

UC Riverside

UCR Honors Capstones 2017-2018

Title

The Emigration Dilemma Following National Uprisings: A Comparative Study of Central American and Middle Eastern Migration Throughout the Years from Egypt and Nicaragua

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/07b1w0g9>

Author

Hanin, Mina

Publication Date

2018-04-01

By

A capstone project submitted for
Graduation with University Honors

University Honors
University of California, Riverside

APPROVED

Dr.
Department of

Dr. Richard Cardullo, Howard H Hays Jr. Chair and Faculty Director, University Honors
Interim Vice Provost, Undergraduate Education

Abstract

Acknowledgments

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iii

Introduction:

We live in an ever-growing world filled with continuous advancements and easy access to technologies. As years have passed, societies grew into more diverse populations representing innumerable people with different ideologies and preferences. Thus, with this continuous change and growth, adequate representation of all sects of society became one of the top priorities any nation's government strives to achieve. That being said, the strife for representation through equity and effectiveness did not always lead governments' agendas especially when it came to those who had suppressive natures or ruled in preference of one group over the other. This form of governance eventually formed sectoral divisions among nations and left many community members live under devastating circumstances that were harsh and inhumane in many instances.

The evolving numbers of migrants fleeing their home countries and leaving behind their livelihoods in pursuit of a better chance in life are what inspired this research to be conducted. Emigration and asylee seeking have been two topics dominating the political and media arenas recently. There have been various accounts of reactions towards this matter where some were in preference and others in disagreement. What current media reactions and political discussions lack is the idea of comparative representation throughout history that would show commonalities and differences between past and recent emigrant flows from different parts of the world. The study that is being represented has been driven by my desire to enhance the rhetoric on emigration, and make it evolve into a more representative and analytical one. More specifically, the question asked in this research is what intentions do emigrants hold before leaving their county? And what common issues have emigrants shared throughout time in regards to the leadership of the country?

This research primarily focuses on two regions of the world that have been undergoing political transitions throughout the years. Central America and the Middle East have been home to numerous oppressive dictatorships and militaristic governmental dominance that led the regions' countries to fall into devastating circumstances. More importantly, these regions have been dominantly known for minority group suppression and being home for military governments that took over the nations' wealth which was supposed to be utilized in benefitting those living in the society. The two country's being studied in this research are Egypt and Nicaragua that have undergone significant revolutions and resentment by the people to overthrow the suppressive dictators leading them. More importantly, these countries have experienced various emigration flows in different time periods that varied widely but were unified by the intentions of those fleeing and escaping the turmoil.

This topic is of vital importance because it provides a comparative analytical study of two very distinct regions of the world that have undergone similar challenges throughout time. The research indicates that as political turmoil arises and lack of representation dominates, populations are more prone to emigration and escaping the countries they live in. When we come to compare the flows of migration in Nicaragua to those in Egypt, the first thing that is noticed is that the emigration of both populations was at different times. Nicaragua had its diaspora take place during the mid-1970s into the 1990s, while on the other hand, Egypt's diaspora is relatively recent and occurred during 2011 and continued since. More specifically, we see that both countries have had an ample share of wealth in the form of natural resources that many of its citizens use to live from and work with. That being said, this wealth has also been a source of greed to those ruling over the countries and was usually regarded as personal property rather than a national commodity.

Furthermore, when both countries are compared to each other, it is evident that the diversity of the people led many to live under sectoral divisions. In Nicaragua, the Somoza dictatorship suppressed the farming families and those in opposition to the communist agenda. On the other hand, in Egypt, the suppression came in the form of religious inequality as well as militaristic suppression of opposing ideologies that did not abide by the military's preference. Despite the difference in the challenges, it is evident that both nations are unified under one common idea which is that as the lack of freedoms grows, suppression of minorities evolves and develops into acts of violence perpetrated against those who are not adequately represented leading many to flee their home in pursuit for an opportunity. People fleeing seek security, freedoms, and a better financial livelihood for the whole family.

In the upcoming sections, I will be discussing the background information regarding each of the countries in the study. I will be examining the historical uprising in both regions and how they led to suppression, economic downfall, and violence perpetrated against minorities. Then the study will examine the role of upheavals and governmental suppression in driving the emigrants to flee their homes. This study also examines the intentions and aspirations developed as people escape and seek refuge elsewhere, analyzing what benefits and expectations emigrants have once they arrive at their destination and reside there. Without further ado, let us delve into the world of emigration and freedom seeking.

Central America Emigration:

Towards the beginning of the 1980s, the United States has experienced an unprecedented flow of immigrants who fled their home countries seeking refuge in its lands. Thousands of Nicaraguans were among those who escaped the oppression that they have faced back in their towns and villages. These refugees were victims of persecution generated by their governments,

and as a result, many were living in economically devastating conditions and were subject to minimal humanitarian laws. As the author, Susan Gzesh has stated in one of her study titled *Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era*, "Nicaraguans fled north from civil war, repression, and economic devastation ... in the last months of the Carter administration, the U.S. Congress passed the Refugee Act" (1). To further understand the motivations behind the emigration of the large populations, I will provide a comparative analytical study examining the contexts that have generated the factors of migration, and the impact of such events on the United States and its immigration system.

Nicaragua:

Nicaragua experienced one of the most violent leaderships in its history during the 1960s under Somoza that came to an end during the late 1970s. More precisely, Nicaraguans were living under the brutality and violence of the Somoza dynasty that had ripped away many of the nation's wealth and turned it to personal gains. This authoritarian rule was to come to an end as the revolutionary Sandinista movement grew throughout the 1970s and culminated in a revolutionary victory in 1979. Given the nature of the region's historical, political instability, many of the surrounding nations both in Central America and Latin America have experienced similar uprisings during that period as well. To further understand the factors behind the revolution, one should first understand what the term means. According to Thomas W. Walker's book *Nicaragua - The First Five Years*, the term implies "a process of rapid, social, economic, and political change" (2). These changes that the country experiences entails the presence of physical violence perpetrated by one group against the other, which is a factor that is common in all the countries in my study. The uprisings usually stem from the anger of the populations who are persecuted at the hands of their governments, and Nicaragua does not fall short of that.

Nicaragua Background Information:

Throughout the years, Nicaragua has always been regarded by many to be a land of significant potential and valuable riches. It has been home to millions and a place where high-quality land exists. According to Walker, Nicaragua "has considerable potential for geothermal and hydroelectric energy, significant lumber, and mineral resources" (11). With all these riches, the country has been a source of greed for many of its leaders who rule the population with all this surrounding wealth. The Central Intelligence Agency recent *Fact Book study for Nicaragua* indicates that the country has a usage of an estimated 42% of its land for agricultural use and a 32.5% only for urban development, indicating how prominent farming is within the country. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that some of Nicaragua's significant hazards are earthquakes, volcanoes, and landslides that serve as a harm for its natural resources. Also in the study conducted by the CIA, it is indicated that the "lava flows and ash have been known to cause significant damage to farmland and buildings" (CIA Factbook). These natural disasters were to eventually contribute to the loss of the lands of many Nicaraguans who engaged in farming as their primary source of living.

With all the abovementioned wealth and hazards, the country is regarded to be one of the poorest in Latin America up until this day despite having over 60% of the country's age structure fall into the 15-54 range (working force). This shows the lack of the government's ability to adequately utilize the power of its youth in prospering the nation and offering job opportunities. The country relies heavily on the agricultural sector in building its economy and is regarded to be a leader in the production of coffee, bananas, sugarcane, and tobacco. The devastating conditions of this country have been a result of the poor governance of many of its previous leaders who led the nation to plunder its natural wealth and leave millions of people in

impoverished economic statuses and subject to minimum human rights laws. The long-lasting Somoza dictatorship along with the uprisings as a result of its rule has left Nicaraguans in a devastated state that has its effects up to this day. To further understand the consequences that have led a country with all this natural wealth into devastation, I will be providing an insight into the events that sparked the revolution in Nicaragua.

The Start of the Uprisings:

Upon the country's independence from Spain back in 1821, Nicaragua experienced the growth of Liberal and Conservative parties as a result of the democratic process that it was going through. That being said, it was not long until we saw it emerge into a long-lasting authoritarian rule of a 42-year reign led by the Somoza family dictatorship. With the rule bouncing from one family member to the other, the Somoza family has been able to manipulate the politics of the country as well as maintain a desirable relationship with the United States for many years. The wealth and support that was generated as a result of the authoritarian rule, led to the corruption of the country's leaders and the utilization of land and resources for personal benefit over the benefit of the citizens. The U.S. support for Nicaragua's dictatorial leadership, led the Somoza dynasty to pursue a harsh form of governance, leaving many of its people in poverty and underrepresentation.

The Somoza Dynasty:

The Somoza dynasty dictatorship started with the rule of Somoza Garcia who came to power after the assassination of President Sandino. According to the enlightening book *Nicaragua: A Country Study* written by Tim Merrill, "Somoza García controlled political power, directly as president or indirectly through carefully chosen puppet presidents, from 1936 until his assassination in 1956" (25). García's rule and strength was a result of the family's control over

the PLN that gave them absolute power over the country's political sphere. The Nationalist Liberal Party (PLN) was the party in power during the rule of Somoza and was also aligned with the United States. The office of the President was led by members of the PLN from 1936 to 1979, and was regarded to be the official representative party of the regime during its rule.

