of their works in comparison to Arabic, which is only used slightly over 25 percent of the time (Table VIII). Below is an example of their work from the data set.

[58]

Academy of Fine Arts Wall

The Academy of Fine Arts Wall is not a group of individuals, however, it is a wall in the northern portion of Zamalek. For this study, it is assumed that the majority of the works painted on the wall are completed by a similar group of individuals, with similar mindsets and points of view. Moreover, since it was a very specific area within a sphere with a high density of graffiti, it was treated as an actor. Most of the Academy of Fine Arts Wall was attained from the Revolution Graffiti group on Facebook (http://www.facebook.com/GraffitiEgypt). This was then cross referenced with Ganzeer's CairoStreetArt.com to ultimately locate the Academy of Fine Arts Wall.

Majority of the works are pieces, but there are also throw ups (Table V). All types of mediums are used. Paint is the popular medium,, yet it is only used 30 percent of the time (Table VI). Similar to the Freedom Painters, the Academy of Fine Arts Wall displays use of a variety of colors, however, almost every piece predominantly uses black, white, red, and yellow (Table VII). The majority of their work uses Arabic, illustrating that their audience is the literate local community (Table VIII).

Spheres

Giza

Giza is located on the west bank of the Nile River, roughly twenty kilometers from Cairo. It is best known for the Pyramids of Giza. [60]

According to the data, black, stencil throw ups on walls are the dominant form of expression (Table V, VI, VII & IX. The target audience is the literate Arabic community, in that almost 53 percent of the works use Arabic (Table VIII). It can be asserted that artists do not have much time to complete their works, therefore by using stencil throw ups, the process is finished relatively quickly. However, Keizer is the most familiar active artist in Giza in the data set. Moreover, a large amount of the works in the Giza data set is done by Keizer.

Zamalek

Zamalek is an island in the middle of the Nile River and a district in central Cairo. It is an upscale, middle and upper class neighborhood that lies between Giza and downtown Cairo. It is home to many foreign dignitaries and diplomats and houses many embassies, schools, and hotels. Zamalek is not only a political district but also a cultural and fashionable district home to the Cairo Opera House, Cairo Tower, as well as international upscale businesses such as BMW and Mercedes. [61]

According to the data, the Academy of Fine Arts Wall is the most predominant actor (Table IV). This is the only area in which this group is active because it is a wall, rather than a mobile group. Ganzeer is also very active in Zamalek. The majority of the works are throw ups but pieces are used over 35 percent of the time (Table X). Regarding the whole data set, all mediums are used in this sphere, but stencils are used almost 40 percent of the time, implying that artists do not have much time to complete their pieces (Table XI). These works are generally constructed on walls but they are also done on electrical boxes (Table XIV). Moreover, the colors, black, red, and white are most often used (Table XII). Generally these colors are used to depict nationalistic unity, such as the Egyptian flag. When works use language they generally use Arabic (Table XIII). The use of Arabic implies that the target audience is local rather than the international or English speaking community.

Zamalek has the only case of biting in the data set. The artist is unknown but the stencil resembles Banky's stencil. Banksy is a renowned British graffiti artist who is generally politically driven and has produced works all over the world including in Gaza. The following photographs are of the biting work and Banky's work.

[62]

[63]

Downtown

Downtown lies on the east bank of the Nile River, directly across from Zamalek. Tahrir Square lies in the heart of the Downtown sphere. The Cabinet of Ministers is also located in downtown and is less than 500 meters from Tahrir Square. [64] [41]

All of the individual artists of interest are active in the Downtown sphere (Table IV). The works composed Downtown are throw ups (Table X). Again, throw ups are most likely primarily used because artists do not have much time to complete works. However, the data shows that although all types of mediums are used, paint is used over 50 percent of the time (Table XI). Using paint to complete throw ups would be difficult than using spray paint in that spray paint is an easier tool to conceal and escape with if being chased by authorities. There are most likely two main reasons for the use of paint over spray paint. First, paint is probably more accessible. There is continuous construction being conducted in Cairo, therefore, making it easy to acquire paint from construction sites. [46] Second, paint could be less expensive than spray paint. Although paint is the medium used most often, stencils are the second most used medium.

Black, red, and white are the main colors used (Table XII). Generally, artists use walls as their canvas (Table XIV). However, artists also use electrical boxes and the ground to display their works. When language is used it is generally Arabic, which is used over 68 percent of the time (Table XIII). With the exception of the Non Affiliated sphere, Downtown has the highest use of Arabic than any other sphere.

