# From Rebellion to Riots: Student Violence inside the Egyptian Universities after June 30, 2013

Nasser Tolba[1]

## Abstract

This article aims to explore the phenomenon of violence at Egyptian universities after the downfall of the Muslim Brotherhood regime on June 30, 2013. It is a critical analysis to identify the underlying causes and factors leading to this excessive violence and its impact on Egyptian universities. The article drew on qualitative methods by interviewing 16 Muslim Brotherhood students from four public universities. The results indicate that frustration, injustice, the collapse of democracy, and interference of the security in universities played an initial role in the students' violent behaviors. The forms of violence varied from clashes, throwing stones, and destroying university facilities and infrastructure. The effects of violence on the university were large such as, canceling study several times, eliminating student political and cultural activities, infrastructure losses, and many arrests, injuries, and victims between students and staff.

*Keywords*: *The events of the 30 June 2013, violence, Egypt revolution, student protests, student activism.*

## Introduction and Background

During the time of submitting my application to the doctoral program in Education at Fayoum University, most Egyptian universities witnessed an extensive range of protests and student strikes. These strikes began after the downfall of the Muslim Brotherhood regime and lasted an entire year. The new regime excluded the Brotherhood from power and arrested their leaders. These political events motivated the organization of the Muslim Brotherhood students in Egyptian universities to mobilize huge demonstrations which differ according to the membership of the organization in each university**.** The regime attempted to restrain the student demonstrations by force, and the result was a mass disorder. For example, clashes between students and the police, burning university facilities and preventing study for long periods occurred. This violence became a widespread phenomenon at public and private universities and has recently drawn the attention of all social strata on the background of these bloody events (Hassinen, 2013; Pratt, 2014). This study, therefore, tries to answer two main questions: What are the main reasons for, and forms of, student violence at the Egyptian universities? And what has been the impact of these events on universities in Egypt?

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[1] *Doctoral Student at the Institut für Bildung und Kultur (Institute of Education and Culture) Fredrich Schiller University of Jena – Germany. nasser.tolba@uni-jena.de*
*Assistant lecturer – Faculty of Education – Fayoum University– Egypt*

Although the literature articulates the phenomenon of political engagement and student activism in university life (Greenbreg, 2014; Golkar, 2015; Levin & Cureton, 1998; Mashyekhi, 2001; Simmons & Lilly, 2010), few systematic attempts have been made to examine student political violence at universities especially after revolutions and societal transformations in the Third World countries. Sociologists and political scientists refer that Political violence is a prominent form of violence, which is related to political issues (Zimmermann, 2011). It can be defined as "all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors including competing political groups as well as incumbents or its policies "(Gurr, 2016, p 3- 4). It is not only a behavior against the state but also, the state can apply violence aginst civilians and opposition groups. The political aim is the motivating key factors in the political violence cycle. Therefore, "Political violence depends basically on the use of physical power to cause affliction for a political adversary" (Della Porta, 1995, p. 2).

Many studies pointed out that the suppression of liberties, social justice issues, and the violent repression were the main reasons for the previous waves of political violence at universities in Latin America, Africa, and Asia (Altbach, 1999; Fokwang, 2009; He, 2014; Roberts, 2015; Samaranayake, 2015; Yigit &Tarman, 2013; 2016). In Africa, most university students were involved in violent actions as a result of the political issues, policies of discrimination, intra-university conflicts and tensions, poor university facilities, and declining standard of living for a large sector of the population (Konings, 2002; Nyamnjoh & Jua, 2002). The majority of African universities were controlled by oppressive regimes which practiced structured violence over the opposition groups. The most remarkable example was the apartheid system in South Africa (Harris, 2010).

Cultism is also considered as a major reason for violence. Many political regimes raise cultism to distract students from the fundamental issues of freedom and democracy that they are constantly demanding. Rotimi (2005) has reported many violent events between student groups, especially Muslim and Christians in Nigerian universities. Numerous murders have been committed against rival cult members. He traced this to the long period of military rule and the culture of institutionalized violence. This also has been agreed by Fomunyam (2017) who attributed violence at African universities to the "an inherited ideological trait" and indicated that the process would continue in the future unless careful actions and policies are taken to ensure transformation and decolonization in those countries.