Not only that, but the author also indicates that the United States during that time sent to Nicaragua "large amounts of military aid and enthusiastically integrated its economy into the wartime hemispheric economic plan, providing raw materials in support of the Allied war effort" (68). Furthermore, during the first years of his rule, Somoza Garcia built a significant wealth for himself and his family through his monopoly over the investments in the country as was indicated in the book. According to Merrill, Garcia controlled the majority of agricultural exports especially those of coffee and cattle. Not only that, but the government during that time took over German properties and sold them to the Somoza family for extremely minimal prices. With all that power and wealth, Somoza did not live without opposition. It was after World War II when "widespread domestic and international opposition to the Somoza García dictatorship grew among political parties, labor, business groups, and the United States government" (Merrill 56). Many of the Liberals who established the Partido Liberal Independiente (PLI) opposed his intentions for reelection. Thus, Somoza resorted to the election of a puppet government led by Leonardo Argüello. During this time, the elections held by Somoza was nothing more than an orchestrated event to show the world that Somoza was supported by the nation. In reality, these elections were fraud and did not by any means represent the true intentions and preferences of the nation. The PLN manipulated many aspects of the elections and did force people to vote one way over the other. Not only that but during that time, the U.S. administration under President Truman withheld diplomatic recognition of the new government for some time. This decision

came after the fear of the U.S. that the new puppet government may have some ties with the communist leadership and not be representative of the U.S. and Somoza anti-communist ideals.

Throughout his years in the rule, Somoza Garcia developed several enemies many of which attempted coups against him, including a coup attempt by the National Guard. It was on September 21, 1956, when "Somoza García was fatally wounded, by Rigoberto López Pérez, a twenty-seven-year-old Nicaraguan poet, who had managed to pass through Somoza García's security. The dictator was flown to the Panama Canal Zone, where he died eight days later" (Merrill 28). To follow up with his father's legacy, Somoza Garcia was succeeded by his eldest son Luis Somoza Debayle who was a U.S. educated engineer. But as many may assume Luis was nothing different from his father although he came in promising the establishment of a new democracy that will honor the constitution. Luis Somoza-Debayle took over the rule of the country and assigned his younger brother Anastasio "Tachito" Somoza-Debayle the leadership of National Guard. According to the informative book *Somoza and the Legacy of U.S. Involvement in Central America* written by Bernard Diederich, the author stated that "under the brothers, Luis wearing the silk gloves and Tachito providing the strong arm, the family – and the guard – became even more powerful and increasingly corrupt" (54). With their ultimate rule of two of the highest entities in the nation, the brothers fought political opposition as well as they were able to maintain strong support by the United States through their anti communist agenda. That being said, Diederich also indicated that the two brothers did not reach agreements on many issues such as the perception of the future of their dynasty. Luis wanted to end the dynasty to make sure that all the exploited wealth they gained would remain theirs. On the other hand, Tachito wanted to rule the country further and was in great desire to continue in power. Thus,

when Luis died in 1963 due to a heart attack, Anastasio "Tachito" Somoza Debayle came in power and carried on the legacy of the Somoza dictatorship.

The Rule of Anastasio "Tachito" Somoza Debayle and U.S. Relations:

Up until this moment, it is evident that the continuous accumulation of wealth did not do the country any good. Instead, it left many in great suffering especially those who vehemently opposed this successive tyrannical power present in Nicaragua. Additionally, having the U.S. support the dictatorship solely because it did not want a communist leadership was very harmful to many. The United States' support and funding to the Somoza regime served as means for further power accumulation over anything else. With that being said, the upcoming reign of Tachito will mark the change in many of the country's circumstances and political climate due to several uprisings and a natural disaster that will serve as a source of weakening for the Somoza dynasty.

Throughout his rule, Tachito kept up economic growth, but for the sole purpose of its use for his wealth and benefit. He supported the elites in the country and those of the United States to strengthen diplomatic relations between both nations. Not only that, but Anastasio Somoza made sure to have the support of the military in order to prevent any chances of a coup happening against him. According to Thomas W. Walker's *Nicaragua*, "the most important domestic power factor, however, was the military. The Somoza family employed two tactics in maintaining its loyalty" (18). The author further explains that the dynasty during Tachito's rule made sure that the top command of the National Guard remained in the hands of one of the family members. The second and more dangerous tactic in my point of view would be that the government "worked to isolate the military psychologically from the Nicaraguan people by allowing them to become a sort of Mafia in uniform" (19). The amount of corruption within the military that grew

as a result of this given power was immense and led many of the military members to act against the people of the country and engage in illegal acts. The outcome was the hatred of the National Guard among most sects of society. Tachito viewed this as favorable because it always reminded the Guard "that if the family were ever overthrown, the guard would be in grave trouble" (18).

The negative social impact of the Somoza rule did not stop here; it continued through the manipulation of the social services. While initially intended to help the underrepresented of Nicaragua, it turned out that these programs "served largely as a way of providing employment and opportunities for the personal enrichment of the Somoza elite and its middle-class allies" (19).

On top of that, the regime undertook a developmentalist approach to its economic reform which caused significant hardships for the regular citizen. To be specific, the regime initiated the process of rural dislocation of many of the peasants who primarily resided in the Pacific lowlands. This approach came through the intent of "accelerated rate of urbanization, especially in the late 1960s and 1970s" (19). Many of the social services members were corrupt during that time, leaving the suffering migrants helpless and continue to grow in devastation.

The FSLN Emergence:

It was during the 1970s when everything started to change for the dictatorship rule. By this time, the majority of the underrepresented communities became alienated as a result of the growing greediness of Anastasio Somoza Debayle and those who surround him. To make matters even worse for the administration, a deadly earthquake took place during Christmas of 1972 "which destroyed most of the capital city, Managua" (20). Not only that, but as Walker indicated in his book "Somoza and his accomplices used their control to funnel international relief funds into their own pockets" (20). The earthquake event resulted in the escalation of resentment

against the Somoza leadership. It was then when the FSLN opposition undertook one of its major operations by the capturing of hostages in exchange for ransom. As a result of the actions by the FSLN, Somoza "launched the Guard on a campaign of terror in rural areas where FSLN Guerillas were believed to be operating" (20). The Guard performed terrifying acts of terror by raping and torturing hundreds of innocent peasants while searching for the FSLN guerrillas who hid among innocents.

Moreover, as a result of all the obvious and perpetual violations of human rights laws against Nicaraguans, Tachito generated an excessive amount of opposition at the hands of labor groups, the Catholic church, and many from the industrial sector. With the election of Jimmy Carter in 1977 who came in as a promoter of human rights, the relationship between Nicaragua and the U.S. became less certain as Carter did not want to associate himself with violators of human rights. Despite Carter's efforts to promote democracy, "the United States had failed to perceive that an artificial injection of civil and political liberties into a system built on the denial of basic and social economic justice can have a high destabilizing effect" (Walker 20). In other words, the problem stemmed from the idea of trying to force democracy to be implemented by a system that was built on corruption. It was more ideal to have the government leadership changed and then start promoting the democratic ideals. The resentment of the people continued to grow, and they started to call for a War of Liberation.

The War of Liberation and Operation Pigpen:

The event that catalyzed to trigger the War of Liberation was the assassination of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro on January 10, 1978. This event has "led [to] months of riots and a nationwide general strike. Though these failed to topple the dictatorship, popular discontent boiled once again in February" (21). The hatred towards the Somoza government grew even

more with the escalation of events and the disclosure of a secret letter from Carter congratulating Somoza for his "efforts" to foster democracy. The reason to why the U.S. again supported Somoza is because they feared the rule of the FSLN which was perceived by many in the U.S. as a guerrilla group and had left-wing beliefs that did not align with the U.S. The resentment of the FSLN continued to escalate until it reached to a maximum where they conducted the famous Operation Pigpen. According to Walker "a small group of commandos seized the national legislative palace and held over 1,500 hostages until the dictator once again agreed to meet a series of stringing demands" (21). After this attack, it became evident to Somoza that the only way to stop the opposition is to once again "carry out a bloody and indiscriminate "mop-up" operation against the civilian population, bringing the death toll to over 5,000" (Walker 21). These attacks were deadly, and due to the lack of arms that the FSLN had during that time as well as the minimal power in regards to the numbers of armed militants, they lost to Somoza's National Guard. Meanwhile, during these attacks, the FSLN continued to expand its forces and re-weaponize the movement to make up for the losses.

With the goal of ending the 42-year-old Somoza dynasty, the "Final Offensive" was announced in 1979. The United States called for the intervention of peacekeeping forces within the region as a result of the evolving barricades of those opposing the regime, but "this proposal was unanimously rejected by the OAS [Organization of American States]" (Walker 22). With that being said, Somoza fled the country on July 17, and the FSLN entered the capital Managua where the remaining forces of the Guard surrendered as was indicated in the book by Walker. "The war of Liberation had cost Nicaragua around 50,000 lives, or approximately 2 percent of her population" (Walker 22). This end of the Somoza dynasty left Nicaragua to be under the rule

of FSLN revolutionary forces for the upcoming years, and a significant resentment in the United States which would be shown through the Contra War shortly after.