Nasr

Nasr is located about thirty kilometers southeast of central Cairo. It is one of the newest areas of Cairo. Nasr houses many newly built condominiums to compensate the increasing Egyptian population. [65]

The Freedom Painters are the only identifiable, active artist in Nasr, therefore, the majority of the works are pieces that are predominantly done in paint and always on walls (Table IV). The fact that the works in Nasr are pieces done with paint implies that individuals are not afraid of being caught and, therefore, are not under a time pressure

(Table X). A young girl from the Freedom Painters, who recounted when a police officer complemented her and her friends on their work rather than arresting them, conveys this same concept. [59]

A wide spectrum of color is used. However, as demonstrated in most other spheres, black, red, and white are used most often, generally conveying nationalistic ideas (Table XII). In comparison to the other spheres, Nasr uses English, almost 40 percent of the time, which is much higher than any other sphere (Table XIII). However, Arabic is still used almost 44 percent of the time. This balanced distribution of the use of Arabic and English implies that the target audience of the work is both local and the international community.

Heliopolis/Korba

Heliopolis and Korab are located northeast of central Cairo. It is an upper middle class diplomatic and presidential neighborhood. [46] [66]

El-Teneen is the only artist active in Heliopolis/Korba (Table IV). Throw ups done in paint are used over 73 percent of the time, implying that artists are under time pressure when producing their work (Table X). The dominant colors in this area are black, red, yellow, and green (Table XII). These colors are still predominately using the Egyptian colors. Arabic is used almost 53 percent of the time, implying that the main target audience is the literate Arabic speaking local community (Table XIII). Generally pieces are constructed on walls, however, Heliopolis/Korba has the highest percentage of works done on the ground (Table XIV). This high percentage of works on the ground is difficult to evaluate in that all the photographs of ground works is only of the works themselves. There is no context of the environment of the ground graffiti.

Non-Affiliated

This sphere is difficult to analyze in that there is no geographical context to analyze works. However, according to the data, there are many artists of interest, including Sad Panda, El-Teneen, HK, and the Freedom Painters, who have works in the Non Affiliated sphere (Table IV). Over 73 percent of Sad Panda's works, 64 percent of El-Teneen's works, and 50 percent of HK's works have no geographical association. The majority of the works in this sphere are throw ups, implying that individuals do not have much time to complete their works (Table X). All mediums are used but paint is the most predominately used followed by free hand spray paint (Table XI). The use of paint over, spray paint is seen here again, as seen in Downtown. Similar to the other spheres, black, red, and white are used most often, generally illustrating nationalistic ideas (Table XII). Regarding language, one work uses French, however, Arabic is used in over 69 percent of works, implying that the target audience is the literate Arabic community (Table XIII). Artists generally use walls as canvas, however in this sphere artists also use electrical boxes, the ground, vehicles, and statues (Table XIV). This wider variety of canvases implies that individuals are expressing themselves anywhere possible.

Overarching Icons & Themes

In the large data set specific themes and symbols reoccurred.

Nationalism

Nationalism is a reoccurring theme across all spheres and artists. The French Revolution marked the development and implementation of nationalism when the state went from being a state of a dynasty to a state for and of the citizens. [67] The dynasty was replaced by the nation-state. [67] The concept of the nation-state has swept across the world creating the current nation-state phenomenon and international stage. [67] The Egyptian Revolution has become rooted in the concept of nationalism as evident in the graffiti through the use of color, the Egyptian flag, the eagle, the pyramids and the reoccurring use of “Egypt” and “Egyptian.”

[57]

[57]

[57]

[58]

The colors, the flag, the eagle, and the word “Egypt” and “Egyptian” in the works link back to the idea asserted by the Freedom Painters that they are taking back the streets of Cairo from the regime and giving it back to the people. [59] The pyramids are a link to the past and their reclaiming of the rich Egyptian history. It is an internationally identifiable structure associated with Egypt and the ideal of an Egyptian. Moreover, it is a reference to the era of when the Egyptians were one of the most progressive and powerful civilizations in the world.

Currently, the use of nationalism creates a broad inclusive group. The only hostility and exclusion is aimed at the regime and Mubarak. The Egyptian population is over 99 percent Egyptian. [7] Therefore since the population is homogenous, it is less likely that the group will fracture on nationalistic ideas.