The authoritarian university administrations have served as a basic tool for political violence. It is reported that students demanded the improvement of the educational services at universities and increasing the space of democracy and freedom, but administrations ignored these requests and asked the police to put an end to the student protests (Amutabi, 2002). At the University of Yaounde in Nigeria, the strikes turned to violence because the university authorities refused to be involved in a dialogue with students. The students were also divided into two groups; the "Autochthonous" group supporting the regime and the "Parliament" representing the radical opposition. As such violent events were frequently occurred between students and security forces as well as between the two groups of students. Many students were jailed, and others were fired from university (Konings, 2002).

Poor societal, political, and economic conditions could lead to political violence at the university. Farson (1973) reported the protests of the Lebanese students, who demanded political and civil rights for students, job opportunities after graduation, and modernization of the agriculture and industrial sectors. Security forces confronted the student demonstrations, and violent events ensued. Many students were injured, and hundreds were arrested. Political ideologies may also lead to violence among students. Twallba (2013) identified the reasons for students' violence at Al-Yarmouk University in Jordan. He stated that the violent events related to competition in the student union elections, weakness of procedures, and laws to prevent violence, and pride of belonging to tribes were the main causes for the students' clashes.

Although scholars have studied violence at universities from different perspectives and in other nations, there is to date no specific study exploring the political violence inside universities in post-revolution. In Egypt, most studies confirmed a strong relationship between student violence and many political and economic issues such as; the lack of political work and participation inside university, the problem of unemployment, limited participation in university decision making, and an absence of channels for expressing opinions (Al-Gendy, 1989; Al-Qaṣāṣ, 2005; Farag, 1993). In conclusion, political violence inside universities is related to several causes varied from political to economic, societal, and academic factors. Although the current study corroborates the results of the previous literature, it represents a new theoretical framework for the student violence in post-revolution.

**Political Violence, State, and Student Movement in Egypt**

It is clear from the history of the student movement in Egyptian universities that it was working towards freedom, democracy and anti-authoritarian regimes (Abdalla, 2008). Soon after the

establishment of the first Egyptian University (Cairo University), the main concern of the students was fighting the British colonization of Egypt. At this time, the student movement was an essential part of the national movement in Egypt (Al-Rafʿay, 1988).

**Battle of March 9th**

A confrontation between students and political authority took place on March 9, 1932, following the dismissal decision of Taha Hussein from the university by Ismʿil ṣidqiy Government (Reid, 1990, p.120). The students responded by staging demonstrations and strikes in defense of university independence. Ismʿil ṣidqiy resorted to the security solution to finish the demonstrations, and the security forces stormed the campus of Cairo University. The university rector Ahmad Lutfi Al-Sayed resigned as an objection to that decision (Al-Gimʿay, 1982). After this demonstration, the government has been changed, and Taha Hussien and Ahmad Lutfi Al-Sayed were returned to work again in the university.  These situations give clear evidence for the power of the students' movement at the Egyptian university.

**Incident of Kūbry ʿAbbas[1]**

In 1946 the students mobilized huge demonstrations against the repeal of the 1923 constitution (Reid, 1990). The British security police opened fire the students on Kūbry ʿAbbas; two students died, and a dozen was injured. The demonstrations ended with significant benefits, re-work the 1923 constitution and moved the British security forces camp from Ismʿiliyah square (Tahrir now) to outside Cairo (Hassan, 2010, pp.20-21).

**Demonstrations of 1968**

A large number of the students' protests against the ruling authority have increased, especially after the defeat of June 1967(Ramaḍan, 1998). The students cooperated with other social groups and workers' unions for demanding true judicial decisions of the leaders who caused the defeat. The authority confronted the protests, and the security forces arrested thousands of students and sent them to jail. Finally, this public discontent forced Nasser to declare that a necessary change has to happen (ʿAbdellah, 2008).