From what has been mentioned up until this moment, it is evident that two major factors affect the system of governance of any country. First of all, the amount of power accumulated by any ruling party in most cases becomes harmful when the leader sees that there is excessive power available for their use. Secondly, the interference of foreign states and entities such as the United States and the OAS plays an integral part in regards to the international perception of the country witnessing the uprisings and instabilities. Had there not been a strong interference by the United States to support the Somoza dictatorial rule, there would not have been a chance for the dynasty to continue for that long and develop violent sentiments through forces such as the National Guard who has turned against the poor of Nicaragua.

The Emigration Flows:

These periods of uprisings were challenging to everyone living in Nicaragua and left many fearing their lives and the lives of their loved ones. Thus, in pursuit of security and another opportunity in life, many resorted to escape the country and seek refuge elsewhere. The two prime destinations for Nicaraguan emigrants were Costa Rica and the United States. The choice of these countries was a result of their accessibility and geographical proximity to Nicaragua especially when it came to Costa Rica. More importantly, these countries had more economic opportunities and securities than what was offered back in the emigrants' home nation. To further understand the emigration process, factors, and its impact, I will be reflecting on various studies regarding this matter.

When studying migration, one question that always challenges researchers is what intentions do migrants have when they leave one place and go to another. In Nicaragua's case,

the question asked is whether migrants escaped the country for economic or political reasons. The migration patterns of Nicaraguans in the years following the Somoza dictatorship were many, but they could be presented as two major emigration flows. One wave was composed of emigrants fleeing the country as a result of the Somoza dictatorship and the earthquake, the second was a result of the Contra War that was to follow. In the comprehensive and detailed study titled *The Nicaraguan diaspora: trends and opportunities for diaspora engagement in skills transfers and development* by Manuel Orozco, the author analyzed the migration patterns of Nicaraguans over the past thirty years. According to the author, "by 1990 there were 170,000 Nicaraguans living in the United States, a large number residing in Florida, particularly in Miami" (2). Many of these emigrants fled for various reasons such as natural disasters and political oppression.

As was mentioned earlier in the chapter, Nicaragua underwent a catastrophic natural disaster in the form of an earthquake which left many communities and agricultural lands destroyed. Despite the continuous international aid support provided to the country, the Somoza dynasty took over the aid and used it to grow personal wealth. This act left many in devastating life conditions and people resorted to fleeing the country as they were not able to recover. Orozco explains that "One of the largest [flows] of migration occurred in the early seventies after the 1972 earthquake that destroyed Managua. Thousands of Nicaraguans left the country in 1973 seeking better opportunities as the country entered into an economic recession after the quake" (4). The sought for a shelter and economic stability is what led people to flee especially when the government failed to enhance the lives of those impacted by the disaster and help them step up once again. Moreover, it is important to mention that if the government was supportive during that time towards the populations, we would not have seen as many people escape. The

greediness of those in power deprived those who were in need of basic support and human rights, proving to the world that the Somoza dictatorship lacked the knowledge of humanity.

The streams of migration did not stop here, in fact, this event was a start of many flows to come later on. As political challenges intensified during Somoza's rule along with the emergence of the FSLN in the political arena, there happened another flow of emigrants. More specifically, the migration rate climbed during the late 1970s after the triumph of the revolution. According to Orozco the mass migration during 1979-1981 "was composed of many Anastasio Somoza's supporters, especially former members of the National Guard and sectors of the upper-middle-class" (2). Somoza was strategic when he established the National Guard. He wanted to make sure that if he was to fall that they would fall with him as well, establishing some sort of resentment proofing. That being said not all emigrants were Somoza supporters, there were many others who fled the country as a result of the turmoil and political instability.

Another prime destination that Nicaraguans fled to was Costa Rica. Studies indicate that there has been a higher rate of Nicaraguan emigrants to Costa Rica than the U.S. This claim is evident as the proximity of the country plays a detrimental role when it comes to migration anywhere in the world. In a study published by the Migration Policy Institute titled Central America: Crossroads of the Americas, it is stated that "rising streams of Nicaraguans sought refuge in Costa Rica. Some political leaders were granted political asylum by the Costa Rican government while the general population received refugee assistance from international agencies as well as the government" (15). Moreover, statistics in the study indicate that the numbers of Nicaraguans residing in Costa Rica during 1973 till 1984 increased from 23,347 to 45,918. People who immigrated seeking refuge kept growing as violence and turmoil increased. As years passed, numbers of emigrants continued to rise day after the other. In order to understand the

statistics of the flows, the chart below shows the correlation between the increasing number of emigrants along with the time periods.

Table 1. Number of Nicaraguans by year of arrival in the U.S.

	Naturalized U.S. Citizen	Not U.S. citizen	Total
1987-1990	1,459	53,953	55,412
1985-1986	950	28,651	29,601
1982-1984	1,207	22,761	23,968
1980-1981	2,208	13,547	15,755
Prior to 1980	19,727	24,196	43,923
Total	25,551	143,108	168,659

Source: U.S. Census, 1990.

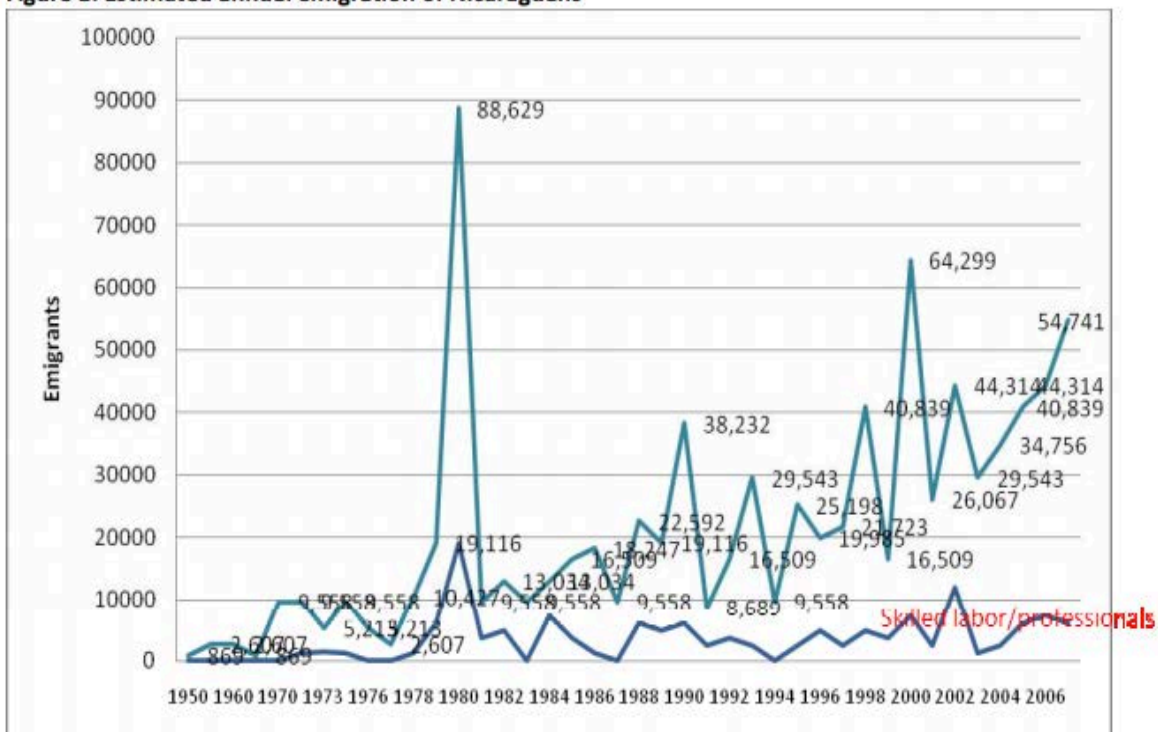
Emigration During the Contra War:

The second significant flow that I am covering in this study occurred during the late 1980s and early 1990s, falling into the time period of the US- Contra intervention. The Contras were right-wing rebel groups in opposition to the socialist Sandinista government in Nicaragua. More importantly, these groups were initially backed by the United States but were regarded to have committed numerous human rights violations, leaving people to question why would the U.S. support such a group. The uprisings during the Contra conflict did not only impact the governance system during that time but has also been a catalyst in promoting people to escape the country and emigrate. In a very insightful study titled *Politics or Economics International Migration during the Nicaraguan Contra War* authors, Jennifer Lundquist and Douglas Massey examine the motivations behind the emigration of thousands following the Contra conflict. The study indicates that "US-bound migration was more strongly linked to the level of Contra War violence independent of economic motivations, especially in an interactive model that allows for

a higher wartime effect of social networks" (1). According to the authors, economics and politics were not the only reason to why people escaped, instead, the form of violence perpetrated against many was another factor to why many fled. The study claims that the "elevated rates of Nicaraguan migration to the United States during the late 1980s and early 1990s were a direct result of the US-Contra intervention" (1).