Liberty & Freedom

Liberty and Freedom are also reoccurring themes throughout the data set. Both concepts are usually very closely coupled with nationalism. One of the most evident works that show this is the following stencil located in Downtown Cairo that depicts the Statue of Liberty.

[40]

The Arabic above the figure states, “I’m not free,” illustrating the fact that many Egyptians do not consider themselves free and are longing and pushing for freedom.

The first piece below is from the Academy of Fine Arts Wall. The first piece illustrates the significance the revolution has had on Egyptian freedom. The piece implies that because of the events that transpired on January 25, 2011, the shackles that were imposed on the Egyptian people by Mubarak and the regime are now broken and the Egyptians have reached a previously unattainable sense of freedom.

[57]

[58]

The second piece is from the Freedom Painters. It illustrates the type of freedoms the Freedom Painters hope to have, including freedom of speech, thought, religion, expression, assembly, choice, and association.

Freedom and Liberty are themes of goals that the artists want to attain. The works act as advertisements and petitions to convey their goals not only to the regime but also to one another to spread ideas and create a united front.

Martyrs & Detainees

An overarching theme throughout the data is depicting the martyrs and detainees of the Egyptian Revolution. As illustrated by the death of Mohamad Bouazizi in Tunisia, a martyr can spark and fuel unrest among the masses. [4] These works document the individuals that lost their lives for the revolution as well as remind the common Egyptian of the human sacrifice of the Egyptian Revolution. The following throw up states, “Glory to Martyrs.” It illustrates the idealization and almost sainthood of the individuals that have lost their lives in the revolution.

[57]

Ganzeer’s Martyr Murals Project is the most evident group of works that memorializes the martyrs. [51]

[57]

Ganzeer's work receives the most media attention and majority of his works in the data set are from his Martyr Murals Project, however, many individuals compose throw ups across Cairo to commemorate the victims of the Egyptian Revolution. The following photograph is an example of martyr stencil throw ups.

[57]

This work was thrown up in Zamalek however the artist of the work is unknown. The work states, "Glory to the Martyr Mohamed Gamal El-deen." [57]

Although more of the works in this data focuses on the martyrs rather than those of detainees, there are many works about the individuals detained by the government. The following work is an example of a throw up depicting a detainee.

[57]

The throw up was done in downtown Cairo but the artist is unknown. The work states, "One of the detainees "Amr Elbeheary."

Martyrs and detainees are an important aspect of the revolution and have therefore been documented in the street art. These works are twofold. First, the works serve as a memorial to an individual and, second, the works are used as propaganda. The memorials invoke pathos. This appeal to the emotions generally causes sadness, which can evolve into anger to fuel the dissatisfaction with the regime and the lack of liberty and freedom. Ultimately, this theme of depicting martyrs and detainees can stimulate the frustration among the masses.

Revolution & January 25, 2011

Revolution and January 25, 2011 are central themes in the revolution graffiti. These themes are the cause and the reason for making all the graffiti and the motivations of self-expression. Artists document this new freedom of self-expression and political and social change in Egyptian society. The graffiti below illustrates a few examples this theme.

[57]

[57]

[57]

Mubarak & the Regime

As mentioned in the Background, Mubarak and the regime are the "out-group" and the foil for the "in-group" which have the shared interest of rejecting the regime's norms. [11a] This common enemy has been identified and documented in large amounts of the graffiti, including El-Teneen's "Leave" stencil shown above. Examples of such graffiti are shown below.

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www.netscience.usma.edu
845.938.0804

[57]

"Down with the Regime"

[57]

"F@#2@ Hosny Mubarak"

[57]

"Mubarak"

The third photograph above displays Mubarak's name written in marker on the ground with a foot on top of it. In the Arab World it is an insult to show the sole's of one's shoes to someone or something. Therefore, stepping on Mubarak's name is one of the biggest insults in the Arab World.

Since Mubarak and the regime are the "out-group," they are the target of the majority of the negatively depicted in the graffiti, therefore, making them a common theme in the data set.

Cross & Crescent

About 90 percent of the Egyptian population is Sunni Muslim. The remaining 10 percent is Christian, the majority of whom are Coptic. [7] There is often strife between the two religions. In response to the religious clashes, graffiti artists have constructed works that are composed of a crescent and a cross symbolizing the unity of the two religions and the call for peace. Many of the works also call the two religions "brothers and sisters." Furthermore, the crescent is the one symbol that is associated with Islam that repeatedly occurs in the data set. This theme illustrates a call for unity among the "in-group" and a discouragement against religious splintering. Examples of graffiti works are shown below.