**Bread Riots**

In the era of Sadat, especially in 1972, the Egyptian universities witnessed massive demonstrations against the situation of no war no peace with Israel after the Sadat's speech.

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[1]- The researcher used ALA-LC Romanization Symbols to write Arabic words to Latin Script via transliteration.

The students sat-in the celebrating Great Hall of Cairo University and demanded liberation for the national lands (Sinai) from occupation. The security forces entered the university campus and arrested the students (ʿAfify, 2014).

After the 1973 War, the students' movement refused the State's public policy and the subordination to the political system of the United States of America (Shehata, 2008). In 1977, huge demonstrations exploded in what is known as "bread riots" as a result of the disapproval of Sādāt's policies, rising prices, and declaration of the Camp David Treaty (Erlich, 2005). As usual, the security forces arrested thousands of university students from all political groups at the university (Rūshdy, 1994).

**Mubarak and Students, the Great Depression**

Mubarak followed the way of Sadat in creating restrictions and obstacles in front of the student movement. These procedures led to the growth of religious groups within the Egyptian universities which threaten the democratic practices. The students mobilized numerous demonstrations and protests for supporting the Palestinian people against Israel's aggression (Al-Dessūkay, 1998). The security forces worked to prevent the protests, and this led to a clash between security and students, especially in Cairo University, ʿAin Shams University, and Al-Azhar University.  Many students were injured, others were arrested, and others were still excluded from university.

In January 1991, the students protested against the Gulf War, demanding an end to the conflict. The regime prevented these demonstrations by force. There were many injuries between students and security. Another bloody confrontation between students and security force has happened inside ʿAin Shams University. The reason for the clashes was students' union elections. The security used a group of thugs disguised as students to undermine the election. The Authority wanted to control the students' union by appointing loyalist students (Hagāzy, 2009).

It is noted that the student movement was one unit through the beginning of the Egyptian university in 1908. The students participated in social issues with a national identity and without any religious or political affiliations. These characteristics give the student movement its power to make a change in the political sphere. The students were one part and interested in the same cases and problems with other social and political groups in the society. Additionally, the student movement maintained its peaceful way and expressed the community's sufferings and demands.

At the current time, there is no general case for all the student groups at Egyptian universities. There is an enormous political polarization and division inside universities. On the one hand, the Muslim Brotherhood students support Muhammad Morsi and reject the new regime and his leader Al-Sisi. On the other hand, many students support the new regime and reject the Muslim Brotherhood policies. Also, there is a group of independent students who do not have any political belonging to any political parties. Therefore, the demonstrations and riots which took place at Egyptian universities for nearly a year 2013/2014, is related to just one students' group. It does not express the whole of the student movement at Egyptian universities.

**Theoretical Framework**

There are many theories endeavored to interpret violence. Some of these theories attributed violence to the biological aspects while other theories attribute it to the psychological disorders and consider violence as a causal reaction towards certain situations and other theories stated that violence is not an innate or an instinctive behavior but a learned behavior (Brehm & Kassin, 1990). The current study attributes violence to the state of disappointment and frustration among students at Egyptian Universities (Frustration-aggression theory of John S. Dollard and Neal E. Miller). The 25 January Revolution 2011 has accompanied with high expectations and hopes for political development in Egypt. Therefore, hopes and aspirations of the students have increased to make a real change in the Egyptian society through achieving social justice, freedom of expressing and democratic practices. However, the political events that followed the coup and the destroying of democracy led students to feel frustration and alienation. The repressive practices of the security force against the student demonstrations pushed them to react violently.

The exclusion of the Muslim Brotherhood from the political arena represents damage to the concept of the democracy and justice. The overthrow of the legitimate President, abolishing the Parliament elections and committed bloody events in Rabʿah and Al-Nahdah by security forces increased the student's anger and led to a case of disappointment and depression. As a result of privation of legitimate channels for the freedom of expressing opinions, a large section resorted to using the violence against the security forces and the authority of the university which does not protect the freedom of the students at the university.