Moreover, according to Lundquist and Massey, the Contra War impacted migratory processes in opposite directions. The authors state that "the effect of the war on the likelihood of US-bound migration is strongly positive and significant, Contra War violence had a strong and significantly negative effect on the probability of migrating to Costa Rica" (9). This statement discusses that as Contra activity escalated, Nicaraguans were more likely to immigrate to the U.S. than Costa Rica even if there were the same benefits offered in both countries. The survey conducted by the authors' study claims that "when Contra violence levels were at their midpoint, households were 40 percent more likely to migrate to the United States; and at the height of Contra activity the likelihood more than tripled" (9). From what is discussed above, it is evident that the intensification of the war was the primary predicting method of migration. Also, the economic status of Nicaragua during the time served as another factor to why many would leave. As the country underwent an economic downfall, migrants increased and the outflow spiked to further levels. In order to have a visual reference to this matter, the graph below serves as a representation of the flows of immigration during the above mentioned events.

Figure 1: Estimated annual emigration of Nicaraguans



Source: Orozco, Manuel 2008.

The Impacts of Emigration:

The Outflow of Nicaraguans had an impact in the U.S. since many were granted asylum during the 1980s as the Reagan administration provided a safe haven to those who were in exile during the Contra War. Not only that but the administration provided military and political assistance to the Contras as Orozco explains. In his study, it is estimated that "more than ten thousand Nicaraguans were granted political asylum during 1983 to 1992, at a rate ten times higher than any other Central American country and a number among the highest in Latin America" (2). The distribution of Nicaraguan asylees in the United States was as follows:

Table 2. Nicaraguans in the U.S.

	1990	2000
Florida	39%	45%
California	37%	29%
New York	5%	5%
Texas	4%	4%
New Jersey	2%	2%
Maryland	2%	2%
Virginia	2%	2%
Louisiana	2%	2%
Other	7%	9%
Total	100%	100%

Source: US Census Bureau, 2000.

Moreover, the study also discusses the rates of skilled labor who emigrated during the uprisings and compares them to those who stayed. It is estimated that "all of these professionals who migrated constituted 7 percent of all professionals in Nicaragua" (8). This is a significant percentage of the population, and also an impactful portion. Having a country lose its skilled labor is devastating and furthers its deterioration. Not only that, but many of the Nicaraguans who escaped had no interest in investing back in their home country. Instead, they started establishing businesses and successes in the United States. Orozco mentions that "Nicaraguans have a strong base of businesses and publish at least two newspapers in Florida: La Estrella de Nicaragua and El Nicaragüense" (3). The lack of investment interest among emigrants also proves that the government has failed in presenting to them any value within the country. The greed among those in power left an impact before and after the revolution when it comes to the country's economic stability. Furthermore, there has been very minimal Nicaraguan governmental interference to convince those abroad to return to their country. The country lacks laws and policies that would regulate inward and outward migration. Orozco states that

"Nicaraguan legislation on migration does not contain clear objectives or a cohesive policy toward emigrants or immigrants" (9).

With all the abovementioned pressing issues, the Central American migration from Nicaragua exemplifies how inadequate and inefficient governance results in unwanted outcomes. Citizens of most countries are in continuous pursuit to better their lives and the lives of their families. Thus, once uprisings happen and governments fall into corruption, it is a sign that this is the start to an end for the ruling regime. The following consequences come in the form of emigration by those fearing their lives or do not feel that the country is going towards a hopeful future. The loss of hope among Nicaraguans and the lack of governmental leadership integrity under the Somoza dynasty were the two major factors to why the world saw the Nicaraguan Diaspora evolve into one of the largest throughout history.

Middle Eastern Emigration:

Another region of the world that has experienced an influx in the rate of emigrants recently would be the Middle East. Many Arab countries throughout the past couple of years have witnessed the escape of their citizens even after the Arab Spring which initially intended to better the quality of life and rule for its participating countries. One of the most important nations that has been a prominent leader in the region, and is home for the largest population in the area, would be Egypt. The recent Egyptian revolutions did not fall short of uprisings and acts of violence whether they were at the hands of the government or dominating ideological groups against the Egyptian citizens. Given the country's religious nature, most events regarded the involvement of religious minority groups such as the Coptic Orthodox Christians or Muslim Sufis whom both of their practitioners became victims of acts of violence and hatred perpetrated against them in the streets or even at the place of their worship. To further understand the reasons

to why Egypt has been part of the massive influx of the rate of immigrants into the United States lately, it is essential to understand the history of the country in regards to its dictatorial rule and the religious violence.

Egypt Background Information:

Egypt is regarded to be one of the rich countries when it comes to its natural resources similar to Nicaragua. The country is home to the Nile River and is highly reliant on farming given the nature of the soil of the land. According to the Central Intelligence Agency's Factbook, it is indicated that "the completion of the Aswan High Dam in 1971 and the resultant Lake Nasser have reaffirmed the time-honored place of the Nile River in the agriculture and ecology of Egypt" (CIA.gov). As a nation with a continually growing population of an estimated 97,041,072 citizens, making it the largest among all Arab countries and within the top 20 in the world, Egypt is in continuous need for sustainability whether it is in the form of land reform or adequate supply of resources to its citizens. Thus, many families work in the agricultural sector that acts as one of the dominating within the country.

Moreover, the country is regarded to have little to no ethnic diversity in its population. According to the CIA Factbook, the latest 2006 census held by the Egyptian government showed that 99.6% identify as Egyptians and only 0.4% identify as members of other ethnic groups. This lack of racial diversity would eliminate the probability of the dominance of racial violence as one of the reasons to why the people escaped the country, but would not entirely remove it as there have been accounts of Egyptian citizens of El Nuba who have been victims of racial discrimination.

The other important factor that should be taken into account when studying Egypt is the religious aspect as it is predominantly the leading factor for most of the violence that took place

upon the commencement of the revolution in 2011. According to the Department of State's recent report on *International Religious Freedom*, it is stated that "The constitution specifies Islam as the state religion and the principles of sharia as the primary source of legislation. The government continued not to recognize several religious groups, including the Jehovah's Witnesses, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), and the Bahai Faith, and restricted their activities" (1). The lack of religious recognition and the enforcement of one religion's law over another is a significant reason to why the country continually suffers from social instability. The CIA Factbook provides an astonishing statistic in regards to the religious distribution in the country which shows that 90% of the nation identify as Muslims (predominantly Sunni), while on the other hand, the rest of the 10% of the nation's citizens identify as other religious groups (mostly Coptic Christians). In the wake of the recent attacks on churches in the country, all were performed against the Coptic Christian Church whos its members form the majority of the emigrating population into the United States.

Additionally, when studying the demographic profile of the country, it is evident that the increasing growth rate of a 2.45% (CIA.gov - Egypt), and the density of the population having approximately 95% of the people living within 20 km of the Nile River and its delta as two factors of unsustainability. The country has a startling majority of its land unincorporated, making services, the economy, and the quality of life for its citizens deteriorated and not as effective as they should be. With that being said, all ruling governments that ruled Egypt before and after the revolutions have failed to fully enhance the life of its citizens, making many live in deteriorated circumstances. The governments that were in rule solely focused on personal gains over the well-being of the citizens making it a viable reason to why tensions eventually arose.

The Start of the Uprisings:

In the wake of the Arab Spring which initiated in Tunisia to overthrow the dictatorial rule of Bin-Ali, Egypt became the second country in the region to undergo the process of defeating its autocratic rule of Hosni Mubarak. While many have proclaimed that this revolution was predominantly led by the country's citizens as a whole, many studies and accounts have indicated that various interest groups maneuvered people around to secure a desirable outcome for the revolution. One of these groups would be the Muslim Brotherhood which will have a role in the exodus of large populations of Egyptians later on.

Corruption in land use and sales, domination of the military over the country's resources, lack of adequate and sustainable circumstances of living, and the failure of the representation and securing of minorities were all characteristics that formed the authoritarian rule of Mubarak. In the informative book titled *Militarizing the Nation: The Army, Business, and Revolution in Egypt* by Zeinab Abul-Magd, the author focuses on the military dominance over the country's resources and rule before and after the revolution. According to Abul-Magd "Mubarak maintained a civilian face for the state in Cairo by forming cabinets of civilian technocrats, retired generals were the invisible, de facto rulers of the country" (153). The retired generals appointed by Mubarak occupied the seats of local governors and heads of towns and neighborhoods. Not only that but these appointed personnel managed the country's seas, rivers, ports, even public services such as water, transportation, and housing did not fall short of their dominance. Moreover, the State's lands were managed by the same appointed officials who had the final say in allocating them based on their desires and personal benefit. The hiring of retired military generals was a form of a coup-proofing strategy held by Mubarak to avoid mutiny from the country's military. Prominent military leaders were guaranteed a supervisory leadership role once retired, and this was the way that Mubarak appeased the army and the police in the country as the book has

indicated. The approach implemented by Mubarak was an assurance that the major entities in the country would be appeased with his authoritarian rule, and side him throughout the decisions he made during his leadership.

The 2011 Revolution:

When people took over Tahrir Square at first revolting against the Mubarak regime, it was because they wanted a better standard of living and a fair representation of all sects of society. People united together against the dictatorial rule that began in 1981 after President Anwar Sadat's assassination and lasted until January 2011. This approximate 30-year rule left many in devastating living conditions and lack of humane circumstances. The power that Mubarak gave to the governmental entities in the country was abused by many of the leaders whom he appointed. The Governors of all the States were appointed by him, as well as the Secretaries of all the cabinets in the government. Given the nature of an unchallenged regime, it was evident that those in power became more dictatorial overtime as they saw their rule grow and their power prospered day after the other. That being said, Mubarak's regime was regarded by foreign countries as a key player in sustaining peace within the region and people feared of his removal in the beginning.