[58]

[58]

"The religion is for God and the homeland is for all" [46]

[57]

[57]

[57]

"Brothers and Sisters"

Fist

A clenched fist repeatedly appears in the graffiti in the data set. It symbolizes resistance and unity. [68] The clenched fist dates back to 1917 and has been associated with both the French and Soviet revolutions, the United States Communist Party and the Black Panther Part for Self-defense. [68] According to MAJ John Ringquist, a specialist in pre-colonial West Africa, African American Military History, and African Development, the clench fist is rooted in African pride. [69] Another theory is that the clench fist was introduced in 2008 during the 6 April Movement of Egypt, which was heavily influenced by the Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS), an organization established by Otpor, a Serbian civic youth movement that

assisted in ousting Milosevic. [70] Flags during the early protests of the 6 April Movement of Egypt displayed clenched fists on them, a symbol associated with CANVAS. [70] The clench fist symbol illustrates a link to the past as well a unity among the “in-group.” Below is an example of a clenched fist throw up.

[71]

Arabic script

The Arabic script that appears in the Cairene is a product of the 1990’s stylistic calligraphy experiments. Simply, there are three main types of Arabic calligraphy used; block style, calligraphy style and “Arabish.”

Block style uses rectangular shaped script, as shown below.

[57]

Calligraphy style is closer to the more traditional script, as shown below.

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[57]

[57]

“Arabish” is a form of Arabic written in a mixture of the Latin alphabet and numbers, as shown below. [72]

[71]

None of the script appears to be aggressive or more dominate in certain areas. Artists do tend to have their own style of script, which is also connected to their style of art and tags.

No Democracy

Although it is expressed in interviews, rarely is the word or the concept of democracy conveyed through works. The concept of freedom, liberty, and revolution are continuously conveyed but democracy is not.

Muslim Brotherhood, Israel & Terrorism

The graffiti in this data has only one piece of graffiti that concerned the Muslim Brotherhood, which simply states to beware of them.

[71]

There are three works in the data set that reference Israel and only two of them are hostile. However, Egypt and Israel have a long history of feuding specifically rooted in the Arab-Israeli conflicts and the ideological conflicts associated with Zionism. Therefore, these few demonstrations of self expression about the continuous clash with Israel is not out of character.

Aggressive Acts

The data set does not include large amounts of aggressive acts. There is one case of biting in Zamalek and one extreme case of vandalism to Ganzeer's sign painting, both of which are discussed to above. With the exception of Giza, which does not have any aggressive acts, all the spheres have acts of going over. Generally the going over cases are situations where space was limited. The works below are examples of extreme act of going over where an individual completed their work directly on top of another's.

[57]

[57]

The first work depicts a palm reader telling Mubarak that he has a road to Germany to travel. He is also sitting on a can with the Star of David. This work has a negative connotation by targeting not only Mubarak but also Israel and Germany.

The second photograph depicts the work that covered the first. The new work states, "People should not be afraid of their governments. Governments should be afraid of their people." This quote is a quote in the film *V for Vendetta*, but is rooted in John Basil

Barnhill's Indictment of Socialism No. 3, "Where people fear the government you have tyranny. Where the government fears the people you have liberty." [73] [74] This cover up has a positive connotation with it, in that it empowers the people rather than attacking the government or Mubarak, as the original work does. Although this is an intention going over, it is promoting empowerment and covering up negative messages. This situation illustrates that going over serves as a peer editing. They are peer evaluating each other's work and carefully constructing the message they want to present to the rest of the community.

The two photographs below are another example of going over in the data set. This act was most likely committed by the government. One of Ganzeer's martyr murals was painted back to the original color of the wall. The images are shown below.

[40]

[45]

In the lower right corner of the second photograph is a blue, stencil throw up of underwear with helicopters on them. According to Suzee in the city's blog the title of the work is "Tantawi Underwear" by Adham Bakry. [75] Mohamad Hussain Tantawi is a field marshal and a trusted associate of Mubarak's. [76] These photographs illustrate not only resilience among the graffiti artist but also unity. The Tantawi Underwear throw up is a response to the government's aggressive action of covering Ganzeer's work.