## Method and Procedures

**Research Design**

This article relies on a qualitative method through interviewing students. The qualitative design is appropriate to the current study because it uses a naturalistic approach to understand the phenomenon of political violence at Egyptian universities in post-revolution. Moreover, it gives an opportunity to the oppressed groups, which the political authority prevents them from expressing their voices, to deliver their ideas and perspectives.

**Population and Sample**

The study was conducted in four purposively selected universities (Fayoum University, Al-Azhar University, Helwan University, and Cairo University) located in the middle and northern Egypt, between September 2013 and June 2014. The study sample was chosen from the Muslim Brotherhood students who participated in or witnessed demonstrations. The focus of this study was on the Muslim Brotherhood students because they were the only student group which confronted the regime at that time as deduced from the characteristics of students who has been arrested, injured or fired from universities for related reasons. The sample consisted of 16 students from the four universities. The students were varied from different faculties such as Faculty of Education, Faculty of Commerce, Faculty of Arabic Language, Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Islamic Studies, Faculty of Political Science, and Faculty of Engineering. Additionally, the sample included male and female students.

**Data Collection Tools**

The study implemented an open interview to collect data from the sample (Biber & Leavy, 2006; Croswell, 2007; Flick, 2007). The interviews were conducted face-to-face and on-site in 2013-2014. The interviews lasted between thirty to forty minutes. The participants agreed to record their speeches. Most of interviews have been recorded via recorder. The interviews took the shape of ordinary speech.

**Data Analysis**

The process of analyzing data passed through several stages. First, the recorded data were transcribed to written form through a texts editor program (word processing). Then the researcher read the entire data to understand it and to make sense of the general ideas. Afterward, the author started asking questions on these data for better understanding. Further reading of data was made (line-by-line) with writing notes and reflections about the data. After reading the interviews, open codes were given to the data. The open coding produced various codes and ideas which were considered the base for further analyses. The researcher also attempted to provide primary explanations for the data at this stage. A further reading was

conducted for rising comments and questions such as What are the main ideas that related to the student violence? Are these ideas are connected together?

Afterward, The researcher categorized themes, linked and organized them by the relationship in a process called axial coding. This process provided coding families that became the major findings of the study through clear themes (Biber & livy, 2006; Flick, 2007; Fetterman, 2010). Categories started to emerge, and the relationship between related categories was examined. Finally, categories were ordered, processed, organized, dismantled and shown the channels of construction and deconstruction of the social phenomenon through the selective coding process (Breuer, 2009; Strauss& Corbin, 1998). The causes and forms of the political violence were easily detected.  To ensure trustworthiness of the study results, a discussion of data findings was conducted with the students to confirm content validity. Also, feedback on the manuscript was received from many researchers and experts in Fayoum University in Egypt and Jena University in Germany (Golafshani, 2003; Fettermann, 2010).

## Findings

Analysis of data showed three major themes of political violence at Egyptian universities: the causes of political violence, the forms of political violence, and the repercussion of political violence on universities.

### First: The Causes of Political Violence

The Brotherhood students attributed all violent events to the political issues and the legitimacy of the current regime. According to the data, these reasons were divided into three main sub-reasons: (a) the crisis of legitimacy of the current regime, (b) the massacre of Rabʿah and Al-Nahdah, and (c) the restrictions of liberties and political work at universities.

### The Crisis of Legitimacy for the Current Regime

According to the study, the legitimacy of the regime is represented in the results of the elections box. The regime is legitimate as long as it was chosen by the majority of the Egyptian people in democratic elections. Therefore, the Muslim Brotherhood and pro-Muslim Brotherhood considered what has occurred on 30 June 2013 as a coup against the legitimate president. The Brotherhood students have a solid conviction that Muhammad Morsi must complete his presidential period and afterward presidential elections can be organized according to the rules of democracy. For that reason, the students mobilized huge demonstrations and strike to express their rejections for the toppling of President Morsi from the rule. A student at Al-Azhar

University stated his opinion about the aim of the students' upheaval. "Demonstrations at first were organized for political issues, especially the overthrow of the elected president."