In an extensive study conducted by the Middle Eastern affairs specialist Jeremy M. Sharp titled *Egypt: The January 25 Revolution and Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy*, the author discusses the importance of the role Egypt played within the region especially when it came to reducing the Arab-Israeli tensions. The United States was the lead supporter of the county providing Egypt with "an annual average of \$2 billion in economic and military foreign assistance since 1979. In FY2010, the United States provided Egypt with \$1.552 billion in total assistance. Congress appropriated FY2010 aid to Egypt in two separate bills" (Sharp 2). This

monetary support provided by the United States catalyzed the growth of the military and police in Egypt. Not only that but with the continuous support of the U.S. to this authoritative rule "Some analysts have criticized the Obama Administration for limiting its public criticism of the Egyptian government" (Sharp 2) in regards to the Mubarak regime. The lack of public scrutiny along with the pressures implemented by the administration on the citizens left the police and military as the two most significant forces in the region.

One of the leading entities that were initially violent against the country's citizens during the time was the Internal Police Services. The influence accumulated by this entity during the Mubarak regime left it very powerful and in a continuous dominance of the nation's streets and regions. While the power dominance of the police and some of the military resulted in the suppression of the country's citizens and lack in the freedoms of speech and representation, it also ironically came in handy during the first revolution of 2011. The Egyptian military's extreme power that was accumulated over the years made it possible for the military to eventually accumulate autonomy that would make it possible for it to make decisions that may not align with Mubarak's. This autonomy is a product of the Military's dominance over many businesses that affected the lives of Egyptians and allowed the entity to be self sufficing, thus, it eventually sided with the people during the revolution. The military during that time knew that the administration was extremely reliant on the entity, and that without the military, the Mubarak regime would fall despite the length of time it was in power. It is also worth mentioning during the time between January 25, 2011, and February 11, 2011, the police left the country in an appalling state. Prisoners escaped the jails, police did not secure the streets, and the regime used all security forces to suppress people in an attempt to demise the revolution. Although many of the hundreds of thousands who revolted were peaceful protestors, "crowds burned several

symbols of Mubarak's rule, including the National Democratic Party headquarters' building" (Sharp 6). People started showing their anger by demanding Mubarak to step down immediately, but instead, Mubarak continued striving to remain in power. He appointed a puppet Vice President known as Omar Suleiman and a new Prime Minister named Ahmed Shafiq, both of which were significant military figures. With every change the regime made, people revolted further, and that is when the time came when Mubarak decided to step down on February 11, 2011, after the military refused to side against the people when they were demanded to do so.

The stepping down of Mubarak was the end of one era, and the start of another. People had immediate goals for the new government to achieve. Sharp states in his study that people wanted:

- To form a more representative interim national unity government.
- To amend the constitution or form an assembly to rewrite it entirely.
- To remove corrupt Egyptian leaders responsible for repressing protestors.
- To dissolve parliament and hold new free and fair parliamentary and presidential elections.

These goals and aspirations were eventually to be disregarded as soon as the military decided on taking on the rule during the transitional period before electing the new President of Egypt who was Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood Party. Not only that, but the transitional period was a source to why people escaped the country as it will be discussed in the following sections.

The Transitional Period under the SCAF:

When Mubarak stepped down from his approximate 30-year rule, there had to be someone ruling over the country during this transitional period. The problem was that Mubarak had no one who was constitutionally in succession to fill the vacant seat of the presidency, thus, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) took over. According to author Hafez

Ghanem's *Egypt's Difficult Transition: Options for the International Community*, he argues that "according to the Egyptian constitution at the time of Mubarak's resignation, when the office of the president is vacant the speaker of parliament acts as interim president. Hence this transfer of power to SCAF had no legal basis" (18). This illegal transition was an evident result of the revolution's failure to have an extensively detailed and planned agenda that aimed towards the future of the country upon overthrowing the Mubarak regime.

That being said, the presence of the SCAF in power was needed in order to maintain order and security among the citizens of the country who underwent one of the toughest periods. The initial reaction of the people of Egypt towards the SCAF was welcoming and very supportive given the fact that the military backed the protestors over Mubarak during the two-week revolution. Despite that, there had to be a newly elected president and someone who would preferably not associate with the military in general. Thus, people started calling for elections as soon as possible, and that is when political parties started dominating the political arena within the country, but still were not able to fully participate in all regions of the country.

During the ruling of the SCAF over Egypt throughout the transitional period, numerous events took place. Some were signs of hope, and others were evident acts of discrimination against minorities. In the book titled *The Regime Transition in Egypt and Emerging Challenges*, author Laurel E. Miller discusses the characteristics of the transitional period that Egypt underwent during the ruling of the SCAF. The author indicates that during the beginning of the transitional period, "Minister of Defense and Head of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), Muhammed Hussein Tantawi, had a favorability rating of 90 percent" (84). At that time, people did not care about bringing the military under civilian control, but that was to harm

them eventually. All that people worried about at the time was improving the country's economy which deteriorated.

The Egyptian military was known during that time for its economic domination over various sectors of the society. The SCAF owns major companies, factories, resorts, hotels, as well as, community developments that all generated and continue to generate revenues towards the military. Thus, it was of ease for the military to provide the government during that time with fundings to support the transitional period following the uprisings. According to the article titled Military Empire by Ingy Salama, the author indicates that during the transition "the military was lending the government substantial amounts of money in order to sustain the economy" (6). This monetary support provided the military further power in its authority that was given to it unconstitutionally in the first place. This economical dominance is a result of historical allocations that initiated under the rule of Gamal Abdel Nasser who led Egypt from 1956 to 1970. In an enlightening study titled The Egyptian Armed Forces and the Remaking of an Economic Empire, author Shana Marshall indicates that during Nasser's leadership "the resources of the state were steered toward the military, whose engineers and contractors took the lead in land reclamation projects, public infrastructure, the provision of basic commodities, and the domestic manufacturing of consumer appliances and electronics (11). Moving forward to the Mubarak era, the military dominated further industries including the fuel and oil markets in the country. This shows that there was no significant change in regards to the limitation of the military dominance over the country's economy after the revolution of 2011.

The Maspero Massacre

Several months into the SCAF rule that was characterized by content by some and fear by others, there took the first televised act of violence at the hands of the SCAF against the

country's Coptic minority which was known as the Maspero Massacre. Prior to this terroristic act of discrimination, the Coptic Christians of Egypt lived under continuous oppression throughout the Mubarak Era into the transitional period and after. Author Jason Brownlee discusses in his research titled *Violence Against Copts in Egypt* the historical violence contexts this minority group had to go through. According to what has been discussed in the research, the military disregarded the securing of the Coptic minority and focused more on the wealth accumulation and siding with the Muslim Brotherhood. Brownlee states that "while protecting their own resource streams and perks in the Egyptian economy, the generals stood by while Copts braced themselves against further attacks. In March 2011, a church had been torched during Muslim-Coptic fighting in the Cairo suburb of Atfeeh, Helwan, and thirteen people had died" (22). Moreover, the study also indicates that there were further attacks that followed after. The infamous Maspero Massacre took place on Sunday, October 9 2011. Brownlee states that the event took place after a recent arson of a church in Aswan in Upper Egypt. To show their discontent, the Coptic Christians went before the National Television Broadcast Center known as Maspero to peacefully protest. That being said "before the protesters could reach the building, army vehicles plowed through the crowd. State television claimed the protesters were initiating violence and incited viewers to reinforce the army" (Brownlee 22).

The video footage that was televised clearly portrayed the military tanks running over the unarmed and peaceful protestors. This causality resulted in the loss of the lives of twenty-seven civilians most of which were Coptic Christians. Brownlee indicates that "the SCAF defended itself by claiming that some soldiers had panicked. Rather than punishing the purportedly derelict troops, the junta incarcerated 31 of the demonstrators and slated them for military trials" (23). This unfortunate massacre clearly indicated that the Copts were still as vulnerable as they were

during the Mubarak era. It is important to mention that during the 1980s and 1990s many Egyptians immigrated from Egypt seeking a new opportunity in life during Mubarak's regime. The suppression implemented by the Mubarak government against Copts was one source of this wave. But, the majority of the suppressed lived in harsh circumstances as they were not able to afford what was needed to buy a flight ticket and escape the country. That being said, what was to come next was worse for this minority group that has been continually victimized before and after the revolution.

The Elections and Domination of the Muslim Brotherhood:

In order to satisfy the requirements of the revolution, Egypt underwent elections for both the country's parliament and the presidential seat. In regards to the parliament, two dominating parties ruled it which were, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and El Nour Party (Salafis). Despite both party's proclamations to not take over the majority and create a fair representation of all sects of society, during elections both parties had their candidates run for offices with full force. More importantly was the presidential elections race that the world was keeping an eye out for at the time.