Applying to Tunisia, Libya, Bahrain, Syria and Yemen:

Cairo was chosen as a case study to develop a method that could be applied across the region. If another study was to be conducted in the same matter as this one, specifically using only online sources without a webs crawler as a means of attaining data, the application would predominately be effectively when applied to Tunisia and Libya, in that their regimes are weakened and have relaxed the suppression of freedom of expression. The issue when applying this method to Bahrain, and more specifically Syria and Yemen is that the governments still heavily filter the information distributed over the Internet.

Conclusion

The graffiti surfacing in Cairo portrays a coherent in-group with nationalistic values

based on freedoms and liberties. The graffiti demonstrates that the Egyptian Revolution is rooted in nationalism apparent in the use of black, red, and white color, the Egyptian flag, the eagle, the pyramids, and the frequent use of "Egypt" and "Egyptian." Nationalism creates a broad inclusive in-group disaffected from the out-group, the Mubarak regime. Since Mubarak and the regime are the out-group, they are the subjects of many works, primarily due to the fact that they have been the reason for the repression of liberties and freedoms. However, the works do not suggest individuals commit acts of violence against Mubarak, the regime, or the police but rather call for their resignation or illustrate the in-group's dislike of and discontent with the out-group. This nonviolent approach is also illustrated in how the artists interact with one another. All five individual artists in the study are active in downtown Cairo but there are rarely aggressive graffiti acts. As shown above the most aggressive act was committed by the regime by going over Ganzeer's mural of Mubarak.

The memorializing of martyrs and detainees is another example of the nonviolent behavior of the in-group. Rather than retaliating, works are composed to commemorate and document the Egyptians that lost their lives during the revolution as well as remind the common Egyptian of the human sacrifice of the Egyptian Revolution. The cross and crescent works, which symbolize the coexistence of Christians and Muslims in Egypt, are another example of the nonviolent behavior of the in-group. The lack of hostility by the artists, and the use of color and the content of the graffiti works illustrate a coherent, nonviolent, nationalistic in-group. The graffiti artists' nonviolent approach illustrates that the in-group is peaceful and diplomatic. The in-group's diplomatic approach and nationalistic values do not indicate the development of an Egyptian democracy. Although it is expressed in the media and interviews, the word or concept of democracy is rarely expressed in the Cairene graffiti. The concept of nationalism, freedom, liberty, and revolution are continuously conveyed but democracy is not. The fact that democracy is not illustrated in the work suggests that the Egyptian Revolution is not a democratic revolution but rather a nationalistic movement hoping to establish more liberties and freedoms for the Egyptian people.

The national movement is a local concept for the Egyptian people. Graffiti artists target the local population through their use of language, diction, and symbols. Despite the fact that the graffiti is advertised over social media websites, the majority of graffiti artists use either symbols or the Arabic language to convey their message. The use of Arabic and symbols illustrate that the artists are targeting both the literate and illiterate local populations. Artists use Arabic and Egyptian based concepts to connect with the local populations including "Arabish." Although the target audience is the local population, artists, such as Freedom Painters, HK, and Keizer, use English in many of their works. The use of English makes works more accessible to the West. Social media then serves as a catalyst to allow non-Egyptians to access the graffiti works. Even though English is used, artists still primarily use Arabic in their works, again, illustrating the local movement and coherent, nationalistic in-group.

The Cairene revolution graffiti illustrates the themes and motifs of the Egyptian Revolution. The graffiti is a means of self-expression, communication, and identifying with groups and ideals. The revolution is a nationalistic movement based on the desire for more freedoms

and liberties for the Egyptian population. In conclusion, the in-group is not advocating democracy but rather celebrating Egyptian nationalism and the instigation of a new government.

Limitations:

There are four main limitations to this study. First, the lack of access to a web crawler and information-visualizing program, such as Starlight Visual Information System, [77] limits the effectiveness and proficiency of research. A web crawler and information-visualizing program will make it easier to sort through mass amounts of information in a limited amount of time. Second, the revolution transpired very quickly. Although, both artists and admirers established websites, the work transpired so quickly in such a short amount time it proved to be difficult task to document all of the works being made. [42] Third, the data being collected is limited in that it is collected through search engines, Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, Flickr, and blogs. Although this is a wide spectrum, the data attainable through these means is filtered by governments and also limited by the ranking algorithms of the search engines. Moreover, individuals who photograph and upload graffiti take photographs that are aesthetically pleasing or concepts that align with their point of view do not necessarily provide a wide spectrum and variety of graffiti in the area. Furthermore, many of the sources come from the media. Although this portion of the research and data collection comes from both international and local media sources, issues that are being reported are dependent on the political affiliation and audience of that source. In order to validate the project a researcher must ensure that political orientations are equally and well represented by gathering data from multiple sources of varied political organization so as not to bias conclusions. Last, Many limitations also lie with the researcher. The individual conducting the initial research cannot speak Arabic, has only had introductory classes to Islam and the Middle East, has not been immersed in any Arab culture, and does not have an understanding of the inner city geography of Cairo. These limitations can easily be overcome by employing an individual on the ground that speaks Arabic, understands local culture and geography, and has more experience with Islam.