The issue of legitimacy has always been the focus of students' attention. It was mentioned in the students' chants and slogans. For example, they shouted *" ʿAwdh Al-Shar'iah"* which means the return of the political legitimacy. Another profound example is *"Morsi R'isy"* and this means Morsi is my president. The researcher saw those slogans in most of the universities' buildings, especially at Fayoum and Cairo University.

It seems that the students want to share their ideas and views about the legitimacy with other students. This also may indicate the absence of basic freedom, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly. When the researcher asked the Brotherhood students about the current regime, the responses reveal the degree of refusal to the new regime.  They considered him illegitimate and that it should be removed from power. A female student at Fayoum University stated:

> We do not recognize this regime or its government, laws or anything related to him. We aim to restore our rights. We are in a country where our rights were stolen. This president is not legitimate. People do not have their rights. We are confronting that regime until its downfall. How can I find a job after graduation if this regime did not leave? How can everyone take his rights like before? The ruling of Generals means bad economy, bad tourism, etc …

**The Massacre of Rabʿah and Al-Nahdah**

Through the responses of the study sample, the events of Rabʿah and Al-Nahdah were the fundamental reasons for the student protests. They believe that the current regime committed arbitrary and unlawful killings against the unarmed protesters in Rabʿah and Al-Nahdah. Regardless of the reasons for the sit-in protest or the massacre, the Brotherhood students were outraged because many students died. They demanded expeditious trials for the murderers. A female student at Fayoum University said:

> Demonstrations have many aims. The first aim is blood. We started the demonstrations here after Rab'ah massacre. Many students were martyrs.  They were killed in Rab'ah and Al-Nahdah.

The students consider Rab'ah and Al-Nahdah as a symbol of the regime's repression. They took the shape four fingers of the hand as a symbol for recalling the memory of the massacre of Rab'ah. The students also wanted to take revenge from the security forces because they

murdered their colleagues. This was obvious in their speech "The first aim is blood". In their demonstrations, the students screamed: "We want to take our colleagues' rights or die like them". They said those phrases with a loud voice full of anger and umbrage. This is a remarkable indicator of the status of shock as a result of these events.

**Restrictions on Liberties and Political Work in the University**

Most of the students realized that the regime has controlled the university and imposed laws for preventing any political activity inside it. They also believed that their demonstrations are the only effective tool to press on the regime to finish the coup. Moreover, they were also aware that the demonstrations had become a source of worry for the current regime. A student at Al-Azhar University mentioned:

> The protests and riots have been exercised systematically at Al-Azhar University. The police practiced all kinds of violence and gross violations against the faculty members and us as well. These accidents have led to inflame the situation between the angry students and the security forces.

In counter of the student demonstrations, the security forces intensively intervened universities, arrested the students, and threw tear gas and smoke bombs on the protesters. These brutal actions motivated the students to confront this coarseness of the security forces. A student at Helwan University said: "The crisis began when the security forces arrested large numbers of the Brotherhood students. That is because students demanded to release their arrested colleagues". At Fayoum University, the researcher has witnessed the harsh intervention of the security forces in the student demonstrations. The police used excessive force to keep the students inside the university. A Brotherhood student leader at Fayoum University said:

> One of the students told us that the armored vehicles began to move in the direction of the university. Therefore, we wanted to get back quickly to the university to protect the female students. Male students can escape, but female students cannot.

The Law of Demonstrations has also played an effective role in increasing disorder at universities. Under this law, thousands of young people have been jailed on charges of the violation of the law. The students of Fayoum University were worried about the intent of the regime to give a chance for mobilizing protests. A student at Fayoum University stated:

> Of course, the regime is trying to suppress the freedom of expressing opinions, which was existed after the 25th January Revolution 2011 by this law. To

mobilize a demonstration, how can I get permission from one of the regime's institutions which the demonstration will be against him? Absolutely, I will organize a demonstration without any permission.