The two prime candidates for the presidential seat race were Muhammad Morsi and Ahmed Shafik. Muhammad Morsi was known to be one of the leaders of the MB who was imprisoned during the Mubarak era, on the other hand, Ahmed Shafiq was the former Aviation Minister and former Prime minister who was appointed by Mubarak just before stepping down. Many people during that time feared the rule of someone who is a military general, and from the Mubarak era (Shafiq), others worried that the MB would dominate over all aspects of the citizens' lives and hinder free practices of religion and adequate representation. Brownlee states that in Morsi's campaign he "vowed that if elected he would represent all Egyptians, not only

Muslim Brotherhood supporters. He took a quarter of the votes in the first round and then entered a runoff against Mubarak's last prime minister, Ahmed Shafiq" (24). The outcome of this race was the election of Mohammed Morsi as President for Egypt edging Shafiq by 51.7% to 48.3%. Morsi took over office on June 30 and "Six weeks later he sidelined the top generals who until then had been steering the transition. What could have been a step toward civilian democracy, though, soon came to be seen by the opposition as the first phase of a partisan power grab by Morsi and Muslim Brotherhood " (Brownlee 24).

The election of a new president from the Muslim Brotherhood left minorities such as Coptic Christians and other Islamic minorities in extreme fear from the Morsi rule. Simultaneously upon Morsi's election, the Coptic Church selected Pope Tawadros II as its new leader. Morsi's administration failed to take advantage of the event for an opportunity to call for an interfaith accord by not attending the installation ceremony. Over the next months, Morsi's leadership turned more into a regime as a result of its failure to represent all sects of the society adequately and equitably. The Coptic Christians were very concerned about Morsi's rule over the country and were left in fear, leading many to escape outside of the country as a result of the constant attacks against the minority. Brownlee mentions in the research that "anti-Christian violence brought chilling validation to the concerns Copts harbored. Kidnappings in Upper Egypt continued, and anti-Christian attacks rocked the heart of the country as well" (25). In an article titled Burning the Churches: Egypt's Christians in the Heat of August by Nelly van Doorn-Harder, the author states that "at least 52 Christian schools, convents, monasteries, institutions, and churches have been demolished. According to the offices of Coptic Orthodox Pope Tawadros II, 100 churches and Christian institutions in all were attacked and some twice" (1). The failure for the government to secure the Christian minorities from the attacks by

religious extremists posed an imminent threat on the lives of many, resulting in an initial flow of immigrants who escaped the country as a result. People took advantage of the outrage happening, and a movement titled "Kefaya" which means "Enough" started, and was soon to result in having Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi to rule Egypt later on. It is important to note that the movement initiated with the intention to have an election of a President that would be representative of the whole nation, and did not by any means target the candidacy of Al Sisi. That being said, Al Sisi's leadership was later to emerge taking advantage of the movement started by the people and gearing it towards his personal support.

Al-Sisi Coming to Power:

Exactly a year after Morsi's assumption of office, another revolution took place which was known as the June 30th Revolution of 2013. What distinguished this revolution over the one of January 2011 was the fact that it mostly consisted of the Coptic minority along with those who were discontent of the Morsi regime during the time. The movement towards a second revolution initially started as a popular decision made by the citizens with no interference from governmental agencies such as the military. That being said, this was a short-lived moment as eventually, the Egyptian military was to step in once again and take over the rule of the elected Morsi government. One key figure that was later to emerge was Abdel Fattah el-Sisi who served as the Egyptian Army Chief General for Morsi's government. El-Sisi was able to take advantage of the people's sufferings and form a coalition of religious and societal leaders from across the country calling for President Morsi to step down from office. This event took place on July 1st, 2013. Later on, Al-Sisi went out demanding Morsi to step down and informing him that he has 48 hours, or else, the military will take the matter into its own hands. Having failed to do so by the demanded time "Morsi was in military custody and blocked from all communications, one of

his advisers said, and many of his senior aides were under house arrest. Egyptian security forces had arrested at least 38 senior leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood" (Kirkpatrick 3) as indicated by David Kirkpatrick's article *Army Ousts Egypt's President; Morsi is Taken Into Military Custody*.

The arrest of Morsi and his senior leaders left a significant impact on the international community having them question the legality of such an action. Meanwhile, Al-Sisi continued with his coalition's demands and appointed the Supreme Court Chief Justice during the time Adli Mansour to lead the country. According to the article the coalition presented a "road map" for the months following Morsi's overthrow and called for the suspension of the Constitution. The article also states that Obama "urged the military to move quickly to return Egypt to a democratically elected government, saying, We are deeply concerned by the decision of the Egyptian Armed Forces to remove President Morsi and suspend the Egyptian Constitution" (Kirkpatrick 5). The "roadmap" plan introduced by Al-Sisi was endorsed by most liberals and leftists, as well as, the Nour Party which is constituted of ultraconservative Islamists.

Shortly after, Sisi was to run for elections against another presidential candidate and a major political figure known as Hamdeen Sabahi where Al-Sisi was able to defeat his opponent with a result of 96.91% to 3.09% as was indicated by the official Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram. The emergence of Al-Sisi to the presidential seat left people arguing that it was a popularly supported coup, while others who are supporters state that this is not a coup, but rather a transition of power that was needed. Despite the interpretation of how Al-Sisi came to power, it is evident that Egypt went back to the first block by having a President of a military background and origin ruling the country similar as the predecessors. Al-Sisi's rule has been controversial until this day given that he is popularly supported, yet many complain about the increasing costs

of living and the deteriorating state of the Egyptian economy that has been failing to stabilize ever since the revolution took place. Al-Sisi's rule has been supportive of the Christian Coptic minority, but due to the previous uprisings and lack of security, Al-Sisi has to now battle with ISIS who have dominated over the majority of the Sinai peninsula and continue to attack the minority groups of the country including Muslims from different sects of society.

Reflection and the Causes of the Egyptian Diaspora:

The abovementioned events did not only leave an impact on how the country was governed but has also played a factor in why people would escape Egypt and seek refuge elsewhere. The Egyptian emigration statistics are widely diverse when it comes to analyzing how many citizens fled the country; nevertheless, emigrant rates have increased after the uprisings. In a study conducted by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) titled *The Egyptian Diaspora*, it is stated that there is an influx in the rate of immigrants attributable to "the Diversity Visa Program [provided] to historically underrepresented populations, [as well as], economic and security-related factors ... intensifying emigration from Egypt" (1). The uprisings throughout 2011-2013 have contributed to such flows. That being said, Egyptian migration into the United States has not dominated the other countries that Egyptians flee to, given that it is tough for Egyptians to obtain an admission visa into the United States that would allow them to travel and enter the country. The remote distance between both country's and the lack of border proximity also plays a role in why there are not as many Egyptian immigrants in the United States as there are Nicaraguan immigrants for example.

The quantification process that would tie both the migration flows along with the Egyptian revolutions is tough to estimate as the numbers vary from one study to the other. That being said, there has been an evident increase in the trajectory of emigration from the country. A

recent study that was conducted by the Central Agency for Mobilization and Statistics in Egypt indicated that there are about 9.5 million Egyptians living abroad, 6.3 million of which live in the neighboring Arab countries, and about 800-900,000 live in the United States of America. The intentions of most emigrants are similar to those who have started the revolution. People emigrating, leave the country seeking a better opportunity in life, freedoms, and security for their families. In a very informative and enlightening study titled *The Arab Spring: A Revolution for Egyptian Emigration?* French author Delphine Pagès-El Karoui discusses the effects of the Arab Spring on the migration of Egyptians. According to what has been discussed, in a "poll repeated on several occasions in August 2011 and December 2014, the percentage of the population wishing to emigrate varied between 11 and 17%" (5). The study indicates that during Morsi's presidency, "Copts emigrated massively toward the Coptic diaspora's traditional destinations: the United States, Canada, Australia, and Europe" (5). The reasons to why Coptic Christians immigrated during that time was because of the economic and political turbulence that the country was undergoing. People of Coptic origins were avoiding the religious persecution that was implemented by the Morsi government during the time. Thus, many sought asylum in the United States. On the other hand, many Muslims have also fled the country to neighboring Arab nations and the United States escaping what they view as a regime that has been implemented through the reclamation of the military over the ruling of Egypt during the second revolution of 2013.

To further understand how the statistics of immigrants looked like, it is important to refer back to reports issued by the U.S. government on immigrants to its lands. In a study report issued by the Department of Homeland Security titled *Refugees and Asylees: 2013*, authors Daniel C. Martin and James E. Yankay analyze statistics of the top countries seeking asylum and refugee

statuses in the USA. According to the study, in the years 2011, 2012, and 2013, "The leading countries of nationality for persons granted either affirmative or defensive asylum were China, Egypt, and Ethiopia" (1). Moreover, it is important to mention that in order for someone to meet the above mentioned immigrant criteria, a person must be "unwilling to return to his or her country of nationality because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular [group]" (1).). The report also indicates that there has been an increase in the number of asylees from Egypt from 2011-2013. Egyptian asylees constituted 4.1% of the total in 2011, following by a 9.8% of the total asylees in 2012, and lastly, they increased to 14% of the total asylee population in 2013. This increase ties back to the abovementioned events at the beginning of this chapter showing that as the standards of living deteriorated after the revolution under the military rule and the Morsi government, people sought to escape the country. Please refer below to the official tables issued by the DHS in regards to asylees during the time of the Egyptian Diaspora (2011-2013):

Table 6.**All Asylees by Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2011 to 2013**

(Ranked by 2013 country of nationality)

Country of nationality	2013		2012		2011	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	25,199	100.0	29,367	100.0	24,904	100.0
China, People's Republic	8,604	34.1	10,121	34.5	8,592	34.5
Egypt	3,407	13.5	2,876	9.8	1,027	4.1
Ethiopia	893	3.5	1,121	3.8	1,071	4.3
Nepal	854	3.4	975	3.3	740	3.0
Syria	811	3.2	364	1.2	60	0.2
Venezuela	687	2.7	1,090	3.7	1,104	4.4
Iran	675	2.7	716	2.4	474	1.9
Russia	534	2.1	718	2.4	661	2.7
Haiti	496	2.0	681	2.3	872	3.5
Iraq	462	1.8	425	1.4	379	1.5
All other countries, including unknown . .	7,776	30.9	10,280	35.0	9,924	39.8

Note: Data exclude follow-to-join asylees.