Acknowledgements

Network Science Center at West Point, New York

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Appendix

Table I: Demographic Breakdown of Rebelling Countries

Country	Corruption Ranking	Poverty	Literacy	Median Age	Unemployed Youth	Unrest Index
Tunisia	59/178	7.6%	78%	29.7	30.4%	49.4%
Egypt	98/178	16.7%	66%	24	42.8%	67.6%
Libya	148/178	n/a	88%	24.2	n/a	71%
Bahrain	48/178	n/a	91%	30.4	19.6%	37.7%
Yemen	146/178	41.8%	61%	17.9	15%	86.9%
Syria	127/178	11.9%	84%	21.5	24.4	67.3%

Table III: Literacy Percentage

Country	Men		Women	
	15+	15-24	15+	15-24
Tunisia	86	98	71	96
Egypt	75	88	58	82
Libya	95	100	81	100
Bahrain	92	100	89	100
Yemen	79	95	43	70
Syria	90	96	77	93

Table IV: Activity of Artists in Spheres in Percent

	Giza	Zamalek	Downtown	Nasr	Heliopolis/Korba	Non Affiliated
Keizer	54.55	18.18	27.27	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ganzeer	0.00	60.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sad Panda	9.09	0.00	18.18	0.00	0.00	72.73
HK	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	50.00
El-Teneen	0.00	0.00	27.27	0.00	9.09	63.64
Freedom Painters	0.00	0.00	0.00	82.76	0.00	17.24
Academy of Fine Arts Wall	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Artists

Table V: Percentage of Type of Graffiti Usage by Artists

Artist	Tagging	Piecing	Throwing Up	Sign Painting
Keiser	54.55	0.00	45.45	0.00
Ganzeer	0.00	80.00	0.00	20.00
Sad Panda	18.18	9.09	72.73	0.00
HK	0.00	50.00	50.00	0.00
El-Teneen	0.00	9.09	90.91	0.00
Freedom Painters	0.00	79.31	20.69	0.00
Academy of Fine Arts Wall	5.00	65.00	30.00	0.00

Table VI: Percentage of Medium Usage by Artists

Artist	Spray Paint	Paint	Marker	Stencil	Poster	Mixed Media
Keiser	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00
Ganzeer	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00
Sad Panda	0.00	0.00	9.09	27.27	18.18	45.46
HK	50.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
El-Teneen	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00
Freedom Painters	12.07	84.49	0.00	1.72	0.00	1.72
Academy of Fine Arts Wall	15.00	30.00	5.00	15.00	10.00	25.00

Table VII: Percentage of Color Usage by Artists

Artist	Black	White	Red	Orange	Yellow	Blue	Green	Purple	Brown
Keiser	90.91	0.00	9.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ganzeer	100.00	100.00	80.00	0.00	60.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sad Panda	100.00	90.91	18.18	0.00	18.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
HK	50.00	75.00	75.00	50.00	75.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	0.00
El-Teneen	72.73	9.09	45.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.18	0.00	0.00
Freedom Painters	93.10	93.10	89.66	22.41	68.97	48.28	31.03	12.07	29.31
Academy of Fine	95.00	60.00	70.00	35.00	50.00	30.00	35.00	15.00	15.00

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Arts Wall									

Table VIII: Percentage of Language Usage by Artists

Artist	English	Arabic	Both	None
Keiser	45.45	9.10	0.00	45.45
Ganzeer	0.00	80.00	0.00	20.00
Sad Panda	0.00	54.55	0.00	45.45
HK	25.00	75.00	0.00	0.00
El-Teneen	0.00	63.64	0.00	36.36
Freedom Painters	43.10	25.86	3.45	27.59
Academy of Fine Arts Wall	5.00	60.00	25.00	10.00