The law, especially in the fifth act stated that the political rallies are banned in houses of worship. Furthermore, the tenth act gives the right for the Ministry of Interior to approve, ban or change the track of the demonstrations if there is a threat to the society (Organizing Demonstrations Act, 2013). Thus, this law is discordant with the Egyptian Constitution. The new political regime attempted to prevent students from their basic rights in expressing opinions. For these reasons, the students refused the law and a student at Cairo University mentioned that:

The regime has declared that it is okay to arrange and make demonstrations. When people begin their demonstration, the regime sends its forces to shoot them. At the same time, the Ministry of Interior can permit you to make a demonstration in far place such as a desert. Therefore, it is not logic.

Judicial Regulation is another oppression tool which has been legislated for the disordered situation at Egyptian universities. It emerged on the political level for the first time in 2013. It allowed the civil security at the university to inspect and arrest students (Al-Sony, 2013). The implementation of Judicial Regulation turned the campuses into a big prison in which the students could not practice their social or political activities. Actually, the decision for Judicial Regulation was entirely hasty. This is simply because the students were demanding more freedom, but the regime wanted to confine this freedom. Therefore, the number of protests has increased.

**Second: Forms of Political Violence at the Egyptian Universities**

In consonance with the study results, the forms of political violence have varied between protests in front of the Deans and the Chancellor's office, the clash with the security, throwing stones and Molotov cocktails, and destroying university's facilities.

**Protests in Front of the Deans and the Chancellor's Office**

Since the beginning of the 25[th]January Revolution 2011, student activism has increased to restore their rights such as freedom, fair elections, and improving university facilities. Conversely, the situation after 30 June 2013 was different due to the increasing number of

protests for one student group (the Muslim Brotherhood). These protests became a main feature of daily life in the Egyptian universities.

> Students began to press on the university administration to achieve our demands. We arrange this by preparing slogans and chants in the center of the campus. If nobody (Administration) comes negotiate about the demands, we go to the administration building and make a strike or sit in the front of the dean's office. This achieves good results (A student at Fayoum University).

The declared aim for these protests is to release the arrested students from prisons. The hidden objective of demonstrations was to reinstate President Morsi to the rule. According to the students' perspective, this is difficult because most of the university administrations support the current regime. Moreover, they do not have the intent to protect students or listen to their grievances. On the one hand, the regime through the university administration endeavored to block the public sphere at universities for the Muslim Brotherhood students. On the other hand, the regime tried to reward other groups which are supporting the regime through financial aids and open public sphere for them.

> Due to the current political situation in Egypt, the regime realizes that the protesters are following a particular political group (Muslim Brotherhood) and he will not respond to their demands. If other groups which are supporting the regime, it is possible to achieve their demands (A student at Helwan University).

**The Clash with the Security**

The student protests increased to a degree in which the security forces stormed the university to disperse the demonstrations and clashes occurred. This is because the security acts violently against students. Therefore, the students tried to step out into the surrounding streets to gather the public support and legitimacy for their demonstrations. The security forces followed the student demonstrations and prevented them by force. The security threw tear gas, rubber bullets, and hit the students with batons. The students' backlash against the security forces actions was constantly violent.

> There is a physical law states that for every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction. If I was suddenly attacked, I could not be silent. I will react to what I have in my hand (A student at Fayoum University).

It is sorrow when the students participate in a demonstration, and the security forces shot them with tear gas and rubber bullets. There are many videos prove that if you want it, I can bring it to you (A student at Cairo University).

This atmosphere of aggression and violent actions of security pushed students to respond to violence. The students at Fayoum University punished the civil security. Ten of the private security at the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Education were injured and their chief had fatal injuries to his liver, kidneys, and neck. The students aimed to take the revenge for their colleagues because the civil security arrested the students and handed them over to the police. The students believe that there is collusion between the private security and the security forces as they have the same mission. A female student at Fayoum University clarified:

The civil security in the university informed the police about our colleagues. The security arrested them later. This is a strong reason for that. We do not begin violence.

The power/resistance relationship between the security forces and the students has turned the university campuses into a war zone. In one hand, the regime wanted to grip on universities, impose stability, and show the power of the state. On the other hand, the Brotherhood students sought to use their organization to press on the regime, achieve their demands, and show the weakness of the regime through protests and confrontations.