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Refugee, Asylum, and Parole System (RAPS) and Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR) of the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ).

Table 8.**Defensive Asylees by Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2011 to 2013**

(Ranked by 2013 country of nationality)

Country of nationality	2013		2012		2011	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	9,933	100.0	11,978	100.0	11,528	100.0
China, People's Republic	4,532	45.6	5,383	44.9	4,705	40.8
Ethiopia	399	4.0	458	3.8	507	4.4
Nepal	381	3.8	403	3.4	323	2.8
India	322	3.2	282	2.4	262	2.3
Egypt	305	3.1	306	2.6	275	2.4
Soviet Union, former	252	2.5	281	2.3	248	2.2
Eritrea	240	2.4	351	2.9	483	4.2
Russia	187	1.9	176	1.5	195	1.7
El Salvador	181	1.8	191	1.6	164	1.4
Mexico	155	1.6	126	1.1	107	0.9
All other countries, including unknown . .	2,979	30.0	4,021	33.6	4,259	36.9

Note: Data exclude follow-to-join asylees.

Source: Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR) of the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ).

Table 7.

Affirmative Asylees by Country of Nationality: Fiscal Years 2011 to 2013

(Ranked by 2013 country of nationality)

Country of nationality	2013		2012		2011	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	15,266	100.0	17,389	100.0	13,376	100.0
China, People's Republic	4,072	26.7	4,738	27.2	3,887	29.1
Egypt	3,102	20.3	2,570	14.8	752	5.6
Syria	763	5.0	327	1.9	46	0.3
Iran	612	4.0	607	3.5	366	2.7
Venezuela	608	4.0	960	5.5	898	6.7
Ethiopia	494	3.2	663	3.8	564	4.2
Nepal	473	3.1	572	3.3	417	3.1
Haiti	443	2.9	632	3.6	816	6.1
Iraq	408	2.7	314	1.8	262	2.0
Russia	347	2.3	542	3.1	466	3.5
All other countries, including unknown ..	3,944	25.8	5,464	31.4	4,902	36.6

Note: Data exclude follow-to-join asylees.

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Refugee, Asylum, and Parole System (RAPS).

Given the context of the uprisings in Egypt that was discussed earlier on in this chapter, the emigrant outflow primarily was a result of both political and religious concerns that the citizens had. We saw that many Coptic Christians under the Morsi presidency living in fear and had their houses of worship destroyed and set on fire. Moreover, Muslims along with Christians have also suffered and still suffer discouraging life circumstances under Al Sisi's rule. There is some sort of suppression of political freedoms during his era due to the lack of security that the country has been undergoing and the nature of the rule that suppresses many of the youth who want to freely express their concerns. Not only that but as opposed to any other type of leadership, the military rule is stricter and limiting in various instances. There have been accounts indicating the limitations implemented by the rule when it comes to the media and press. The challenges that Egyptians are facing under Al Sisi's government are also a result of the involvement of ISIS in many terroristic activities across the nation, targeting both Christian and Islamic minorities.

Furthermore, delving into a more detailed analysis of the emigration of Egyptians after the revolution, author Ayman Zohry presents an extensive investigation discussing this matter in

a study titled Egypt's International Migration after the Revolution: Is There Any Change?

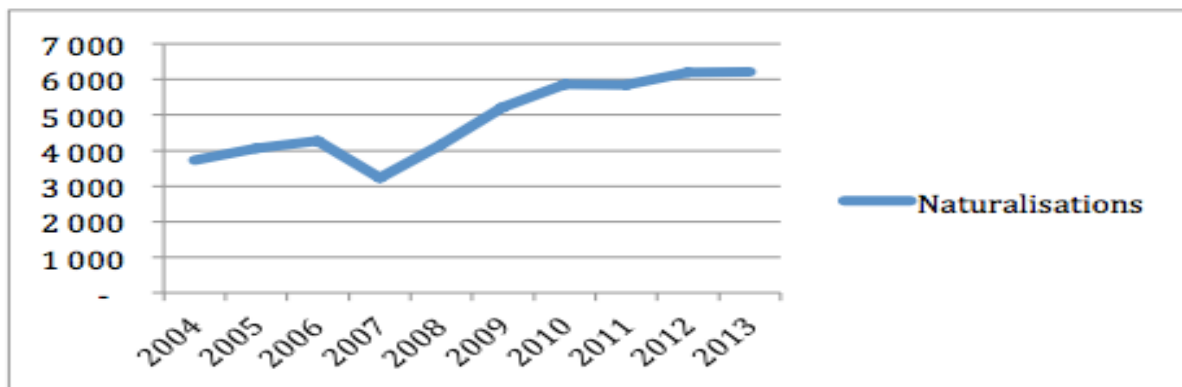
According to the study, Egyptian emigrants constitute an approximate 8% of the whole population. Zohry presents in his research a startling fact stating that in the immediate time after the revolution of 2011 and the overthrow of the Mubarak regime before the SCAF took rule, Egyptians tended to return to Egypt with high hopes to witness a democracy. This flow of immigration was short-lived as was indicated earlier when it was mentioned in the chapter that the intentions of the revolution got lost as religious dismay, militaristic suppression, and insecurity took over the country under the SCAF, Morsi, and Al Sisi's leadership. This resulted in the outflow once again. Zohry states that "Egypt witnessed many incidents of sectarian strife between Muslims and Christians which constituted a threat to national unity and the principle of citizenship that threaten the principle of co-existence between Muslims and Christians and led some Christians to think about migration from Egypt" (14). This reassures the idea that a primary factor of emigration is religious unrest.

Additionally, Zohry's study "indicates also that among Christians the percent who thought of migration after the revolution comprised 75 percent compared to 38 percent for their Muslim counterparts" (15). Whether or not the numbers are fully representative, statistics indicate that there was one group who was suppressed more than the other, but still, both sects of society have suffered some suppression whether it was religious or political. The effects of Egyptian migration did not only leave an impact on the international level but has also impacted the country at a local level. Zohry discusses that university graduates along with urban residents were the ones who had a stronger desire to migrate than other categories. The statistics of the study show that it was " 10.5 percent for urban reside versus 5.1 percent for rural residents and 11.9 percent for university graduates versus 6.3 for interviewees with less than secondary

education" (17). These statistics strongly correlate to the argument presented earlier showing that Egyptians with higher societal statuses and better economical standards were the ones willing to emigrate as they were able to afford the expenses of the trip along with obtaining admission visas to enter their destinations.

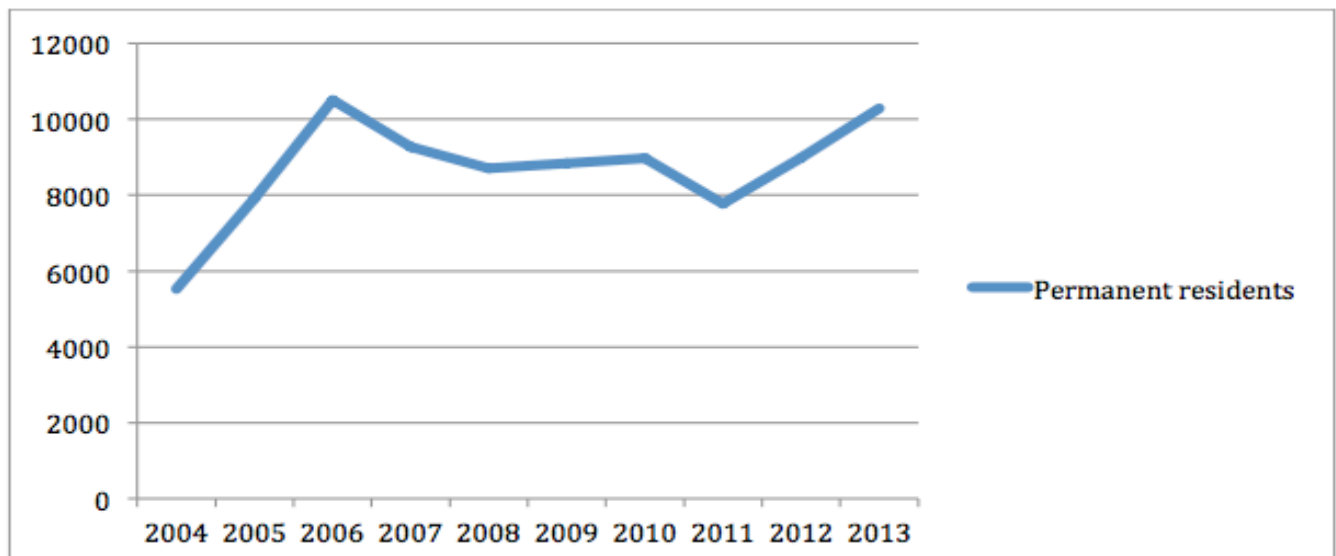
Thus, emigration from Egypt is one of the most complicated and debatable topics as many claim different intentions to why they leave the country. Studies presented by the DHS and other researchers show that as the revolution came to an end and the SCAF took over the country that this was the start of the Modern Egyptian Diaspora. Recent graphs by the DHS show that the number of Egyptians naturalized and obtaining Legal Permanent Residence correlates strongly with the timeframe of the Egyptian revolution along with the transitional period, Morsi's rule, and Al Sisi's interference. The graphs are as follows:

Figure 2. Naturalisations of Egyptians in the United States



Source: *id.*

Figure 1. Number of Egyptians obtaining permanent residency status in the United States.



Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Moreover, the Egyptian government did little to nothing in resolving the issue of those escaping the country and seeking refuge elsewhere. The outflow of emigrants cost Egypt many of its highly educated and well-established families who have been persecuted after the revolution. The country's failure to quickly react to the revolution and improve the economy was another reason to why it failed in maintaining its citizens within its lands. Having an approximate 8% of the nation's citizens outside their country of origin is a significant number that should not

be disregarded, and it is of vital importance for the country to start acting towards improving its governance and rule to provide sufficient and adequate living circumstances to its residents.

Conclusion:

Overall, emigration is one of the most controversial and intensely complicated topics that many researchers find challenging to address adequately. The lack of detailed information in regards to emigrants makes it further challenging when analyzing the motivations and statistics behind people who flee their homes. That being said, recent studies have helped in indicating the trajectory flows of immigrants and their correlation with national uprisings. It is evident that as a nation undergoes significant turmoil and representational challenges, the country falls into a devastating perplexity as many of its educated and leading citizens flee in pursuit of a better chance in life. Moreover, despite the significant time difference between both flows that were compared from Egypt and Nicaragua, it is evident that there had been substantial commonalities and differences among both nations. Both regions had natural wealth and commodities that would make their countries survive and prosper, but due to the suppressive nature of governance of the leadership at the time in both countries, we have seen the wealth being gnashed and converted into personal gains. Moreover, under the Somoza and Mubarak leadership, we have seen that both administrations took coup-proofing strategies by winning the hearts and minds of those in the military or the police. Somoza went further and created a National Guard to suppress those who were underrepresented in the country and guard him against societal outrage.

Not only that, but the study also indicates that there has been a strong association between the rate of violence and the rate of emigrants fleeing. As challenges escalated, emigration rise followed, and vice a versa. The difference between both countries comes in the form of the suppression perpetrated. In the Central American region, we see that there is evident

diversity in the ethnicity of people. Thus, suppression was sectoral and preferential of one group over the other especially when it came to financial statuses. On the other hand, given the nature of religious dominance in the Middle East, it is evident that religious suppression is a factor that distinguished this region from the other. That being said, both countries commonly shared the presence of oppressive members of the military and proven that militaristic interference in social life is nothing short of destruction and failure.

People emigrating have undergone a significantly turbulent life as it is tough for someone to decide on leaving their home country and seek refuge elsewhere. What the leading nations are failing to do is providing opportunities to those who are seeking a better chance in life and are willing to enhance the community that opens its doors and allows them to stay in its lands. Not everyone has the opportunity to emigrate due to financial challenges especially when the country is further from the desired destination as we saw in Egypt's case. Thus, geographical proximity affects the rate of migration. Others continue to live suppressed in their countries as a result of the lack of willingness by other nations to intake refugees and asylees fleeing suppression and misery.

The emigrant dilemma is continually growing and never ends. No matter what period of time we are in, it became evident from this study that the intentions and factors behind spurring large populations to flee their countries are the same throughout history. As uprisings take place as a result of oppression and poor governance, people's life deteriorate, and thus, they seek refuge elsewhere. People immigrating to countries such as the United States come with high hopes and desires to live a better and productive life, seeking freedoms, and better financial status. Recent immigration laws have held these aspirations back and left many facing further obstacles once they come here. Asylum seekers in the United States have been suffering from an

extensively lengthy backlog, and as a result, have been deprived of various opportunities in life. What has to come next is that the current administration should take measures that would allow in expediting the immigration process to track the populations fleeing into the country adequately. Also, it is preferential for the government to start implementing support through the housing, educational, and health assistance that would provide a haven to people fleeing persecution. Emigrants are and will always be an integral part of society through which the hosting nation will prosper, flourish, and advance as a result of their presence.

References

- Abul-Magd, Zeinab. *Militarizing the Nation: The Army, Business, and Revolution in Egypt*. Columbia University Press, 2017. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/abul17062.
- Brownlee, Jason. *Violence Against Copts in Egypt*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013, carnegieendowment.org/files/violence_against_copts3.pdf. Accessed 23 May 2018.
- Central Intelligence Agency . *The World Factbook*. CIA.GOV, 2018, www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html. Accessed 3 Apr. 2018.
- Diederich, Bernard. *Somoza and the Legacy of U.S. Involvement in Central America*. Waterfront Press, 1989.
- Ghanem, Hafez, editor. *The Arab Spring Five Years Later: Case Studies*. Brookings Institution Press, 2016. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.7864/j.ctt1657tws.
- Gzesh, Susan. "Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era." *Migrationpolicy.org*, Migration Policy Institute, 2 Mar. 2017, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-americans-and-asylum-policy-reagan-era.
- Kirkpatrick, David D. "Army Ousts Egypt's President; Morsi Is Taken Into Military Custody." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 3 July 2013, www.nytimes.com/2013/07/04/world/middleeast/egypt.html.
- Lundquist, Jennifer H., and Douglas S. Massey. "Politics or Economics? International Migration during the Nicaraguan Contra War." *Journal of Latin American studies* 37.1 (2005): 29–53. *PMC*. Web. 8 April 2018.
- Mahler, Sarah J., and Dusan Ugrina. "Central America: Crossroads of the Americas."

- Migrationpolicy.org*, Migration Policy Institute, 2 Mar. 2017,
www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-america-crossroads-americas.
- Marshall, Shana. *The Egyptian Armed Forces and the Remaking of an Economic Empire*.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2015,
carnegieendowment.org/files/egyptian_armed_forces.pdf. Accessed 23 May 2018.
- Martin, Daniel C., and James E. Yankay. *Refugees and Asylees: 2013*. Office of Immigration
Statistics, 2014,
www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Refugees_Asylees_2013.pdf.
Accessed 20 May 2018.
- Merrill, Tim. *Nicaragua: a Country Study*. The Library, 1994.
- Miller, Laurel E., et al. "The Regime Transition in Egypt and Emerging Challenges."
Democratization in the Arab World: Prospects and Lessons from Around the Globe,
RAND Corporation, 2012, pp. 79–106. *JSTOR*,
www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg1192rc.13.
- Orozco, Manuel. "The Nicaraguan Diaspora: Trends and Opportunities for Diaspora Engagement
in Skills Transfers and Development." *Washington DC Office for Economic
Co-Operation and Development*, 2008, [archive.thedialogue.org/PublicationFiles/The
Nicaragua case_M Orozco2 REV.pdf](http://archive.thedialogue.org/PublicationFiles/The_Nicaragua_case_M_Orozco2_REV.pdf).
- Pagès-El Karoui, Delphine. *The Arab Spring: A Revolution for Egyptian Emigration?* Revue
Européenne des Migrations internationales, 2015,
www.brismes.ac.uk/conference/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Paper_El-Karoui.pdf.
Accessed 23 Apr. 2018.
- RAD Diaspora Profile. *The Egyptian Diaspora in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute,

- 2015, www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/RAD-EgyptII.pdf. Accessed 26 May 2018.
- Salama, Ingy. "Military Empire.", D+C Development and Cooperation, 20 January 2018, <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/egypts-military-wields-enormous-economic-and-political-power>.
- Sharp, Jeremy M. *Egypt: The January 25 Revolution and Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy*. DIANE Publishing - Congressional Research Service, 2011, books.google.com/books?id=hRMe8oJ_z9AC&pg=PP1&dq=Egypt:+The+January+25+Revolution+and+Implications+for+U.S.+Foreign+Policy+Jeremy+M.+Sharp+Specialist+in+Middle+Eastern+Affairs+February+11,+2011. Accessed 6 May 2018.
- "The World Factbook: NICARAGUA." *Central Intelligence Agency*, Central Intelligence Agency, 4 June 2018, www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/nu.html.
- United States Department of State . *Egypt: International Religious Freedom Report for 2016*. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2016, www.state.gov/documents/organization/269132.pdf. Accessed 11 Mar. 2018.
- Walker, Thomas W. *Nicaragua: the First Five Years*. Praeger, 1985.
- Wikipedia contributors. "Egyptian diaspora." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, 5 Mar. 2018. Web. 23 Apr. 2018.
- Zohry, Ayman. *Egypt's International Migration after the Revolution: Is There Any Change?* he International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), 2013, www.cairn.info/revue-confluences-mediterranee-2013-4-page-47.html. Accessed 23 Apr. 2018.