Table IX: Percentage of Canvas Usage by Artists

Artist	Wall	Billboard	Electrical Box	Flower Pot	Ground	Vehicle	Statue/ Monument	Undetermined
Keiser	81.82	18.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ganzeer	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sad Panda	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
HK	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
El-Teneen	90.91	0.00	9.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Freedom Painters	86.99	0.00	1.63	0.00	4.07	3.25	1.63	2.43
Academy of Fine Arts Wall	98.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.72

Spheres

Table X: Percentage of Type of Graffiti Usage in Spheres

Sphere	Tagging	Piecing	Throwing Up	Sign painting
Pre Rev	0.00	12.50	87.50	0.00
Giza	20.00	10.00	70.00	0.00
Zamalek	5.08	35.59	57.63	1.70

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Downtown	**1.05**	**14.74**	**84.21**	**0.00**
Nasr	**0.00**	**65.15**	**34.85**	**0.00**
Heliopolis/Korba	**0.00**	**26.32**	**73.68**	**0.00**
Non Affiliated	**0.81**	**16.26**	**82.93**	**0.00**

Table XI: Percentage of Medium Usage in Spheres

Sphere	Spray Paint	Paint	Marker	Stencil	Poster	Mixed Media
Pre Rev	**37.0**	**0.00**	**12.50**	**50.00**	**12.50**	**0.00**
Giza	**10.00**	**5.00**	**0.00**	**85.00**	**0.00**	**0.00**
Zamalek	**18.65**	**10.17**	**1.69**	**38.98**	**10.17**	**20.34**
Downtown	**10.52**	**52.63**	**4.21**	**27.37**	**2.11**	**3.16**
Nasr	**16.67**	**69.70**	**0.00**	**10.60**	**0.00**	**3.03**
Heliopolis/Korba	**0.00**	**73.69**	**5.26**	**15.79**	**5.26**	**0.00**
Non Affiliated	**28.46**	**39.84**	**7.32**	**14.63**	**0.81**	**8.94**

Table XII: Percentage of Color Usage in Spheres

Sphere	Black	White	Red	Orange	Yellow	Blue	Green	Purple	Brown
Pre Rev	**87.50**	**37.5**	**25.00**	**0.00**	**25.00**	**12.5**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**0.00**
Giza	**80.00**	**15.00**	**35.00**	**0.00**	**5.00**	**10.00**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**0.00**
Zamalek	**93.22**	**40.68**	**47.48**	**20.34**	**33.90**	**25.42**	**15.25**	**8.47**	**6.78**
Downtown	**72.63**	**43.16**	**53.68**	**11.58**	**31.58**	**31.58**	**20.00**	**5.26**	**0.00**
Nasr	**89.39**	**77.27**	**81.82**	**18.18**	**57.58**	**39.40**	**24.24**	**6.06**	**24.24**
Heliopolis/Korba	**84.21**	**31.58**	**68.42**	**26.32**	**68.42**	**47.37**	**63.16**	**31.58**	**10.53**
Non Affiliated	**68.29**	**41.46**	**44.72**	**8.13**	**21.95**	**26.02**	**13.82**	**4.88**	**4.07**

Table XIII: Percentage of Language Usage in Spheres

Sphere	English	Arabic	French	Both	None
Pre Rev	**12.50**	**37.50**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**62.50**
Giza	**15.79**	**52.63**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**31.58**
Zamalek	**25.43**	**66.10**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**8.47**
Downtown	**21.87**	**68.75**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**9.38**
Nasr	**39.39**	**43.94**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**16.67**
Heliopolis/Korba	**31.58**	**52.63**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**15.79**

Non Affiliated	**16.26**	**69.11**	**0.81**	**3.25**	**10.57**

Table XIV: Percentage of Canvas Usage in Spheres

Sphere	Wall	Billboard	Electrical Box	Flower Pot	Ground	Vehicle	Statue/ Monument	Undetermined
Pre Rev	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00
Giza	85.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00
Zamalek	79.66	0.00	18.64	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.70
Downtown	78.13	0.00	11.46	1.04	7.29	2.08	0.00	0.00
Nasr	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Heliopolis/ Korba	73.68	10.53	0.00	0.00	10.53	0.00	0.00	5.26
Non Affiliated	86.99	0.00	1.63	0.00	4.07	3.25	1.63	2.43

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