**Throwing Stones and Molotov Cocktails**

As a result of the security intervention and the excessive use of force in dealing with the student demonstrations, the students threw stones and Molotov cocktails on the security outside the university. According to the Brotherhood students throwing stones is considered a small tool for self-defense.

Security forces have thrown tear gas, smoke bombs, and rubber bullets and this affected our breath. Students threw stones and fireworks, and this does not affect them. It is just self-defense (A student at Al-Azhar University).

The state of frustration among students let them to burning the security's cars. At Al-Azhar University, the students burned the cart of the security forces located outside the university to press on them to leave the university campus. In fact, the students' reaction to the police was logical because the security forces started violence against students at the beginning. The security forces stormed the students' dormitories before dawn to arrest students. A student died

during this violent intrusion. These arbitrary and unlawful killings irritated students and pushed them to behave violently.

**Destroying and Burning University Facilities**

According to the students' responses, they turned to destroy university facilities in a later stage of their protest. Many accidents were reported at Al-Azhar, Fayoum, and Cairo University. The students burned the building of the Faculty of Commerce at Al-Azhar University. Moreover, they destroyed the president's office of Al-Azhar, Ain Shams, and Al-Zagazig University.
At Fayoum University, the author witnessed two rooms completely burned after the students' attacks on the civic security. Moreover, the students destroyed the gates of Fayoum University and Al-Azhar University when the private security tried to prevent them from marching outside the university. Also, they damaged the surveillance cameras in many university campuses, especially in Cairo and Fayoum University.

**Third: Repercussion of the Political Violence in the Egyptian Universities**

According to the study's results, the events of the political violence significantly impacted Egyptian universities. For instance, most students' cultural, scientific, sport, and social activities were canceled. Furthermore, the study was delayed for long periods which impacted the educational process at universities in terms adequate time to complete curricula. For example, the study was postponed twenty days at the beginning of the academic year 2013/2014 and for an extra month in the second semester. As well as, influencing running lectures because the students, during the demonstrations, were using microphones and reciting some phrases in raucous voices which disturb professors while teaching classes. Additionally, the Brotherhood students encouraged the new students for not attending lectures or scientific lessons in laboratories. These violent events also influenced the relationship between students, professors, and administrations of universities. This is because students blocked the office of the Chancellor at Al-Azhar University and the Dean of the Faculty of Engineering at Cairo University. They also injured the Dean of the Faculty of Pharmacy at Cairo University.

Furthermore, a massive rift in the student movement in most Egyptian universities occurred. There has been considerable disagreement between student groups reached to violent actions. Many clashes between the Brotherhood students and the students who support the new regime policies happened. For example, approximately, 143 students were injured in the clashes at Mansoura University (Al-Deeb & Al-Sayed, 2013). Further, dozens of the students died during their confrontation at the Faculty of Engineering in Cairo University and the Faculty of

Medicine at Al-Azhar University. Also, hundreds of students were jailed. Therefore, many experts in Higher Education Institutions in Egypt suggested the abolition of the university dormitories. They claimed that these dormitories sheltered many students who have a tendency for violence. They were also demanding for returning the police to the universities again for maintaining constancy, facilities, and protecting them from deliberately sabotages by the students.

### Discussion, Implications and Limitations

Many factors contribute to the violence at universities such as political polarization, policies of discrimination, bad economic situation, cultism, and inter-university conflict (Farsoun, 1973; Harris, 2010; Nyamnjoh & Jua, 2002; Rotimi, 2005). However, this study displays unique reasons for violence among university students in post-revolution in Egypt. The findings indicate that the regime's legitimacy, the restrictions of liberties, and the events of Rab'ah and Al-Nahdah constitute the primary source of political violence at Egyptian universities. A possible explanation for this might be that the state of alienation which prevails among students as a result of various forms of persecution expressing itself in the form of explosions, vast and sudden protest movements which confront the authorities inside universities. It also prompts students to adopt all opposition's ideas which reject the regime, and it motivates them to respond rapidly to any external political influences. Thus, the students have fallen as a prey to the political contradictions in the Egyptian society. As a result of the absence of channels of expressing opinions, large sections of students resort to using violence against the police and the university administration which is not in support for the student rights. It is notable that loss of hope for democratic change represents additional reasons for these accidents.

The geographical location of the universities played an effective role in the density of political violence inside Egyptian universities (Robertson, 2013; Wallace, & Weiss, 2015; Zhao, 1998). The universities which are situated in a rural region, such as Fayoum University and Helwan University, witnessed bloody events because of the increasing numbers of religious groups and the increasing percentage of unemployment and illiteracy between the surrounding communities. Unlike, Cairo University situated in the urban area of Giza which has massive student protests but less violent and bloody events. Although male students were more involved in political activities and had an intensive tendency to react violently, the female students have a supportive role in leading demonstrations against the security forces especially after many male student leaders were arrested. This is a development in the concept of political participation for the female students. The Brotherhood uses the female students to mobilize

demonstrations which will have a greater impact on the masses of students. And the security forces will not deal violently with them. If the female students were shot, this would increase the public discontent for the regime inside and outside the university.

Another interesting finding is the forms of multilateral political violence at Egyptian universities. They are varied between protests in front of the Deans' offices, clashes with security, and destroying university's facilities. This result may be explained by the fact that the lack of awareness and professionalism of the security forces and the regime's insistence on the security solution has aggravated the problem. Furthermore, the idea of resistance is a central notion in the Brotherhood's ideology and their understanding of Islam. Therefore, it increased the violence between the students and the security forces. The pattern of governance at Egyptian universities which is characterized by a dictatorship is considered a fundamental factor for violence (Konings, 2002). It is following the political will of the authority and antagonizes any movement which has a tendency for democracy inside the university. Therefore, there is no real political space inside Egyptian universities to contain the students' demands for democracy and freedom. The university administrations do not have any vision to respond the students' demands. Frustration, despair, injustice, and alienation have increased among students. This has led to the tendency to violence and to the rejection of any source of authority in the society. This finding is compatible with a study conducted by Aumutabi (2002).

**Implications for Student Affairs Professionals**

The findings of the current study have many implications for student affairs. First, student affairs circles at Egyptian universities must promote a dialogue between student factions and create a more inclusive and equitable campus environment. It should also construct centers for social justice on campus and enhance cross-campus collaboration (Broido & Reason, 2005). Second, student affairs professionals ought to provide meaningful discussions with students about what it means being an active and engaged member of a society in post-revolution. The role of a student affairs adviser is to create calm in the midst of the storm and provide an opportunity to assist students to develop their voice and their role in leadership. This will be achieved through regular political awareness workshops (Bickford & Reynolds, 2002). Third, the practitioners can include alumni over the student lifecycle to provide rich and positive experiences to students. They can be represented as supervisors or as external participators. This will provide guidance towards the essence of student life and activities. Fourth, the university policies and procedures should be regularly reviewed to explore how they contribute to the upgrowth of student activism and violence. Lastly, student affairs circles can provide a

booklet for student code of conduct for demonstrations and political work. This will contribute to a secure campus environment for both students and faculty staff.

**Limitations**

This study has many limitations which should be mentioned. Although the qualitative method was suitable for the current study, the small number of participants from only four universities in Egypt is considered as a disadvantage. However, the problem of generalizing results still exists and should be careful about that, the results of this study may provide a theoretical framework to explore political violence in universities in post-revolution. Although my attempts to be objective while dealing with the phenomenon of political violence inside the Egyptian universities, the process of analyzing and presenting data might be influenced by my academic background as a doctoral student with a liberal standpoint which considers the student protests as a human right. This liberal view could, in sometimes, supports the students in a counter of the oppression of the regime.

Many difficulties were encountered while conducting this study. For instance, significant barriers pertaining to violence included restrictions by the Security Forces and exposure to smoke and tear gas. Also, the camera damaged while trying to take pictures during demonstrations. These circumstances may have influenced the students' responses and blocked some controversial issues. Despite, the accuracy of conducting interviews in this study, some participant refused to be interviewed. Therefore, the study may lose some important data.

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